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GRADUATE PROGRAMS OFFICE

A HISTORY OF HIRNA TOWN FROM ITS FOUNDATION UP TO
1991

BY

GOSSA ASNAKE

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ADDIS ABABA

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GOSSA ASNAKE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO GRADUATE PROGRAMS OFFICE
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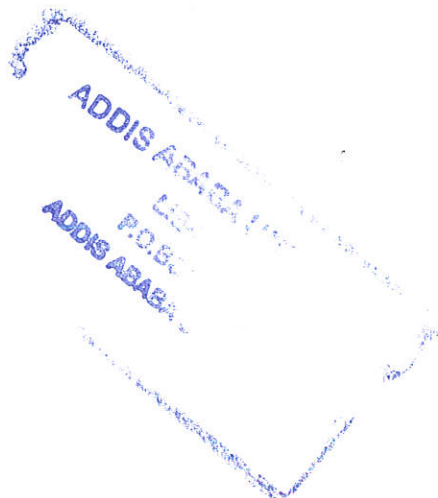
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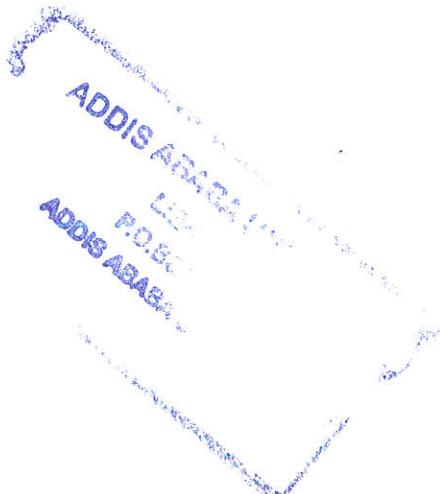


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Glossary

<i>Abba</i>	a learned priest
<i>Albee</i>	sickle used to collect crops from farm land
<i>Amole</i>	salt bar used as medium of exchange
<i>Atete</i>	spiritual of fertility
<i>Aräqé</i>	home-made distilled alcoholic drink
<i>Ato</i>	a civil term to address an adult male which is equivalent to “Mr”
<i>Awraja</i>	an administrative unit below the level of province
<i>Azaž</i>	chief of the royal court or a head who gives order
<i>Bejrond</i>	chief treasurer
<i>Balambaras</i>	A military title just below that of <i>Gräzmač</i>
<i>Banda</i>	Ethiopians who collaborated with the Italians during the period of Occupation
<i>Barêa</i>	khat ceremony mainly chewed with friends
<i>Birka</i>	standpipe used for public
<i>Birr</i>	the currency of Ethiopia
<i>Bišinga</i>	staple crops in most parts of Härärge
<i>Däjazmač</i>	commander of the gate a politico-military title bellow <i>ras</i> .
<i>Därg</i>	the military government of Ethiopia which replaced the imperial government
<i>Endärasé</i>	provincial governor
<i>Eeboo</i>	spear used for various purposes by farmers
<i>Fitawrari</i>	a commander of advance guard
<i>Gäbbar</i>	tribute paying peasant

<i>Haakaafaa</i>	spade used to dig the ground
<i>Idir</i>	mutual help association formed by individuals during the death of their members or the relative of their members
<i>Iqub</i>	a rotating savings and credit association
<i>Jumma</i>	Friday pray of Muslims
<i>Irrecha</i>	spiritual ceremony conducted to honor <i>Qallu</i> every eight years
<i>Käntiba</i>	a mayor of a town or city
<i>Kella</i>	custom post to levy tolls
<i>Khat</i>	a bushy plant whose leaves contain mild narcotics
<i>Kidus</i>	blessed
<i>Kiremt</i>	summer and rainy season of Ethiopia
<i>Killa Qala</i>	traditional spiritual worship among the Itu Oromo
<i>Kuraz</i>	lanterns from diesel fuel put in a can with a floating wick, as sources of light
<i>Lij</i>	a young nobleman of the highest rank (royal family)
<i>Mälkaña</i>	the northerners who settled an area following the conquest
<i>Mamre</i>	traditional title given for priest
<i>Mana faranjiča</i>	foreigner's house
<i>Manča</i>	metal made material looks like sickle held by farmers used to cut wood and other things
<i>Märädaja mahebär</i>	Self-help associations
<i>Mäsärätä temeheret</i>	basic education adopted by <i>Därg</i> to eliminate illiteracy
<i>Näč läbaš</i>	local police (militia) with uniform
<i>Näffäña</i>	the one who carries a gun, soldiers who were settled in the area following the conquest

<i>Näjjaar</i>	persons with different skills
<i>Qäbälé</i>	the lowest tier of local government
<i>Qottu</i>	axe used to cut woods
<i>Ras</i>	chief of a region under the emperor and the head of a regional army; highest rank under emperor
<i>Rist</i>	hereditary land use
<i>Säfar</i>	neighborhood or camp
<i>Šaläqa</i>	a local representative of a higher official during the imperial period. Now it is equivalent to Major
<i>Tabot</i>	Ark of covenant
<i>Ṭäj</i>	alcoholic drink made from fermented honey
<i>Ṭälla</i>	home-made beer
<i>Ṭäqlay Gezat</i>	administrative unit during imperial period equivalent to province
<i>Waaqa</i>	Supreme God in the religion of <i>Waaqeffanna</i>
<i>Wadaajaa</i>	spiritual believes practiced chewing khat mainly at night
<i>Waaqeffanna</i>	indigenous religion of the Oromo before converted to Islam
<i>Wäräda</i>	district
<i>Wareega</i>	spiritual scarification worshiped by slaughtering goat, chicken, etc.
<i>Wäyna Däga</i>	temperate zone
<i>Wäyzäro</i>	a title given to married women, which is equivalent to “Mrs.”
<i>Zämäça</i>	Development through Cooperation Campaign

V. Geminations should be indicated by doubling consonants:

Examples:	ከበደ	Käbbädä
	ገባር	Gäbbar

IV. General Examples

ዘመቻ	Zämäča
ገሻ	Gäž
ደጃዘመገኝ	Däjazmač
ቀበሌ	Qäbäle
ጠቅላይ	Ṭäqlay
ጭቃ ሹም	Çeqa Šum
ሸዋ	Šäwa
ጭርጭር	Çärçär
ጠጅ ሰፈር	Ṭäj Säfär

For commonly used forms like Addis Ababa, this system has not been used.

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I am very much indebted to all my informants in providing me with valuable historical information what they knew about Hirna for the period under discussion.

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Preface

The thesis is about a history of Hirna town from its foundation in 1924 up to 1991. The year 1924 is taken as a landmark since it was the period that Hirna was made the administrative center of Tullo *wäräda* following the appointment of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat as governor of *Çärçär awraja* in 1923. On the other hand, the year 1991 is taken as a landmark because it saw the end of the *Därg* regime and its highly centralized political structure in the country and Hirna.

When I chose the topic it was my interest to conduct historical research about the social, economic, political, religious, institutional and administrative history of Hirna town. This is because Hirna has not a well organized written history except a little research conducted by anthropologists and a BA Thesis.

The thesis therefore, attempts to deal with social, economic and administrative themes. The thesis has five chapters. The first chapter gives a brief introduction on urbanization in relation to the foundation of Hirna. It also gives an explanation how small towns emerged in Ethiopia in general and in Härärge in particular. Naming of Hirna town and its historical foundation are also explained. The second chapter deals with the historical development and evolution of Hirna town from 1924-1941. Under this chapter the role of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat in the evolution of Hirna from a small market site to town, the effect of *Yä Çärçär Dänb* (The Administrative Regulation of *Çärçär*) for Hirna's evolution as a town and the Italian occupation of Hirna and its effect on the town are explained.

The third chapter discusses the history of Hirna from the restored imperial government in 1941 to 1974. Under this chapter the formation of municipal administration in Hirna, the in-migration of people into Hirna, the growth of service sectors in Hirna, the student movement and the downfall of the imperial regime and its subsequent event in Hirna are discussed. The fourth chapter of the thesis focuses on a history of Hirna from 1974-1991. This was a period that Hirna showed real urban

features so that the growth of service sectors consolidated following the proclamations and declarations of the *Därg* government. This chapter covers the implementation of the decrees and proclamations of the *Därg* in Hirna, the means of livelihood of the people of Hirna, production of cash crop (khat and coffee) outside Hirna and its effect in the town. The last chapter of the thesis explains the peopling, religion and voluntary associations established in Hirna for the consolidation of the social relationships of the people.

Historical data used to write the thesis are secondary sources, primary sources and oral informants. The secondary sources included books and chapter in books dealing with the general history of Härärge in which Hirna is also included. However, secondary sources that directly explore historical development of Hirna are scanty. The primary sources used to reconstruct a history of Hirna included manuscripts and archival materials from Tullo *wäräda* and Hirna town municipal office. I have also made every possible effort to collect additional archival documents from the National Archival Library Agency and Walda Maskal Tariku Memorial Archival Center of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University. Access to archives in the *wäräda*, *awraja*, National Archival Library Agency and Walda Maskal Tariku Memorial Archival Center of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University remains extremely difficult. Archival materials from Harar were very difficult to collect because of the unwillingness of the officials who worked in the archival center.

Oral informants are also the sources of information for the thesis. Knowledgeable people were selected based on the information they have either directly or indirectly and proximity to the historical events in the town. They included leaders, elders, participants, administrators and observers. The oral sources, archival materials and secondary sources used for the thesis were collected between September 2014 and August 2015.

When I conducted the thesis I faced several problems and challenges mainly in collecting sources. The archival sources in the *Aawraja* and *wäräda* were either destroyed or burnt during the changes of government. Therefore, both at the *Aawraja* and *wäräda* level I have scanty archival sources which created a burden for the completion of the thesis. On the other hand, archival sources found in National Archival Library Agency and Walda Maskal Tariku Memorial Archival Center of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University were not directly related to the historical development of the town.

At last I would like to state that I make no claim to have carried out a comprehensive and full research of history of Hirna town from 1924-1991 due to the above stated problems and limitations. But I hope that the research conducted under the above problems and limitations will nevertheless contribute significant sources for others who may be interested to conduct further research of the town.

Acronyms

AOI	Africa Orientale <i>Italiana</i>
CSO	Central Statistical Office
EECMY	Ethiopian Evangelical Church Makane Yesus
EELPA	Ethiopia Electric Light and Power Authority
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
IHA	Imperial Highway Authority
NCB	National Coffee Board
OETA	Occupied Enemy Territory Administration
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
ONDF	Oromo National Democratic Front
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency

Abstract

The thesis tries to reconstruct the social, economic, administrative, religious, institutional, and population history of Hirna town focusing on the period between 1924 and 1991.

Hirna grew from a caravan route resting place into a market site and then into a small town following the appointment of Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat over Çärçär in 1924. Therefore, Hirna also grew from one ethnic group into a settlement of multi-ethnic and linguistic groups. From 1941-1974 there was a significant social change in Hirna mainly following the construction of a hard surface trunk road that crossed Hirna into Harar and Dire Dawa. From 1974-1991 Hirna grew with more social changes due to its strategic location at a crossroad. This created a good opportunity for the flow of the multi-ethnic groups into Hirna.

The caravan merchants rested to Hirna when they traded between Harar and Šäwa. When Takla Hawariyat planted a market in Hirna the area continued to serve as a point of exchange mostly originating out of Hirna around Burqa, Doba, Masala and Galeti. Hirna then developed into the center of cash crops (khat and coffee). Economic change in the town started to flourish following the establishment of private and government organizations in Hirna. This economic change and growth of production in and outside Hirna hastened the process of urbanism in the town.

After the conquest of Däjzmač Walda Gabrél a new administrative system was arranged in which the näftäna replaced the local Itu traditional administrative system called Gada system. In 1923, Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat adopted new administrative regulation called Yä Çärçär Dänb (The Administrative Regulation of Çärçär) and implemented in Hirna. Hirna continued to serve as the administrative center of Tullo until recently.

Religious life of the people in Hirna included waqeffanna, Islam, Ethiopian Orthodoxy and Protestant believers. Waqeffanna was the earliest religion of Hirna followed by Islam and Ethiopian Orthodoxy. Protestant religion was introduced to Hirna much more recently. The formation and introduction of service sectors in Hirna had also a long history mainly after the restoration of the imperial power and consolidated with the coming of Därg to power. Institutionally, the formation of idirs, iqubs and märädaja mahbärs dated back in the early formation of Hirna as a town. The population of Hirna formed relationships and networking through the above institutions that played an important role to consolidate the harmonious life in the town. The relationships among the people of Hirna is said to be strong for the period of discussion of this thesis.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. General Historical Background and the Rise of Urbanization in Africa and Ethiopia

Urbanization is one of the most important developments in human history which started long years before.¹ In this development of human history the origin of urban centers has been traced back to the period of state formation in the Middle East and ancient Egypt.² Mesopotamia saw the advent of the first towns in the world which developed near the Tigris and Euphrates rivers.³ Therefore, the study of urbanization (towns and cities) is a pivotal point in the study of human history because it changes the life of people from rural to urban life.⁴

Towns and cities are defined on the basis of various features such as agglomerated settlements whose populations are overwhelmingly engaged in urban occupations.⁵ However, sometimes urban centers are difficult to differentiate from villages, because there are town-like agglomerated villages. There are many town-like agglomerated villages in Ethiopian history which were founded many years ago. Therefore, the majority of towns in Ethiopia are grouped under the category either small or medium sized. According to Jonathan Baker, the small sized towns have a population number of 2000-5000. The standard of judging whether these towns are small or medium sized, is based on Ethiopia's own

¹Dereje Tekle, "Military Garrisons as Factors of Urban Formation and Socio-Cultural Transformation: The Case of Fiche Town in North Shewa", (MA Thesis, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University, 2007), p.8.

²Michael Pacione, *Urban Geography: A Global Perspective* Second Edition, (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p.42.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Jonathan Baker, "The Growth and Functions of Small Urban Centers in Ethiopia," *Seminar Proceedings in Small Towns in Africa: Studies in Rural-Urban Interaction*, (Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies No. 23, 1990), p. 210.

⁵Ronald J.Horvath, "Towns in Ethiopia (Städtische Siedlungen in Äthiopien)", *Erdkunde, Bd.22, H.1*,1968, p.43.

standard.⁶ As Markakis noted also, the majority of Ethiopian towns (like Hirna) are difficult to describe as fully urban and so is difficult to categorize them according to different urban forms.⁷

Towns are the centers of government institutions such as schools, health centers, transportation, communications and other services, such as postal services. These towns played a pivotal role in the rural part of Ethiopia to link the farmer with a market and limited urban technological development. Many Ethiopian towns do not fulfill all the standard of urbanization as described above; nonetheless, they served as a central place in providing goods and services mainly for the rural population. For service sectors the rural communities depended on and visited towns which increased the towns' importance and urbanized features. Towns also act as the final link in the cultural, social, political, administrative, bureaucratic and economic interaction between urban and rural society.⁸

The term town can also refer to functions with some form of municipal administration, and the community pursuing an urban way of living and with various social services. The following are some of the criteria that identified a town. These are being a chartered municipality, jurisdiction of the municipal departments, having local officers for collecting tax and quite simply if the town is taken to be a town by the chiefs and elders of the area.⁹

In 1968 the CSO (Central Statistical Office) also defined a settlement as urban or a town if it fulfilled the following. At this time the number of population settled in an urban area or in a town was not taken into consideration. The following criteria were some of the considerations taken by the Central Statistical Office: - if the buildings were contiguously aligned, if there was at least one public bar selling alcoholic beverages, if there was at least one hotel, i.e. a place where a stranger could pay for

⁶ Baker, p.210.

⁷John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of Traditional Polity*,(Addis Ababa: Division of Shama plc.,2006),p.169.

⁸ Baker, p,210.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 211.

a bed for a night, if there was at least one permanent shop selling different types of goods and if there was a weekly market.¹⁰

There are also other many characteristics that can define a place to be an urban center (town or city). For instance, if the town is the seat of a province or district governor it is considered as urban. Following the establishment of a place as the seat of a provincial or district governor many new settlers flocked to the towns and gave a new face of urbanization. Baker, moreover as noted above, defined towns on the basis of various features including the size of population settled in the town, the geographical extension of the town and availability of social services in the town.¹¹ However, the council of ministers approved the revised definition of urban places in Ethiopia in March, 2005.

The foundation of towns in Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular has a long history. Many studies show that Africa has had its own mode of urban areas.¹² The instrumental individuals in the foundation of those towns in Africa were merchants and artisans who developed the markets and marketing.¹³ Generally, urban foundation in Africa was the result of internal and external factors.¹⁴ The internal factors included caravan trade, religious centers and local markets. The long distance caravan merchants on the caravan trade routes needed resting places. Later some of these resting places became urban sites. People in Africa came together for market purposes on fixed days. On these fixed days therefore, varieties of commodities were brought into the market places. They

¹⁰ Baker, p.211.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.208.

¹² Yohannis Abate, "Urbanism and Urbanization", *A Quarterly Journal of Africanist Opinion*, Vol. 8, No. 4 Africa 2000(Winter, 1978), p.23.

¹³ Alula Abate, "The Growth and Development of Small and Medium sized *Kätäma* Settlement in the Harar Highland." *IV Congress Internazionale di Studi Ethiopic*, (Roma:Academia dei Lincei, 1974),p.83.

¹⁴ Yonas Sieyfu, "A Historical Survey of Jimma Town (1936-1974)." (MA Thesis, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2002), p. 1.

exchanged commodities at these market places and the market places also served as a place where people met every day of the week. Through time these market places changed into urban forms.¹⁵

The coming of European colonial power was the external factor for the foundation of more towns in Africa. There are many African urban sites that were founded because of European colonial expansion and administration in different parts of the continent.¹⁶ The European colonial powers established new urban sites and consolidated the already established towns in Africa. Following the foundation of towns by the colonial expansion and the consolidation of the already established towns, new urban elements were introduced by colonial power. Hence, colonial towns in Africa were founded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century following the coming of European colonial powers.¹⁷ European colonial powers in Africa established urban sites to administer colonial regions and to facilitate the colonial exploitation of African human and natural resources. During the European colonial conquest communication systems were improved, new towns were built and preexisting ones were expanded¹⁸ and so there was more reason for the foundation of towns.

The birth and growth of towns or cities in Ethiopia are not overnight phenomenon but a slow and steady historical process.¹⁹ Like other African towns, internal and external factors played a leading role in the foundation of towns in Ethiopia, too.²⁰ According to H.J Doys, for instance, “Ethiopian towns were established to defend or attack the enemy, meeting place for the local people to exchange

¹⁵ Marina Ottaway, *Urbanization in Ethiopia: A Text with Integrated Readings*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1976), p.46.

¹⁶ Bahru Zewde, *Society, State and History: Selected Essay*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2008), p.485.

¹⁷Ottaway, p.46.

¹⁸ Tibebe Eshete, “A History of Jijiga Town 1891-1974.” (MA Thesis, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 1988), p. 3; Horvath, pp.45-46.

¹⁹ Tesema Ta’a, “The Process of Urbanization in Wollega, Western Ethiopia: the case of Neqemete, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol.26 No.1 (June, 1993), p.59.

²⁰ Dereje Tekle, p.11; Ottaway, p.67; Tesema Ta’a, “The Process of Urbanization in Wollega, Western Ethiopia: the case of Neqemete”,p.62.

commodities and government officials' administrative seat."²¹ The internal factors also included garrisons, market towns or administrative centers. Garrisons (*kätämas*) are places where a group of soldiers living in an area which later transformed into a town. The contact of the people for market reason was also a cornerstone for the foundation of towns in Ethiopia in general and in Härärgé province in particular. The establishments of administrative centers transformed into towns through time.

The external factor for the foundation of towns in Ethiopia was the Italian colonial occupation of Ethiopia from 1936-1941.²² The Italians consolidated the urbanism process of many *kätämas* (garrisons) emerged in different parts of Ethiopia for political and strategic purposes which played a significant role in the foundation of towns.²³ The Italian colonial conquest also led to the foundation of new towns and the expansion of some old towns in the country as external factor.²⁴

Generally, the period of the foundation of towns in Ethiopia can be divided into two. The first period in which the country experienced foundation of towns was the period of Aksumite civilization. During the period of Aksumite civilization Aksum town flourished in the northern part of Ethiopia. The second period that Ethiopia experienced foundation of towns was the period after the downfall of the Aksumite civilization. After the downfall of Aksumite civilization urban history of Ethiopia was characterized by mobile royal capitals but with some permanent urban centers, particularly towns

²¹H.J. Doys, "The Study of Urban History." In *the Proceedings of an International Round Table Conference of Urban History Group at Gilbert Murray Hall University of Leicester*, (St. Martin's Press. 1968), p.156.

²² Horvath, p.45; Robert L. Cooper and Ronald J. Horvath, "Language, Migration and Urbanization in Ethiopia," *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol.15, No. 5, May, 1973, p.223.

²³Nelson Anderson, (ed), "Urbanism and Urbanization" *International Studies in Sociology and Anthropology*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1964), p. 66; Asafa Jalata, "Urban Centers in Oromia: Consequences of Spatial Concentration of Power in Multinational Ethiopia" in *Journal of Oromo Studies*, Volume 17, No. 2, 2010, p.50.

²⁴ Ottaway, p.303; Horvath, p.42; Mekonin Tamiru, "Gerawa: The History of a Garrison town." (BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1988), p.51.

like Dabra Berhan which was founded by Zara Yakob in 1445 and Gondar as the capital founded by Fasiladas in 1636.²⁵

Beginning from the early twentieth century towns took a new turn in their expansion with new structural formation. The expansion of imperial power to the newly incorporated regions caused the establishment of *kätämas* (garrisons) which later transformed into towns.²⁶ The government bodies formed permanent seats of administration at provinces and sub-provinces. The permanent seats of government bodies later became proper towns.²⁷

In Härärge there were also towns founded following the movement of the Oromo people to the east. These towns formed by the Oromo in Härärge were served as the administrative center of *gada* system. For instance, towns such as Galamso and Baddessa were founded as centers of administration in Çärçär following the movement of the Oromo population to the area.²⁸ There were also towns founded in Çärçär for traditional ritual ceremonies held every eight years.

Trade routes in the middle ages passed through Härärge and early towns. The Harar plateau and Çärçär Mountains have long been the center of commercial activities in Härärgé province. Districts such as Galamso, Badessa, Çiro, Hirna, Doba, Deder, Jijjiga and Harar are found within the Çärçär Mountains and Harar plateau trade route. (See Appendix I) These trade routes extended as far as Harar, Zeila and Tajura. The imported goods included salt bars (*amole*), cloth, beads and metal-ware such as copper. The above commodities caused the expansion of markets for the local people to exchange these commodities and in the same way paved the way for the foundation of towns in many parts of Härärge. Although the trade routes passed through many parts of Härärgé, the expansion of

²⁵ Shiferaw Bekele,(ed), *An Economic History of Ethiopia: The Imperial Era 1941-1974*, (Codesria Book Series, 1995),p.301.

²⁶ Akalou Wolde-Michael. "Urban Development in Ethiopia (1889-1925) Early Phase", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 ,(January 1973),p.1.

²⁷ Tibebe Eshete, p. 1; Shiferaw Bekele, p.304.

²⁸ Gadaa Melba, *An Introduction to the History of Oromo People*, (Khartoum: Kirk House Publisher, 1988), p. 29; Baddessa Town Municipal Administration, "Historical Development of Baddessa Town" 2008, p.3.

towns was very limited when compared with other parts of the country. Ottaway strengthened this argument by describing Härärgé as “a treeless savannah or a semi-desert in many of its parts, the area by itself never could have grown much urban life.”²⁹

The central government needed permanent administrative centers that served to control the new and existing territories. This new turn in the major urbanization process was associated with the expansion of Menelik to new areas and consolidation of the central government.³⁰ As noted above, in conquered areas *kätāmas* (garrisons) were established which later became towns. However, the foundation of Hirna town is directly related to a market function as will be discussed below in the next sub-topic.

1.2 Foundation of Urbanization in Härärgé

The Härärgé zone has mountainous tracts on the Rift Valley edge, commonly known as Çärçär Mountain. The Oromo, in various clans, became the dominant ethnic groups in the region³¹; especially in the Hirna area the Itu Oromo clans controlled vast areas. Amhara and Somalis are also present with an infiltration of Arabs. Ahmed Grañ’s conquest, trade and trade routes and the Egyptian conquest (1875-1885) spread Islam in Härärgé. The conquest by Menelik in 1887 brought Orthodox Christianity and Amhara and other settlers.³² Härärgé was on the Harar plateau that extends from Çärçär Mountains as far as Hargeiysa in Somalia. The geographical location of Härärgé is 5 degrees and 11^{1/2} degree north latitude and 40 degrees and 48 degrees east longitude. The name Härärgé was used to refer to eleven geographical areas namely: Harar, Dire Dawa, Çärçär, Webera,

²⁹ Ottaway, p, 103.

³⁰ Tibebe Eshete, p, 1.

³¹ Clarke Brooke, “The Rural Village in the Ethiopian Highland”, *Geographical Review, Vol.49, No.1* (Jan.1959), p.62.

³² Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia: From Autocracy to Revolution*, (London: Merlin Press, 1975), p.8; Tsehay Berhane Selassie, “Menelik II Conquest and Consolidation of the Southern Provinces”, *Social Sciences a Miscellaneous 4*, (Institute of Ethiopian Studies, 1969), p.6.

Garamuleta, Jijiga, Adal-Issa and Gara-Guracha, Kebredehar, Kellafo, Degahabour, Walwal and Wardier.³³

In Ethiopian history the name Härärgé was mentioned for the first time in the chronicle of Amda Şiyon (r.1312-1342) ³⁴where he made a military expedition to incorporate the area under his rule. However, the name Härärgé only came into existence as an administrative entity of the Imperial government as a result of proclamation 1943 which created 12 *Ṭäqalay Gezats* from the existing 42 provinces of varying sizes. Härärgé was one of the 12 *Ṭäqalay Gezats* and it was the most easterly region of the Imperial government with a vast territorial expansion.³⁵

Towns came late in Härärgé but Harar had a great importance to the communities around the Harar plateau and Çärçär Mountain. Its geographical location and politico-religious importance enabled Harar to attract Oromo, Amhara and Arab merchants. Harar as the capital city of Harar Emirate emerged around 1521.³⁶

The main important Oromo and Amhara markets connected with the Arab merchants on the coast through Harar. Harar served as a link between the external and internal trade routes. Harar imported various kinds of goods and services from across the Red Sea and collected goods from the surrounding territories of the Çärçär mountain area and areas surrounding the city. There were interior trade routes that connected Harar with the north (Awash and Ifat) and the south (the old

³³ Sileshi Wolde-Tsadik, *Land Ownership in Hararge Province*, (Dire Dawa: Artistic, 1966), p.6; National Archival Library Agency, report written by Perry A.Fellows, "Development of Hararge Province: Ethiopia" written on February 28, 1951.

³⁴ G.W. B Huntingford (ed.), *The Glorious Victories of Amda Şeyon: King of Ethiopia*, (London: 1956),p. 31.

³⁵ Gabra Wald Engeda Wark, *Ya Ityopiya Maret na Geber Sem*, (Addis Ababa: Tensa'e Za Gubaa'e Printing Press, 1955), p.7.

³⁶ Thomas Labahn, "Notes on the Islamicization and the Muslim shrines of the Harar Plateau" in *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies: Archaeology and History, Volume II*, (University of Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1983),p.146.

Muslim states of Bali and Dawaro). Harar was also connected with external trade conducted by Tadjura, Dogarit, Zeila and Berbera extending as far as Mogadishu and Zanzibar.³⁷

The socio-economic studies in Härärgé have classified the foundation of towns into the following major historical events. These are Menelik's east and south east expansion, the introduction of the Djibouti-Addis Ababa railway and the Italian occupation of 1936-1941. This is not, however, to overlook the existence of earlier town-like settlements that had developed as market centers in the context of important caravan routes, political centers of the *Gada* system or as *Buta* (ceremony conducted every eight year to honor *Qallu*) ceremonial sites. According to Baddessa Town Municipality, the followings are also the other major factors for the foundation of towns in Härärgé and Çärçär: long distance trade, religion and the expansion of Menelik II to the area.³⁸

Long distance trade routes of the 19th century passed through many areas of Çärçär Mountain. As a result of these long distance trade routes for marketing reason in Çärçär Mountain, towns such as Hirna and Doba emerged as towns. The long distance routes ran inland from the port of Zeila passing the present site of Harar and Dire Dawa, then reached Hirna and branched to Baddessa from Arba Rakte about 60km. south of Hirna town. Hirna served as a resting place for the pack animals and caravan traders because of its centrality between Šäwa and Harar. As described above, to the whole of Härärgé, Harar was serving as political and commercial center for the long distance trade.³⁹

³⁷ Ahmed Yusuf, "An Inquiry into Some Aspects of the Economy of Harar," *Ethiopian Society Bulletin*, (Univ.Coll. Addis Ababa, 1960), pp.7-62.

³⁸ "Baddessa Town Municipality Administration", p. 5.

³⁹ Bahru Zewude, *A History of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1991)* Second Edition, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Printing Press, 2005), pp. 21-22.

2. Early Foundation of Hirna Town

2.1 Geographical Location

Tullo district is one of the ten districts in Çärçär. It is bordered by Dobba district to the north, Masala district to the south, Çiro district to the west, and finally, East Härärgé Zone to the east. It accounts for about 14.8 percent of the total area of the zone. Tullo district is part of the Northwestern Rift Valley Escarpment. This includes the most part of Mieso and is bounded by the chain of Çärçär highlands in the east. It stretches between altitudes 1600 and 2300 meters above sea level⁴⁰. Low levels of elevation of the district lie to the western part of Hirna town.

Hirna is the capital town of the district, which is 373km. from the capital Addis Ababa and 45km. from Asaba Tafari (Çiro), (See Appendix XIV) the capital of Çärçär to the east. It is bordered by Juru Balina rural *qäbäle* to the north, Bilisuma Haqaa rural *qäbäle* to the south, Amansis rural *qäbäle* to the west and Odaa Balinaa rural *qäbäle* to the east. According to the Central Statistical Office survey the total population of Hirna was 17,524 in 2007. The town is located on a busy road leading to the eastern Ethiopia cities of Dire Dawa and Harar and to neighboring Somalia via Jijiga. Geographically Hirna is located at 9° 12' 36" N latitude and 41° 6' 0" E longitudes. The elevation of Hirna town ranges from 1775-1952 meters above sea level.⁴¹ The approximate elevation of the town is 1885 meter above sea level. The climatic condition of Hirna is moderate, *wäyña dega*.

Compared to other towns in the district, Hirna is economically and politically important and expanding. This is perhaps due to its location as a crossroad to Harar, Dire Dawa and Jijiga and a junction point for towns located in the eastern parts of the country like Doba, Masala, Boroda and Biyo Karaba. It also serves as an international route connecting Ethiopia with the Republic of Somalia and Djibouti. There is one medium river, Hirna River (Lagaa Postaa) that flows through the

⁴⁰ Tullo Wäräda Rural and Agricultural Development office, "Hirna Town 2008", p.1.

⁴¹ Hirna Town Municipal Administration, "Yä Hirna Kätäma Tarik 1983", p.1.

town towards the Galetti River heading to the Wabe Shebele River. This river divides Hirna town into east and west. Hirna town has been structured into two urban administrative units called *qäbälé* 01 and *qäbälé* 02 in 1976 which are managed by the Municipality of the town.⁴² However, before this new urban administration was made, the local traditional name of *qäbälé* 01 was Ganda Sumaalee while *qäbälé* 02 was Ganda Çafé.

Qäbälé 01 was the first area of settlement in the town and it was the center of Hirna. The town later expanded into *qäbälé* 02 and other major *säfärs* (villages) in both *qäbälés*. However, *qäbälé* 01 has continued to serve as the center of the town with the administration bureau. The oldest and most popular church, Kedest Sellassié, the mosques and the biggest open air market are in *qäbälé* 01. The presence of old houses and long time residents serve as a living example of early settlement in the town. Compared with *qäbälé* 02 and other *säfärs*, *qäbälé* 01 is built on the hilly land of the town and it is densely populated and a slum area. It was and still is affected by flooding from the hills. The urban land of Hirna town stretches over 900,000 square meters of land in the year 1976.⁴³ However, nowadays the town's size is doubled because of the expansion of the master plan of Hirna.

As in other parts of Ethiopia the major source of livelihood for most of the population surrounding the town of Hirna is subsistence farming. The major crops produced around Hirna town are maize, tēff, barley, wheat, legumes, sorghum and lentils. There is also abundant production of various kinds of vegetables and cash crops. Coffee, avocado and khat are the main cash crop production around the town. The people in the town are involved in small business, informal trade, civil service employment, brokers and hand crafts, such as carpentry, pottery and metal work.⁴⁴

⁴² Hirna Town Municipal Administration, "Yä Hirna Kätäma Tarik 1983", p.38.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.1.

⁴⁴ Informants: Ato Yohanes Besrat and Ato Tafara Baqqala; My own personal observation during the fieldwork. The people in the town are still involved in various kinds of jobs to support their life.

2.2. Historical Background of Hirna Town

There are conflicting reports about the name of Hirna. All the information I got is taken from oral informants. Elderly informants reported that the name Hirna relates to a man named Hirnoye, who used to live at a place now named Gandaa Sumaalee (*qäbälé* 01). Many believed that he was the first among the Oromo who led the Itu to this area. The people of the area were under the leadership of this man and it was from this man's name that the town got its name. Because of Hirnoye's popularity, through time the name of the area became Hirna and it still remains the name of the town.⁴⁵

However, there is also another version of the town's name. Oral informants cited in a BA thesis reported that the name Hirna relates to the Afaan Oromo word *hirii naa*. In Afaan Oromo language the words *hirii naa* stand for English words "share me." In the local language, when someone asks to take his/her share from others, it is expressed as *hirii naa*. The Oromo traditional leaders or the *Abba Gada* used the area as a meeting place to give solutions for land, marriage, divorce and homicide issues. After the case investigation, the plaintiff requested the *Abba Gada* to give his/her share. They asked the *Abba Gada* as "*hirii naa*" to mean "give me my share". Then through time the word *hirii naa* was changed into Hirna and it remained the name of the town.⁴⁶

Another possible assumption about the name of the town is associated with the Itu Oromo clan. The Itu divided the land in Çärçär following their movement to Härärke at present day Hirna. They divided the land in Çärçär as far as Habro, Wabara, Balbaleti and Çiro among themselves. Therefore, key informants relate the name Hirna to the Afaan Oromo word *hiree* which means "divide" to indicate the Itu divided land in Çärçär. Then the word *hiree* through time changed into Hirna and

⁴⁵ Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Abdella; *Ato* Buzayehu and *Wayzaro* Momina Kadir.

⁴⁶ Hirna Town Municipal Administration, p.1; Informants: *Wayzaro* Momina Kadir and *Ato* Shemelis Haile; Ali Amin, "A History of Hirna Town from 1974-1991", (BA Thesis, History Department, Wollega University, 2010), p.7.

remained as the name of the town.⁴⁷ However, lack of written documents and absence of living witnesses makes verification of the above oral traditions very difficult.

Menelik's expansion to the east made Hirna and its environs fall under his occupation in the 1880s. Menelik appointed *Däjazmač* Walda Gabréł in the campaign to expand to the Itu Oromo in Ĉärĉär. Menelik wanted to control Ĉärĉär for two reasons. Firstly, in order to control Harar. This was because Harar was very important due to its closeness to the Indian Ocean to import military weapons.⁴⁸ Secondly, Ĉärĉär had military importance for the campaign against the Arsi Oromo. In order to incorporate the Arsi Oromo, Menelik had to subjugate the neighboring Itu and the campaign was started by *Däjazmač* Walda Gabréł in 1883. It continued up to 1886 and proceeded to Harar in 1887.⁴⁹ However, the Itu of Ĉärĉär offered strong resistance to stop the forces of *Däjazmač* Walda Gabréł from entering their land.⁵⁰ As a result of this strong resistance his troops had a bloody fight around the present town of Hirna. He made a military camp at Hirna. However, the Itu were able to force back his troops to the Awash.⁵¹ The camp at Hirna was then abandoned and remained grazing land. He asked military help from Menelik to conquer the Itu and in spite of their heroic resistance the Itu were finally defeated by the troops of *Däjazmač* Walda Gabréł. Then in 1886 the whole of Ĉärĉär fell under the power of *Däjazmač* Walda Gabréł.⁵²

Then Ĉärĉär became a hereditary land holding of the Šäwan royal family. The Šäwan armies that had marched to Ĉärĉär passed through Guba Qoriĉa from Baddessa to Galamso then to Borama. The newly arrived Šäwan armies established their center at Galamso as a garrison town for governing the

⁴⁷ Informants: *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugaasa and *Ato* Wandmagegnehu.

⁴⁸ Paul B. Henze, *Layers of Times: A History of Ethiopia*, (London: Hurst & Company Ltd, 2000), p.152.

⁴⁹ Bairu Tafla, "Ras Darghe Sahle Selassie," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. XIII, Number 1-2, pp. 17-37.

⁵⁰ R.H.K, Darkwah, *Shewa, Menelik and the Ethiopian Empire 1813-1889*, (London: Helnemann, 1975), p.107.

⁵¹ Harold G. Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844-1913*, (Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press, 1995), p.91; Damaraw Dagne, "A Short History of Galamso Town from its Foundation until 1974", (BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1988), p.3.

⁵² Tibebe Eshete, pp. 16-17.

Çärçär region.⁵³ However, within a short period of time the administrative center of the *näffäna* force (as the Šäwan armies were called) in Çärçär shifted to Quni. These were the first Šäwan-Amhara generation settlements in the Härärge region⁵⁴ although a few groups settled around Gara Mulata. Quni remained as administrative center of Šäwan power until Asaba Tafari (Çiro) was founded as the governing seat in 1923.⁵⁵

After full incorporation of the Itu in Çärçär, the force of *Däjazmač* Walda Gabrél marched to Harar at the order of Menelik. Before that Härärge had been occupied by the Egyptians in October 1875.⁵⁶ They stayed for a decade and evacuated in 1885. From then on until January 1887 it remained under the local Emir, Abdullahi. Menelik then decided to march to the east hoping to acquire a seaport, besides territory to import military weapons.⁵⁷ *Däjazmač* Walda Gabrél asked military help and Menelik with *Ras* Makonnen mobilized forces to conquer Harar. They engaged in battle at Çälänqo on January 7, 1887. The then Emir of the Harar Emirate, Abdullahi, sustained a crucial defeat; his army dispersed, leaving the greater part of its arms and supplies on the field. *Ras* Makonnen had an important part in the Çälänqo victory; already he was widely recognized as one of the ablest of Menelik's administrators. Menelik therefore, wisely conferred the governorate of Härärge province on *Ras* Mäkonen.⁵⁸

The battle of Çälänqo not only destroyed the independence of the Harar Emirate but also caused the incorporation of the whole Härärge region that also included Hirna. After the victory of Çälänqo the troops of Menelik marched to Hamaressa and waited for the full submission of Emir Abdullahi. After

⁵³ Richard Pankhurst, *History of Ethiopian Towns from the mid Nineteenth century to 1935*, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Weisbaden GmbH, 1985), p.191.

⁵⁴ Addis Hiwet, p.8.

⁵⁵ Ali Amin, p.30.

⁵⁶ Mohammed Hassen, "The Relation between Harar and the Surrounding Oromo between 1800-1887", (B.A Thesis, Department of History, Haile Sellassie I University, 1973), pp.6-18.

⁵⁷ Addis Hiwet, p.7.

⁵⁸ Cedric Barnes, "Provinces and Princes- Power and the Eastern Ethiopian Periphery (1906-1916)", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol.34, No. 2 (December 2001), 97; Addis Hiwet, p.8.

Menelik was assured the full submission of Emir Abdullahi, he ordered the establishment of a military camp at Aboker and appointed *Balambaras* Makonen as *Däjazmač* to expand further to the whole of Härärge. No sooner had Menelik returned to the capital Addis Ababa than *Däjazmač* Makonen began to dispatch expeditions into the outlying Itu Oromo inhabited highlands using the soldiers Menelik had left behind.⁵⁹ This marked the final extension of Menelik's expanding power all over Härärge and appointment of administrators from the central government.

2.3. The Role of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat in the Foundation of Hirna

The coming of Takla Hawariyat into Çärçär and Hirna had a great role in the development of Hirna as a town. He was Russian educated governor appointed in 1917 in Häräge in Jijiga. He had received education in Russia with the help of *Ras* Makonen. From the conquest of Çärçär until Takla Hawariyat came to Hirna the area was in the hands of government soldiers. But it was covered with dense bushes and long grass used for grazing land by the local people. In addition to the coming of Takla Hawariyat to Hirna, its strategic location on the crossroad of eastern Ethiopia to Dire Dawa, Harar and Jijiga was the most important factor that contributed to its emergence and later growth as a town.⁶⁰

After Takla Hawariyat returned from receiving Russia education he decided to live somewhere in Çärçär by farming land and producing agricultural products and as a private orchardist growing various kinds of fruits. During that time Çärçär was the fief of *Ras* Makonen's son, *Ras* Tafari. In Çärçär, Hirna became the choice of Takla Hawariyat because of its fertile soil and suitability for a comfortable life. However, in order to plough the land in Hirna, Takla Hawariyat had to receive permission from *Ras* Tafari. Having received permission, Takla Hawariyat went from Dire Dawa to Hirna and built a small tent. He had put his belongings in the small tent and started to search large

⁵⁹ Tibebe Eshete, p, 18.

⁶⁰ Ali Amin. p.30.

fertile land in Hirna for farming. As he wrote, he used this small tent as a base to buy agricultural land in Çärçär (in Hirna) which laid the foundation of Hirna as a town. ...ወደ ሒርና ወጥቼ አቶ ንጋቱ መሬት ላይ ሰፈራን አብጅቼ የምትሸጥ መሬት ለመፈለግ ቆረጥኩ። ... አቶ ንጋቱ መሬት ላይ ደንኳኔን አስተከልኩ። የዚያን ጊዜ ሒርና ገና አልቀናም ነበር።⁶¹ *I went to Hirna and established a tent on Ato Nigatu's private land and decided to search for farm land. ...I ordered my servant to put the tent somewhere on Ato Nigatu's land. At that time Hirna was not an urbanized area.*

As today, during that time Hirna was surrounded by four mountains and used to be covered with dense bush and the mountains that surrounding Hirna were covered with varieties of species of trees and had different kinds of wild animals. The plain land or the swamp area of Hirna was covered with tall grass and acacia. However, there were a few farmers who ploughed land and produced agricultural products beneath Çitu Mountain. This area was a village of *näffäna* and the area around this mountain was called Ganda Näffäna to mean the village of *näffäna*.⁶²

Ras Tafari gave Takla Hawariyat Hirna as *rist* land as a gift because of their close relationship. Then Hirna became the personal *rist* of Takla Hawariyat and he received Hirna in a Quni document, a document in which *rist* lands were registered, agreeing to pay 5 *birr* annually as a tribute to the central government. This laid another ground for the foundation of Hirna as a town. ሒርና በርስተነት በቁኒ መዝገብ እንዲጣፍ ግብሩንም የወለሰማ አንድ ሸማ 5ብር ባመት እንድከፍል ደጃዘማች ፈቀዱልኝ።⁶³ *Däjazmač [Ras Tafari] allowed me that Hirna to be written on Quni Document (a document in which rist lands in Çärçär documented) and ordered me to pay Walasma 5birr annually as a tribute.*

After Hirna was given as the *rist* of Takla Hawariyat, *Ras* Tafari was accused by *Fitawrari* Asfaw Manaye. He accused *Ras* Tafari that Hirna must not be given as *rist*, where the horses of Menelik had

⁶¹ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawaryat Takla Maryam, Autobiography (*Ya Hiwote Tarik*), (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2012, p. 186.
⁶² Informants: *Ato* Sentayehu Aklilu and *Ato* Tesfaye Zigta.
⁶³ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p. 194.

grazed grass and *Dājzmač* Walda Gabrél made his military camp. But the accusation was rejected and Hirna was stabilized as Takla Hawariya's *rist*. Then Takla Hawariyat began to think day and night how to transform Hirna into a town. He concluded that unless road, trade and market were combined, Hirna could not be transformed to an urban form. Takla Hawariyat was given the authority to plant a market in Hirna from the central government. After the market was planted in Hirna, road transportation became the main challenge. There was no modern road that connected Hirna with the surrounding areas except the caravan route. Then Takla Hawariyat decided to construct a modern road with his own money that would connect Hirna with Biyo Karaba. The road was constructed as an all weather road used for pack animals. “ተካራባ ጀምሮ ሒርና ድረስ በዶባ በኩል የግመል መንገድ በገንዘቤ አሰራህ”⁶⁴ *from Karaba to Hirna through Doba I constructed a road used for pack animals [Camels].*

Takla Hawariyat brought 30 camels loaded with varieties of trade commodities to Hirna market and sold them there to retailers. These commodities were brought from Dire Dawa through Biyo Karaba and Doba (the new road built by Takla Hawariyat). Land in Hirna was also given to shopkeepers and small shops appeared near the market. ለሱቅ መስሪያ ቦታ በገበያው ዙሪያ አደልኩ። ሱቆች ተሰሩ ገበያው በቶሎ ደመቀ።⁶⁵ *I gave pieces of land for the construction of shops around the town. Shops were built and the market flourished within a short period of time.*

However, the shop owners and the local people often came into conflict because of selling and buying and they created violence and disturbance around the residence of Takla Hawariyat. Then he decided to shift the market place to government land. On the new land many shops were built that gave a new phase for the foundation of Hirna as a town. Takla Hawariyat also ordered the

⁶⁴ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawaryat Takla Maryam, p. 210.
⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

construction of a church in the town. These things became important factors that played a leading role in the evolution of Hirna as a town.⁶⁶

The process of urbanization in Hirna was intensified after *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat returned from Jijiga and was appointed as the governor of *Çärçär Awraja* in 1923. Before governing Jijiga Takla Hawariyat was given the title of *bajerond*. However, it was during his governorship of Jijiga that Takla Hawariyat received the title of *Fitawrari*.⁶⁷ *Ras* Tafari gave the title of *Fitawrari* for Takla Hawariyat as the governor of Jijiga in 1917. He governed Jijiga from 1917-1921. While he was the governor of Jijiga there was disagreement for uncertain reasons, not clearly explained, with the central government (*Ras* Tafari). Then he decided to leave his position and returned to his *rist* in Hirna. Without any government position he stayed in Hirna for two years. He was modifying and developing administrative regulations and plans for Hirna as a town during his two years stay in Hirna.⁶⁸

After two years stay in Hirna *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat was summoned to the capital, Addis Ababa. *Ras* Tafari wanted to make him the governor of *Çärçär Awraja* and to adopt new administrative regulations in the *Awraja*. *Ras* Tafari wanted the administrative regulations to be adopted in *Çärçär Awraja* first and then to be implemented in all parts of the empire. Then *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat accepted this appointment from *Ras* Tafari as governor of *Çärçär Awraja*. Soon he started to make *Çärçär Awraja* a “model sub-province.” The first thing *Fitawrari* took into consideration was to shift the administrative center of *Çärçär Awraja*. He found that Quni as an administrative center of *Çärçär Awraja* was not suitable because it was not suitable for life and geographically far from the caravan route. He then decided to see another area for administrative center of *Çärçär*. ...የቁኔ ከተማነት

⁶⁶ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawaryat Takla Maryam, p. 210.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p, 353.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

የማይስማማ መስሎ ታየኝ ... የቁኒን ከተማነት ግዜው ሸሮታል። የአውራጃ ከተማ አዲስ መቆርቆር መስፈላጉን ተረዳሁ።⁶⁹ ...I was aware that Quni was not suitable for a township ... time abolished the importance of Quni as the Awraja's capital. I understood that a new town must be established.

Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat then proposed three possible areas as Çärçär *Awraja's* administrative center. These were Hirna, Borama and Çiro. He wrote a letter to *Ras* Tafari stating that Hirna was a better selection as Çärçär *Awraja's* administrative center. However, *Ras* Tafari delayed the response to his letter. Then *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat decided himself to make Çiro the administrative center of the Çärçär *Awraja* in 1924 because *Ras* Tafari delayed the response of the letter sent by *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat that requested Hirna as the administrative center of Çärçär. After he founded the administrative center of the Çärçär at Çiro, he divided Çärçär *Awraja* into ten districts namely: Tullo, Doba, Kuni, Çiro, Bishan Haraawacha, Boke, Guba Qoricha, Habro, Balbaletti and Adal.⁷⁰ The process of urbanism conducted by *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat in Hirna will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁶⁹ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawaryat Takla Maryam, p. 358.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.363-364.

CHAPTER TWO

Expansion and Growth of Hirna Town 1924-1941

2.1. The Role of *Yä Çärçär Dänb* for the Growth of Hirna as a Town (1924-1936)

After Menelik conquered the whole of Härärge province under his imperial rule in 1887, there were many regional administrators appointed from the central government to govern Härärge province and Çärçär *Awraja*. At that time Çärçär *Awraja* was made one of the eleven *Awraja* in Härärge province. The Çärçär *Awraja* was divided into three large districts and each of the three districts was put under its own commanders called *Šambel* who was responsible for governing his district.¹ According to Count Gleichen, who travelled in Ethiopia and reached Quni in 1897, Çärçär *Awraja* was under the governorship of *Fitawrari Asfaw*.²

Before his appointment as the governor of Çärçär *Awraja*, *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* was asked to prepare a draft proposal for national administrative regulation during the reign of *Lij Iyasu*. However, the draft proposal for national administrative regulation faced challenges. Firstly, before he completed the administrative regulation he became sick with malaria and stopped preparing the draft. However, after he recovered from malaria he completed the draft and presented it to *Lij Iyasu* in the capital, Addis Ababa. ለሀገር ማስተዳደሪያ ደንብ የፍ ተብቶ ነበር። በመታመሜ ቀጠሮ ተላለፈብኝ። ካገገምኩ በኋላ የፈኩና ያንኑ ለልጅ ኢያሱ ለማቅረብ ወደ አዲስ አበባ መጣሁ።³ *I was ordered to prepare [the] administrative regulation used to govern the state. Because of my illness I could not write the regulation. After I recovered from malaria I wrote the regulation and went to Addis Ababa to present it to Lij Iyasu.*

Secondly, *Lij Iyasu* was so careless to see and evaluate the draft national administrative regulation. *Lij Iyasu* was not interested in the new draft administrative regulation prepared by *Fitawrari Takla*

¹ Damaraw Dagne, p.5.

² Count Gleichen, *With the Mission to Menelik*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1898), p.96.

³ *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat Takl Maryam*, p. 225.

Hawariyat. This was because there was political disagreement between the central government [*Lij Iyasu*] and *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. *Lij Iyasu* had also disagreement with the Šāwan nobility even before his disagreement with *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat.⁴ Therefore, *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat decided to join the Šāwan nobilities to eliminate *Lij Iyasu* from power and participated in the war against the forces of *Lij Iyasu*.⁵ Following the battle of Sägällé between the forces of *Lij Iyasu* and Šāwan nobilities *Lij Iyasu* was removed from power.⁶

After the deposition of *Lij Iyasu* from the throne, *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat was appointed by *Ras Tafari* as a governor of Jijiga in 1917. However, *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat resigned governing Jijiga in 1921 because a few individuals related to *Ras Tafari* interfered in his administrative tasks⁷ and stayed in Hirna at his private farm and orchard for two years without any administrative tasks.⁸ In his autobiography *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat simply stated that he resigned because of the interference of *Ras Tafari* in his administration post. Nearly all informants recall that he was deposed and sent into Hirna as punishment. But *Fitawrari* Takala Hawariyat himself stated in his autobiography that he came to Hirna not by punishment but because of his own resignation.

After *Ras Tafari* consolidated his Regency in the imperial government *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat was summoned to Addis Ababa from Hirna. *Ras Tafari* summoned him in order to review the national administrative regulation draft prepared at the time of *Lij Iyasu*. This was because *Ras Tafari* wanted to evaluate the administrative regulation draft and implement it first in Çärçär *Awraja* then in the empire. *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat stated the following in his autobiography. “በልጅ ኢያሱ ጊዜ ላገር

⁴ Marcus, p.115.

⁵ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.320; Tebebe Eshete, p.47; *Leul Ras Emru Haile Selassie*, p.65.

⁶ Cedric Barnes, p.113; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* Second Edition, p.128.

⁷ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.xxi.

⁸ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.356, Tebebe Eshete, p.56.

አስተዳደር የግፍከውን ደንብ ስጠኝና ልመርምረው አሉኝ፤ ስጠኝታቸው።⁹ *He [Ras Tafari] asked me to give him the administrative regulation draft that I prepared during the time of Lij Iyasu. He wanted the draft to evaluate and implement in the empire and I gave it to him. Ras Tafari decided that the administrative regulations draft was good and needed to be implemented first in ĈärĈär and then to be implemented in the whole of the empire.*

In 1923 *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat was appointed by *Ras* Tafari as a governor ĈärĈär *Awraja* from Addis Ababa.¹⁰ He became the choice of *Ras* Tafari as the governor of ĈärĈär *Awraja* because of his *rist* land in the heartland of ĈärĈär *Awraja*, which was Hirna. There was also close friendly and parental relationship between *Ras* Tafari and *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. He had spent his childhood at Harar with *Ras* Makonen until he was sent to Russia. He was also one among the earliest elite groups in Ethiopia who received education in Russia¹¹. As governor of ĈärĈär *Awraja* he had drafted administrative regulation called *Yä ĈärĈär Dänb* (The Administrative Regulation of ĈärĈär) and this also created a good opportunity for his appointment as governor of ĈärĈär *Awraja*.¹² *Yä ĈärĈär Dänb* later became the 1923 model administrative regulation which was implemented in ĈärĈär *Awraja*.

Yä ĈärĈär Dänb (The Administrative Regulation of ĈärĈär) had 48 sections. The administrative regulation dealt with several kinds of social, political, judicial and economic matters of the *Awraja*.¹³ It also dealt with the formation of towns in each *wärädas* of ĈärĈär. It divided all territories of ĈärĈär *Awraja* into *wärädas* and *qäbälés* for better administration and infrastructural expansion. Each *wäräda* and *qäbälé* was to be governed by its own administrator appointed by *Fitawrari* Takla

⁹ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.356.

¹⁰ *Leul Ras Emru Haile Selassie, Kayahut Kamastawsaw*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2001 E.C), p. 121.

¹¹ Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002), p.57; Saheed A. Adejumobi, *The History of Ethiopia*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2007), p.59.

¹² *Leul Ras Emru Haile Selassie*, p.121.

¹³ Damaraw, p. 6.

Hawariyat himself. Until the Italian invasion, the administrative regulation was in force in Çärçär *Awraja*. Moreover, after the liberation period the former territorial arrangement and the administrative regulation continued to operate in Çärçär *Awraja* for some time.¹⁴

Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat had great suspicion of *Ras* Tafari to implement administrative regulation in Çärçär. He suspected *Ras* Tafari because of his unpredictable behavior and the vacillation in his ideas. However, *Ras* Tafari assured him that nothing would be done against the administrative regulation that would be implemented in Çärçär. And *Ras* Tafari encouraged him to implement the regulation in Çärçär. “የጣፍከውን ደንብ በጨርጨር ላይ መሞከር ይቻላል፡፡በጨርጨር ከተሞከረ በኋላ፣ በየሌሎችም አገሮች ውስጥ ልናስገባው እንችላለን”አሉ፡፡¹⁵ He [the Regent] said that “it is possible to test the regulation in Çärçär. After it was tested in Çärçär, it could be implemented in the rest of the imperial administrative regions.”

Therefore, *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat was empowered to implement the administrative regulation in Çärçär. Çärçär then became a “model province”¹⁶. He hoped for the rise of government revenue, improvement of the life of the people, elimination of bandits and thieves from Çärçär as well as benefits for labor and employed workers. He also hoped and had zeal to stop and eliminate the *gäbbar* system and implement a *qurx gibir* (fixed land tax) in Çärçär¹⁷.

Hoping for the above advantages both for the government and the people, he accepted the order of *Ras* Tafari and started to implement the administrative regulation in Çärçär. His agreement to implement the administrative regulation in Çärçär made *Ras* Tafari express his happiness. And *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat put the following preconditions before he tested the administrative

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.8.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 357.

¹⁶ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* Second Edition, p.145.

¹⁷ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.373; *Leul Ras* Emru Haile Selassie, p.120.

regulation in Çärçär. “...ጸስታቸውን ገለጡልኝ። ማድረግ የሚያስፈልገውን ሁሉ ወዲያው በማስታወሻ አቀረብኩላቸው”።¹⁸
... he expressed that he was glad. I noted for him what to do next.

The preconditions that he put included: to shift *mälkäñas* (northerners who were occupied in the area following the conquest and controlled land) from Çärçär *Awraja* to other areas; to select individuals who were responsible for looking after land taken away from the *mälkäñas*; to prepare the administrative regulation in two copies, one for himself and the other for the *endärasé*, the Härärge provincial governor; to write a letter to *Fitawrari* Gobaw, the governor of Çärçär *Awraja* to transfer his post to him and to instruct *Grazmač* Walda Madihn, appointed by *Ras* Tafari from the center, to protect the judicial administration in Çärçär *Awraja* under him.¹⁹

After the final preparation of the administrative regulation, he was involved in the evolution and growth of towns in Çärçär *Awraja* including Hirna. He believed that the country would be modernized and more people would live an urban way of life, if there were markets, roads and other urban facilities and the new administrative regulation was implemented in Çärçär *Awraja* for good. He also believed that the country would exhibit urban progress if agriculture, trade and industry were integrated together.²⁰ Then he was occupied in establishing a new administrative center for Çärçär *Awraja*.

As stated above, he found that Quni, the administrative center of Çärçär *Awraja*, was not suitable as administrative center because of many reasons. However, before he came as governor, Quni was a better selection for its strategic location between Addis Ababa and Harar²¹ but not in the caravan route and it was serving as a *kella* or custom post to levy tolls. Despite these advantages, however, he decided to shift the administrative center of the *Awraja* from Quni to somewhere more suitable for a

¹⁸ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p. 358.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.202.

²¹ Gleichen, p.88; *Leul Ras* Emru Haile Selassie, p. 97.

township. Therefore, he decided to shift the administrative center from Quni because of lack of construction materials such as stone and wood, because its weather was cold and windy and because there was no running water.²²

He proposed Hirna, Borama and Çiro as the administrative center of the *Awraja*. Hirna became his first and best choice as the administrative center of the *awraja*. Then he wrote a letter into *Ras* Tafari to approve Hirna as the center of the *Awraja*. The letter of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat sent to *Ras* Tafari stating the following. “ሰለዚህ፣ ሐ.ርኛ ላይ ያውራጃውን ከተማ ልቆረቁርበት፤ ለኔ ንጣፋን ሌላ መሬት ይተኩልኝ ብዬ ላልጋውራሽ፣አስታወቅሁዋኛው”²³ Therefore, I [*Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat] told the Regent [*Ras* Tafari] that I planned to make Hirna the capital of the *Awraja* and you would replace my rist land [in Hirna] by other rist land outside Hirna. However, although he sent a letter to *Ras* Tafari for the approval of Hirna as the administrative center of the *Awraja*, *Ras* Tafari delayed responding to his letter. This was because *Ras* Tafari did not like his choice that he wanted to make Hirna the capital of the *Awraja*.²⁴

When *Ras* Tafari delayed to respond to his letter, he assumed that the Regent thought he had selected Hirna for his own advantage (since Hirna was his *rist* land) and therefore he decided instead to make Çiro the administrative center of the *Awraja*. And at last Çiro became his final choice as the new administrative center of Çärçär *Awraja*. As soon as *Ras* Tafari heard the news of the foundation of a new administrative center of the *Awraja*, he asked him the name of the town. He told *Ras* Tafari that he wanted to name the town Çiro or Moti after the name of a big mountain beside the town.²⁵ But *Ras* Tafari asked him to name the new town “Asaba Tafari” (Tafari wished it). He preferred the new town to be named either Çiro or Moti. Nevertheless, he was obliged to accept the request of *Ras*

²² *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p. 358; Ali Amin, p.5.

²³ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.359.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.360.

Tafari and named the town Asaba Tafari and the name of the town was then changed from Çiro to Asaba Tafari²⁶ despite the name changes under the *Därg* which eliminated Tafari/Haile Selassie nomenclature. Today Çiro is the official name of the town in West Härärge Oromia Regional State.

As soon as Asaba Tafari was founded as the administrative center of the Çärçär *Awraja*, construction of buildings, roads and administrative offices started. The founder of the town (See Appendix II) also sold land to individuals who could build houses and shops. Houses and shops were built and the town took an urban appearance within a short period of time. The news of the foundation of a new town [Asaba Tafari] in Çärçär *Awraja* soon spread everywhere and people began to move into the town. New settlers both from the nearby areas and distant places built their houses in Asaba Tafari.

Soon Asaba Tafari took a new urban look as a town. One of the clearest manifestations of a town, a municipality was also established and guards were employed.²⁷ And *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat started to take new measures in Çärçär that he thought could change the life of the people in Çärçär *Awraja*. The first administrative measure he focused to do in Çärçär was destroying khat from Härärge in general and Çärçär in particular. He was also taken under consideration of the construction of road that linked each *wärädas* in the *Awraja*. Expansion of infrastructures in towns of the *Awraja* including Hirna was taken into consideration as urban progress.

²⁶ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.360.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

2.2. Administrative Measures for the Evolution of Hirna Town

Khat is a brain stimulant green plant grown and consumed in most parts of the Horn of Africa. Huffnagel noted that khat originated in Härärge with gradual expansion to different parts of Ethiopia, Yemen and other parts of the Horn of Africa. Härärge was considered as the main khat growing province in the whole of the empire.²⁸ Farmers benefited greatly from this green plant. Khat chewers do not consume all parts of the leaves of the khat. They ingest the soft parts found on the top of the leaf. Some of khat chewers ingest the soft leaf with sugar and groundnuts in order to reduce the bitterness of the leaf.²⁹ Sometimes khat is chewed in a ceremonial setting or *barċa* at which the name of Allah is invoked and after the prayer, coffee is served.³⁰ Khat had also economic and social values in most parts of Härärge including Hirna.

However, during *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat's governorship of Çärçär there was opposition to the growth of the demand for khat. *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat imposed a high tax on khat to discourage farmers from planting it on their farmland. Under the new administrative regulation in Çärçär, farmers were forced to pay high khat taxation when compared with grain taxation. He made this difference in order to discourage farmers from planting khat on their farmland. However, he was accused by *Ras* Tafari that his action was against the interest of the farmers in Çärçär. Therefore, *Ras* Tafari sent a prosecutor, *Däjazmaċ* Walda Sellassié to investigate the reason why *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat was discouraging khat plantation in Çärçär. "...ጭት ንቀሉ እያልከ እርሞቹን ማስጨነቀህ ለምን ይበጃል ብለህ ነው? ... "why did you create worry and frustration among the Oromos to uproot khat plantation from their farmland?" He responded to the prosecutor as follows. ...እኔ ጭት ንቀሉ አላልኩም

²⁸ Gessesse Dessie and Peter Kinlund, "Khat Expansion and Forest Decline in Wondo Genet, Ethiopia", *Geografika Annaler, Series, B Human Geography, Vol. 90, No. 2*, (Wiley, 2008), p.188.

²⁹ My own knowledge.

³⁰ W.Lesalu, *Ethiopians Speak: Harari* (Berkeley, 1965), p.97.

ብቻ አሮሞቹ አውቀው እንዲነቅሉ በያመቱ ግብር አቀጥልባቸዋለሁ አልኩት”።³¹ ... I [*Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat*] was not saying uproot khat plantation but I imposed a high khat tax over the farmers every year to reduce khat plantation.”

Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat believed that khat is a temporary stimulant plant that awakens users’ mental activity for the time being but soon weakens the body. For this reason he planned to destroy khat from Çärçär in particular to improve the life of the people in and out the town. However, unless the plant was destroyed in all parts of Härärge it would have no effect just destroying it from Çärçär. Then he became hopeless in destroying khat from Çärçär because of *Ras Tafari*’s refusal to take the same measure in the whole parts of Härärge.

...ጫት ከጨርጨር እንዲጠፋ ባደርግ፣ በወበራና በታችኛው ሀገር እንደዚሁ ካለተደረገ በቀር፣ የጨርጨር አሮሞች አየተጎዱ የሌላው ሀረርጌዎች ሊጠቀሙ ነው። ስለዚህ በሀረርጌ ግዛት ውስጥ በየትም እንደ ጨርጨር እንዲደረግ ያስፈልጋል።³² If I forced them [*Çärçär Oromo*] to destroy khat from Çärçär and the same was not done in Wabara and lower parts of Härärge, the Çärçär Oromos would be affected and other Härärge regions would benefit. Therefore, I recommended *Ras Tafari* to take the same measure all over Härärge province.

However, *Ras Tafari* refused to take measures that *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* recommended for the destruction of the temporary stimulant green plant, khat. The reason *Ras Tafari* gave was that a vast area of land in Härärge was under the *mälkäñas* (northern settlers). And it was impossible to enforce the *mälkäñas* to destroy their property from their land. Then *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* gave up his plan of destroying khat generally from Härärge and particularly from Çärçär.³³ Then the high tax on khat was lifted and this encouraged farmer in Çärçär and outside Hirna to plant more khat plantation

³¹ *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat*, p.375.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

on their farmland and even some of the farmers replaced grain production by khat.³⁴ Since then khat has been the main means of income for many farmers and khat merchants in Hirna and its environs.³⁵

The other important administrative improvement that *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat wanted to implement in Çärçär was expansion of road construction. He believed that unless the districts in Çärçär *Awraja* were connected through a road network, there could not be progressive urban development and change. Then road construction that could connect areas in Çärçär was started in 1924. However, before his appointment as the governor of Çärçär *Awraja* he had connected Hirna with the neighboring districts. He connected Hirna with Biyo Karaba with his own money hoping for progressive urban development in Hirna. This played a leading role in the evolution of Hirna from a caravan route into a market site then into a town. Therefore, he carried out the opening of a new caravan route connecting Hirna with Dire Dawa and Asaba Tafari, establishing also a new market place and telephone line in Hirna.³⁶

During his Çärçär *Awraja* administration (1923-1930) *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat attempted to introduce a new urbanism in many towns of Çärçär *Awraja* including Hirna. Since the opportunity for religious practice had a leading role in bringing urbanism by attracting people from distant areas and nearby places for religious purposes, *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat decided on the construction of churches in Asaba Tafari and Hirna. This was because the construction of churches attracted people to settle around the church. In Hirna he ordered the construction of Kedist Selassié (Holy Trinity) church. Construction of schools was also one of the main focuses of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat for the progressive changes and development of towns in Çärçär *Awraja* including Hirna. He stated that an elementary school was constructed in Asaba Tafari. However, before the school started enrolling

³⁴ Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Abdella; *Ato* Shimelis Haiye and Gessesse and Kinlund, p.198.

³⁵ Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Abdella and *Ato* Shimelis Haile.

³⁶ Ali Amin, p.6.

students and employing teachers he abandoned his administration in 1930.³⁷ He showed how modernization would come to many towns of Çärçär. In his autobiography *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* stated that he had a plan to construct piped water in Asaba Tafari and Hirna.³⁸ But before completing his plan in the town he had abandoned his administration because of the disagreement with *Ras Tafari* for unknown reasons.

After *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* gained his *rist* land in Hirna, he decided to live there and establish a family. He was attracted by the landscape of Hirna because of its fertile soil and suitability for irrigation from Hirna River (Laga Postaa). Hirna is bounded by a series of hills and a mountain which gives the town beauty. The land that extended beneath the mountains and hills was plain land and very fertile that could be irrigated and used for the production of various kinds of agricultural products and vegetables as well as fruits. *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* had a private orchard in Hirna where he produced various species of avocado.³⁹

Avocado was first introduced into Ethiopia in Hirna. *Fitawrari Germačaw*, the son of *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* brought the seeds of avocado from Europe where he stayed during the Italian colonial occupation of Ethiopia. He kept two seeds of avocado while he was coming by ship to his country. As noted in the autobiography of *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat*, he planted the two seeds of avocado in two jars of earth and the seeds grew healthy and arrived in Hirna. Then the son of *Fitawrari Germačaw*, *Maqdala*, planted the seeds at *Doba* farmland 12 kilometers north of Hirna. Both avocado trees became healthy and big trees and soon began to give fruit. The people of the area also started to learn the use of the fruit. Therefore, these two avocado trees were the first avocado trees to be introduced in Ethiopia. After that the seeds of avocado spread to the rest of Ethiopia. Later

³⁷ *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat*, p. 364.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.385

³⁹ Informants: *Ato Berhan Haile Meskel* and *Ato Masarat Alamu*

missionaries played a significant role in the spread of various kinds of avocado seeds in Ethiopia.⁴⁰ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat produced a quantity of grains and fruits (like avocado) at Hirna after the period of liberation.

As already mentioned above, the coming of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat into Hirna and his administrative regulation in Çärçär had a leading role in the evolution and growth of Hirna. As a result, Hirna grew from a small caravan route resting place into a market site and later into a town. This was because the new administrative regulation focused on the establishment of towns in Çärçär. For the establishment of towns market, road and churches were the primary attention of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. He planted a market center in Hirna and ordered the construction of Kedist Selassié (Holy Trinity) church in the town. People began to flock from different parts of the nearby areas and built their residential houses in Hirna.

However, it was the house of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat that was seen as a modern house built with a corrugated iron roof. The house of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat was built at the western edge of the current Hirna town and was called “*mana faranjiča*,” Afan Oromo word to mean the foreigner’s house. The people who passed by his house were amazed and pleased with the house. The people named his house “*mana faranjiča*” because the house was constructed with cement and corrugated iron roof in a modern way. The building had two storeys which was the first of its type in the area and was new to the local people why they called it “*mana faranjiča*”.⁴¹ (See also Appendix III)

That was another important turn in the evolution and growth of Hirna town. It had leaped from a small market village into an urbanized community because people started to build houses near Takla Hawariyat’s house. Therefore, the urban features of Hirna town dated back to the coming of

⁴⁰ *Fitawrari* Taklahawariyat, p. xxxiii.

⁴¹ Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Mume and *W/ro* Aberash Habte.

Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat into Hirna, the development of the 1923 administrative regulation (*Yä Çärçär Danb*) and the appointment of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat as the governor of *Çärçär Awraja*. However, in 1930 he quitted his governorship of *Çärçär Awraja* and another western educated personality, *Azaž Warkenah Eshate*, was appointed in his place as the governor of the *Çärçär Awraja*.⁴² The process of urbanism in *Çärçär* remained slow during the governorship of *Azaž Warkenah Eshate*.

After *Azaž Warkenah Eshete* was appointed as the new governor of *Çärçär Awraja* in 1930, *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat returned to his *rist* land in Hirna and started to consolidate the process of urbanism in Hirna. The return of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat to Hirna had a significant role for the introduction of new urban features. My informants underscore that when *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat resigned from governing *Çärçär Awraja* and came back to Hirna the town got a grinding mill operated by a diesel generator and telephone, although the services were restricted to a few people around his house.⁴³ The governorship of *Azaž Warkenah* in *Çärçär* was short lived and no changes were made in Hirna during his governorship. The period of his administration was followed by the Italian occupation of *Çärçär* and Hirna from 1936-1941 in which there was no important urban progress in Hirna.

2.3. Hirna during the Italian Occupation and its Administrative Effect (1936-1941)

The Fascist Italian government violated the sovereignty of Ethiopia and waged colonial war because of a long colonial ambition to control Ethiopia and the need caring to revenge their humiliating defeat at the battle of Adwa in 1896. After the Fascist government took power in Italy in October 1922, the preparation to take Ethiopia as their colonial territories began. Fascism was also inspired by

⁴² Ali Amin, p.5.

⁴³ Informants: *Ato* Abdurahman Usso and *Ato* Tesfaye Zigita.

the idea of the return of the glory of the ancient Roman Empire. Plans and preparation for the war of 1935 continued and war came in October 1935. Before the outbreak of the colonial war Ethiopian intelligentsia warned Emperor Haile Selassie to modernize the imperial military power⁴⁴. One of that intelligentsia was *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat who received modern military training in Russia. The war continued up to 1941 because of patriotic resistance in many parts of the country.⁴⁵

The southern front of Italian colonial attack was not started at the same time as the Italian attack of the north front. Under the leadership of Marshal Graziani the southern front started a month later than the northern front. On the southern front the Ethiopians were grouped under *Ras* Dasta Damtew and *Däjazmač* Nasibu Zamanuel, the governors of Sidamo and Harar respectively. Although the south front was not successful in defending the sovereignty of the country, it had more youthful and energetic Ethiopian leaderships and slightly better armaments.⁴⁶ Without any serious challenges the Italians entered Addis Ababa on 5 May 1936.⁴⁷

The Fascist Italian government faced serious resistance to control many parts of Ethiopia.⁴⁸ That resistance included Härärge in general and Çärçär *awraja* in particular in the south east. The two patriotic leaders in the resistance against the Italian Fascist government in Çärçär *Awraja* were *Däjazmač* Hailé Habtawald and Ababa Dagafu. These patriotic leaders of the resistance movement played a significant role to resist the Italians in Çärçär, although they were not successful. According to Damaraw, the two leaders had disagreement over how to attack the Italians.⁴⁹ The brutal war that the Fascist Italians waged and their disagreement weakened the resistance group and later enabled

⁴⁴ Bahru Zewde, "The Ethiopian Intelligentsia and the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-1941", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.26, No.2, (Boston University African Studies Center, 1993), p.275.

⁴⁵ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* Second Edition, p. 151.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.157.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; Gabra-Wold Engda- Worq, *Maychew: Ya Maychew Zamecha na Ya Guzow Tarik*, (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2000), p.105.

⁴⁸ Markakis, p.113.

⁴⁹ Damaraw, p.23.

the Italians to control the whole Çärçär under their occupation. The two leaders were then captured by the Italians and put to death. However, the patriotic resistance movements continued for seven months in Çärçär *Awraja* after Italian occupation of the area.⁵⁰

When the Italians approached Hirna they were not welcomed by the people in and around the town. The Italians marched from the east into many towns of Çärçär, which also included Hirna. However, the road into Hirna and other towns was not safe and free from resistance. Therefore, although the resistance movement was not united and organized, the Italians faced a resistance in their movement to occupy Hirna on October 7, 1936. My informant told me that even foreign residents in Hirna joined the strong resistance against Italians colonial occupation of the town. Yemenis and Arabs constructed trenches and resisted the Italians advance on Hirna. The remnants of the trenches are still to be seen as I observed during my fieldwork at the end of 2014. My informants underscored that the Yemenis and Arabs gave fierce resistance against the Italian occupation of Hirna because of their property in the town.⁵¹

After the Italians were assured of their control over most parts of Ethiopia in early June, Rome formed a new empire called Italian East Africa in its Italian rendering *Africa Orientale Italiana* (AOI) in the Horn of Africa.⁵² This empire was formed by merging Ethiopia with Italian Somaliland and Eritrea.⁵³ After the occupation of Härärge, the Italian colonial government in the region set up Harar as the focal point for Harar region.⁵⁴ Harar was made the regional capital and the main seat of the Italian governor of Harar. Following the formation of the regional administrative divisions the Fascist Italian government was pre-occupied with the work of pacification of the new Italian empire

⁵⁰ Damaraw, p.23.

⁵¹ Informants: Ato Mohammed Abdella and Ato Abdurahman Baker.

⁵² Bahru Zewde, *Society, State and History: Selected Essays*, p.493.

⁵³ Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War: The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign 1935-1941*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.148; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, p.162; Adejumobi, p.77.

⁵⁴ Adejumobi, p.78; Henz, p.223.

in the Horn of Africa. In the pacification of the empire in the Horn of Africa, the Italian government invested a large amount of money in the construction of roads and other infrastructures hoping to achieve the pacification of their empire.⁵⁵

After the Italians controlled Çärçär they shifted the capital of the *Awraja* from Asaba Tafari to Galamso, 60 kilometers to the south east of Asaba Tafari due to its central location in Çärçär. The Italian colonial period in Ethiopia in general and in Çärçär in particular was a time in which a few towns showed some socio-economic changes. They brought some socio-economic changes in Galamso. And Galamso then developed into the administrative center of the Italians in Çärçär *Awraja*.⁵⁶

As soon as they established their administrative center at Galamso a military camp was built to control the surrounding areas. They also intended to develop Galamso as an important town in Çärçär. Anticipating a permanent stay in the *Awraja*, the Italians constructed infrastructures for administrative control and to exploit the wealth of the region effectively.⁵⁷ Therefore, important infrastructural changes (roads) were made for the more secure administration of the Çärçär. The local people who practiced Islam were not given important administration posts in Çärçär. However; under the Italian colonial occupation a few more minor administrative posts were given to Muslims of Çärçär including in Hirna. This was in order to get the support of Muslims of the areas.⁵⁸

However, the development of other urban facilities such as education, health care, clean water and communication did not take place in many towns of Çärçär *Awraja*, including Hirna, during the Italian colonial occupation, unlike other parts of the country. This is visible as one cannot see

⁵⁵ John Markakis, *Ethiopia: The Last Two Frontiers*, (New York: Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2011), p.114; Paul Henze, *Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia*, (London: Hurst & Company Ltd, 2000), p.224; Baker, p.214.

⁵⁶ Informant: *Ato Masarat Alemu*; Ali Amin, p.6.

⁵⁷ Markakis, p.114; Henze, p.219.

⁵⁸ Henze, p.224; Informant: *Ato Mohammed Abdella*.

edifices of Italian colonial urbanism in many towns of Çärçär including Hirna. However, the Italians constructed new road routes that linked Galamso with Hirna, Doba and Masala. According to Mekonin, the Italians built road routes from Galamso to other towns for political and military administrative reasons and the road served to connect these towns.⁵⁹

The Italians promoted urbanization in Ethiopia in several significant ways such as new towns being founded, and existing towns having added new functions. Reorganization of the economy was promoted and land was given freely to the new urban settlers.⁶⁰ The Italian administration in Ethiopia also engaged in some developments and improvements in public services tied to road construction, bridges, hospitals and schools.⁶¹ However, the Italian occupation resulted in no real socio-economic changes in Hirna. The only important development they made in Hirna, which is still remembered by the people of Hirna, is the bridge called Meto Bridge or by the local people *Dildilaa Meexoo* that linked Hirna with its environs crossing Laga Postaa.⁶² Before the Italians period the road that connected Hirna with Asaba Tafari and Dire Dawa was constructed by *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. During the Italian colonial occupation the road route that connected Hirna with Galamso and other towns in the east was repaired and Galamso served as the center of Çärçär *Awraja*.⁶³

The Italian colonial occupation and administration in Çärçär *Awraja*, like most other parts of the country, stayed from 1936-1941. While Emperor Hailä Sellassié I was in exile in Bath, there was a patriotic resistance against Italian colonial occupation in many different parts of his empire. The Italian colonial occupation faced challenges from Britain as well as the patriots after Italy decided to

⁵⁹ Mekonin Tamiru, "Gerawa: The History of Garrison Town." (BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1988), p.51; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* Second Edition, p.164.

⁶⁰ Horvath, pp.45-46.

⁶¹ Adejumobi, p.78.

⁶² Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Abdella and *Ato* Abdurahman Mohammed.

⁶³ Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Ababa and *Ato* Ababa Makuriya.

join Nazi Germany.⁶⁴ As stated above, like many parts of the country, there was also patriotic resistance against the Italians colonial occupation in Çärçär. However, the patriotic resistance in Hirna was crushed quickly and the Italians administered the town from 1936-1941 without fierce resistance from the patriots and the town population. The Italians took the properties of rich people of the town. An oral informant underscored that Italians took the property of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat from his house without any resistance and after liberation the central government attempted to return the properties of individuals in the country that also included Hirna.⁶⁵ (See also Appendices IV)

However, in 1940/41 a favorable condition was created for the patriots in Ethiopia in general and in Çärçär in particular after Mussolini decided to side with Hitler, which induced Britain to give support for the Ethiopian patriotic resistance.⁶⁶ When Italy decided to join Nazi Germany in the World War II, a favorable condition was created for the patriotic resistance.⁶⁷ Following this British military assistance Emperor Haile Sellassié returned from exile and this encouraged the patriots who had fought the Italians in the country. When the news of the entrance of the Emperor was heard, Italians in Hirna town hurried to leave the town and retreated to Galamso, their administrative center in Çärçär. The combined power of Ethiopian patriots and the British military powers defeated the Fascist Italians colonial administration in Ethiopia and following the defeat of Fascist Italy Emperor Haile Sellassié was assured of his restoration and entered Addis Ababa on the May 5, 1941.⁶⁸

Following the announcement of the return of the emperor to Addis Ababa, Italian colonial occupation force withdrew from Hirna and other regions of Çärçär. As my informant told me there were a few

⁶⁴ Damse Tola, *Ka Zaman Guzo Acher Tarik: Sel Amst Amatat La Arbagnoch Matasabiya Ya Tewled Mastawasha*, (Mareha Tebeb Printing Press, 1948 E.C), p.38.

⁶⁵ Informant: *Ato* Tesfaye Zigeta.

⁶⁶ Theodore M. Vestal, *The Lion of Judah in the New World: Emperor Haile Silassie of Ethiopia and the Shaping of Americans' Attitudes toward Africa*, (Denver: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2011), p.33; Damese Tola, p.38; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* Second Edition, p.176.

⁶⁷ Adejumobi, pp.74-75.

⁶⁸ Henze, p.229.

Italians in Burqa where they made their small center for punishment of those who resisted the colonial occupation of the area in particular and Ethiopia in general. Therefore, those Italians who had established their base at Burqa went to Galamso, their administrative seat.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Informant: *Ato* Tesfaye Zigeta.

CHAPTER THREE

Hirna in the Restored Imperial Period (1941-1974)

3.1. Hirna after the Liberation of Çärçär *awraja*

When Emperor Hailä Selassié entered Addis Ababa from exile in 1941 he encountered various problems. First, he found Ethiopians divided into patriots and collaborators. Second, the people were more divided by ethnic and religious differences, since the Italians had adopted a “divide and rule” policy by which they had favored other ethnic groups against the Amhara. On the other hand, the Italians had favored Islam against Orthodox Ethiopian Christianity in some parts of the country, hoping to get the help of the Muslim communities for the pacification of their colonial empire in the Horn of Africa¹. Finally, Emperor Haile Sellassie was subordinated to the British Military Administration in the military, administration, finance and education fields. In this way Ethiopia was treated as an Occupied Enemy Territories Administration (OETA)². Despite the above problems, Ethiopia in general and Çärçär in particular showed economic change and urban progress after the liberation period.

After the period of liberation, the imperial government proclaimed the reorganization of the empire into a new administrative system. In this new administrative system Tullo *wäräda* remained under Härärge *Ṭäqlay Gizat* and Çärçär *Awraja*. According to a new administrative arrangement, Çärçär *Awraja* was divided into eleven *wärädas* of which Tullo was one. However, after the mid-1970s the Ministry of Interior divided Çärçär *Awraja* into two parts in order to facilitate the system of administration and tax collection³. These were Habro *Awraja* (southern part) and Çärçär Adal and Gara Gurača *Awraja* (northern part)⁴. It was in Çärçär Adal and Gara Guracha *Awraja* (northern part) that Hirna town was placed.

¹Henze, p.225.

²Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* Second Edition, p. 180; Marcus, p.152.

³Damaraw, p.8.

⁴Mekonin Tamiru, p.51.

After the period of restoration some government and private organizations were established in different towns of Ethiopia. From 1941 to the mid-1970s government and private organizations were established in Hirna too, which made the town the center in eastern Çärçär Adal and Gara Guracha *Awraja*. The government and private organizations that had a significant effect on the growth of Hirna after restoration were district offices, the bureau of education, agricultural office, finance office, postal and telecommunication offices, a branch of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia and the two gasoline stations run by private companies (Mobil and Shell). For most of the above government and private organizations, Hirna served as a center for people who came from the nearby towns such as Doba, Masala, Biyo Karaba and Hadas. Therefore, the establishment of the above organizations in Hirna contributed to the coming of people who sought the services given by these organizations in the town. In addition to this, people both from the surrounding areas of the town and distant areas visited Hirna on market days to purchase trade items which boosted business activities.⁵

Another important development after the restoration was the expansion of road construction across the empire. Although the Imperial Highway Authority had no branch office in Hirna, it played a pivotal role in the construction of the road that passed through the town. Following the construction of the road, various shops and hotels were built near the road which contributed much to Hirna's expansion and importance. This was because shops and hotels had a great role in attracting buyers and customers from different areas. The establishment of the above organizations also contributed to the development and expansion of service sector businesses like hotels and bars. The development and expansion of hotels and bar services on the other hand played a leading role in the economic and physical expansion of the town. All the above improvements after the restoration created a role for the in-migration of people to Hirna from different parts of the country.⁶

⁵ Informants: *Ato Berhan Haile Meskel* and *Ato Ahmed Yusuf*.

⁶ Informants: *Ato Tasfaye Zigta* and *Ato Masarat Alamu*.

3.2. In-migration into Hirna Town from 1941-1974

Migration of people from rural parts into urban areas had a significant contribution for physical growth and evolution of many towns in the country⁷, which also included Hirna. This is mainly due to the expectation of large numbers of in-migrants to the urban centers of work and better social facilities.⁸ When the size of population in a town is increasing the need for urban services such as housing, health centers and education will grow. Most of the in-migrants into those towns (Badessa, Asaba Tafari and Hirna) came from short and long distances.⁹ This in-migration of population played a crucial role for the expansion of towns in the country and increase of the number of population living in towns¹⁰ and in Ĉärĉär too. This was true in case of Hirna town. When the municipality was established in 1960, the size of population in the town was 5,617. Then the size of population increased to 9,648 in the mid-1970s. This was because the newcomer population settled outside the town in houses which later were included as part of the town.¹¹

Hirna received in-migrants from 1941-1974 from Doba, Biyo Karaba and Masala districts which caused increase of the need for housing, water and other urban infrastructures.¹² People from Doba, Biyo Karaba and Masala moved into Hirna because of the interest of urban life and expectations of earning income. For this reason many people from those areas in-migrated to Hirna. Most of the residents of Hirna *qäbälé* 02 came from those areas and they contributed to the expansion of Hirna into important *säfärs* such as Ganda Uso, Ganda Dingu and Mariyam Säfär. Gradually these *säfärs*

⁷ Gashaw Teshome, "Patterns, Causes and Consequences of Urban-Ward Migration in Ethiopia: The Case of Kombolcha Town," (MA Thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University 2002), p. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.21.

¹⁰ Dereje Tekle, p.15; Cooper and Horvath, p.223.

¹¹ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p.2.

¹² Informants: *Ato* Kedir Abraham and *Ato* Abdurahman Usso.

were included into the urban area of the town which played a leading role in the physical growth of Hirna.¹³

In addition to the need for urban life in Hirna, the in-migrants came into Hirna following the improvement of road construction. The road that passed through Hirna town to major towns of eastern Ethiopia which was built after the restoration of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1941 had a significant role for the increase of in-migration into Hirna. The road was constructed in the 1960s by an international road contractor company called Marphlis.¹⁴ This international road contractor company constructed the Asaba Tafari-Kulubi and Dire Dawa-Harar road and Hirna town had more than 5km of this international road. The final completion of this road enabled different linguistic and ethnic groups to move into Hirna more easily both from short and long distances.

Following the period of restoration government offices were built in Hirna. After the formation of government offices many of the in-migrants who came into Hirna town were government employees such as administrators, judges and court officials, soldiers, tax officials and other civil servants. These groups of the population came into Hirna mainly after 1960 following the establishment of the town's municipal administration. They came from areas of either long or short distances to Hirna town. Because of these reasons the numbers of government employees who came into Hirna from long distance areas increased throughout the study period of the town. The employees from long distance mainly came from Šäwa and Arsi while the short distance migrants were from Badessa, Galamso and Asaba Tafari.¹⁵

¹³ Informants: *Ato* Kedir Abraham and *Ato* Abdurahman Usso.

¹⁴ Ethiopian Road Authority, "Environmental Impact Analysis of the Five Roads Selected for Rehabilitation and/or Upgrading Awash-Kulubi-Dire Dawa- Harar", *E-221, Vol.1*, (Finland: Helsinki, Plancenter, October, 1997), p.17; Informant: *Ato* Masarat Alamu (He told me that during the construction of the road foreign people from Sweden and England were served in their hotel which enabled the towns people to earn money).

¹⁵ Informant: *Ato* Gizaw Ababa.

In addition to this, there were in-migrants who came into Hirna because of drought and the Somali invasion of 1977-78. In-migrants came from Biyo Karaba and eastern Härärge into Hirna due to the drought of 1973 and as refugees from enemy attack. This was mainly because Hirna offered hope of food relief and was a safe place from the invasion because of its geographical location. The refugees took shelter to the north east side of the town which is today included as part of the town because of the town's expansion. They have remained in Hirna as permanent settlers of Hirna town up to this time.¹⁶

According to Gashaw Teshome there were in-migrants into many Ethiopian towns for education opportunity¹⁷ which also included Hirna town. For education opportunities students from Doba, Masala, Karra Mille and Biyo Karaba came to Hirna until 1974. At that time Hirna Number One School was the only junior school in the whole of the area mentioned above. The primary school students in Hirna who came from the above areas counted as parts of the town population and also played a significant role in the opposition movement at the end of the imperial regime.¹⁸

The in-migrants who settled in Hirna were involved in various kinds of occupations. The main important occupations which attracted in-migrants included agriculture (renting or buying land out of the town), oxen fattening (a few), handicrafts, commerce and services. In ratio the number of in-migrants who participated in commerce was high when they were compared with others occupations in the town. There were a few individuals who were involved in oxen fattening. Fattening oxen was traditional in most parts of Härärge that also included Hirna and the famous fattened oxen of Härärge were different in their quality of beef.¹⁹

¹⁶ Informants: *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa and *Ato* Abdurahman Bakar.

¹⁷ Informants: *Ato* Ababa Makuriya and *Ato* Masarat Alamu; Gashaw Teshome, p.28.

¹⁸ Informants: *Ato* Ababa Makuriya; *Ato* Gulelat Fanta and *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa.

¹⁹ Informants: *Ato* Lulu Endashaw and *Ato* Gulelat Fanta.

Although, their number was not clearly identified by the town municipal administration, there were also a few individuals who were involved in craft occupations. These craftsmen made different kinds of household materials including beds, chairs, tables and tools. However, the majority of the in-migrants relied on the occupation of commerce and services.²⁰ Hirna was a transit for contraband and a few people in the town were engaged in this illegal commercial activity until the mid-1970s. For this commercial activity some people of the town used donkeys and mules to send out the contraband commodities as far as Meiso and Awash through Arba Rakate and Galamso, then sending them by bus or railway to Addis Ababa illegally.²¹ Generally from 1941-1974 Hirna had received in-migrants from different parts of the surrounding areas and beyond who still reside in the town.

3.3. Hirna Town Municipal Formation and Administration (1960-1974)

In the new proclamation that was made about urban administration in Ethiopia, Proclamation No. 74 of 1945 categorized Ethiopian towns into townships administered by either municipality or without municipality.²² Based on the Proclamation No 74 of 1945 Ethiopian towns were grouped into two categories namely; schedule A and schedule B. Those towns grouped under schedule A were towns with well developed infrastructure while towns grouped under schedule B were towns with fewer infrastructures.²³ The main important towns in Ethiopia such as Harar, Dire Dawa, Jimma, Gondar, and Addis Ababa were grouped under schedule A and were given the status of municipality town to be administrated by a *käntiba* (a mayor).²⁴ However, many Ethiopian towns of the period were grouped under schedule B whose infrastructure was not well developed.

²⁰ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p.1.

²¹ Informant: Ato Ahmed Yusuf.

²² *Negarit Gazeta*, " A Proclamation to provide for the control of Municipalities and Townships," March 30, 1945, pp.45-49.

²³ Yonas Siefu, p.88.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

Hirna became one of those Ethiopian towns whose infrastructure status was categorized under schedule B and to be governed without a *käntiba* until 1960. The economy of the town showed progress and improvement from commercial activities and other sectors. It was therefore, decided in 1960 to make Hirna under the administration of a *käntiba*. Commercial growth and development then caused the extension of social services and government offices in the town. Because of the increase of the tax collected in the town, the *Awraja* and *wäräda* administration decided on the formation of Hirna town municipality in 1960. In 1960 Hirna Town Municipal Office officially started its tasks. The establishment of a municipal administration meant that the town was administered by a *käntiba* from then on.²⁵ And the first man to be appointed as *käntiba* of Hirna was *Ato* Gizaw Dejene.

Hirna was not the only town in Tullo *wäräda* with a town infrastructure and urban facilities for municipal formation. There were also other towns such as Dabaso, Mataqasha and Dhagaa Cabsaa, all of them found along the hard surface trunk road, which had town infrastructures. However, Hirna had more infrastructure and urban facilities than these smaller towns. Hirna had been serving as administrative center of Tullo *wäräda* since the appointment of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat as a governor of *ĈärĈär Awraja* but the other towns were town-like agglomerated villages. However, before the appointment of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, the administrative center of the *wäräda* was Tullo by which name the *wäräda* itself was called. Tullo town was located at about 20km. from Hirna to the east beyond the main caravan route that ran to the eastern towns and geographically Tullo town was found in the hilly area of Tullo *wäräda*.²⁶

In 1924 however, Hirna was preferred to Tullo as the *wäräda* administrative center because of the following factors. First, Hirna was crossed by the caravan route and this could create favorable conditions for the development of social services and government and private organizations. Second,

²⁵ Informants: *Ato* Ababa Makuriya; *Ato* Lama Dadi and *Ato* Abdurahman Bakar.

²⁶ Ali Amin, p.30.

Hirna was crossed by a perennial river that gave a great opportunity for cash crop production near the town. The local people used the river for irrigation and they produced various kinds of vegetables and fruits for sale. The production of vegetables and fruits near the town played a significant role in the growth of the economy of the town. Finally, Hirna has central location for all areas found in the *wäräda*.²⁷

In addition to these, the other important conditions for the establishment of Hirna as a town municipal administration were the existence of good farming around the town, geographical centrality to the surrounding regions, good and favorable climatic condition, existence of a hard surface trunk road, government institutions, and availability of social facilities.²⁸ Nevertheless, from 1924-1960 Hirna town administration was at *wäräda* level which was responsible to the *Awraja*. After 1960 Hirna town reached the level of town municipal administration because of the increase of the amount of revenue collected from different sectors. Municipal administration set up of Hirna had great role in the development and growth of the town.

The municipality then formed councils and departments each having their own responsibility of collecting tax from service sectors in the town. The municipality registered private and government organization in the town. (See Appendix V) Hotel services as refreshment services registered in Hirna to facilitate tax collection. The establishment of hotel services in Ethiopian history really started following the foundation of Addis Ababa as the capital city. Following the opening of hotel services in Addis Ababa many other hotels started to give services for customers in many towns of the country and then even smaller towns. Hirna was not an exception. The establishment of hotel services in Hirna started in 1956. The hotel service was started by a person named *Ato* Biru Gabra Wald, a well known businessman in Hirna. He started to give hotel service by selling tea and bread

²⁷ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p.1.

²⁸ Ali Amin, p. 30.

after he had established a small house in Hirna around the current *wäräda* administration office. He sold a traditional piece of bread for 10 cents and a cup of tea for 15 cents. The main customers of the service came from the surrounding area and people of the town. He was the only service giver in Hirna until the Gurage came and replaced him in the 1960s. He built a medium size hotel in the town around 1968 and resumed his business activities in Hirna²⁹.

There were also a few traditional drinking houses located in Hirna. Local traditional drinks such as *ṭälla*, *aräké* and *ṭäjj* were prepared by a few individuals who made them for sale as a livelihood after 1941. Mainly, after the construction of the hard surface road in the 1960s the number of bars and tea rooms in the town increased in number. There was one public tea room in Hirna and 24 tea rooms were established after the 1960s owned by private owners.³⁰

Following the construction of the hard surface road that passed through Hirna in the 1960s the growth and development of hotel services in the town was flourishing. The number of passengers from Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Harar and Jijiga who rested and ate lunch and dinner in Hirna was high. Passengers also spent the night in Hirna which led to hotels renting beds for the customers. Since Hirna was a strategic location between Addis Ababa and the eastern towns the demand for hotel services increased. As a result of this more hotels and bars began to appear near the hard surface road.³¹

The first and oldest hotel in Hirna town was Shuferoch hotel (i.e. chauffeur in French pronunciation). Shuferoch hotel was constructed in 1964 and owned by a private business man named *Ato* Alamu Gabre. The name of the hotel was related to its well known customers i.e. bus and lorry drivers. The hotel was built in the oldest part of the town along the road. The hotel was the only well known hotel

²⁹ Informants: *Ato* Ababa Makuriya; *Ato* Lama Dadi and *Ato* Abdurahman Bakar.

³⁰ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p. 8.

³¹ *Ibid.*

in Hirna that gave services and rented bedrooms mainly for passengers and drivers who came from Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Harar and Jijiga. Although the hotel was in the hands of a private individual, in the *Därg* period it was nationalized and today it is rented for household residents. The other well known hotels built in Hirna were Anbassa Hotel, Tesfaye Jima Hotel, Korabta Hotel, Jegnoch Hotel, Aster Hotel and Wugagen Hotel. Most of these hotels were built during the imperial government period and some of the hotels still give hotel services in the town.³²

Hirna town municipal administration built one abattoir in 1962. The establishment of this abattoir had a significant role in the production of hides and skins and increasing the revenue of the municipality. Until that time Hirna did not benefit from hides and skins produced in the town. After the town municipal administration built the abattoir, the collection of hides and skins began using traditional and modern systems. Householders who slaughtered goats and sheep on their house compound for holidays had previously sold the hides and skins to *säfar* (village) collectors. The village collectors then put the skins together and sold them to the town collectors who then took them to large markets in Asaba Tafari and Dire Dawa. But from 1962 on the *säfar* collectors sold skins and hides for the municipal abattoir.³³

Religious holidays were important events in Hirna when a large amount of hides and skins were collected for large markets. Private butchers who slaughtered oxen and goats every day were also considered as important dealers in hides and skins. Prominent hotels in the town such as Shuferoch, Jegnoch and Wugagan had a contribution in dealing in hides and skins in Hirna. The most well known individuals who collected hides and skins in Hirna and sent to the large markets [Asaba Tafari and Dire Dawa] were *Ato* Abara Habta Mariyam and *Ato* Asfaw Buta³⁴. The town municipal

³² Informants: *Ato* Balay Haylu and *Ato* Masfin Bahiru.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Informant: *Ato* Yohannis Bisrat.

administrations collected hides and skins and sent out to Dire Dawa and earn money for town infrastructure.

In 1974, Hirna town municipal administration built a livestock market in Hirna surrounded by fences. This was in order to create the chance of collecting tax from livestock entering the town during market days. Many farmers and merchants brought livestock into Hirna market and they paid tax to the municipality. In fact, the town municipal administration also established other market centers in Hirna for commercial exchange in the town. There were markets for grains, clothes, vegetables, etc. in the town. This consolidated the growth of trade activities in Hirna. Trade items were exchanged for money and with the money earned individuals bought salt, sugar, kerosene, soap, food oil and clothes.³⁵ The trade exchanges in turn lead to the growth of the income of the municipality.

Then the municipality identified the main sources of revenue for the town. Khat and coffee were identified as the main sources of revenue although the collected money was not used for the town's transformation. Khat had made a great contribution to the economic activities of the area³⁶ since the time of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. Growing, harvesting, sorting, packing, transporting, loading and unloading khat created job opportunities in Hirna for the jobless. For a long period of time farmers of Çärçär were involved in the production of khat more than grain. As a result of this most peasants sold khat and purchased grain for food and in this case khat has had economic values in most parts of Çärçär that also included Hirna. Khat had also social values in most parts of Härärge, Çärçär and Hirna. Since khat was and still is chewed in social and cultural settings such as marriage and mourning it had brought together different groups of people at one place.³⁷

³⁵ Informant: Ato Yohannis Bisrat.

³⁶ Amare Getahun and A.D. Krikorian, "Chat: Coffee's Rival from Harar, Ethiopia. I. Botany, Cultivation and Use", *Economic Botany*, Vol.27 No.4, (New York Botanical Garden Press, 1973), pp.366-367.

³⁷ Mahubub Yusuf, "Composing of Khat and Related Materials as Solid Waste Management Option in Awaday Town", (MSc Thesis, Department of Chemical Engineering, Addis Ababa University, 2008), p.4; Amare and Krikorian, p.370.

The other important revenues of the municipality of Hirna were sector services. Following the formation of the municipality in Hirna changes began to appear in the town administration and expansion of urban facilities. The municipality of Hirna had departments for land, water, service sector and issues of trade licenses. Each department had its own responsibility and powers in the municipal administration. For instance, the land department was concerned with land sale for residents and business activities. In the municipal administration there were also departments which had the responsibility to fix and levy taxes from different sectors. Based on their responsibilities each department in the municipal administration had a role in collection of revenue. Therefore, the municipal administration was governed based on the income collected from merchants and other means of tax collection in the town. Hirna town municipality registered private and government organizations in order to facilitate imposing and collecting taxes.³⁸

However, the amount of tax collected from commercial activities was much greater than any other taxes. Hirna market was attended by many merchants and farmers from different surrounding and distant areas. Saturday was Hirna's main weekly market day while Wednesday and Friday were less important market days attended by a few people. On these weekly and other market days various kinds of trade items came into Hirna market. The municipality collected taxes from each commodity entering the town by assigning individuals who levied taxes.³⁹

The main important trade items which entered Hirna on the market days included grains, vegetables, fruits, spices and livestock. Sorghum, téff, maize, barley, wheat, peas, beans and lentils were some of the crops available in Hirna market. Vegetables and fruits available during the market days included bananas, sugar cane, citrus fruits, avocado, potatoes and tomatoes while spices included peppers, onions and ginger. The most important livestock in Hirna market included sheep, goats, and calves,

³⁸ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration"p.23.

³⁹ Informant: *Ato Ababa Makuriya*.

fatted oxen and pack animals. In addition to this there were trade commodities like different kinds of clothes, various kinds of metal tools, sugar, salt, fuel and cooking oil. Based on the amount and identity of the commodities the municipality collected revenue on market days.⁴⁰ Some of the above trade commodities were consumed in the town and there were a few individuals who sent the commodities to Dire Dawa and Jijiga.

Land sale was one of the responsibilities of the municipality (land department) after its formation. Land sale for residential and business construction in Hirna dated back to the period of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. When he obtained Hirna as his *rist* land he established a market and sold land for merchants to construct shops and other business activities. He sold lands where the area could not support crop production and had infertile soil. That is why today the oldest part of the town found on the hilly parts of Hirna. The town municipal administration sold lands in the town for residential and commercial purposes in what is now *qäbälé* 02.⁴¹ Because of this reason Hirna expanded in one direction, which is to the east, which formed *qäbälé* 02. Nevertheless, even today many farmers control a large area of land as private property which has created a barrier for the town's expansion and growth to the northeast and southeast.⁴²

After the municipality was formed in 1960, the land departments sold more than 163,739.82 square meters for private residences, private organizations and issued land for government office construction in Hirna.⁴³ (See also Appendix VI) The revenue collected by the municipality showed improvement and progress from time to time. This enhanced the expansion of social services and infrastructures in Hirna. The municipality extended its revenue into electricity, taxes on abattoirs, and

⁴⁰ Informant: *Ato* Ababa Makuriya.

⁴¹ Informants: *Ato* Ababa Makuriya and *Ato* Lama Dadi.

⁴² My own personal observation of the area around the town (during my fieldwork I witnessed that many peasants still controlled large plot of land around the town. Few peasants are selling their land systematically).

⁴³ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p. 4.

trade licenses. Generally, the municipality conducted fundamental office works from its establishment to 1983. (See Appendix VII)

3.4. The Growth of Service Sectors in Hirna (1941-1974)

3.4.1. Education and Schools

For long centuries Ethiopian education was traditional rather than the modern in which teaching had been deeply part of the religious education.⁴⁴ Ethiopia experienced the introduction of modern education after the coming of Menelik II to the throne. Modern education was introduced for the noble families. The Emperor with some of his advisors believed that Ethiopia would be enlightened if its leaders were shaped by modern education. Therefore, by the order of Emperor Menelik II the first school was opened in Addis Ababa in 1908.⁴⁵ The school started giving modern education with the following intentions. Firstly, it was intended to produce young educated groups who would devote themselves to the modernization of Ethiopia. Secondly, the school was opened to help Ethiopia remain independent in the international political atmosphere.⁴⁶

Establishing modern schools in Ethiopia then continued with the coming of Emperor Haile Selassie. Modern schools expanded in Addis Ababa and other towns of the country. However, when Ethiopia was occupied by the Fascists the expansion of modern schools in the country was halted. Those schools constructed before the colonial occupation were either closed or used for colonial military camps. Following the liberation the government established a Ministry of Education and Fine Arts in

⁴⁴Christine Chaillot, "Traditional Teaching in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow", in *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Volume 2*, ed. by Svein Ege and others, Trondheim, 2009, p.527.

⁴⁵Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935*, (Haile Selassie I University Press, 1968), p.676.

⁴⁶Teshome Wagaw, *Education in Ethiopia: Prospects and Retrospect*. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979),p.28.

1942. This expanded modern schools in all parts of the country. It was also after this period that Hirna had its first modern school in 1946.⁴⁷

The expansion of modern schools in Härärge province was very low when it was compared with some other provinces in the country. (See Appendix VIII) According to Desta, out of 518 *wärädas* in Härärge, 44 *wärädas* were without modern schools. Out of these 44 *wärädas* 36 *wärädas* were found in Härärge. This means most of the *wärädas* without modern school with chairs, blackboards, books and teachers were in Härärge.⁴⁸ As informants also underscored, in the whole of Çärçär *Awraja* there was no modern school except in Asaba Tafari.⁴⁹

Before a modern school opened in Hirna there was traditional education given by local priest named *Mamre Haile Maskel*.⁵⁰ *Mamre Haile Maskel* gathered young boys to teach religious education in his own house. These young boys learnt parts of the Holy Bible and expected to read and write at the end of their course. After they completed the course they became deacons and assisted the priest in the Sunday liturgy.⁵¹ As stated above, the first modern school in Hirna was established in 1946. The school was constructed by the people of the town with the material and financial support of the government. The construction of the school was started in 1945 and it began to give modern education the next year. The school was named Hirna Number One School. First the school received students up to Grade six levels. Those who completed Grade six went to Asaba Tafari for the next Grade level. However, at the request of the parents of students, the school was upgraded to Grade seven in 1964. After two years in 1966 Hirna Number One School upgraded to grade eight and it became a junior school. In the same year the first batch of the school's students sat for the then Grade

⁴⁷Ali Amin, "A History of Hirna Town from 1974-1991", (BA Thesis, History Department, Wollaga University, 2012), p.13.

⁴⁸ Desta Asayehgn, *Socio-economic and educational reforms in Ethiopia (1942-1974): Correspondence and Contradiction*, (Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning, 1979), p.55.

⁴⁹ Informants: *Ato* Solomon Mamo and *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugassa.

⁵⁰ Ali Amin, p.13.

⁵¹ Informants: *Abba* Zawde Zararabruk and *Mamre* Tebebe.

Eight Ministry National Examination. All the students who sat for the exam passed to the next grade level. The former Deputy Prime Minister of Ethiopia, *Ato Addisu Lagassa* was one of them.⁵²

There was also one private school in Hirna owned by a person named *Ato Hailu* and the school itself was named Hailu Primary School. He built Hailu Primary School in 1964 with his own money hoping to enroll students of rich families who paid school fees. He also employed teachers with his own money. Following the coming of Franciscan missionaries around Hirna they also established and opened a modern school called Kidus Paulos Primary School in 1972 in Jaaraa area. The school received orphaned children and poor children.⁵³ Therefore, until the coming of the *Därg* to power the total number of modern school in Hirna remained two. Kidus Paulos Primary School was found out of the town in Jaaraa.

3.4.2. Health Service

Hirna town experienced a huge shortage of modern health services. The only medical treatment for the patients was traditional medicine collected from different kinds of herbs. There were individuals in Hirna who collected herbs for traditional treatment. However, all the traditional medicines were not good enough to cure all kinds of diseases. The most deadly diseases in Hirna, malaria and cholera, were not cured by the traditional medicine and many people died of them. In the whole of Çärçär there was only one modern health center, the center in Asaba Tafari. However, this health center was not well organized in manpower, equipment and medicine. Malaria and cholera patients were therefore, taken to Asaba Tafari for medical treatment although they were not able to get effective treatment even there.⁵⁴ (See also Appendix IX)

⁵² Ali Amin, p.14; Informants: *Ato Masarat Alamu* and *Ato Kasaye Bilelegn*.

⁵³ Informant: *Ato Masarat Alamu* ; Ali Amin, p. 14.

⁵⁴Informants: *Ato Tadasa* and *Ato Belay Hailu*.

The first modern health service in Hirna was started by Takla Hawariyat. After Takla Hawariyat returned from Russia he first visited Hirna hoping to live there. When he came to Hirna for the first time the people of the area suffered from different diseases. According to his autobiography, large numbers of patients visited him every morning for medical treatment while he was in a small tent. ...ጥዕቅ ሲል ለቁስለኞች መድኃኒት አደርጋለሁ፡፡⁵⁵ ...every morning I administer medicine on the wounds of the patients. He had no permanent place to give the medical treatment for the patients. He gave medical treatments and the patients were perhaps healed and recovered from their sickness. However, until the Franciscan missionaries came to Hirna in 1954 there was no modern health center established in the town. The Franciscan missionaries established the first health center called Serriti Health Center in Jaaraa area. Soon in 1956 qualified manpower but not doctors employed and by the Franciscan medical treatment was started for the town population.⁵⁶

As stated above, malaria was an endemic disease in Hirna. Many people died of malaria in Hirna. To reduce the risk of malaria the government launched the Malaria Eradication Program at a national level in 1959/60.⁵⁷ Following the launching of this program, the government ordered the establishment of a Health Center in Hirna to support the government program. Then in 1964 Hirna Health Center building was constructed near the *wäräda* governorate office in today's *qäbälé* 01. Although the main goal of the health center was eradicating malaria in the town, it also gave different kinds of health services in Hirna.⁵⁸

Malaria was one of the most common diseases in Hirna, usually reaching its climax in September and October. The geographical location of Hirna made it vulnerable to the wide spread of the disease. This is because water accumulating after the rains and the grassy swamps in the south east and north

⁵⁵ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p. 186.

⁵⁶ Addisu Ayalew, p.16.

⁵⁷ Helmut Kloos, "Primary Health Care in Ethiopia: From Haile Sellassie to Meles Zenawi", *Northeast African Studies, New Series, Vol.5, No.1* (Michigan State University Press, 1998), p.91.

⁵⁸ Informant: Ato Tasfaye Zigeta.

east part of the town served as good breeding places for mosquitoes. Hirna River (Laga Postaa) added to the breeding because water accumulated particularly at the lower bed of the river. Therefore, Hirna sector offices for malaria eradication was established in 1964 and 50 individuals were employed to spray DDT at each household in the town which continued until 1974. This decreased the problem of malaria in the town.⁵⁹

3.4.3. Electricity

For a long period the people in Hirna collected firewood from the nearby forest to get the fuel for heat and light. Most of the households in the town depended on this firewood and a few households used *kuraz*, lanterns from diesel fuel put in a can with a floating wick, as sources of light. The first person who introduced electricity to Hirna was a private businessman named *Ato* Biru Gabra Wald.⁶⁰ *Ato* Biru installed the first diesel operated generator in Hirna in 1958. He was the only person in Hirna who distributed electricity to the town population for only night light until the *Därg* period. The electric service stayed on for six hours from 12 noon to 5pm local time. The people who used the electric service for night i.e. for six hours paid 2.50 *birr* per month for the electric service they used only for light and television.⁶¹

3.4.4. Transportation

The construction of a modern road in Hirna and its environs goes back to the period of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat's appointment as the governor of *Çärçär Awraja* in 1923. However, before his arrival in *Çärçär* and Hirna there was a caravan route that connected Hirna and other areas in *Çärçär* by a mere track road with Addis Ababa and Harar.⁶² Before his appointment as governor of *Çärçär* he had already connected Hirna, his *rist* land in *Çärçär*, with Biyo Karaba through Doba. He constructed the road with his own money in order to facilitate the movement of goods and services. He gave

⁵⁹ Informant: *Ato* Tasfaye Zigeta.

⁶⁰ Informant: *Wäyzäro* Emebet Bogale.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* ; Informant: *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

⁶² *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.38.

wages to men in the construction of the road for pack animals and then the first 30 camels loaded with varieties of shop commodities entered Hirna from Dire Dawa through Biyo Karaba.⁶³

Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat carried out the construction of a modern road in Çärçär that connected several *wärädas*. He started the road construction from Asaba Tafari to Hirna in 1925. Seven hundred daily laborers were employed to construct the road from Hirna to Asaba Tafari and after seven months of construction Hirna was connected with Asaba Tafari.⁶⁴ In 1928, Asaba Tafari was connected with Mieso, which made it possible for Hirna to be better connected with Addis Ababa and Harar by a new modern road. However, this new road constructed by him did not serve during *kiremt* season due to the muddy conditions of the road. The road served until the Imperial Highway Authority (IHA) constructed a modern road that passed through Hirna to Dire Dawa and Harar in the 1960s.⁶⁵

When the Italians ruled Çärçär, the road constructed by *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat was repaired for further use. The Italians also built a bridge that connected Hirna with the adjacent areas beyond Hirna River. The bridge was constructed by an Italian engineer named Signor Meto. The bridge solved a great problem of Hirna town in connecting the town with other areas. Before the construction of the bridge the people in the town had great difficulty in crossing the river especially during *kiremt* season when the river volume rises. The bridge was abandoned when the new modern road was built with a new bridge in the 1960s.⁶⁶

In the 1960s the imperial government signed a contract for the construction of a new trunk road that passed through Hirna town, abandoning the old road. The road served as a route through Dire Dawa

⁶³ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat , p.210.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.382.

⁶⁵ Informant: *Ato* Tasfaye Zigeta.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

to Djibouti and after Dire Dawa to Harar and then through Jijiga to the Republic of Somalia. The company which constructed the new trunk road passing through Hirna was called Maphlis.⁶⁷ The road was and is an important part of the surface route from Addis Ababa to the eastern and south eastern parts of the country. Now the roads have been upgraded and asphalted to serve as international routes.

Following the construction of the new road, the flow of people and materials into Hirna increased. By this main road shops, hotels, bars, clinics and other service dealers were established. Buses and cars began to stay in Hirna for the services. Through its national and international connections the road that passes through Hirna was and still is very important for import and export transport. The local people in and around Hirna also used the road locally, mainly as pedestrians. The most common way of transportation has always been people, especially women and children carrying loads on their back and on their head between their home compounds and agricultural fields, water points, the market place or any other destinations. Along the Hirna road there are hundreds of women and loaded donkeys every morning and afternoon heading to Hirna to sell fuel wood for the urban households.⁶⁸

3.4.5. Telecommunication

The first telecommunication usage in Hirna was in 1912. He introduced a telecommunication service to his house. He telegraphed to Addis Ababa and Harar for different reasons. However, during that time there was no telecommunication service in Hirna except in his house. The extension of a telecommunication service in the town was started after the period of liberation. Following the formation of the Ministry of Posts, Telegraph and Telephone Hirna town started to get a

⁶⁷ Ethiopian Road Authority, "Environmental Impact Analysis...",p.17.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.20.

telecommunication service between 1954 and 1968.⁶⁹ It was during this time that the people in Hirna were connected with other regions and towns. Informants underscored that there were many users of telecommunication and postal services in Hirna.⁷⁰ The above development and growth of service sectors in Hirna influenced the educated groups who need more changes in the town which provoked them to make a movement that was started by students and a few government employees and joined by the town's population.

3.5. The Student Movement in Hirna and the Fall of the Imperial Regime

Opposition against the imperial regime in Hirna was initiated by students and teachers in 1969. But until 1974 there was no really serious challenge and opposition against the autocratic regime in Hirna. This was because there was no factory in Hirna which had workers who could challenge and oppose the regime.⁷¹ Moreover, the town's people were dependant on trade activities and among merchants it was difficult to form opposition organizations. However, there was one elementary school in Hirna that gave education from grade 1-8 called Hirna Number One School. Therefore, in the absence of other organized opposition in the town, students of grade seven and eight and teachers were the main activists in opposition against the imperial regime in Hirna.⁷² This as seen below was at its quite primitive political level and was also motivated by a school education question in national politics.

Students of grade seven and eight first raised the issue of the socio-political and economic condition of the people in Hirna in the mid-1970s. The students decided to quit education and to show their opposition against the imperial regime and grievances against the local officials.⁷³ A few students organized themselves and stoned the school and they forced others not to go to class. They did this in

⁶⁹ Ali Amin, p.20.

⁷⁰ Informant: *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

⁷¹ Informants: *Ato* Kasaye Bilelegn and *Ato* Dababa Tafara.

⁷² "Hirna Municipal Administration", p.10.

⁷³ Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Kasaye Bilelegn.

order to show they were dissatisfied with the government and the local government officials in Hirna. Soon other students joined the group and they gathered at Bullalle Mountain in front of the school.⁷⁴ The local police commander and the students' parents went to the students to ask what their problem was. All the students replied together they had serious grievances against the imperial government in the country as a whole and in Hirna in particular.⁷⁵

The *wäräda* governor then formed a committee from the parents of students and community elders in order to investigate the damage to the school from the stones thrown by a few students and to convince the students to return to class and resume their education. The committee found that there was no big damage to the school but failed to convince the students to return to class.⁷⁶ This was because the students raised questions to the committee concerning the policy of the Ministry of Education. The students complained that the Ministry of Education had issued a new regulation regarding the passing mark of the Grade 6 and 8 Ministry Examinations.⁷⁷ The pass mark for Grade 6 had previously been 20% while for Grade 8 it was 40%. However; the new regulation fixed pass marks of 80% and 60%, respectively.⁷⁸ The students were concerned that the new pass mark would reject many students who could not score the new pass mark.

⁷⁴ Archive of Tullo *Wäräda* Administrative Office, File No 2/62/10, a letter written from the school director (*Ato Dasta Wadajo*) on February 5, 1974 G.C to the *wäräda* administrative office saying that students had quit their education and gathered at Bullalle Mountain.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Informants: *Ato Masarat Alamu* and *Ato Kasaye Bilelegn*.

⁷⁶ Informants: *Ato Masarat Alamu* and *Ato Kasaye Bilelegn*.

⁷⁷ *Desta Asayehgn, Socio-economic and Educational Reforms in Ethiopia (1942-1974): Correspondence and Contradiction*, (International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, 1979), p.78; Informants: *Ato Kasaye Bilelegn* and *Ato Masarat Alamu*.

⁷⁸ "Hirna Municipal Administration", p.10; Informant: *Ato Kasaye Bilelegn* and *Ato Masarat Alamu*.

The driving forces behind the students' movement in 1973 were teachers, government employees in the town, students of university who quit education because of opposition to the regime and University Service teachers who had been assigned in the school from Haile Selassie I University and Alemaya Agricultural College.⁷⁹ The above individuals raised many issues that instigated the students for opposition. For instance, one of the teachers in the school raised the issue of the name of the town Asaba Tafari to arouse the students of Hirna Number One School to oppose the Imperial regime.

መምህር የሴፍ ሀይለሚካኤል በሚያስተምርበት ጊዜ አሰቦ ተፈሪ ማለት ምን ማለት ነው? አሰቦ ብቻ አይበቃም? ተፈሪ ለምን ይጨመራል? ... አሰቦ ተፈሪ መባል የለበትም በማለት ለተማሪዎች መጥፎ አርአያ መስጠቱን ከአንድ ተማሪ ደምፅ ተሰምቷል።⁸⁰

Teacher Yosef Haile Mikaél asked students what Asaba Tafari meant, while he was teaching in class. Wasn't it enough to name the town Asaba? Why was it necessary to add Tafari? ... It should not be called Asaba Tafari.

Student opposition in Hirna increased strongly when the monthly salary of teachers was delayed for two months. This was made teachers obviously join the students and the opposition soon spread in the town. Then violence and disturbances occurred in Hirna. The *wäräda* governor immediately ordered the *näč läbaš* (local police or militia with uniform) to protect the civilians and restore peace and order. The *näč läbaš*, however, were too few to restore peace and order since the town youth and unemployed were also involved in the opposition. The students and teachers together prepared a pamphlet about the bad conditions of the period, which enabled them to be supported by the people in the town. Some of the issues in the pamphlet included the following. Learning means knowing what is good and bad but we don't learn this, learning means comparing the life of poor and rich in the town and seek solutions, learning means to know why the town municipal administration did not

⁷⁹ Archive from Tullo *Wäräda* Administrative Office, File No. 1/819/87/92 a letter written from the *wäräda* governor on February 21, 1974 to the *awraja* governor saying the University Students (Alamaya Agricultural College and Haile Selassie I University) in the town agitated the students to continue their demonstration until the regime fell.

⁸⁰ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p.11.

use money for public services (stop corruption), mitigate the effect of increase in the price of fuel in the daily life of the townspeople and address the lack of pipeline water in the town.⁸¹

Moreover, teachers who taught in Hirna Number One School decided stage labor strike. They decided to stop working because they had not been paid salary for two months. This escalated the opposition movement in the town. Then the school director, *Ato* Gizaw Haile Mariyam, condemning the teachers, wrote a letter to the Governorate General of the *Awraja* on March 21, 1974 that teachers had stopped working. “...የማስተማር ተግባራቸውን ከማቋረጣቸውም በላይ በምድብ ስራቸው ላይ ያልተገኙ መሆናቸውን በማክበር እናመለክታለን”⁸² ...we would bring to your attention that they [teachers] not only stopped working but they also absented themselves from their respected duties.

The *Awraja* and *Wäräda* Governorate Office then reached a decision in 1974 that teachers and students who were involved in the violence and disturbance should be punished by dismissal from education opportunity (for the students) and payment of fines for destroyed or damaged materials in the school (for teachers and parents of students). Some of them also faced imprisonment. Nine students and two teachers were found guilty and the students’ families were required to pay 600 *birr* for material damage in the school, while two teachers were put in prison for two months. The community elders and the *wäräda* police chief attempted to return students to class on April 12, 1974. Moreover, the emperor announced on the radio that schools must restart soon and all students in the country should return to class. However, students in Hirna refused and rejected any order calling for a return to school. The students in Hirna even asked their parents not to send their children back to school until the university was reopened. “ከቡራን ወላጆቻችን፣ ዩኒቨርሲቲ አሰቲከፈት እንዳንገባ

⁸¹“Hirna Town Municipal Administration”, p.18.

⁸²Archive from Tullo *Wäräda* Administrative Office, File No. 2/85/12/35 a letter written from *Ato* Gizaw Haile Mariyam, the school director on February 21, 1974, to the *wäräda* administrative office saying teachers in Hirna Number One School boycotted.

ተስማምተናል። ይህን ሰሞን አህቶቻችንና ወንድሞቻችን ወደ ት/ቤት እንዳትልካቸውና አደጋ እንዳይፈጠር።⁸³ *Dear parents; we have reached an agreement not to return to school until university has been reopened. In the coming days do not send our brothers and sisters to school. Please do not send your children to school to avoid danger.*

The student opposition in Hirna then became out of control and led another demonstration. The demonstrations of the students were then joined by many people in the town. It was alleged that students of Hirna Number One School, mainly Zakariya Abdulai and Kalifa Ahmed, were suspected of having secret relation with university students and one of the most well known and rich merchants of the town, Mohammad Abdella Oksede. (See Appendix X) Mohammad Abdela Oksede was allegedly suspected of supporting the demonstrations with financial resources. But the university students and Hirna Number One School teachers were the main actors in the demonstrations.⁸⁴

There were many demonstrators who participated in the opposition up to the final end of the regime of the Imperial government in Hirna town. The demonstrators expressed their deep grievances and dissatisfaction against the regime. The demonstrations showed that the people of the town had suffered long years of oppression from the government officials in the town. The demonstrators asked the *wäräda* governor to answer their questions immediately. However, the *wäräda* governor failed to answer the questions of the demonstrators and the peaceful demonstrations soon changed to violence and disturbances. The violence and disturbances caused the destruction of government and private properties in the town. For instance, the house of the head of the Municipal Administration of the town, *Ato Zewdu Ejigu*, was destroyed by the demonstrators and one man called *Ato Adam Sali* was shot and killed by unidentified gunfire. Therefore, the *wäräda* governor wrote a letter to the

⁸³ “Hirna Town Municipal Administration”, p.18; Informant: *Ato Kasaye Bilelegn*.

⁸⁴ Informants: *Ato Masarat Alamu* and *Ato Kasaye Bilelegn*.

Awraja governor stating material damage and a few casualties in Hirna because of the demonstration.⁸⁵

The suspected leaders of the demonstration (30 individuals) were arrested by the police and detained in prison. The arrest and detention of individuals again caused another demonstration for the right of free speech, and a demand for release of detained individuals and explanation about the constitution of the country on May 23, 1974. The governor of the *Awraja*, *Fitawrari* Asfaw Habta Mariyam, wrote another letter to the *wäräda* governor on means of restoration of peace and stability in the town. With the help of the *Awraja* governor, the *wäräda* governor restored peace and order by using police forces from the *Awraja*. But the people in Hirna and its environs continued their opposition against the regime. Representatives of the people chosen by the demonstrators in the town then formed a committee called “Hirna and its Environs People’s Committee” (See Appendix XI) with its own rules and regulations. The committee was intended to improve the socio-economic and political conditions of the town. The goals of the committee included strengthening the unity of the community, empowering the people by creating job opportunities and creating peace and harmony among the people in Hirna.⁸⁶

However, the new committee faced opposition and the *wäräda* as well as the *Awraja* governor rejected the formation of the organization. The *wäräda* governor wrote a rejection letter against the newly established committee in Hirna to the *Awraja* governor in Asaba Tafari.

⁸⁵ Archive from Tullo *wäräda* Administrative Office, File No 2/1065/191/66, a letter written from the *wäräda* governorate office on March 8, 1974 to the *Awraja* governorate office saying that material destruction and human casualties happened in Hirna from the demonstration.

⁸⁶“Hirna Town Municipal Administration”, p.35.

...በእነሱ ፈላስፋነት የተለየ ደንብ ለማቋቋም የሰጡት መመሪያ በህግ በኩል ተቀባይነት ሊኖረው እንደማይችል ሲታመን ይህ የተነሱበት አላማ የስልጣን ሽሚያ እንጂ በየመ/ቤቱ ዘንድ የሚገኘው የሥራ መመሪያ ደንብ መሰረት የያዘ አየደለም።⁸⁷

...according to their philosophy they intended to establish a new principle. But it is believed that their principle is not acceptable by law. Their goal was not for improvement and change of the socio-economic problem of the people but power. All their goals are not compatible with government values and principles in many government offices.

The above rejection of the committee's principles and goals forced the members to cease political activities in Hirna. However, the committee played a significant role in the downfall of the Imperial regime in the town. Because of the popular revolution all over the empire and the defection of the armed forces the government of Haile Sellassié collapsed. The news of the downfall of the “feudo-bourgeois” government in September, 1974 was transmitted by radio and the people of Hirna rejoiced and made jubilation in the town.⁸⁸ The fall of the Imperial government was then followed by the formation of a new military regime over the country in general and in Hirna in particular.

⁸⁷Archive from Tullo *Wäräda* Administrative Office, File No 2/1662/124/40/66 a letter written from the *wäräda* governor to the *Awraja* governor, *Fitawrari* Gasasa Zalale, on August 29/1974 saying that the self-made committee were established in Hirna.

⁸⁸Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Gulelat Fanta.

CHAPTER FOUR

Hirna under the *Därg* Regime and Socio-Economic Changes

4.1. Hirna under the *Därg* Regime 1974-1991

As stated above, the imperial government under Emperor Haile Selassie I faced serious challenges and opposition across the empire during his last years. The main groups that challenged and opposed the imperial government were teachers, students, taxi drivers, urban dwellers, unemployed youths and soldiers.¹ This challenge and opposition reached its peak in February 1974 when popular revolution erupted in the country. When popular revolution to the imperial regime escalated, a group of army officers gathered in Addis Ababa and agreed to form a committee. Nationwide popular revolution and opposition continued and ended the autocratic rule of Haile Sellassie, in September 1974, starting a new epoch in Ethiopia. Then a military junta usually called the *Därg* (Committee) was formed and took power in the country. The Committee chose its leader Major Mengistu Haile Mariam and began to take new measures against the ex-imperial government officials.²

Old high ranking officers were arrested and Emperor Haile Sellassie was deposed and this was the beginning of a new political era in Ethiopian history.³ When the imperial government was removed from power, people all over the empire and in Hirna were excited because they had grievances against the imperial government and its officials. The *Därg* committee also promised to answer the question of rural and urban land and to make improvements in the life of the people in the town. The *Därg* government soon formed the PMAC (Provisional Military Administrative Council) and those who opposed the new provisional government faced severe punishments. The end of the imperial regime and the beginning of the *Därg* regime was followed by proclamations and declarations that dealt with socio-political conditions of the country. The people of Hirna who had serious problems

¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, Second Edition, p.229; Adejumobi, p.119.

² John Markakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, 1986), p.128; Adejumobi, p.119.

³ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*, Second Edition p.236.

with the imperial regime, as stated above, welcomed the new government officials in the town although this satisfaction was only short lived.⁴

The *Därg* period made some contributions to the formation of urban services in Hirna. In fact, rapid growth of Hirna which was still quite a small town in *Çärçär Awraja* was recorded after the *Därg* period. It is also true that the imperial government had attempted the establishment of some social services in the town. However, the *Därg* period had a more significant contribution to the expansion of social services in the town. After the *Därg* government exerted its authority and administration in Hirna, the social changes and infrastructures of the town were improved. Following these improvements, Hirna attracted people from different parts of the surrounding areas for urban services.⁵

As stated in chapter three, in the mid-1970s the Imperial Ministry of Interior formed a new administrative region from *Härärge Täqlay Gezat* called *Çärçär Adal* and *Gara Guracha Awraja*. Although this *Awraja* was formed as a new socio-political administration, Asaba Tafari remained the administrative center of the newly formed *Awraja*. Tullo district, where the administrative center Hirna was found, remained in the governorate of *Çärçär Adal* and *Gara Guracha Awraja*. This administrative arrangement continued throughout the *Därg* period. Following this administrative division throughout the years of my thesis favorable conditions were created for Hirna for its rapid growth as a town. For instance, Municipality under the *Därg* government established small *qäbälés* shops in the town and distributed the running of the shops to jobless youths in Hirna.⁶ It was also under the *Därg* regime that Hirna got 24 hours hydroelectric power and piped water, etc. This urban growth of Hirna under the *Därg* regime was due to the facilitation of transportation between Addis Ababa and Harar in which Hirna was a resting place for passengers.

⁴ Informants: *Ato* Tasfaye Mamo and *Ato* Tasfaye Zigeta.

⁵ Informants: *Ato* Solomon Mamo and *Ato* Mustafa Abdo.

⁶ Informants: *Ato* Girma Ayele and *Ato* Gulilat Fanta.

The Provisional Military Government drafted proclamations and declarations to be implemented in the country. The proclamation that dealt with towns nationalized urban lands and extra houses in Ethiopian towns.⁷ On July 28, 1975 the *Därg* government proclaimed that all extra houses and urban lands should be in the hands of government under the responsibilities of *qäbälés*. Hirna town was therefore, also included in these changes. Before the *Därg* government *balabats*, higher ranking officials and rich individuals owned more than one house in the town.⁸ After the *Därg* took power, all extra houses in the town, which is above one house for his own residence, were confiscated. They were put under *qäbälé* administration and rented out the surplus housing stock to those in need. Simultaneously, all rents were reduced, reflecting the official ideology of social justice and socialism⁹ which was also applied in Hirna. Since the rent was discounted from 15% up to 50%, the high rent payment was solved in the town for some time.¹⁰

Another proclamation of the Provisional government was the *zämäčä* (Development through Cooperation Campaign) which was applicable to all parts of the country and also included Hirna. University and high school students were sent out into the rural parts of the country to propagate the policy and ideology of the *Därg* government.¹¹ The members of the *zämäčä* who were sent out into Hirna area reached the town on February 8, 1976. The people of the town and its environs warmly received the campaigners and accompanied them to the rural areas of Hirna. A welcoming ceremony was prepared even for those who went on the *zämäčä* to Doba and Massala *wäräda*. The campaign in

⁷Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, "Developmental Towns, Special Edition to the Establishment of the WPE and the 10th Anniversary of the Revolution", September, 1985, p.19.

⁸ Informants: *Ato Tesfaye Zigta*; *Ato Masarat Alamu*; John Markakis and Nega Ayele, p.140.

⁹ *Negarit Gazeta*, Proclamation to the Ownership of Urban Land and Housing, proc.47/1975, 38.

¹⁰"Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p.53; *Ya Mastawaqiya na Ya Propaganda Committee*, "Ethiopia: Ya Katama Bota na Terf bet Tenant na Zare", Addis Ababa, September 1981, pp.9-12; Baker, p.216; John Markakis and Nega Aele, p.141; Informant: *Ato Tasfaye Zigeta*.

¹¹ Dawit Walda Giorgis, *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*, (Trenton: The Red Sea Press, INC., 1989), p.23; Adejumobi, p.120; Germa Amare, "An Appraisal of the Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia during the Military Regime, 1974-1991", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol.39, No. ½, 2006; p.101; Informant: *Ato Masarat*.

and around Hirna was not opposed by anyone in the area¹². This was because the people were well informed about the policy of the *Därg* that would transform the town. Temporary shelters or camps were built in Hirna and each household also contributed food and money for the campaigners in and out of Hirna.¹³

These campaigners who went on the *zämäčä* were regarded as the apostles of change in the socio-political conditions of the period¹⁴. The real motive of the campaigners was to transfer their knowledge and understanding of the political and economic system of *Därg* to the mass of the people and enhance progressive developments. They were also expected to educate the illiterate people as the *Därg* policy of education called for *biherawi yamäsärätä temeheret zämäčä* (basic education) both in the town and rural areas¹⁵. The people of the town were given the education by the campaigners. Many elders in Hirna remembered the *biherawi yamäsärätä temeheret zämäčä* given during the period. They also enhanced political awareness and cooperation among the people. The people in Hirna were also formed cooperation that they helped each other. The mission of the campaigners in Hirna came to an end on July 18, 1976. The apostles of change who had stayed in Hirna and its environs then returned whence they came after they completed their mission in Hirna¹⁶. In 1977 another proclamation was adopted by the *Därg* government. This proclamation called for defending Ethiopia from aggression.

¹² Germa Amare, pp.102-103; Informant: *Ato* Gulilat Fanta.

¹³ Germa Amare, p.101; Informants: *Ato* Mustefa Abdella and *Ato* Solomon Mamo.

¹⁴ Randi Ronning Balsvik, "Addis Ababa University in the Shadow of Darg, 1974-1991 in *Proceeding of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Volume 2*", ed. by Svein Ege and others, Trondheim, 2009, p.260.

¹⁵ Germa Amare, , p.93; Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Tesfaye Zigta.

¹⁶ Informants: *Ato* Mustefa Abdella and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

Somalia claimed parts of the territories of Ethiopia as far as the Awash¹⁷ in which Hirna was a part, following Somalia's irredentist policy.¹⁸ (See also Appendix XV)

Following the Somali aggression the *Därg* government called on all Ethiopians to defend their country from the Somali invasion. The *Därg* government then proclaimed *Yä Enat Hägär Teri* (Call of the Motherland) in 1977. The people of Hirna and its environs like other parts of the country accepted the appeal of *Yä Enat Hägär Teri* and responded to enroll as volunteers to fight in the war against Somalia. According to a letter written on September 24, 1977 by the *wäräda* secretary office to the *awraja* governor, around 171 volunteers (See Appendix XII) were enrolled for *Yä Enat Hägär Teri* within a day. የአናት አገሩን ጥሪ በመቀበል በጡሎ ወረዳ ... የከተማው (ሂርና)ገዋሪ ህዝብ የአገራችን ዳር ድንበር ስትደፈር ዝም ብለን አንቀመጥም በማለት እስከ አሁን ድረስ 171 ሰዎች ቀርበው ተመዝግበዋል።¹⁹ *Taking the Call of the Motherland in Tullo district, the townspeople responded that they were not to become silent when the sovereignty of the country was violated and up this time around 171 individuals have been enrolled voluntarily.*

The *Därg* in Hirna faced challenges from opposition groups immediately after it established its system of administration in the town. The opposition by different groups in the town escalated in the 1980s. The strongest opposition groups in Hirna town were the supporters of EPRP (Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party), ONDF (Oromo National Democratic Front) and OLF (Oromo Liberation Front). The above opposition groups were joined by youths of the town, students, government employees and urban rich people who wanted to force more urban changes and improvement in Hirna. Slogans such as "Democracy!, Revolutionary Youths!, and *Billissuma!*"

¹⁷ Markakis and Nega Ayele, p.173.

¹⁸ Gebru Tareke, "The Ethiopia-Somalia War of 1977 Revisited", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies Vol.33, No.3*, (Boston University African Studies Center, 2000), p.637.

¹⁹ Archive from Tullo *Wäräda* Administrative Office, File No 4/35/42 a letter written from the *wäräda* secretary (*Ato* Solomon Walda Tsadik) on September 26/ 1978 G.C with reference no. 2/74/2463 to the *awraja* Administration office saying that 171 volunteers registered for the *ya enat hagar teri*.

(Liberty) were adopted by these opposition political groups and there was violence as well, involving material destruction. Criminal elements used political opposition as a cover for these bad actions. Around 1340 students and 26 teachers of Hirna High School demanded the *Därg wäräda* governor to improve the socio-political condition of the town otherwise they would stage demonstrations like they had done during the imperial period.²⁰

It was alleged that the ONDF and OLF had financial support from rich people of Hirna town. But the supporters and those who assisted the opposition groups in Hirna were easily crushed. The *Därg* government officials in Hirna made serious and strict repression against the above opposition groups and their supporters. There were a few casualties in the town although not in large number. One of the local governors of Oda Balina Farmers Association, *Ato Legesse Arado*, was shot dead by one of the unidentified opposition groups. And *Ato Taddassa Janberu* was the leader of *šifta* (bandits) around Hirna who looted and destroyed the properties of rich people in the town.²¹ But the leader of the *šifta*, *Ato Taddassa Janberu*, was arrested and put in jail and his group was dispersed. However, unlike many other towns in Ethiopia the advent of the 1977/78 Red Terror was not severe in the town because the EPRP opposition was not as strong as in other places. Those who were suspected of Red Terror were taken to Asaba Tafari, where the Red Terror was strong. Asaba Tafari was the center of detention for the Red Terror in *Çärçär Adal* and *Gara Guracha Awraja* where summary executions were conducted.²²

Then in 1987 a new committee was formed from public and government organizations to investigate members of the above opposition groups in Hirna. This was intended to weaken the opposition groups in the town. The committee found that there were over 46 members of the above opposition

²⁰“Hirna Town Municipal Administration”, p.42.

²¹ Informants: *Ato Dababa Tafara*; *Ato Masarat Alamu* and *Ato Kasaye Bileegn*.

²² Informant: *Ato Fuad Ahmed* (As he told me, he lost one of his brothers who was taken to Asaba Tafari as a Red Terror suspect who was killed in the town).

groups in Hirna itself. These individuals were then listed as the most wanted individuals in Hirna. All of the wanted individuals disappeared from Hirna. Like the national level, some fled to neighboring countries like Somalia²³, while others stayed in hiding in Jijiga and Dire Dawa and the opposition parties ceased their political activities in Hirna.²⁴

Then until its downfall the *Därg* officials in Hirna did not face such serious challenges from opposition political groups. However, when the *Därg* collapsed in 1991 the OLF controlled the town for a few days until the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) marched into Hirna. Informants recall that there was an exchange of fire between the OLF and the EPRDF in the town. As my informants underscored, after the EPRDF controlled the town, the OLF withdrew from Hirna and stationed itself on the highland of the town looking down on the town. They fired against the EPRDF soldiers who were stationed in the town in the area called Gomaxa. People of the town were remained in their houses during the fire exchange and no one was shot or died. Then the power of the EPRDF became stronger than that of the OLF and the OLF was forced to leave the highland of Hirna in 1991.²⁵

4.2. The Livelihood of the People in and outside Hirna and its Impact on the Town

4.2.1. Agriculture, Trade and Services

Small cities and rural towns have had important role in relation to the surrounding agricultural areas. Small towns (like Hirna) and other rural towns also provide local markets for agricultural products mainly for small-scale farmers. Hirna provided large demand for agricultural goods and labor. Urban settlers in Hirna make their livelihood from trade, service sectors and also crafts, while agriculture was the mainstay of the people out of the town. The area near Hirna town has very fertile soil and

²³ Samuel Tassew, "The Legal Aspect of the Ethiopian Student Movement: 1960-1978", (BA Dissertation, Faculty of Law, July 1992), p. 37; Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu; *Ato* Balay Hailu and *Ato* Fuad Ahmed.

²⁴ Informants: *Ato* Dababa Tafara; *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Kasaye Bilelegn.

²⁵ Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu; *Ato* Balay Hailu and *Ato* Fuad Ahmed.

produced a variety of agricultural products. Since the town is surrounded with plenty of river water, a few farmers from the town also produced various kinds of vegetables and fruits.²⁶ Despite the *Därg*'s socialist policies, production of crops for sale continued and markets were still important. In fact, agricultural production of crops for sale continued to be a mainstay of life for farmers around Hirna and the town continued to be closely linked through its market with the countryside.

A few people in the sub-urban area of Hirna have been practicing irrigated and rain-fed cultivation of agricultural products such as vegetable and fruits, renting and/or buying land (except in the *Därg* period). Hirna's central position to Doba, Biyo Karaba, Hadas and Masala enabled it to be the main gateway in the exchange of agricultural products from those areas. For instance, Doba was the major producer of sorghum, Hadas was an important supplier of wheat, barley and maize and Masala was noted for its coffee, avocado and mango. On market days these grains and crops were brought into Hirna and purchased by the people of the town.²⁷

Farmers outside Hirna did not adopt mechanized agriculture. The best farming in the area was by ox-drawn implements. Farmers who had no ox-drawn implements used hand hold hoes and sickles. Most farmers produced sorghum which was locally called *bišinga* and it is the staple grain most used for food in the town. Farmers also supplied cash crops to the wholesale dealers or individual dealers for consumption or profit. Khat and avocado were consumed within the town itself. However, there was a man named Mohammed Abdella Oksede who processed coffee in the town for export²⁸. He had had contribution to the town's development but the town has not shown urban progress.

Consumption in Hirna and the Hirna market meant that agricultural products came to Hirna both from the surrounding (nearby) and distant areas. The most important nearby areas which brought

²⁶ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p.43; Informant: *Ato* Balay Hailu.

²⁷ Informants: *Ato* Balay Hailu; *Ato* Masfen Baheru and *Wayzaro* Abarash Habte.

²⁸ Informant: *Ato* Yohanis Bisrat.

agricultural products into Hirna were Galeti, Amansis, Tullo, Burqa, Gara Negus, Dabaso and Doba. Every market day various kinds of crops and grain entered Hirna. In addition to the nearby areas, there were a few wholesale grain dealers who brought agricultural products from distant areas. The famous wholesale grain dealers in Hirna included *Ato* Biru Gabra Wald, *Ato* Ahmade, and later *Ato* Gosaye.²⁹ They had their own grain storage in Hirna. Therefore, people in the town purchased grains for food either from storages of the wholesale grain dealers or from the weekly market days in Hirna. On Saturday farmers of the surrounding areas brought their agricultural products and sold them either to the wholesalers or individuals who bought their own for food consumption.³⁰

In addition to the above agricultural products, spices and condiments like red pepper, ginger and coriander were produced in very small quantities around Gara Nugus, Burqa and Galleti. The amount of spices and condiments produced around the town was not enough for the number of buyers in Hirna. Therefore, most of the residents of Hirna bought spices and condiments from the distant areas of Baddessa, Machara and Galamso.³¹

The production of honey in and around Hirna was not common. However, there were a few farmers who practiced a traditional beekeeping in and around Hirna. Most private farmers and individuals were producing honey for their own consumption. However, there were a few farmers who brought their honey production into Hirna and sold to the town consumers. Most town consumers who bought honey in the town were government employees and other relatively well off groups. However, there were a few individuals who bought honey to prepare an Ethiopian drink called *täjj* or mead. *Wayzaro* Tiringo Kabbada, *Wayzaro* Simrete Tafara, *Ato* Lagassa Ayale and *Ato* Yemane Amde Berhan were well known *täjj* sellers in Hirna.³² My informants told me that the *täjj* sold by *Wayzaro* Tiringo

²⁹ Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Wayzaro* Momina Kadir.

³⁰ Informants: *Ato* Zabana Yilma and *Ato* Engida Haile.

³¹ Informant: *Ato* Mesfin Bahiru.

³² Informants: *Ato* Fuad Ahmed and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

Kabada was tasty and customers loved it more than other *täjj* makers. To show her *täjj* was very tasty customers praised it in the following poem.

ከነ ምልክቱ ወይን አለ ደጃቸው፤ *There is a grape as a sign at the gate of her door*
እማማ ትርንጎ በምብ ነው ጠጃቸው፡፡³³ *The *täjj* of madam Tiringo is like a grenade*

The most important customers of this drink were peasants who came from rural areas for market in Hirna and few residents of the town. According to my informants, she was the most notable of the men and women who were locally well known for selling *täjj* for the people in Hirna and the surroundings.³⁴

There was limited livestock production in and around Hirna. Those who lived outside Hirna were involved in cash crop production which adversely affected livestock production, because their plots of land were used for grain and vegetable or fruit. However, there were a few farmers who were actively involved in fattening one or two oxen for distant market sale. *Ato* Lulu Endashaw was the most well known man in Hirna who was and still is involved in fattening oxen and transporting them to Addis Ababa and Nazreth [Adama] up to 1991. There was one weekly market in Hirna that brought livestock to the town. The main livestock sold in Hirna market were goats, oxen, calves, chickens and donkeys supplied from Doba and surrounding areas of Hirna.³⁵

Since there was no manufacturing industry in most parts of Härärge except a few crafts, people in towns were involved in trade activities. They traded in local commodities and items brought from other areas. The well known and prominent merchants in Hirna were both foreigners and migrants. Those foreign merchants in Hirna came from Yemen and Arab countries, while Ethiopian merchants mainly came from Gurage, Śawa, Argoba, Silti and Ethiopian Somalis. Therefore, most shops, tea

³³ Informant: *Ato* Fuad Ahmed.

³⁴ Informants: *Wayzero* Turunesh Abebe and *Wayzero* Abarash Habte.

³⁵ "Hirna Town Municipal Administration", p.42 ; Informant: *Ato* Abdu Abraham.

rooms and hotels built in the town were owned by migrants (Gurage and Śawa) and foreigners (Yemenis and Arabs) mainly dominating the trade activities in the town up to 1991.³⁶

4.2.2. Cash Crop Production outside Hirna

People in Hirna town were involved in trade activities; there were also a few farmers who practiced agriculture as their occupation outside the town. Research shows that many farmers outside Hirna town grew cash crops such as khat, avocado and coffee. These cash crops are traditional in most parts of Hārärge and Çärçär areas that also included the area outside Hirna town. Major areas outside Hirna that grew the above cash crops are Galeti, Oda and Amansis. The peasants of these areas produced cash crops (khat, avocado and coffee) and brought them into Hirna town for market exchange. Before 1991, the current *qäbälé* 02 was arable land cultivated by urban people who worked on this farmland and lived in the town. They worked on their farmland day time and returned to the town in the evening.³⁷

Khat as a cash crop has economic significances and social values in Hirna and the rest of former Hārärge region. The people in Hirna of both sexes, young and old chewed the khat plant for different purposes. Some people chewed khat in rural areas for physical strength at work place and still others chewed khat to forget hunger.³⁸ This was because chewing khat reduces appetite for food. Khat is also used in towns and cities as mainly pastime habit. Urban people when asked about it some answer “we don’t have anything else to do so we sit and chew khat”. On the other hand students chewed khat to produce vigor to stay a long time studying.³⁹ Some families of the students in Hirna gave money for their children to buy khat. Some students who chewed khat have become successful in their exam while a few of them were negatively affected since they could not sleep for long hours

³⁶ Informants: *Ato* Tesfaye Zigeta and *Ato* Berhan Haile Maskel.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Ezekiel Gebissa, ed., *Taking the Place of Food: Tchat in Ethiopia*, (Trenton: Red Sea, 2010), p. 38.

³⁹ Amare and Krikorian, p.374.

which led them to mental disorder.⁴⁰ Khat has had also economic value in most parts of Härärge⁴¹ including Hirna. Most peasants outside the town sold khat and purchased food commodities.⁴²

In 1977/78, the khat market in Härärge in general and in Çärçär and Hirna in particular faced opposition from the local government officials. This was because before the actual Somalia's invasion, Somalis had come in disguise into Ethiopia attacking people in the khat market and creating disturbances and chaos that involved killings. As a result of this, khat was more heavily taxed or if the tax was not paid, it was not allowed to be exported from Hirna to Dire Dawa and Jijiga.⁴³ This measurement was proposed in order to discourage khat market in Hirna in order to reduce the Somali attack at khat market in Härärge. The measure affected the farmers outside the town who made money from khat and khat merchants who made life on khat trade. This was the second time that the khat market was opposed in Hirna and its environs. Therefore, again, as happened a long time ago under *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, a high khat tax was imposed on Hirna merchants in order to discourage them from trading as far as Somalia and Djibouti. Nevertheless, the town municipality had collected had collected 143,190 Ethiopian *birr* from December 1980 to February 1980 from khat taxation.⁴⁴ Khat was too good source of government revenue to stop the trade, which continued strongly after the war.

Avocado was another staple cash crop outside Hirna. Avocado became a principal cash crop in Çärçär in general and in Hirna in particular after the arrival of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. Each farmer outside the town of Hirna owned avocado trees on his farmland. Since it is a big tree a few

⁴⁰ Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Fuad Ahmed.

⁴¹ Gessesse and Kinlund, p.198; Amare and Krikorian, p.370.

⁴² Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu; *Ato* Fuad Ahmed and *Ato* Shimeles Haile.

⁴³ Archive from Tullo Warada Administrative Office, File No.1/23/70, a letter written from the *wäräda* administration office on 18/07/1977 G.C for two individuals (*Wayzero* Halima Abdullahi and *Ato* Kedir Bakar) who traded khat from Hirna to Dire Dawa and Djibouti saying that they were obliged to pay high khat tax more than they had payed before or to stop trading khat in Hirna.

⁴⁴ Archive from Tullo *Wäräda* Administrative Office, File No. 12/34/23 a report written from the municipality administration office on 18/07/1976 G.C to the *wäräda* administrative office saying that the total amount of money collected from khat market was 143, 190 *birr* and large amount of money was in default.

farmers planted it around their farmland as a fence. However, avocado production was used only for household consumptions for many years. From 1974 onwards, however, many households began to use avocado as a means of income, selling it in the market. A few individuals also began to collect avocado fruit from each farmer to sell it as far as Dire Dawa, Harar, Jijiga and Asaba Tafari.⁴⁵

Hirna became the most prominent avocado growing area in Çärçär *Awraja*. However, as noted above, avocado producers at first used the fruit for their own consumption. A few individuals, mainly women, used the fruit as a face lotion believing that it would protect body skin. Alemaya University opened an agricultural research center called Hirna Central Experiment Station at Hirna in the 1980s for research on a new avocado seed and its use for the local people. However, Hirna Central Experiment Station as part of Alemaya University of Agriculture did not conduct valuable research for farmers until recently.⁴⁶

Coffee has been grown in different parts of Ethiopia including Härärge and Hirna for a very long time.⁴⁷ In Çärçär *Awraja* the leading areas producing coffee outside Hirna were Galeti and Amansis. These areas brought their coffee production to Hirna market which is the center of the coffee market for the surrounding areas. Coffee was generally brought from farms to Hirna market by donkeys or on people's heads. The farmers who brought their coffee production into Hirna sold it to wholesale dealers and the wholesale dealers in turn sold to one of the most well known coffee merchants, Mohammed Abdalla Oksade.⁴⁸

Coffee trade in Hirna was entirely in the hands of Mohammed Abdalla Oksade followed by few other coffee merchants until the 1990s. Mohammed Abdalla Oksade was by far a well known coffee

⁴⁵ Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Abdella and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

⁴⁶ Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Abdella and *Ato* Masarat Alamu. (They know that the Experiment Station in Hirna was not conducted valuable agricultural researches to the surrounding farmers.)

⁴⁷ H.P. Huffangel, *Agriculture in Ethiopia*. (Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 1961), p.211 and Informant: *Ato* Yohanis Bisrat.

⁴⁸ Informant: *Ato* Yohanis Bisrat.

merchant in Hirna licensed by the National Coffee Board (NCB). The NCB gave exporting quality standard for Mohammed Abdella Oksede in 1978. Mohammed Abdella Oksede had his own coffee milling machine in Hirna. Coffee was milled by him in small mechanized hullers and he sold coffee of exportable standard. Nowadays, the milling machine is run by his family. There were many laborers who spent their life time in coffee processing for the export standard and this created job opportunities for many jobless women in the town.⁴⁹

4.3. Growth of Services Sectors in Hirna Town

4.3.1. Education and School

During the *Därg* period the number of modern schools in Hirna showed progress. As the *Därg* government intended to expand modern schools across the country, more government schools were established in Hirna. In 1975 one primary school was built in the village of *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* (a village outside Hirna) by the people with the material and financial support of the government and the school was named Maadoo Primary School but its name was soon changed to Hirna Number Two Primary School. The school enrolled students up to grade six levels. However, when the need of education increased the school was upgraded from grade six to grade eight. In the same year the *Därg* government established the first government controlled Kindergarten School in Hirna.⁵⁰

The *Därg* government also nationalized Hailu Primary School following the proclamation of nationalization and the school was renamed Etiyopiya Tekdem Primary School (Ethiopia First Primary School). The school was also upgraded to grade eight in 1983. However, until the year 1983 Hirna had no Secondary School. Since the cost to construct secondary schools was so great for the people, international organizations like SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency) played a

⁴⁹ Informant: *Ato* Yohanis Bisrat.

⁵⁰ Informants: *Ato* Fuad Ahmed; *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Kasaye Bilelegn.

leading role in the establishment and expansion of Secondary Schools in many parts of the country.⁵¹ According to my informants, Hirna Secondary school was also constructed by SIDA in 1982 and it received the first batch of students from Hirna, Dobba and Masala in 1983. The number of students enrolled in Hirna Secondary schools increased every year. The number of government schools in Hirna increased from one to five by the end of the *Därg* period in 1991.⁵²

4.3.2. Health Services

Following the *Därg* government's coming to power, Hirna Health Center was upgraded to Hirna Clinic in 1978 and the services given in the clinic were improved. However, the number of patients in the town was much more than the services given in the clinic. There were only five beds and one room to stay for patients. There was also lack of supply of medicines in the clinic. Therefore, the *wäräda* governor wrote a letter that facilitated the establishment of two private drug houses (pharmacies) in Hirna in 1981.⁵³ The two pharmacies were opened in Hirna and started their work at Chaffee village. The opening of these two pharmacies in the town gave relief for patients to get medicines within the town rather than going to Asaba Tafari. However, until 1991 the government clinic in Hirna remained only one and the pharmacies were restricted to two private pharmacies.⁵⁴

4.3.3 Water Supply Services

The people in Hirna town highly depended on Hirna River (Laga Postaa) for water supply services. The Hirna River was used by the townspeople for various household purposes. The people used the river for drinking, washing clothes and bodies and preparing food. However, the river was and still is

⁵¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* Second Edition, p.221.

⁵² Informants: *Ato* Tasfaye Zigta and *Ato* Berhane Haile Maskel.

⁵³ Archive from Tullo *Wäräda* Administrative Office, File No. 17/31/8, and a letter written from the *wäräda* governor on October 23 /1981 to the town municipality saying helping individuals for the opening of pharmacies in Hirna and the two pharmacies were opened in 1982 and started to give service in the town.

⁵⁴ Informants: *Ato* Tasfaye Zigta and *Ato* Berhane Haile Maskel.

subject to pollution by animal and human wastes. As a result of this many people in the town suffered from a variety of water-borne diseases such as cholera, hookworm, amoebic and typhoid.⁵⁵

Pipe water service in Hirna was a recent phenomenon in 1978. In 1978, a well known merchant of the town, *Ato* Mohammed Abdalla Oksede, fenced (protected) the source of a small stream and the water was stored in a small pond dug out and fenced with stone walls. The people of the town then started to use piped water services from this source for the first time. The water was piped to *birka*, a standpipe, in the Ganda Sumalee area of the town. In 1979, another pipe was constructed by the government on Laga Postaa for temporary water supply services. This piped water supply was near the postal service of Hirna.⁵⁶

In the same year the *wäräda* government office ordered a search for ground water in the town. Then it was reported that ground water was available in Gandaa Sumaale (*qäbäle* 01) in the western part of Hirna. Then on November 21, 1979 the construction of a water supply system for Hirna was signed between the municipality and a government organization responsible for drilling water. The organization agreed to drill the ground water and then pump it directly into the distribution system. The construction was completed in 1981 and a reservoir which could hold 150m³ of water was built on a higher ground of the northern part of Hirna below mount Abdurazak. From 1981 onwards, therefore, people in Hirna got safe and clean pipe water service. Until 1991 the municipality of Hirna registered clients for water supply and public *birkas* were constructed in different parts of the town.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Informants: *Ato* Tasfaye Zigta and *Ato* Berhane Haile Maskel.

⁵⁶ Informant: *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

⁵⁷ Hirna Town Water Resource Office, File No 3/12/11/66 a report written from the water resource office on January 12, 1984 to the *wäräda* administrative office stating that the water resource office has registered 860 clients in both *qäbäle* 01 and *qäbäle* 02.

4.3.4 Electricity

In 1978, the municipality bought the diesel operated generator from *Ato* Biru and power supply was provided by the municipal office until 1984. After the municipality began to operate the diesel generator, the number of customers increased. Then in 1984 (EELPA) the Ethiopian Electric Light and Power Authority extended hydroelectric power service to Hirna from Asaba Tafari. As my informants told me, the diesel operated generator was delivered to another *wäräda* (Masala) that had neither a diesel operated generator nor hydroelectric power.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the hydroelectric power service in Hirna was not available to all residents of the town until the 1990s because many households could not pay electricity bills.

4.3.5. Transportation

After 1974, Hirna town municipality spread roads in the town after *Ŝaläqa* Dajane held the municipal administrative post of *kantiba* in the town. As more roads were built in the town some petty shops and bars began to appear along these new roads. Freight trucks and buses ran on this road in 1976 bringing goods, merchants and customers to Hirna. This made Hirna a more vibrant town.⁵⁹ During the *Därg* period transportation from Hirna to other towns was well established. Mini-buses and buses that carried passengers from Hirna to Asaba Tafari and Harar had already started from 1969. From Hirna to Asaba Tafari, the tariff was fixed as 1.50 *birr* and from Hirna to Harar the tariff was fixed as 3 *birr* in the 1970s.⁶⁰ The road that connected Hirna with Masala and Doba was also constructed during the *Därg* period which played a significant role in the development of Hirna.⁶¹ This fixed tariff continued to the end of the discussion period of my thesis.

⁵⁸ Hirna Town Water Resource Office, File No 3/12/11/66 a report written from the water resource office on January 12, 1984 to the *wäräda* administrative office stating that the water resource office has registered 860 clients in both *qäbäle* 01 and *qäbäle* 02.

⁵⁹ Informants: *Ato* Tasfaye Zigta and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FIVE

Peopling, Religion and Voluntary Associations of Hirna Town

5.1 The Peopling of Hirna Town

The Harla people were the oldest settlers of Härärge that also included Çärçär Mountain. Both oral tradition and written sources signify that the Harla were the dominant people of Härärge for a long period of time.¹ Then Itu clan settled in some parts of Härärge following the Oromo population movement around the 16th century.² Since then, Itu Oromo people have made up the largest linguistic and ethnic group of Çärçär Mountain. The Itu Oromo were also found in Tullo *wäräda* in large size. Because of their large scale settlement in Tullo *wäräda*, the area is often called “Ona Itu” in Afaan Oromo; this is to mean “the homeland of Itu.” The sub-tribal group of Itu Oromo that occupied Hirna town and its environs was the Alga.³

After Hirna was founded as a town by *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, various linguistic and ethnic people began to move into Tullo *wäräda* from different parts of the country. The increasing demand for land and job opportunity has attracted many people with different ethnicity to Hirna.⁴ This made Hirna a town of multi-ethnic people. Among the earliest people of Hirna people the Amhara and Somali ethnic groups were the largest in numbers in the town.⁵ The Amharas began to settle Hirna and other towns⁶ of Härärge following the imperial conquest of Menelik. They originated from all over the northern regions of Šäwa, Wallo and Gondär. However, Šäwans were the largest number of settlers in Hirna. The Amhara from Šäwa then began to be involved in different occupations, mainly agriculture. They

¹ Labahn, p. 146; Informants: *Wayzero* Momina Kadir and *Šeik* Burqa Abdulqadir.

² Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 4-6.

³ *Biro Aadaa fi Turizimi Oromiya, Seenaa Oromoo Hangaa Jarraa 16^{ffaa} Gulaallii Sadaffa (Seecii Lamaffaa)*, (Finfinne, 1998), p. 263.

⁴ Informants: *Ato* Abdurahman Usso and *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa.

⁵ Informants: *Ato* Abdurahman Usso and *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa; “Hirna Town Municipal Administration” p.1.

⁶ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, p.41.

owned vast plots of land outside Hirna town. They were considered as active farmers in Tullo *wäräda* with ox-drawn agricultural implements.⁷ The Somali people came to Hirna following the construction of the hard surface road that linked Hirna with Harar, Dire Dawa and Jijiga. They came to Hirna for commercial purposes and controlled business activities in the town. They settled at the oldest part of Hirna, *qäbäle* 01 which was called by the town people Ganda Sumaalee (Somali Village).

There were also other ethnic groups (Gurage, Arsi and Gonder) that settled in Hirna with the occupation of handicrafts and artisanship. The local people called these skilled persons *näjjjaar* (persons with different skills). They came from different parts of Çärçär area with their occupations. The Itu Oromo had their own skillful craftsmen and artisans before the arrival of these groups. The Itu Oromo using their own skills produced various kinds of tools used for agricultural purposes. After people of other ethnicities came with various skills into Hirna, the Itu Oromo learnt several new kinds of occupations. The skilled persons made knives (*albee*), spears (*eeboo*), spade (*haakaafaa*) and axes (*qottu*). The tanners in Hirna town produced locally made beds and leather harness for oxen ploughing land. However, there were only a few weavers in Hirna, mainly those who came from Šäwa.⁸

With the expansion of government offices in the town after 1941, administrative officials, different people with different ethnic and linguistic background, came into Hirna with their families. This also created multi-ethnic and multi-lingual people in the town. In early the period of Italian colonial rule over the town some these multi-lingual and multi-ethnic groups resisted the colonial administration for a short time. Moreover, after the period of liberation the ethnic diversification in Hirna and other towns of the region was increased.⁹ The ethnic diversification of Hirna was mainly because of its strategic location between Addis Ababa and Harar as a cross road.

⁷ Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Fuad Ahmed.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

Mainly after the 1950s and 1960s there were movements of population from various ethnic groups into Hirna because of improvements of transportation from Addis Ababa into eastern Ethiopian towns and also Hirna. With the improvement of life in the town additional linguistic and ethnic groups came into Hirna and remained as permanent settlers. In this case, the Gurage and Argoba came into Hirna to earn money mainly trade and improve their life style.¹⁰

The Gurage (both the Muslims and Christians) and Arsi contributed a significant number of new language and ethnicity groups in Hirna town. The Gurage came into Hirna hoping for profitable business activities and better social life.¹¹ The Gurage were the chief suppliers of various kinds of clothes and other materials which they carried round the town to sell. They were engaged in retail shops and as merchants in the town and periodic markets. They still operate most of the retail shops in Hirna. They were also involved in every occupation in the town indiscriminately including shoe shining and selling tea and bread. Some of them were successful and became wealthy business owners in the town but others were not successful at all in transforming their life. As my informants underscore, the Gurage intermarried with the local people in the town and settled permanently.¹² Relationship among the neighboring communities of diverse ethnic and linguistic groups was said to be good until the end of the period of my thesis.¹³

Oral informants recall that a limited number of foreign people also settled in Hirna from 1941-1974. The oldest part of Hirna, *qäbälé* 01 above Hirna River (Lagaa Postaa) was the area where a few Yemenis, Arabs, Pakistanis, Armenians and Greeks had settled, some of whom were even present during the Italian invasion of 1935. The Yemenis, Arabs and Pakistani were engaged in wholesale and retail trade activities in market areas of the town. They were also the pioneers of big shops in the

¹⁰ Informants: *Šeik* Burqa Abdulkadir and *Wayzero* Momina Kadir.

¹¹ Informants: *Ato* Fuad Ahmed and *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa.

¹² Informants: *Wayzero* Momina Kadir and *Šeik* Burqa Abdulkadir.

¹³ Informants: *Wayzero* Aberash Habte; *Ato* Tafara and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

center of Hirna with various kinds of commodities.¹⁴ The most famous and well known Yemeni merchants in Hirna were Saliho and Mohammed Abdo. These individuals were involved in trade activities of the town for a long period of time. According to some of my informants the Yemenis and Arabs came from Dire Dawa and Harar into Hirna following the opening of the new hard surface trunk route that connected Hirna with Dire Dawa and Harar. Through a long stay they adopted the culture and language of the people around the town. They speak Amharic and Afaan Oromo as fluently as the native speakers. However, their life style was unchanged although they were influenced by some of the customs of the people of the town.¹⁵

The other foreign people to come to Hirna were a few French clerics. They came as Franciscan missionaries in the imperial regime in 1954 under *Abba* Andreas to preach Catholicism and settled in Jaaraa area 8km north east of Hirna town where they built a Catholic church in 1954.¹⁶ They settled outside Hirna town. They converted some rural people to the Catholic religion, mainly after the coming of *Abba* Daniel. The converted Catholics still occupy their own areas in and around Jaaraa. As informants told me, *Abba* Daniel left the area in the mid-1980s but had visited the area in the 1990s.¹⁷ Nowadays, there are no French in Jaaraa but the converted Catholics are still present in the area. Generally, the number of foreign people who settled in and around Hirna was very small when compared with other towns of Ethiopia. Some of the above foreign residents in Hirna left the town after the coming of *Därg* government. Some of them sold their properties such as houses for only a small amount of money. As my informant told me the Arabs sold their big houses having two storeys for only 10,000 *birr*.¹⁸ Informant recalls that the total number of Arabs who sold their properties

¹⁴ Informants: *Ato* Fuad Ahmed and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Addisu Ayalew, "A History of Catholic Religion in Hirna 1954-1998", (BA Thesis, Department of History, Wollaga University, 2012), p.9.

¹⁷ Informants: *Wayzero* Sara Birhanu and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

¹⁸ Informants: *Ato* Fuad Ahmed; *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa.

during their departure was two. Even he recalled that he had blood relationship with those Arabs. The total numbers of houses sold at that time were three each having two storeys.

5.2 Religion in Hirna

The people of Ethiopia have had long centuries of religious experience. Ethiopia (Aksum) was one of the earliest states to experience Orthodox Christianity and Islam. Unlike other countries, these religions were introduced to Ethiopia mainly through peaceful ways rather than using force. For the introduction of Islam, Arab Muslim merchants who traded in the Red Sea and coastal parts of Ethiopia had a leading role.¹⁹ In the same way Orthodox Christianity that has a long history in the country was introduced peacefully due to commercial and maritime ties with the Christian world.²⁰

Härärgé is the best known Islamic land in eastern Ethiopia. Islam came first in Härärgé. Härärgé is also inhabited by the followers of other religions such as Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and much more recently Protestantism. Since the Itu Oromo were the earliest settlers of Hirna and its environs, (since the 16th century) their traditional religious institution *waaqeffanna* was also the main religion in and around Hirna.²¹ For the Itu of the area *waaqeffanna* was the first religion than the others.

The Itu Oromo in Çärçär and Hirna were influenced by the nearby Hararis and by the Egyptian conquest of Härärgé in 1875-1885 to accept Islam.²² However, they were not influenced by Orthodox Christianity like other parts of Ethiopia. Orthodox Christianity only expanded into the area following the imperial conquest of Härärgé as a whole in 1887. However, Protestantism was a recent phenomenon in Çärçär and Hirna. Protestantism was introduced in Hirna mainly by the in-migrants who came for various reasons. The followers of this religion faced oppression and persecution until

¹⁹ J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1952) ,p.22.

²⁰ Steven Kaplan, "Kingship, Ethnicity and Christianity in Orthodox Ethiopia", *Church History and Religious Culture, Vol.89, No. 1/3, Religious Origins of Nations The Christian communities of Middle East*, 2009, pp.294-295; Dale H. Moore, "Christianity in Ethiopia", *Church History, Vol.5 No. 3* (Sep.1936), pp.271-272.

²¹ Addisu Ayalew, p.2.

²² Trimingham, p.31.

the 1990s which restricted its followers to practicing the religion in their own houses. Generally, studies show that the majority of the town's population was reported to have been followers of Islam. And it was estimated that at the end of the period of my thesis, from the town's population 76% were Muslims while 34.05% were Orthodox Christians. The remaining per cent were Protestants and others. The majority of Orthodox Christianities were speakers of Amharic language.²³

5.2.1. Indigenous Religion (*Waaqeffanna*)

The Oromo people had their own religion and cultural tradition in the socio-economic, political and spiritual lives organized under the *Gada* system. The groups of Oromo who moved to Härärge like other parts of Oromo used to practice the indigenous religion called *waaqeffanna*²⁴ until they were influenced either by Islam or Orthodox Christianity. In this traditional belief, there was no elaborate and complex set of rules and obligations to be performed regularly, as the case of the universal religions Orthodox Christianity and Islam.²⁵

The Itu Oromo in Hirna and its environs pray to their *waaqa* (supreme God) to give them enough rain for their crop, to let their children grow and keep their health good. They also express their gratitude to *waaqa* for giving them what they asked for and performed this traditional worship of *waaqeffanna* either individually or in a group. However, in time of great problems such as shortage of rainfall and other troubled conditions, they performed the worship gathering at a fixed place and prayed to *waaqa* led by the lead of elders.²⁶

There were also other major indigenous traditional practices in Hirna and its environs which used to be practiced by the people. These indigenous traditional practices included *Wadaajaa*, *Atete*, *Irrecha*,

²³ Ali Amin, p.22.

²⁴ Informants: *Šeik* Hassano Boru ; *Ato* Waday Ittu and Addisu Ayalew, p.3.

²⁵ Informants: *Šeik* Hassano Boru; *Ato* Waday Ittu and *Ato* Abdurahman Ahmed.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

Killa Qala and *Wareega*. *Wadaajaa* was practiced both by the Muslims and Christians of Hirna and its environs. It was common ritual ceremony mainly of thanksgiving for their Supreme God for what good He has done for them. *Atete*, the spiritual power of fertility, was worshiped during July or August. *Irrecha* was practiced near Bullalle Mountain at Hirna River (Lagaa Postaa) during September. *Killa Qala* was performed by using coffee seed and butter to predict the future. The *Wareega* spirit was worshiped by shedding blood or slaughtering a sheep, goats or chickens with different colors. It was practiced for good rain and protection from bad luck.²⁷

Itu Oromo in and around Hirna practiced the above indigenous religion under a big oak tree by the side of Hirna River at a place called Hujjuba.²⁸ Their close economic and social relations with the Hararis and the Egyptian conquest of Hārärge, however, strongly influenced the Itu to be converted to Islam. The contacts of the religious men with the local rulers also had a significant role in the conversion of the Itu into Islam. However, the Itu Oromo for some time resisted the Hararis and Egyptians in accepting Islam. Nevertheless, through time the Itu Oromo in Çärçär and Hirna were converted into Islam though the process of conversion continued until the 1970s.²⁹

5.2.2. Islam

The Arab Muslim merchants and a few Muslim missionaries who moved from the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden to central Ethiopia as far as north Šäwa contributed to the peaceful expansion of Islam in many parts of the Ethiopian regions.³⁰ As stated above, Islamic religion has a long history in Hārärge and the Arab Muslim merchants had a leading role in the introduction of Islam. After the Oromo moved into Hārärge a few began to accept Islam, being converted by *Šeiks* from Harar. However, the Itu resisted the expansion of the new religion into their land because they lived with their *gäda* system

²⁷ Informants: *Šeik* Hassano Boru; *Ato* Waday Ittu and *Ato* Abdurahman Ahmed.

²⁸ Informants: *Šeik* Hassano Boru; *Ato* Waday Ittu and Addisu, p.3.

²⁹ Labahn, p.148.

³⁰ Jon Abbik, "An Historical-Anthropological Approach to Islam in Ethiopia: Issues of Identity and Politics", *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol.11, No. 2, (Taylor& Francis, Ltd, Dec.1998), p.112.

intact. Although they were influenced by the politico-administration of the Hararis, they did not give up their cultural *gada* practice including their traditional religion.³¹

The spread of Islam among Çärçär and Hirna Itu Oromo was related to their contact with the neighboring Harari people who had adopted Islam as their religion long years before they did. The Harari adopted Islam following the arrival of Muslim communities to the coast of Ethiopia around the eighth century. These Muslim communities later began to appear in the interior parts along the trade route areas of Çärçär, of which Hirna is a part. During that time Harar served as a trade and Islamic center for the whole eastern part of Ethiopia.³²

As Trimmingham noted, the Egyptian occupation of the Härärge region as far as Hirna (1875-1885)³³ consolidated the influence of Islam among the Itu Oromo.³⁴ The Itu Oromo in Härärge were forced to accept Islam between 1875 and 1885 during the Egyptian occupation.³⁵ According to Trimmingham, “the Egyptians managed to decoy their chiefs into Harar and threw them into prison, then forced them to dissolve their parliament, deliver up their *Abba Boku*, cut off their... long hair and convert them to Islam.”³⁶ The Egyptians destroyed the *gada* system in Härärge and put pressure on the Itu to accept Islam. Following the coming of the Egyptians and their occupation of Härärge the socio-economic relations and ethnic interdependence between the Itu and Harari declined. This was because the Hararis joined with Egyptians to persuade the Itu Oromo to accept Islam. Mohammed Hassen also noted that the Härärge Oromo were influenced to adopt Islam by the Hararis.³⁷

³¹ Tesema Ta'a, “The Place of the Oromo in Ethiopian History: Oromo History to 1500” in *Journal of Oromo Studies*, Vol.11, No.1 and 2, 2004, p.4.

³² Terje Ostebo, “Religious Changes and Islam: The Emergence of Salafi Movement in Bale, Ethiopia,” in *Proceeding of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Volume 2*, ed. by Svein Ege and others, Trondheim, 2009, p.467; Trimmingham, p.205.

³³ Trimmingham, pp.120-121.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Trimmingham, p.121.

³⁷ Mohammed Hassen, “The Relation between Harar and the Surrounding Oromo Between 1800-1887”, (B.A Thesis, Department of History, Haile Sellassie I University, 1973), pp.6-18.

Until the Italians controlled Čärčär the construction of mosques in many towns like Hirna did not expand. The Italian colonial occupation (1936-1941) initiated the classical colonial “divide and rule” policy to favor Ethiopia’s Muslim population over the Christian political elite.³⁸ Italian colonial occupation formally recognized and encouraged Islam as the region’s leading religion in the whole of Härärge. The Italians favored the Muslims in order to get support from the Muslim communities for their rule. The Italians built and repaired mosques in many parts of Härärge.³⁹

During their brief colonial conquest of Ethiopia in order to discourage the Christian former dominant elites, the Italians pursued a pro-Islamic policy and the Muslims supported the Italians colonial administration mainly for their land policy.⁴⁰ They granted Muslims full freedom of religion and encouraged mosque building. In Hirna the construction of the first mosque was begun before the Italian controlled the town. The Italian colonial occupation of the town contributed to the establishment of the second mosque in Hirna. But before the construction of the mosque was completed the Italians were expelled from Hirna the construction of the mosque stopped for a few years. Although the construction of the mosque in Hirna was not completed, the Italians laid the ground for the construction of the mosque. Following the restoration of imperial power the Muslim communities in the town completed the construction of the mosque in 1958 and later added many more after 1991. The grand mosque of Hirna was and still is found in *qäbälé* 01 around the *wäräda* police station. This mosque served for Friday prayers (*Jumma*). However, the other mosques which are found in the center of the town gave religious services for the Muslim daily prayers.⁴¹

³⁸ Caulk, p. 467; Ostebo, p.467; Abbik, p.117.

³⁹ Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Abdella; *Ato* Fuad Ahmed and *Šeik* Burqa Abdulkadir.

⁴⁰ Tesema Ta’a, “The Place of the Oromo in Ethiopian History: Oromo History to 1500” in *Journal of Oromo Studies*, Vol.11, No.1 and 2, 2004, p.6.

⁴¹ Informants: *Ato* Mohammed Abdella; *Ato* Fuad Ahmed and *Šeik* Burqa Abdulkadir.

5.2.3. Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity

After the establishment of Orthodox Christianity in Ethiopia it had a slow rate of expansion in most parts of Härärge including Çärçär. Therefore, unlike Islam, Orthodox Christianity was for a time found only in some pockets areas of Çärçär. For instance, around Gaara Mulata after the conquests of Yeshaq (r.1414-1429) there were a few Christian communities. Until Çärçär was fully controlled by the Christian troops, following the conquest of *Däjazmzč* Walda Gabrel, most parts of the area were controlled by the Itu Oromo who practiced their traditional religion.⁴²

When the Christian kingdom became powerful, many Muslim states lost their independence and fell under the politico-economic domination of the Christian kingdom. This politico-economic domination over the Muslim states was consolidated and reached as far as the Harar plateau which also included Çärçär area. As stated above, during the reign of Emperor Yeshaq (r.1414-1429) the Christian kingdom expanded as far as Gaara Mulata, a few kilometers from Hirna, and Yeshaq established garrisons in the newly conquered areas. The arrival of these Christian settlers and the establishment of garrisons led to a small diffusion of Orthodox Christianity to that area.⁴³ This created the introduction of Orthodox Christianity to a few areas of the region that also included Hirna although there was no fast expansion to many parts of Çärçär.

Moreover, the number of followers of Orthodox Christianity in the whole of Çärçär area was very few until the forces of *Däjazmzč* Walda Gabrel conquered Çärçär and the people. However, after Menelik conquered Härärge, there was large population movement from north and central Ethiopia. These large numbers of people who came into Härärge and Çärçär had Orthodox Christianity as their religion. But except in a few parts of Çärçär area there was no church. There was Kedest Gabrel church and there was Kedest Giorgis church in Qullubi and Quni respectively. Qullubi Kedest Gabrel Church was built

⁴² Labham, p.148.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

by the order of *Ras Makonen*⁴⁴ while Quni Kedest Giorgis Church was built by the order of *Däjazmzč* Walda Gabrel. Therefore, Christian settlers in Çärçär, which also included Hirna, made a long journey as far as Quni and Qullubi to bury their dead, to baptize children and to join in annual and monthly celebration of saints.⁴⁵

When *Ras Tafari* appointed *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat as governor of Çärçär one of the immediate measures *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat took was the construction of churches in towns such as Asaba Tafari, Hirna and Balbaletti. Therefore, the oldest churches were constructed in Hirna, Balbaletti and Asaba Tafari in 1924 by the order of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. The oldest church in Hirna was called Kedest Sellassié church. The local people participated in the construction of the church by labor force. The budget for the construction of the church was provided from the *Awraja's* finance and the contribution of each Christian individual in the town.⁴⁶ My informants told me that *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat himself planned the area for the construction of the church and the Yemenis and Arabs were employed as day laborers and in turn they were given land in the town as wages for their work and they constructed residential house and commercial business in Hirna.⁴⁷

The construction site of Kedest Selassié church was related to the location of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat's house. Informants underscore that the church was constructed in front of the house of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat for his own religious purpose. He ordered the construction of the church on the hillside outside the town which could not support agricultural production. The church is still situated out of the town in the north. Hoping to be blessed by the Holy Trinity, the *tabot* (ark) and priests were brought from Dire Dawa by the orders of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat. Priests and deacons were brought from Dire Dawa and started to give the service in the church. Priests and deacons of

⁴⁴ *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat, pp.35-36.

⁴⁵ Informants: *Abba* Zewde Zarabruk and *Mamre* Tebebe Haile Maskel.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa.

Kedest Selassié church gave religious education to many young children of the town. These young children were able to read and write because of the education they received from the church. In this case the church contributed to expand education services in the town.⁴⁸

The second and much more recent church in Hirna was Kedest Mariyam church which is found in the heartland of the town. Kedest Mariyam *tabot* (ark) came into Hirna during the Ethio-Somali war of 1977-78 from Biyo Karaba. It was brought by Biyo Karaba Christians and the *tabot* stayed in a small wood and thatch house until it was taken to Kedest Selassié church in 1981.⁴⁹ The church of Kedest Mariyam was not constructed until recently in 1998. Until that time the ark stayed with the ark of Kedest Selassié in Kedest Selassié church. The land where the Kedest Mariyam church was built was bought in 1982 from a man named *Ato* Dababa Tafara for 3,000 *birr*.⁵⁰ Each Christian in the town contributed money for the construction of the church. Therefore, Kedest Mariyam *tabot* (ark) came out from Kedest Selassié church into the newly constructed church 1998. After the period of the *Därg*, part of the land of Kedest Mariyam church was taken away for the construction of government offices.⁵¹

5.2.4 Protestant Believers

The expansion of Protestant religion in Härärge generally and Çärçär particularly was very low when compared with other parts of the country. Protestant religion in Hirna is also a recent phenomenon. The first man in Hirna who attempted to preach Protestant religion was *Ato* Gada.⁵² He came to Hirna as a government employee from Addis Ababa around 1978. He and his family were Protestants of the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Makane Yesus (EECMY) church. Informants underscored that this man

⁴⁸ Informant: *Ato* Gashaw Tibebe.

⁴⁹ Informant: *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa.

⁵⁰ Informant: *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

⁵¹ Informants: *Abba* Zewde Zarabruk and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

⁵² Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu; *Ato* Dababa Tafara and *Ato* Tadasse.

tried many times to preach the religion and get followers in Hirna.⁵³ However, his aspiration to expand this religion was opposed by the people and *Därg* government officials in the town. Therefore, the size of Protestants in Hirna was few in their number until after 1991. Until 1991 Protestants in Hirna were not allowed to practice their religious rituals publicly. They practiced religious rituals and worshipped in their own houses and secret areas.⁵⁴

Since Protestant religion was not allowed to be preached in the town there was no Protestant church in Hirna until the 1990s. As stated above, the followers of the religion worshipped in their houses. Evangelization was not conducted in the town, like other parts of the country in the south during the imperial period. When the number of Protestants increased in the town because of employees of the civil services who were often Protestants, churches began to be constructed in Hirna after 1991. Unlike other religions in the town Protestants were not given land for the construction of their churches. The followers of the religion bought land in the town for church construction or they rented a house to hold their religious services. The earliest Protestant church built in Hirna was Mulu Wongel church to be built after 1998 in *qäbälé* 02 behind the *wäräda* police station.⁵⁵

5.3. Voluntary Associations in Hirna

The settlement patterns in Hirna interspersed without any kinds of distinction. Economic status, occupational type and ethnic origin were not taken into consideration in the settlement pattern of the people of the town. However, leprous people were segregated and forced to settle out of the town around Kedest Sellassié church which was found on the outskirts of the town. The people of the town settled in *qäbälé* 01 and 02 regardless of any kinds of differences. The residents of *qäbälé* 01 were involved in the sales of local drinks such as *ṭälla*, *aräke* and *ṭäjj* and also engaged farming. Between the 1950s and 1970s most civil servants in the town also settled in *qäbälé* 01 since the land of *qäbälé*

⁵³ Informants: *Ato* Yohanis Bisrat; *Ato* Tadassa and *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ; Donald Crummey, "Reviews", *Journal of Religion in Africa*, Vol.29, Fasc.4 (Nov., 1999), p.511.

⁵⁵ Informant: *Wayzero* Israel Balachew.

02 was in the hands of farmers and used for arable land. After the 1970s however, Hirna expanded into *qäbälé* 02 because of the master plan of the town and land was distributed by the municipality for house construction. This created good opportunities for the establishment of residential and business houses and increase of settlement pattern in the town.⁵⁶ (See also Appendix XIII)

The people in Hirna formed relationships and networks through the formation of social institutions such as *idir*, *märädaja mahbär* and *iqub*. These social institutions played a significant role in the consolidation of harmonious relationships among different people of the town. *Idir* is a form of self-help association which is believed to have been founded possibly by the Gurage (Sodo Kistane).⁵⁷ It was established for the essential purpose of mutual support at times of bereavement but also for coordinating efforts to address a variety of community concerns. *Idir* is formed by communities of religiously and ethnically heterogeneous people. Sometimes, however, the community would form an *idir* homogenously mainly in their own vicinity.⁵⁸

The origin of *idir* is attributed to urbanization and was started by migrants who came to work in the town or city.⁵⁹ Still some others have associated the large formation of *idir* to the Italian invasion⁶⁰ which caused rural population to move into urban areas. This displacement and frustration of people compelled the formation of institutions to help each other. Urban populations, unlike the rural communities, tend not to have such a strong bond in times of difficulties and emergency. Because of

⁵⁶ Informants: *Ato* Ababa Makuriya and *Ato* Abdurahman Bakar.

⁵⁷ Solomon Dejene, "Exploring *iddir*: Toward Developing a Contextual Theology of Ethiopia", in *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Volume 2*, ed. by Svein Ege and others, Trondheim, 2009, pp.536-537; Dejene Aredo, "An Informal Insurance Arrangement in Ethiopia," *Saving and Development Vol.34 No.1*, 2010, p.59.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 535.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Alula Pankhrust and Damen Haile Mariam, "The "Iddir" in Ethiopia: Historical Development, Social Function and Potential Role in HIV/AIDS prevention and Control" *Northeast African Studies, New Series, Vol.7, No.2*, (Michigan State University Press, 2000), p.39.

this reason the rural migrants in towns organized themselves, which necessitated the creation of associations and institutions.⁶¹

Idir can be formed in a neighborhood, for people of the same religion or people in the same work place. Research has shown that *idir* was also founded following the displacement of people from one place and disruption of social life by enemy attack or natural disaster. In this case people would be under social pressure to join an *idir*. Although *idirs* vary in size, composition, rules and approach, it is a widespread institution all over Ethiopia. The number of members in the *idir*, therefore, varies from twenty to one thousand, depending on the area and the network. People who joined an *idir* became members voluntarily,⁶² since they were living in the community they had a reason to become members of the *idir* to be like their neighbors.⁶³

The first *idir* in Hirna was established in the 1950s and people joined regardless of any differences.⁶⁴ The earliest form of self-help association as *idir* in Hirna was called Hirna Tullo Ber Märädaja Mahebär which later changed its name to Tullo Ber Idir. The association was formed in 1952. The secretary of this earliest self-help association was *Ato* Eshete Gabra Wald. The members of this association paid 0.10 cents every month. At that time the residents of the town were not divided into *qäbälés* and there was only one *idir*. The Muslims also became members of the association regardless of their religious difference. The members performed the mortuary rites, dug the grave and buried the corpse. Following the expansion and growth of the town members were tired of going long distance and this forced them to form another association. This led to the formation of Doba Ber Idir in *qäbälé* 01 in 1972 with *Ato* Abara Wandwasan as secretary.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Yonas Siefu, p.88.

⁶² Alula and Dame, p.41.

⁶³ Informants: *Ato* Masarat and *Ato* Tafara.

⁶⁴ Informants: *Ato* Buzayehu ; *Ato* Tafara and *Ato* Masarat; Alula and Damen, p.41.

⁶⁵ Informant: *Ato* Masarat Alamu.

After 1972, the most important and well known *idirs* in Hirna were Tullo Ber Idir, Doba Ber Idir, and Tokkumma Idir. The names of Tullo Ber Idir and Doba Ber Idir are related with their location. Doba Ber Idir is found in *qäbälé* 01 and got its name after 01 *qäbälé* which is located at the gate of Doba into Hirna. And Tullo Ber Idir is found in *qäbälé* 02 at the gate of Tullo area into the town. Tokkumma Idir was formed in recent years in the 1980s by the Muslim community in the town. The formation of this *idir* was initiated by the religious clerics in the town. The Muslim community both in *qäbälé* 01 and 02 became members of this *idir*. Membership of Tokkuma Idir was based on religious belief and Christians were not members. The three *idirs* help each other in times of holidays and difficulties. They lent materials and tools such as tents, plates, cups, chairs and desks in times of wedding and death. They shared happiness and sadness mainly during weddings and mourning services. The total number of members in these *idirs* varies from time to time since newly registered individuals come every day. The three *idirs* have thousands of members in Hirna.⁶⁶

Many government institutions and associations in Hirna were formed after the *Därg* took power. Following the decree of July 26, 1975 the *Därg* government ordered the formation of associations and institutions to control and eliminate opposition forces in towns. During this time the following associations were established in Hirna. These associations were the Women's Association, the Youth Association, the Zigita Woodwork Association, *Yä Hirna Kätäma Šämachoche Mahebär* (Hirna Town Buyers Association) and Hirna *qäbälé* 01 Tailors Association.⁶⁷ All of the above associations in Hirna were established in order to make the people take a pro-government active economic, political and social participation and to control everyday life. The *Därg* associations in Hirna were therefore, far

⁶⁶ Informants: *Ato* Yohanis and *Ato* Tafara.

⁶⁷ Archive from Tullo *Wäräda* Administration Office, File No. 21/11/23 a report written by groups of individuals on 12/08/1978 to the *wäräda* administrative office saying that they established association that supported the government policy in Hirna.

from the voluntary associations originating from and for the purposes of the people themselves but were to prevent opposition and create socialist awareness.⁶⁸

There were also many other groups of individuals who helped each other in the form of *märädaja mahebär* (see glossary). The main important *märädaja mahebär* in Hirna included *yä mämeheran märädaja mahebär* (Teachers Self-help Association), *yä guwada märädaja mahebär* (Household Self-help Association) and *yä Hirna kätäma Šámachoché Mahibär* (Hirna Town Buyers Association). As stated above many of the *märädaja mahebärs* in Hirna were formed after 1975. The *mahebärs* were also formed in different governmental offices and the *mahebärs* help each other in times of financial problems, sickness and wedding.⁶⁹

Another important voluntary institution in Hirna that consolidated relationship among different groups of people was *iqub*. *Iqub* can be defined as a form of traditional initial capital raising institution in which weekly or monthly contributions by members of a fixed amount of money are put together to raise capital for personal use and members take the whole collected monthly sum in turn. *Iqub* is formed mainly based on economic status, gender group, occupational group and neighborhood. Membership of *iqub* is based on voluntary and personal willingness. The main objective behind the formation of *iqub* was and still is accumulating and depositing money for emergency or future purposes. Based on the interest of the groups, members of *iqubs* vary in number. However, most of the time members of *iqub* vary from five to hundreds.⁷⁰

The oldest *iqub* in Hirna was formed by local drink sellers in *qäbälé* 01 in 1958. Their number was twenty-five. They contributed twenty *birr* every week. One individual contributed 80 *birr* per month and the total amount of money they contributed was 2000 *birr* in a month. Like most other *iqub*, the

⁶⁸ Informants: *Ato* Masarat Alamu and *Ato* Buzayehu Dhugasa; “Ya Mastawaqiya na Ya Propaganda Committee”, pp, 25-26.

⁶⁹ Informants: *Ato*:Solomon Mamo and *Ato* Ababa Makuriya; Ya Mastawaqiya na Ya Propaganda Committee”, pp, 25-34, p.25.

⁷⁰ Informants: *Ato*:Solomon Mamo and *Ato* Ababa Makuriya.

members had a judge and secretary who had a leading role in the institution. The judge and secretary formulated rules and regulations that should be respected by all members. According to their rules and regulations the judge and secretary took the first and the second round of collected money.⁷¹ The two individuals had a great responsibility concerning the money collected and members' discipline in the institution. They organized the group and collected the money every week and deposited it until the total was reached and given to the individual who took the money that month. However, with the passage of time other groups formed more *iqubs* in Hirna. The rich saved a large amount of money per week or month while the poor deposited smaller sums based on their own income.⁷²

The above social institutions had a leading contribution in the development of Hirna. *Idir* had a great contribution in the development and growth of Hirna town. In the infrastructural expansion of the town the three *idirs* contributed money, labor and materials. Tullo Ber and Doba Ber *idirs* gave both material and financial support towards the construction of developmental projects such as schools, roads and health services in the town. Informants underscore that before the 1990s the three *idirs* contributed more than 3,000 *birr* for infrastructural construction in the town⁷³. However, this amount of money did not change the face of the town.

Iqub also played a significant role in the development and growth of the people of Hirna town. The members would save money and improve their livelihood. The members also became alert to manage their money property since it was mandatory to contribute the fixed amount of money every week. This on the other hand encouraged an individual to be industrious. For many years the people in Hirna also saved money by *iqub* since there were no modern institutions like banks until 1980. Because of this reason, *iqub* as a traditional institution had a significant role in taking the place of banks until 1980. Generally, the above social institutions had a significant role in the development and growth of Hirna town.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Informants: *Ato*:Solomon Mamo and *Ato* Ababa Makuriya.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ Informants: *Ato* Tasfaye Zigta and *Ato* Masarat Alamu

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Conclusion

I have attempted to present a history of Hirna town from its foundation in 1924 to 1991 by exploring its social, economic, administrative and institutional areas. Ethiopia has a long history of urbanization from Aksum onwards. After Aksum many small towns were established in the country. These small towns of Ethiopia emerged because of internal and external factors. The main important internal factors included contacts of people for trade activities at market places, religious purposes and military importance of an area either to defend or attack enemies which caused the establishment of *kätāmas* (garrisons). Market areas, religious places and strategic military and political areas later grew into small towns. The external factor was mainly related with the Italian colonial occupation of Ethiopia from 1936-1941.

Small towns in Härärge were also formed because of the above factors. Most towns in Härärge and Çärçär arose in areas where the caravan merchants crossed and took a rest when they traded between Harar and Šäwa. However, a few towns like Galamso were the centers of *Buta* ceremonial activity and later grew into towns. Hirna town was founded because of the establishment of market and also Takla Hawariyat had an immense role in its foundation. This was because it was he who established the market in Hirna and sold land for merchants to construct shops.

From 1924-1941 Hirna did not show urban progress except from 1924-1935. From 1924-1935 the church was constructed and a road was built to link Hirna with Asaba Tafari and a few urban facilities were introduced. In 1930 *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat resigned governing Çärçär and stayed in Hirna for the town improvement. He introduced a grain mill operated by a diesel generator and constructed a modern house in Hirna. His plan to modernize the town was interrupted because of the Italian colonial occupation of Hirna in October 1936.

The Italian colonial occupation of Çärçär and Hirna was not smooth, as in other parts of the country. The Italians were resisted by the leaders of patriots in Çärçär. The Italians were also resisted by the people of Hirna and few other foreign residents of the town. Yemenis dug trenches to fight the Italians when they approached the town. However, every attempt to block the Italians from entering the town was not successful. The Italians occupation of Hirna did not show urban progress in the town. They had only a small role in the creation of Hirna as a real town.

After the liberation, the movement of people both from short and long distances into Hirna increased. This was mainly following the construction of the hard surface trunk road that crossed Hirna from Addis Ababa into Harar and Dire Dawa. People moved into Hirna after the formation of government and private organizations. This was because various kinds of job opportunities were introduced in the town such as handicrafts, commerce, services and others. It was during this time that the town showed urban progress. As the town began to show urban progress, multi-ethnic and lingual groups settled in Hirna. The Šäwans, Gurage, Silti and Arsi were some of the ethnic and lingual groups that settled in Hirna while foreign residents in Hirna included Yemenis, Arabs and a few French.

From 1960 onwards Hirna was administrated by a municipality. The main sources of revenue the municipality collected included from private and government organizations, trade activities, service sectors and land. Then in 1976 the municipality conducted the study of a master plan of the town and Hirna was divided into two urban *qäbälés* and four rural *qäbälés*. In 1977 Hirna became one of self-administered town in Çärçär Adal and Gara Guracha *awraja*.

After the mid-the1960s student movement in Hirna was one of the biggest historical phenomena in the town. The movement was started in 1969 and intensified in 1974. The main important activists behind the student movement in Hirna were teachers, government employees, rich merchants in the town and university students from the Haile Selassie I University and Alemaya Agricultural College.

The student movement agitated the town's population and reached its climax in February 1974 when demonstrations were held in Hirna.

In September 1974 the *Därg* took power in the country. The *Därg* soon issued declarations and proclamations at national level. Following different proclamations of the *Därg* at a national level, measures were taken in many towns including Hirna. Extra house were confiscated in the town. The houses were then rented out for small amounts of money for those who had no house. This solved the problem of housing in Hirna for a time. The people of Hirna also welcomed the *zämäčä* proclaimed by the government. The people of the town also responded happily to the *Yä Enat Hagar Teri* (Mother Land Call) during the Somalia invasion of 1977-1978. However, opposition groups emerged in Hirna against the *Därg* government. These were EPRP, OLF and ONDF. But intimidation and repression from the government officials in the town caused the opposition groups to cease their political movement in the town. At the end of the *Därg* regime the OLF revived and was able to control Hirna until the EPRDF arrived in the town.

The growths of service sectors in Hirna were insufficient. The first modern school in Hirna was Hirna Number One School. The school was established in 1946 by the people with the support of the government. During the *Därg* period the number of modern schools increased to five. Modern health service in Hirna was started in 1960 following the Malaria Eradication Program launched at a national level. The Hirna, (Laga Postaa) river was the main source of water supply for Hirna until 1981. In 1981 ground water was drilled and each household began to get piped water. From 1958-1984 Hirna had a six hour electric services supplied by a private businessman; *Ato Biru Gabra Wald*. In 1984 Hirna got hydro electric power supply for 24 hours. The modern road transportation in Hirna was first made by *Fitawrari Takla Hawariyat* when he connected Hirna with Biyo Karaba. Then in 1960s the Imperial Highway Authority signed an agreement with Marphlis road contractor and the

hard surface trunk road that crossed Hirna to Harar and Dire Dawa was constructed. Hirna had also telecommunication service from 1978 onwards.

Many of the people outside Hirna got their livelihood from agricultural production. Sorghum was the main staple crop of Hirna area while khat and avocado were the main staple cash crops produced outside Hirna. The people in the town supported their life mainly from commercial activities. The main important religious beliefs in Hirna were Ethiopian indigenous religions, Islam, Orthodox Christianity and more recently Protestantism. *Waaqeffana* was the oldest indigenous religious belief practiced by the Itu before their conversion to Islam. Orthodox Christianity was expanded after the conquest of Menelik into the area. The people in Hirna formed relationships and networking through social institutions; *idir*, *iqub* and *maradaja mahber*. There were three *idirs* in Hirna namely: Tullo bar, Doba bar and Tokkuma. Tullo bar *idir* was the oldest in Hirna that was formed in 1958. During the *Därg* period a number of associations were formed with the government intention to support the government's political aims and to maintain central over the people.

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List of Informants

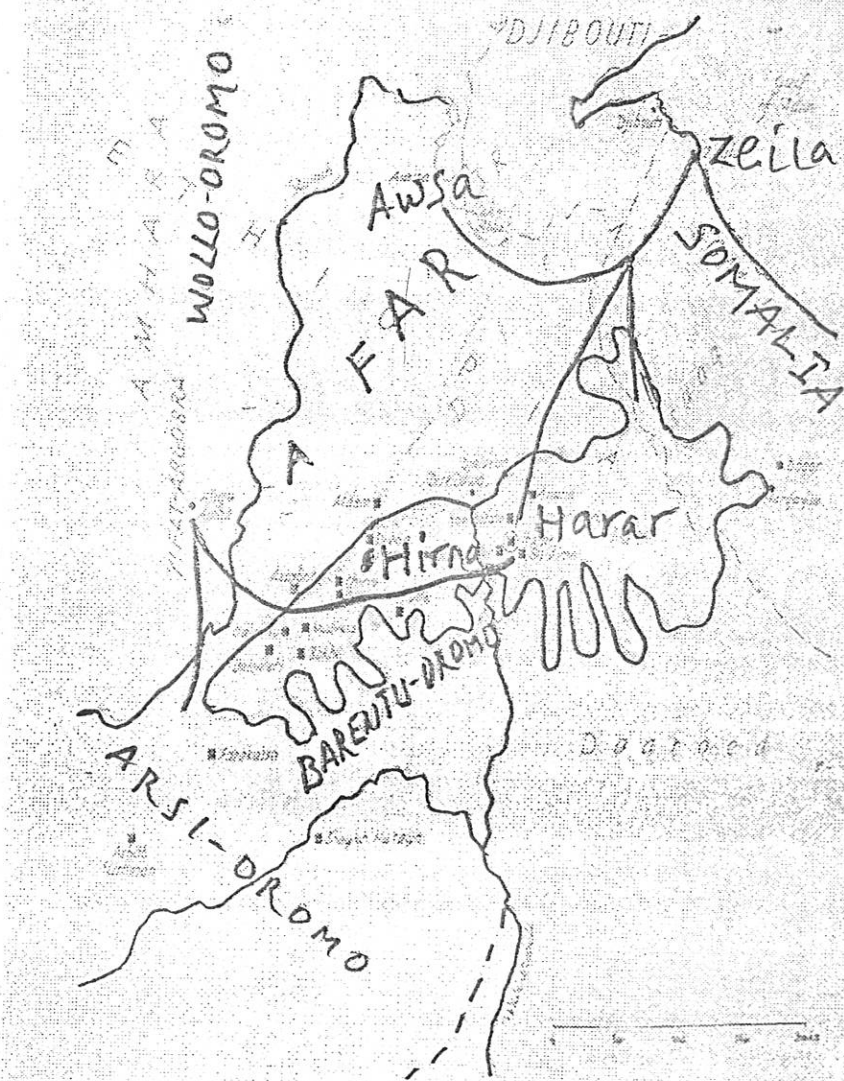
No	Name of Informants and title	Age	Place and date of interview	Remarks
1	Ababa Makuriya (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Hirna 31-09-2014	He was the member of the committee in the municipality from 1979-1982
2	Abarash Habte (<i>Wayzaro</i>)	54	Hirna 06-02-2015	She was born and grew up in Hirna and knew about the modern house of <i>Fitawrari</i> Takla Hawariyat.
3	Abdu Abraham (<i>Ato</i>)	79	Dabbasso 2-5-2015	He has good knowledge about Hirna market because he bought livestock from Hirna and sold it in Asaba Tafari.
4	Abdurahman Baker (<i>Ato</i>)	68	Hirna 2 3-07-2015	Head of Hirna town municipal office from 1986-88. He has good knowledge about the foreign residents in Hirna.
5	Abdurahman Usso (<i>Ato</i>)	78	Dabbasso 12-05-2014	He has good knowledge about the immigrants in Hirna.
6	Ahmed Yusuf (<i>Ato</i>)	56	Hirna 08-12-2014	He is knowledgeable in relation to the commercial activities in Hirna.
7	Balay Hailu (<i>Ato</i>)	52	Hirna 21-06-2015	He came to Hirna after 1974 as a teacher and he has good knowledge about the development of the town during and after <i>Därg</i> period.
8	Berhan HaileMaskel (<i>Ato</i>)	88	Chiro 08-01-2015	He knows about the private orchard of <i>Fitawrari</i> Takla Hawariyat in Hirna.
9	Burqa Abdulkadir (<i>Shiek</i>)	65	Hirna 03-03-2015	He is a Somali who has a hotel in Hirna and has good knowledge about the Somali and Argobas in Hirna.
10	Buzayahu Dhugaasa (<i>Ato</i>)	68	Hirna 21-11-2014	He was born and grew up in Hirna and has good knowledge about the condition of Hirna during and after the imperial period.
11	Dabbaba Tafara (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Hirna 22-07-2015	He is the son of a <i>balabat</i> in Hirna and knows about the student movement.
12	Emebet Bogale (<i>Wayzaro</i>)	43	Hirna 07-08-2015	She has good knowledge about the municipality because she was typist there and her husband was the mayor of Hirna from 1988-1989
13	Engeda Haile (<i>Ato</i>)	64	Hirna 08-07-2015	He has good knowledge about Hirna market.
14	Fuad Ahmed (<i>Ato</i>)	58	Hirna 21-04-2015	He is a knowledgeable person in <i>qäbäle</i> 01 and he knows the <i>Därg</i> period and its impact on the town.
15	Gashaw Tebebe (<i>Ato</i>)	47	Hirna 15-05-2015	He has good information from his father about church education in Hirna.

No	Name of Informants and title	Age	Place and date of interview	Remarks
16	Germa Ayale (<i>Ato</i>)	68	Hirna 12-06-2015	He has good knowledge about Hirna during the <i>Därg</i> period.
17	Gizaw Ababa (<i>Ato</i>)	44	Baddessa 7-8-2014	Born in Baddessa and has good knowledge about Galamso town.
18	Gulelat Fanta (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Hirna 16-12-2014	He was born and grew up in Hirna has good memory of the <i>Därg</i> period in the town.
19	Israel Balachew (<i>Wayzaro</i>)	48	Hirna 12-01-2015	She has good knowledge about Protestantism in Hirna and churches built in the town.
20	Kadir Abraham (<i>Ato</i>)	52	Hirna 12-7-2015	He was born and grew up in Hirna and knew many of the in-migrants in Hirna who came from the nearby areas.
21	Kaasaayee Bilelegn (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Hirna 21-05-2015	He has good memory of the student movement in Hirna. Since he was one of the participants of the movement in the town, he told me much information.
22	Lagasa Wondemu (<i>Ato</i>)	63	Maxaqasha 23-04-2015	He has a good knowledge about Hirna from 1974-1991.
23	Lamma Dadi (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Hirna 26-06-2015	He has good knowledge about the formation and progress of Hirna town municipal administration.
24	Lulu Endashaw (<i>Ato</i>)	68	Hirna 27-11-2014	He has good knowledge about livestock production and fattening oxen in and outside Hirna.
25	Masarat Alamu (<i>Ato</i>)	58	Hirna 13-08-2015	Born in Hirna and participant of the student movement in Hirna. He has good knowledge about the town.
26	Masfen Bahiru (<i>Ato</i>)	56	Hirna 23-04-2015	He came to Hirna during the last period of the imperial regime and has good knowledge about the <i>därg</i> period and its rule on Hirna.
27	Mohammed Abdalla (<i>Ato</i>)	42	Chiro 20-01-2015	He has good information about the Italian occupation of Hirna. Currently he is the head of tourism office in Hirna.
28	Mohammed Mume (<i>Sheik</i>)	76	Hirna 11-05-2014	He has good knowledge about the early history of Hirna.
29	Momina Kadir (<i>Wayzaro</i>)	84	Hirna 02-11-2014	She is an old woman with much information about the town and the people of Hirna.
30	Mustafa Abdalla (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Dabasso 11-05-2015	One of the participants of the <i>zämächa</i> program in Hirna and its environs.

No	Name of Informants and title	Age	Place and date of interview	Remarks
31	Sara Berhanu (<i>Wayzaro</i>)	52	Jaaraa 22-07-2015	She has good knowledge about the Catholic who lives in Jaaraa and she was visited by Abba Daniel in the 1990s.
32	Sentayehu Aklilu (<i>Ato</i>)	52	Hirna 15-10-2014	He has good information about Hirna town from elders. And he collected historical information from elders.
33	Shemelis Hayle (<i>Ato</i>)	67	Hirna 12-03-2015	He lived a long time in Hirna and has good knowledge about khat and khat merchants in the town.
34	Solomon Mamo (<i>Ato</i>)	56	Hirna 23-05-2015	He is a history teacher at Hirna Secondary School and has good knowledge about associations formed during the <i>Därg</i> period in the town.
35	Taddasa Tasfaye (<i>Ato</i>)	64	Hirna 15-11-2014	He was one of the in-migrants who came to Hirna and owned a private business in the town.
36	Tafara Baqqala (<i>Ato</i>)	72	Hirna 21-3-2015	He came to Hirna from Wallo as a government employee and stayed in Hirna for 30 years. He has good information about the relationship among the people of Hirna.
37	Tebebe Haile Meskel (<i>Mamre</i>)	78	Hirna 17-04-2015	He has served at Kedest Selassie church and has good knowledge about the church in Hirna.
38	Terunesh Ababa (<i>Wayzaro</i>)	75	Hirna 23-02-2015	She came to Hirna with her husband following the Malaria Eradication Program and has good memory of the town after the 1960s.
39	Tesfaye Zigta (<i>Ato</i>)	84	Hirna 21-10-2014	He was the son of a <i>balabat</i> around Hirna. He had good knowledge about the settlers at Chitu Mountain and the town in general.
40	Yohannes Besrat (<i>Ato</i>)	44	Hirna 15-05-2015	He is a knowledgeable person about Hirna after the period of imperial government.
41	Zabbana Yelma (<i>Ato</i>)	63	Hirna 25-03-2015	He has a good knowledge about Hirna and its surrounding.
42	Zewde Zarabruk (<i>Abba</i>)	73	Hirna 07-04-2015	A priest at Kedest Selassie church and was teaching young boys for the status of deacons.

Appendix I

MAP SHOWS gārçäät



--- International boundary
 ~~~~~ Harar plateau

- AFAR Ethic groups
- Dir Small subgroups
- Major currents of Islamisation between the 10th and 14th centuries
- Towns
- Villages

## Appendix II

**Photo 3** *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat who founded Asaba Tafari and Hirna as towns



Photo taken from the autobiography of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat

## Appendix II

**Photo 3** *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat who founded Asaba Tafari and Hirna as towns



Photo taken from the autobiography of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat

Appendix III

Photo 2 The second house of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat in Hirna



Photo taken by Chala Jemal on June 2015

## Appendix III

**Photo 1** The House of *Fitawrari* Takla Hawariyat built in Hirna that people called *Mana Faranjicha* (foreigner's house)



Photo taken by Million Yelma on June 2015



# Appendix IV

ቁ፡ጥር : 348/3

ኮሌጂ ሙስሊም ጽ/ቤት

የሐረር ፡ ጠቅላይ ፡ ገዛት ፡

21 (አለዘ) አለዘ ባለጉዳዩ በዐዋጅ መሠረት ከ1937 ዓ.ም. በፊት በልዩ ልዩ ዎስገደት የተወሰደው ርስታቸን ይመለስልን ብላችሁ አመልክታችኋል ወይ ብለን ስንጠይቃቸው አንጻጻዎቹ አላመለከትንም ይላሉ። አንጻጻዎቹም አመልክተናል የሚሉ በመሆናቸው ማመልከቻቸው አንዲረዳን ስናዘ በዚያን ጊዜ የመሥሪያ ቤቶቹ የደብዳቤ ጥቅም ለማድረግ ያልተደረገ ስራ ነበረ፤ ለጊዜው ባለው አየተረፈለገ ሰጭገላቸው በመቀረቱ። //

ከ37 ዓ.ም. በፊት አላመለከትንም የሚሉትን ስለአቤታቸው አገራ ረብ ደዋቹ ጊዜ ተላልፏልና ጉዳዩን አያይላችሁም ስለም ነላቸው፤ አመልክተን ነበር ለሚሉትም ያመለክታበት ሰጭገላቸው በመቀረቱ በባዎቹ ባለጉዳዩቹ ከፍጆላ ቸገር ይርሰባቸዋል። //

ስለዚህ የመላኝ መንገድ በገምትና በልዩ ልዩ ማስገደድ ወስደንት የነበረው በታዘራ በመንገድ አጭሆና በታወ ወይንት ለመንገድ የሚያስፈልግ ሰው ሰጭገላቸው ባለርስታ ከመላኝ ገምት በልዩ አንደሆነ ገምቱን ለመንገድ ከፍሎ አንዲመለስ ሲያመለክት፤ ላቤታታ ማቀረቢያ የተወሰነው ጊዜ የተላለፈ በመሆኑ አያይላሁም መባሉ ተርቶ አሁን በሚደቀው አዲስ ማመልከቻ መሠረት ነገሩ በከሚቱ አየታዩ አሰረላገው አንዲወሰንለት ሲደረገ ሕዝቡ የሚጠቀሙት ከመሆኑም በላይ ላስተዳደሩም የሚመቸው ሰለታዩ፣ ከብር ነትዎ በጉዳዩ አስበባት አንዲደገብ ሆነ የሚመረኮት ትክክዘ አንዲደስተላልፍልን ስል በማክበር አመልክታለሁ። //

ኩሎኔል ክፍሌ ዐርገተ  
የሐረር ጠቅላይ ገዛት  
አንደራሴ



1523  
2076  
የድንገተኛ ሥራ ሪፖርት  
የድንገተኛ ሥራ ሪፖርት  
የድንገተኛ ሥራ ሪፖርት

ከሰነድ ሪፖርት ጋር  
ከሰነድ ሪፖርት ጋር

Handwritten signature and notes in Amharic script.



# Appendix IV

ቁ፡ጥር፡ 348/2

25

ሐ.ረ.ር. ጠቅላይ ገዛት

የሐ.ረ.ር. ጠቅላይ ገዛት

21 (ሰለሠ) እነዚህ ባለጉዳዮች በዐዋጅ መሠረት ከ1937 ዓ.ም. በፊት በልዩ ልዩ መስገደት የተወሰደው ርብታቸን ይመለከታል። በባሕርይ አመልካቾቻቸው ወይም በሌሎች ስጦታዎች አገልግሎት አላጠላኩም ይላሉ። አገልግሎት አመልካቾች የሚሉት በመሆናቸው ማመልከቻቸው አገልግሎት ሰጪው በዚያን ጊዜ የመሥሪያ ቤቶች የደብዳቤ አገልግሎት በሚሰጡበት ደረጃ ስለሚገኝ ለዚህ ዓይነት ስራ ስራው አገልግሎት ሰጪውን ሰው በመቀረብ //

በ37 ዓ.ም. በፊት አላጠላኩም የሚሉትን ስለአቤቱታቸው አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች ጊዜ ተለጠፈና ጉዳዩን አያይላቸውም ስለመገኘታቸው አመልካቾች ነበር ለሚሉትም ያመለከቱበት ርዕዮተኝነት በመቀረብ በባለሙያዎች ባለጉዳዮች ከፍጥነት ገብ ርዕዮተኝነት አለ። //

ስለዚህ የጠላት መገንጠያ በገጠሞችና በልዩ ልዩ ማስገደድ ወሰደት የነበረው በታዘረ በመገንጠያ አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች ለመገንጠያ የሚሰጠው ስራ ስራው ስለሆነ ባለረብሎቹ ከጠላት ገጠሞች በልዩ አገልግሎት ገጠሞች ለመገንጠያ ከፍተኛ አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች ሆኖታል። የተወሰነው ጊዜ የተሰጠው በመሆኑ አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች ከሆኑ በሚደቀሙ አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች መሠረት ነገሩ በከፊት አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች ስራ ስራው የሚጠቀሙበት ከመሆኑም በሌላ ሰዎች የሚሰጡ ስራ ስራዎች ከባለሙያዎች በጉዳዩ አስፈላጊነት አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች የሚሠሩበት ትክክለኛ አገልግሎት ሰጪ ሰዎች አመልካቾች ስራ ስራው በማክበር አመልካቾች ስራ ስራው //

ኩሎኔል ክፍለ ዕርገተ  
የሐ.ረ.ር. ጠቅላይ ገዛት  
አገልግሎት



Handwritten signature and notes in Amharic script.

1523  
2076  
Handwritten notes and stamps in Amharic script.



የሐረር፣ ጠቅላይ፣ ገዛት፡፡

2

16/1/16

11/82764  
13/02/14

Appendix IV  
ቁጥር፡ 348/3

ክር. መስከረም ፳፻፲፱ ቀን፡ ጊዜያዊ ግንባታ

17

ለከቡር ደግሞች መስፍን ስለሺ  
ደገር ገዛት ጫኒስትር፡፡

አዲስ አበባ

ከቡር ሆይ

የኢህአዴግ መንገድ ርዕሰ ቤቱን በገጠማ ሆነ በለውጥ አንዲህም በጣሰገደዬ የወሰደባቸው ሰዎች ርዕሰ ቤቱ አንዲመለሰላቸው ወይም ገጥሞ አንዲከፈላቸው ሲጠይቁ አቤቱታቸውን አንዲተባብሩ የተፈቀደው የርዕሰ ክመላላሽ ኮሚቴ በ2ኛ ዓመት ተግባር 2 ጥቅምት 21/35 ዓ.ም. በወጣው ነጋሪት ጋዜጣ አዋጅ መሠረት ከ19 37 ዓ.ም. በፊት ጠላት የወሰደው ርዕሰ ቤቱ መለስ ሲሉ ደመለስተትን ሰዎች አቤቱታ ተቀብሎ በመሥራት ላይ ነው፡፡ //

ነገር ገን ከላይ አንደተገለጸው የጠላት መንገድ ርዕሰ ቤቱን በ ገጥሞ በለውጥና በጣሰገደዬ ወሰደባቸው አሁን በታወቀው መንገድ ሆነው ሥራ ሰይዘ ለጭላም ሰው ሰይዘው በመንገድ አጅ አንዲህ የሚገኘው በመሆኑ ከጠላት የተቀበልነ ውን ገጥሞ ከፍለገን ይለቀቅልን ሲሉ የሚደመለስተት ብዙ ናቸው፡፡ //

አኛም የአቤቱታቸው ሁኔታ ለመረጋገጥ ጥያቄ ስናደርገው ዛሬ በታወቀው መንገድ የሚደሰሰልንና ለሰው ያልተሰጠ ሆኖ ከጠላት ባለርስቶቹ የባሉትንም ገጥሞ ሆነው መልሰው ለለቀቅላቸው የሚቻል መሆኑን የከፍሎ ባለሥልጣን ከረጋገጠልን በኋላ፣ የርዕሰ ክመላላሽ ኮሚቴ ይህን በመሰሰለው ጉዳይ ስለሚቀርብለት አቤቱታ በጥቅምት 21/35 ዓ.ም በ2ኛ ዓመት ተግባር 2 የወጣውን ነጋሪት ጋዜጣ ስንመለከት

" የኢህአዴግ መንገድ በውርስ፣ በገጠማ ገጥሞም በሌላ በሚደሰገደዬ አዲስ ራሱ ወሰደ ስለደዘቸውና ወይም ለሌሎች ሰዎች አሳልፎ ስለሰጣቸውም አርስቶ ከነዚህ ርዕሰ ቤቱ ወይም በነዚህ ርዕሰ ቤቱ ላይ ስላለው ስለጣናቸውም መብት፣ ይህ ዐቆጅ ከሚጠየቅ ት ቀን ጭር አቤት ባዳቹ አቤቱታቸውን አስከ 12 ወር ለር ስት ኮሚቴ ጥቅረብ አለባቸው፡፡ ይህ ጊዜ ከላፈ በኋላ ገን ጥ ናቸው ገጥሞ አቤቱታ ኮሚቴው አይተባብሩም" ማክሙን፡፡

ከርሰን  
9/2/49  
ገልጌ

የሚል ነው፡፡ //

ገንባታ

ጥጊል 35



Appendix IV

የጥጊል ቁጥር 836/ሀ/350/ሀ

አድርጎ

የጥጊል ቁጥር

ተገቢ ወቅት

ገ.ገ.

የኢትዮጵያ ገንዘብ ገዢዎች መንግሥት

የሰራተኛ ጠቅላይ ገዢዎች

ጽሕፈት ቤት

ገ.ገ.

|            |        |            |   |
|------------|--------|------------|---|
| የገንዘብ ቁጥር  | 23.350 | የገንዘብ ዓይነት | ሀ |
| የገንዘብ ዓይነት | 2658   | የገንዘብ ቁጥር  | ሀ |

ለከፍተኛ የገንዘብ ገዢዎች

አዲስ አበባ

ከፍተኛ ሆኖ:

የኢህአዴግ መንግሥት ርስታቸውን በገምት ሆነ በለጠጥ አገዳሚ በጣሰገደዱ የወሰደባቸው ሰዎች ርስታቸው አገልግሎት ውጭ ገምት አገልግሎት አገደደገቡ ሆኖ የጣረጠሩት ትክክል ለአገልግሎት ሰጪ ተቋም 348/3 መስሪያ 23 ቀን 49 ዓ.ም. የጸደቀውን ደብዳቤ አያስታወቁም፡፡ //

አሁን በዚህ ምክንያት ሰጠው ያቀረቡት ሰዎች በየጊዜው አየተመለሱ ከጣሰታዎት አላጀረጠም፡፡ //

ስለዚህ ከላይ በተጠቀሰው ተቋም ለጸደቀው ደብዳቤ ለሥራው አፈጻጸም ይዎቸን ዘንድ ጠቅላይ አገልግሎት ደገገው በጣከበር አያስታወቁም፡፡ //

ከጣከበር ሰላምታ ገር።

የጥጊል ቁጥር 836/ሀ/350/ሀ  
 የገንዘብ ቁጥር 23.350  
 የገንዘብ ዓይነት 2658  
 የገንዘብ ቁጥር 2133/44



አዲስ አበባ  
 25  
 3/50

የጥጊል ቁጥር  
 18/3/50  
 የገንዘብ ቁጥር  
 2133/44

የጥጊል ቁጥር



## Appendix V

From 1960-1983 the municipality registered the following organizations to facilitate tax collection.

**Table 1** Lists of government, private and public organizations in Hirna and a title.

| No | Name of government and private Organizations | Private organizations | Government Organizations | Public | Total |
|----|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|--------|-------|
| 1  | Grinding mills                               | 5                     | 2                        | -      | 7     |
| 2  | Tea houses                                   | 26                    | -                        | 1      | 27    |
| 3  | Drinking house                               | 32                    | -                        | -      | 32    |
| 4  | Butcher house (Christians and Muslims )      | 10                    | -                        | -      | 10    |
| 5  | Bars and restaurants                         | 50                    | -                        | -      | 50    |
| 6  | Ṭāj, ṭāla and arāke houses                   | 7                     | -                        | -      | 7     |
| 7  | Abattoirs                                    | -                     | 1                        | -      | 1     |
| 8  | Skin and hides collector                     | 2                     | -                        | -      | 2     |
| 9  | Grain storage                                | 2                     | -                        | -      | 2     |
| 10 | Barber houses                                | 4                     | 1                        | -      | 1     |
| 11 | Pharmacies                                   | 2                     | -                        | -      | 2     |
| 12 | Gas station                                  | 2                     | -                        | -      | 2     |
| 13 | Shops                                        | 34                    | 1                        | 2      | 37    |

Sources: Hirna Town Municipal Administration, Ya Hirna Katama Tarik, 1983, p.3

## Appendix vi

**Table 2** Land sold or issued in square meter for the construction of private and government organizations from 1960-1983

| No    | Land distributed in square meter | Kinds and quantity of houses constructed |                       |                   |
|-------|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
|       |                                  | Private residence house                  | Private organizations | Government office |
| 1     | 67,228.38                        | 388                                      | -                     | -                 |
| 2     | 17,254.20                        | -                                        | 55                    | -                 |
| 3     | 79,257.24                        | -                                        | -                     | 35                |
| Total | 163,739.82                       | 388                                      | 55                    | 35                |

Source: Hirna Town Municipal Administration, "Ya Hirna Katama Tarik, 1983", p.4

## Appendix VII

**Table 3** The fundamental works done from 1960-1983 by the municipality after its establishment

| Numbers | Year and month urban development accomplished |      |      | Urban development accomplished by the municipality                                                                                                                                             |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------|------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|         | Month                                         | Date | Year |                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 1       | June                                          | 14   | 1960 | The town municipality was established and the total number of the population was registered at 5,617 male 2919 and female 2698.                                                                |
| 2       | June                                          | 14   | 1961 | The town municipality built its own office in Hirna                                                                                                                                            |
| 3       | March                                         | 10   | 1961 | The municipality bought a horse drawn cart to clear wastes                                                                                                                                     |
| 4       | January                                       | 23   | 1962 | The municipality constructed one medium scale abattoir                                                                                                                                         |
| 5       | June                                          | 18   | 1964 | The municipality upgraded the stream into a pipeline for urban water                                                                                                                           |
| 6       | April                                         | 12   | 1967 | The municipality built water pipeline around the town post office                                                                                                                              |
| 7       | February                                      | 18   | 1971 | The municipality built the market with building materials                                                                                                                                      |
| 8       | February                                      | 23   | 1971 | The municipality conducted master plan study of the town which was put into action in 1976.                                                                                                    |
| 9       | October                                       | 18   | 1974 | The municipality built bridges in the town around <i>qäbälé</i> 02 library                                                                                                                     |
| 10      | August                                        | 30   | 1974 | The municipality surrounded the livestock market with fences                                                                                                                                   |
| 11      | November                                      | 11   | 1974 | The town municipality constructed roads within the town                                                                                                                                        |
| 12      | November                                      | 11   | 1974 | The roads in the town were paved with gravel stone                                                                                                                                             |
| 13      | December                                      | 14   | 1976 | The road that led to the municipality office was paved                                                                                                                                         |
| 14      | December                                      | 14   | 1978 | The road in <i>qäbälé</i> 01 was paved and repaired                                                                                                                                            |
| 15      | January                                       | 8    | 1979 | The municipality introduced electric services for the town people                                                                                                                              |
| 16      | June                                          | 10   | 1980 | The municipality conducted road repairing in the town                                                                                                                                          |
| 17      | April                                         | 15   | 1983 | The municipality built water tank for the town and water distribution areas ( <i>bono</i> ) were constructed. Each individual in the town were also able to get pipeline water in their house. |

Source: Hirna Town Municipal Administration, "Ya Hirna Katama Tarik, 1983", 4

# Appendix VIII

Y

## HA 790 UC 7: 107

Handwritten notes at the top of the page, partially obscured by the header and other markings.

Handwritten notes on the left side of the page, including mathematical expressions and calculations.

| Handwritten Label | Value 1 | Value 2 | Value 3 |
|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Handwritten       | 408     | 53      | 4.7     |
| Handwritten       | 303     | 120     | 5.7     |
| Handwritten       | 300     |         | 5.0     |
| Handwritten       | 86      | 60      | 1.0     |
| Handwritten       | 72      |         |         |
| Handwritten       | 120     |         | 1.5     |
| Handwritten       | 218     | 40      | 3.2     |
| Handwritten       | 1.37    | 24.5    | 1.5     |

Main body of handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including detailed calculations and conclusions.

# Appendix VIII

Y

ከዚህ በኋላ፡ በተመለከተት፡ አገራችን፡ የገንዘብ፡ ክፍት፡ ገቢዎች፡ ማግኘት፡ ከቻለን  
ሆኖ ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

ሀ/ በሀገር ውስጥ፡ የሚኖሩት ህዝብ፡ ተግባራዊነት ለማሳደግ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

ለ/ የሀገር ውስጥ፡ የሚኖሩት ህዝብ፡ ተግባራዊነት ለማሳደግ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

ሐ/ የሀገር ውስጥ፡ የሚኖሩት ህዝብ፡ ተግባራዊነት ለማሳደግ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

ከሀገር ውስጥ፡ የሚኖሩት ህዝብ፡ ተግባራዊነት ለማሳደግ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

ለሀገር ውስጥ፡ የሚኖሩት ህዝብ፡ ተግባራዊነት ለማሳደግ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

ከሀገር ውስጥ፡ የሚኖሩት ህዝብ፡ ተግባራዊነት ለማሳደግ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

ለሀገር ውስጥ፡ የሚኖሩት ህዝብ፡ ተግባራዊነት ለማሳደግ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

ከሀገር ውስጥ፡ የሚኖሩት ህዝብ፡ ተግባራዊነት ለማሳደግ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡

## ሀ) ስነ ምግብ

የአገር ጥቅም ለማረጋገጥ፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን ሰነድ፡ ለማግኘት፡ የተወሰኑ ሰነዶችን ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ለዚህም ማግኘት፡ የሚያስፈልጉትን  
አገልግሎት ማግኘት፡ ይቻላል፡ ይህም ለአገር ጥቅም ነው፡





Appendix X

ቁጥር እንደሚነበበው በሕግ ታውቆና ታውቆ በመንግሥታዊ መ/ቤተ ዘንድ የሚሠራበትን ደንብ ገለልተኛ በማድረግ በእነሱ ፈላጎፋነት የተለየ ደንብ ለማቋቋም የሰጡት መመሪያ በሕግ በሕግ ተቀባይነት ለኖረው እንደሚይዙ ሲታወቅ ይህ የተነሳሰበ ተገባሪ የሥልጣን ጠጭን ስንደ በ መ/ቤተ ዘንድ በሚገኘው የሥራ መመሪያ ደንብ መሠረት በሕግ አቋም ዓላማውን ተከትለው ለመገኘት አለማሰባሰብ በገልጽ ያስረዳል፡፡

ስለዚህ ከላይ አንድ ተሰጥቶ በሰጠበት ብልጽግና ምን እንደረጋለን በማለት ልዩ ልዩ ክፍት አቋቋሙ ባልተፈቀደላቸው ሥልጣን በሚጠቀሙ ሰዎች ላይ አርምጃ አንቀጠ ሰደባቸው ቀደም ሲል ለወረዳው ፖሊስ አዛዥ ተወዘዘ ሰዎችን የቀየን ስለሆነ ይህ የተገኘው ጭንቁቅ አፈጻጸም ተገባሪ ተባብሮ በከብር ነት። በሕግ ላይም ተወስኖ ተገቢውን መመሪያ በአባቶቻቸው ስር ዘንድ በማክበር ስናመለክታለን፡፡

ፊርማ ጌታቸው ወጻዲቅ

ዋና ጭሪ

ገልባጭ//ለጠሎ ወ/ፖሊስ አዛዥ

ጠ. ር. ና.

በማለት ከፍተኛ የተቃዋሚ ደብዳቤ ጽፎ ነበር።

በዚህ መሠረት የአውራጃው ገዢ ጽ/ቤት የጠርፍ ከተማና አካባቢው ሕዝብ ለማቋቋም ስለጠየቀው ከሞት ጉዳይ ከወረዳው በተላለፈለት የተቃዋሚ ደብዳቤ በመተረጎም ለጠቅላይ ገዢ በላከው ደብዳቤ ይህ ጉዳይ ተጠገኖ ጭንቁቅ እንዲሰጥበት በላከው ደብዳቤ ላይ እንደሚገልጸው ከዚህ በታች አንድ ተጻፎ የሚገልጽ ነበር።

ቁጥር 1/5/23/33

መጠከረም 2/1966 ዓ.ም.

ምሥጢር

ለጠረጌ ጠቅላይ ገዢ ጽ/ቤት

ጠ. ር. ና.

የጠርፍ ከተማና አካባቢው ሕዝብ ከሞት አቋቋሙና ስለሚገኙ ጉዳይ የጠሎ ወረዳ ገዥ አቶ ደዎሴ ኪዳኔ በጻፉት መሠረት የጠቅላይ ገዢ ጽ/ቤት በቁጥር 1/5508/82/310/1/714/9/66 ዓ.ም. በአድራሻ ለጠቅላይ ገዢ ፖሊስ የፍ መመሪያ ሲጻፍ በደረሰን ገልባጭ በአባሪነት የተላከሰንን ጽሑፍ ይጠቅሳል፡፡

Appendix X

ቁጥር አንደኛ ነበበው በሕግ ታዕዛዝ ታዕዛዝ በመንግሥታዊ ጠ/ቤተ ዘንድ የሚሠሩበትን ደንብ ገለልተኛ በማድረግ በአካሉ ፈላጎት ነት የተለየ ደንብ ለማቋቋም የሰጡት መመሪያ በሕግ በሕግ ተቀባይ ነት ለኖረው አንደኛው ሲታይ ይህ የተነሳሰበት ዓለፍ የሥልጣን ስሜት አንድ በጠ/ቤተ ዘንድ በሚገኘው የሥራ መመሪያ ደንብ መሠረት በሕግ አቋም ዓለፍውን ተክተለው ለመገኘት አለግሰዋቸውን በገልጽ ያስረዳል::

በለዚህ ከላይ አንድ ተሰጥቶ በሰጠው ብልጽግና ምን አንደረጋለን በማለት ልዩ ልዩ ስሜት አቋቋሙ ባለፈ ቀደላቸው ሥልጣን በሚጠቀሙ ሰዎች ላይ አርምጃ አንዳው ሰደባቸው ቀደም ሲል ለወረዳው ፖሎስ አዛዥ ተወዘዘ ሰዎችን የቀየን በለሆነ ይህ የተገኘው ጭንቁቅ አረጋገጥ ተገባራቸው በከብር ነት ስሜት ላርምጃ ተወስዶ ተገቡውን መመሪያ በአስተዳደሪያዎች ዘንድ በማክበር ስናመለክታለን::

ፊርማ ጌታቸው ወጻዲቅ  
ዋና ጭሪ

ገልባጭ/ለጠሎ ወ/ፖሎስ አዛዥ  
ጠ/ር/

በማለት ከፍተኛ የተቃዋሚ ደብዳቤ ጽፎ ነበር።  
በዚህ መሠረት የአውራጃው ገ/ነት ጽ/ቤት የጠርና ከተማና አካባቢው ሕዝብ ለማቋቋም በለጠየቀው ከሚተ ጉዳይ ከወረዳው በተላለፈለት የተቃዋሚ ደብዳቤ በመተረጎም ለጠቀላይ ገዛት በላከው ደብዳቤ ይህ ጉዳይ ተጠንቅቆ ጭንቁቅ አንዳስገኘበት በላከው ደብዳቤ ላይ አንደኛውን ከዚህ በታች አንደተጻፈው የሚገልጽ ነበር።

ቁጥር 1/5/23/33  
መስከረም 2/1966 ዓ.ም.

የሥራ  
ለጠረጴ ጠቀላይ ገዛት ጽ/ቤት  
ጠ/ር/

የጠርና ከተማና የአካባቢው ሕዝብ ከሚተ አቋቋሙና በለጠየቀው ጉዳይ የጠሎ ወረዳ ገዥ አቶ ደምሴ ኪዳኑ በጻፉት መሠረት የጠቀላይ ገዛት ጽ/ቤት በቁጥር 1/5508/82/310/1/714/9/66 ዓ.ም. በአውራጃ ለጠቀላይ ገዛት ፖሎስ የሥራ መመሪያ ሲጻፍ በደረሰን ገልባጭ በአካሉ ነት የተላከላትን ጽሑፍ ይጠቀሳል::



Appendix X

አሁን ደገም ቦለዚህ ጉዳይ የሥርዓት ኮሚቴ ነገ ስም ስም 2/66/በ20/66  
ዓ.ም. በአድራሻ ለአገር ገዛት ማህበራዊ ሲጻፍ ለጠቅላይ ገዛት ጸ/ቤት ለመሥሪያ  
ቤታችንም ባደረጉት ገልገሎት በአባሪነት የላቲን ጽሑፍ እና ስታዲዮስ ለገንጠል ስለገኘ::

ቦለዚህ የሥርዓት ኮሚቴ የአካባቢው ሕዝብ ለማቋቋም ቦለዚ የቀጭ ኮሚቴ ጉዳይ  
በጠቅላይ ገዛት በኩል ተጠንቶ ለቀረቡት ጥያቄ ውጤቱን የምንጠባበቅ መሆኑን እና  
መላክታለን::

ፊርማ

ፊታ/ገሠሠ ዘለሉ

የጠርጠር አራጃ ገዥ

ገልገሎት// ለጠር ኃይሉት ለፖሎስና ለባሕሪ ዋ ጠር አስተባባሪ ደርገ

አዲስ አበባ

ለጠሎ ወረዳ ገዛት ጸ/ቤት

ለጠሎ ወረዳ ገዛት የሕዝባዊ ነር. አድገት

ሱርና

በሚሰሩ ሁኔታው ትኩረት ተሰጥቶ ለገንጠልና ወልደ ለገንጠል የሚጠይቀው ነበር።  
ሆኖም የጠቅላይ ገዛት የጉዳዩን አሰጣጡነት በመመልከት ይከፍተው ሥራ እንቅስቃሴ  
በደበሰጥ ለማወቅና ዳለውን አጠቃላይ የሥራ እንቅስቃሴ ለመረዳት በረሀገው መሠረት  
ለአራጃው ገዛት በላከው ደብዳቤ መሠረት የአራጃው ገዛት ለወረዳ ገዛት ይህንኑ  
ክላይ የተላከለትን ጥያቄ ለወረዳው ገዛት በመላክ ለማወቅ የላከው ደብዳቤ እንደሚገኝ  
ልጽፎ።

ቁጥር 1/948/23/44

ቀን ጠቅላይ 14 ቀን 1967 ዓ.ም.

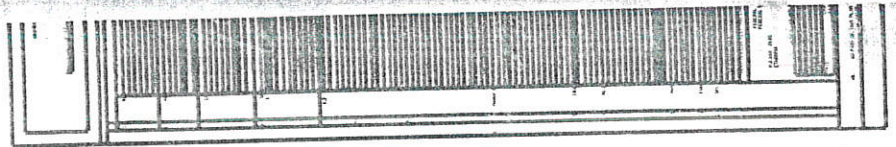
ለአቶ ጌሪ አጠባበር

የጠሎ ወረዳ አስተዳዳሪ

ሱርና

የሥርዓት ኮሚቴ ያካባቢው ሕዝብ ነገ ስም ስም ስም ስም ስም ስም ስም ስም ስም  
2/66/በ20/12/66 ዓ.ም. በአድራሻ ለአገር አስተዳደር ማህበራዊ ሲጻፍ ለአገር  
ና ለመ/ቤታችንም ዳደረጉትን ገልገሎት እና ስታዲዮስ ለገንጠል ስለገኘ::

Appendix XIII



Master plan of Hirna Town from 1976 ONWARDS



Source: Hirna Town Municipal Administration

~~37~~ ~~388~~ **Appendix XIII**

ቁጥር 2/74/2463

ጠቅላይ 16/70

ለወርደር አገልግ ጋራ ገራ ስራ ለውጭ አስተዳደር ለ/ባተ  
 የአዳኝ አገረን ያሪ በወጣል ባሕሪ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ይገኝ የጥገኛት ነዳጅ  
 ጊዜያዊ ለገረሰብ አባት ጭረ ተኛት የገባሪ ዳኅቦር አባላትና የክተት ነዳጅ ጊዜ  
 በ የአገራትን ላይ ይገባር በተደረገ ዘዴ ያለን አገራዊ ስራ ለገረሰብ ጠቅላይ  
 ለደብ ጭረ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ተርባው የሙዘገቡት ስፃፃፍ

- 15/ አባት ጭረ ተኛ 10
- 25/ የታሰቡ ገባሪ ስፃፃፍ የክተት ነዳጅ ስፃፃፍ 55
- 35/ የሰታሰቡ የገባሪ ዳኅቦር አባላት 106

ጠቅላይ 171

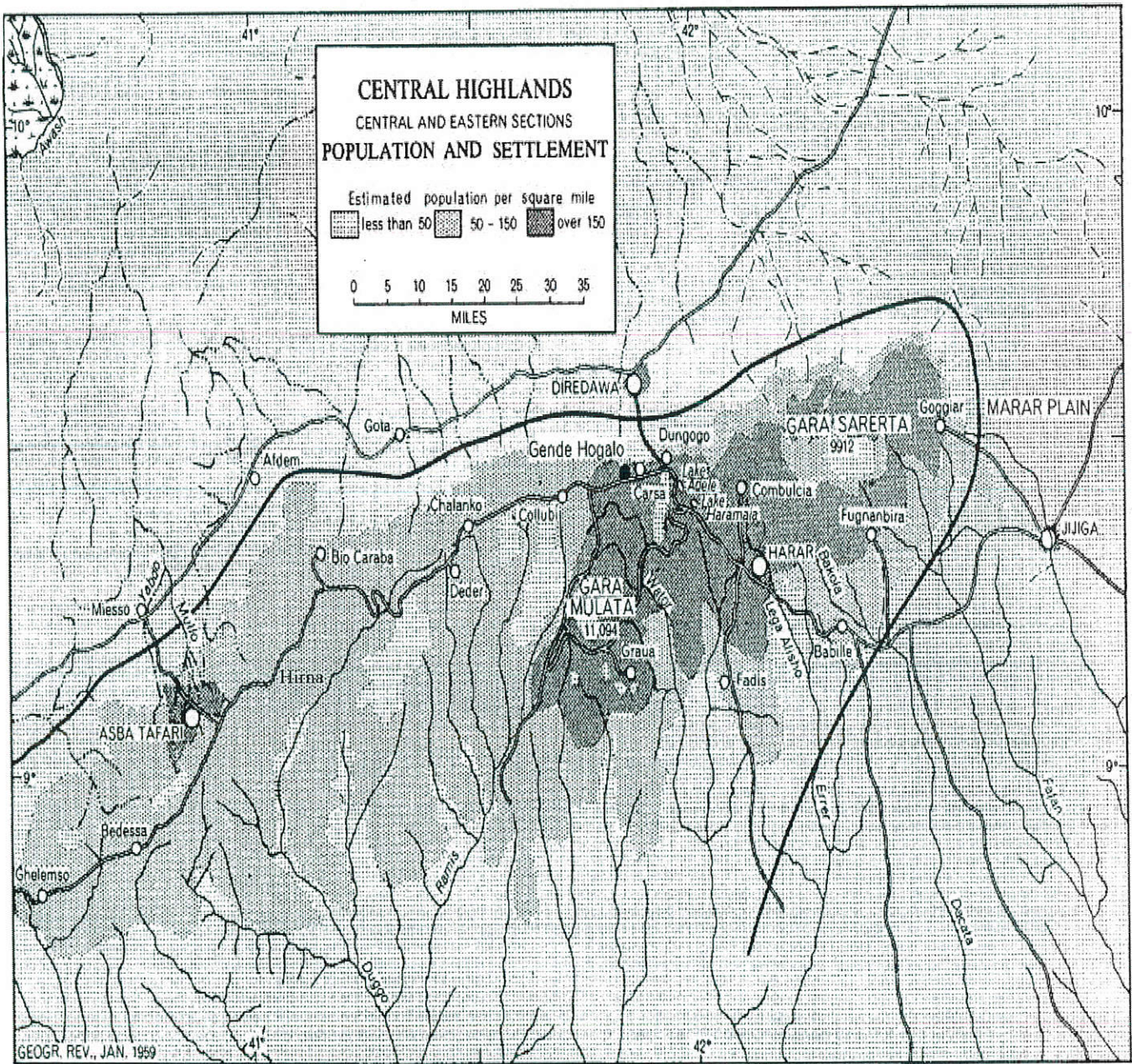
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 ገ ተለዋጭ ቁጥር ሲያገኙ በአስተዳደር የሚገለጹ ስራዎችን በግብር ለገን  
 ልገላገጡ፡፡

ኢትዮጵያ ትቅድም  
 ፊርማ

ሠላሙን ወልደዳኒቀ  
 የወረዳው የገ አሰሪ

# Appendix XIV

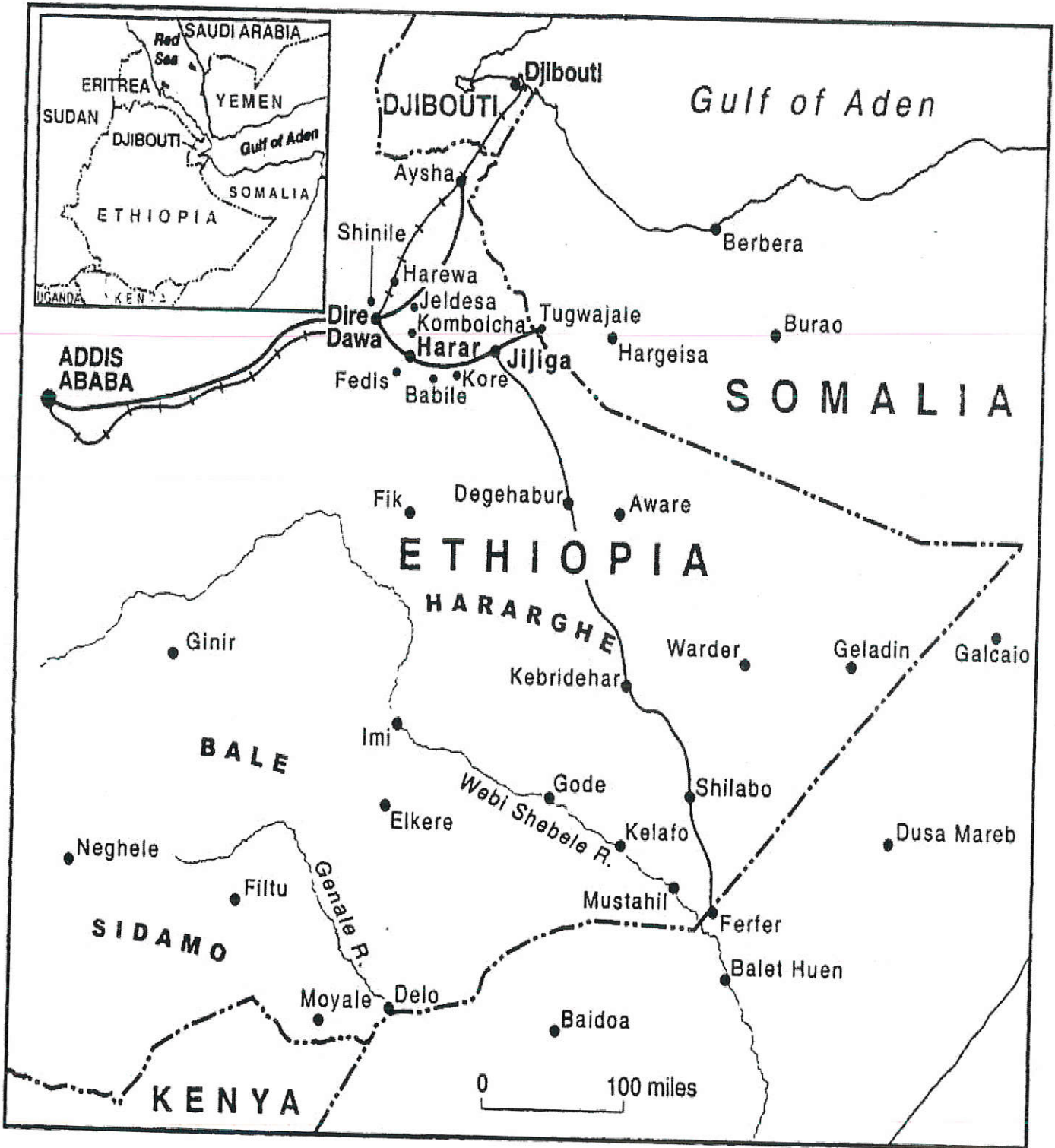
## ETHIOPIAN VILLAGE



Geographical Location of Hirna A Map taken from Clarke Brooke

Appendix XV

In the midst of the Oromo majority also live clusters of Harari, Afar, Argobba and Amhara people (A Map taken from Gebru Tareke)



### Declaration

I declare that this is my own original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university. All sources in the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name

Gossa Asnake

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Gossa Asnake', written over a horizontal line.

Date of submission

September, 2015