



**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SULULTA *WOREDA*,
1941-1974**

**BY
TENA TAREKEGN TOLERA**

**ADVISOR
TAMRAT WASYIHUN (PHD)**

October, 2020

Addis Ababa

**ADMINISTRATIVE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY OF SULULTA WOREDA,
1941-1974**

BY TENA TAREKEGN TOLERA

**THIS THESIS PRESENTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF ADDIS
ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE REQUIREMENT OF
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY**

Table of Contents

Contents	pages
Key to the Transliteration System	i
Table of Contents	ii
List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	v
Acknowledgements.....	vi
Acronyms.....	vii
Glossary	viii
<i>Abstract</i>	x
Preface.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
1. GEOGRAPHIC SETTING AND PEOPLE OF THE <i>WÄRÄDA</i>	1
1.1. Geographic Setting.....	1
1.2 Historical Background: Political and Socio-Economic Conditions.....	122
CHAPTER TWO	255
2. FORMATION OF SULULTA <i>WÄRÄDA</i> AND ITS ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY (1974-1974).....	255
2.1. Italian Rule (1936-1941).....	255
2.2 Administrative History of Sululta <i>Wäräda</i> (1941-1974).....	300
2.3 Taxation in Sululta <i>Wäräda</i> After 1941.....	38
2.4 Maladministration and Corruption.....	411
CHAPTER THREE	433
3. LAND TENURE: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS	433
3.1 Forms of Land Ownership.....	433
3.2. Peasants Duties and the Economic Aspects of the Land Tenure.	544
CHAPTER FOUR.....	59
4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE <i>WÄRÄDA</i>	59
4.1. Infrastructural and Public Service Development in the <i>Wärädas</i>	59
4.1.1 Educational Services.....	600
4.1.2 Health Services.....	733

4.1.3 Water Supply	77
4.1.4 Road Transportation	778
4.1.5 Communication	800
4.2 The Effects of Minimum Package Program in the <i>Wäräda</i> , in Agricultural Area.....	822
Conclusion	866
Bibliography	877
Appendices	1000

List of Tables

Table 2: 1 Some of the Governors of <i>Meketel Wäradas</i> in the 1950 and 1960s	333
Table 2: 2 List of the <i>Balabats</i> in each <i>Meketel Wäradas</i>	344
Table 3: 1 Data of Church Land in <i>Gasha</i> in North Shoa in Some <i>Wäradas</i> :.....	48
Table 3: 2 Data of the Appropriated Land During the Period under Discussion.....	511
Table 3: 3 Clearly Illustrates each Imposed Taxes in Shao Provinces from 1941-1967.	556
Table 4: 1 General Data of Pupils, Schools and Teachers in the <i>Wäräda</i> in the 1960s:.....	655
Table 4: 2 A Comparative List of Weights and Heights of Six Children Taken from Various Schools to check the validity of donation.	711
Table 4: 3 General Statistics toward Health Services in the <i>Wäräda</i> in the 1960s:	76

List of Figures

Figure 1: 1 The Current Political Map of Sululta <i>Wäräda</i>	3
Figure 1: 2 Emperial Palace at Entoto (1883).....	222
Figure 4: 1 Adult Eduction Certificate (1968).....	69
Figure 4: 2 Traditional Bridge in the Study Area (1962).....	79

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Dr. Tamrat Wasyihun for his unreserved guidance, supervision and constructive criticism. In spite of his workload, he sacrificed much of his time in correcting the draft of this thesis.

I would also like to forward my sincere thanks to *Ato Käbbädä Ishetu* who introduced me to knowledgeable informants in *Sululta Wäräda*. My warmest indebtedness goes to *Shambal Shume* and *Wasane Asfaw* who provided electronics materials for the purpose of this study. I am very much indebted to all my best friends and staff members for their endless support during the research period. My appreciation also goes to all people who participated and assisted me in data collection of the study.

My heartfelt appreciation and gratitude also goes to the Ministry of Education for giving me the chance and financial support to carry out this research, and Addis Ababa University and History Department for giving the chance to attend the Master Degree Program. Last but not least, my appreciation goes to the people of *Sululta Wäräda* and *Sululta Town* for their positive responses, sharing available information, time, generosity and hospitality.

Acronyms

AAU- Addis Ababa University

AOW - Administrative Office of the *Wäräda*

CSA -Central Statistical Agency

ENALA- Ethiopia National Archival and Library Agency

FAO -- Food and Agricultural Organization

IES -Institute of Ethiopian Study

MCC -Mulo-Community Center

MPP -Minimum Package Program

MS- Manuscripts

SWARDO-Sululta *Wäräda* Agricultural and Rural Development Office

WNO -World Neighbors Organization

Glossary

- Abba* - father, owner of the horse-name of prominent figures, or a form of title for ordinary priests
- Abba Bokku* - father of the scepter
- Abba Burqa* - father of sprit
- Arbänga*- patriot
- Ato* - a title equivalent to ‘Mr.’
- Awuraja* - an administrative unit below the province
- Balabbat* -- Individual with the hereditary owner of rest land
- Balambaras* - head of an *amba*‘, a low level administrative title
- Birr* - the standard Ethiopian currency unit
- Däga* - zone with cold climatic condition
- Däjjazmač*- a military title step below *Ras*
- Fitawurari*- commander of the vanguard‘, a title below *däjjazmach*
- Gäbbar* - tribute/tax- paying peasant
- Gada* - an age-graded socio-political system of the Oromo
- Gasha*-a unit of land measurement, equivalent to 40 hectares
- Gazeta*-News Paper
- Geber* -agrarian tribute invariably paid in kind or cash; tax
- Grazmach* - commander of the left‘, a politico-military title above *balambaras*
- Gult* - non-hereditary right to collect tribute, bestowed to members of the nobility and clergy by the king
- Koro*- village chief
- Meketel*-administrative unit below *Wäräda*
- Mälekägna*- the commander of the army during the conquest of the southern region who inhabited a vast land
- Näč-läbäš*- local militia
- Näftägna*- rifle‘, name given to warriors of northern origin, who later settled in the south
- Qäbälé* - lowest administrative unit below *meketel woreda*
- Qägnazmach*- commander of the right‘, a politico- military title above *grazmach*

Qälad - rope‘, a unit of land measurement, the system of land measurement,
measured land

Qés- priest

Qolla- hot climatic zone

Ras- head‘, the highest traditional politico-military title under *negus*

Rist (Atsmä-rist) - a lineage system of land ownership, giving usufruct rights to the claimant

Robe - 133cubits in length which in much area was referred to as *qalad*

Sämon -priests and deacons supposed to take rest for a week of services.

Täqlay Gezat- province

Wäkils- agents,

Wäräda- administrative unit below *awrajja*

Wäyena däga- temperate zone (moderate climatic zone)

Wäyaro- a title equivalent to ‘Mrs’

Abstract

The main objective of this thesis is reconstructing the administrative and socio-economic history of Sululta Wäräda from the liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 to the end of the monarchical government, in the country, in 1974. The study covers the period from 1941 to 1974, in which the inhabitants of the woreda like the other residents of Shäwa Province observed important political and socio-economic developments. The study begins with historical survey of the woreda by prevailing different developments in the woreda before liberation (1941). Beside this, the study outlines the rule of the Italians in the wäräda, in the pre-1941 period. The thesis deals with the restoration of the imperial administration and the reforms that were introduced by Emperor Haile Sillassie in various fields in relation with the administration and land related issues and the importance of the reforms to the people of the wäräda will be the main area of concern. The study also outlines taxation issues and view maladministration problems in the district. In addition, the study assesses the formation of Sululta Wäräda and its administrative history in the period under discussion. The thesis also attempted to focus on nature of the land tenure system in the wäräda and its burden on the life of the inhabitants in the wäräda. The thesis also attempts to assess public services and infrastructural developments in the wäräda, in the last three decades of the monarchical regime.

Preface

This thesis tries to reconstruct the socio-economic and political history of Sulula *Wäräda* from the Liberation of Ethiopia in 1941 to the end of the monarchical regime in 1974. The thesis consists of four chapters. The first chapter deals with the geographical and historical background of the *wäräda*. This chapter attempts to deal with the geographical nature as well as the peopling of the *wäräda*. It also tries to deal with the socio-economic and political conditions of the *wäräda* prior to the liberation period.

The second chapter concentrates on the formation and the administrative history of the *wäräda*. It also clearly describes taxations issues and view on maladministration in the study area in the post-liberation period.

The third chapter outlines the feature of land tenure in political and socio-economic aspects in the *wäräda*. It attempts to address the influence of the *gabar* system on the life of tenant peasants of the *wäräda*.

The fourth chapter concentrates on the public service and infrastructural developments in the *wäräda*. It attempts to describe the development of education, health, communication and transportation services in the *wäräda* in the post-1941 period.

Written materials as well as oral sources were used in the study. The majority of archival materials had been destroyed in the *wäräda* due to the turmoil of 1992-1996 during the transitional government. Therefore, the study depended largely on oral sources which were gathered from knowledgeable elders in the *wäräda* from January 2019 to June 2019.

To write this thesis, efforts have been made in order to support the oral information with written documents. Furthermore, to avoid problem in the use of oral sources significant measures have been taken by the researcher in selecting well matured informants, use of collected data, evaluating and checking them with the existing literature carefully.

CHAPTER ONE

1. GEOGRAPHIC SETTING AND PEOPLE OF THE WÄRÄDA

1.1. Geographic Setting

Sululta *Wäräda* is found in Oromia Regional State. Sululta is one of the six special *woredas*, in Surrounding Finfinne Zone of Oromia. It is situated at a distance of 38 kilometers North of Addis Ababa¹ Sululta is located between 9°7'30" N and to 9°30'0"N and 38° 30'0"E to 38° 52' 30"E. With its relative location, it is bounded in the South by the city of Finfinne (Addis Ababa), in the West by Mulo *Wäräda* and Ada'a Barga *Wäräda*, in the North by Jida *Wäräda* and Wucalé *Wäräda* and in the East by Barak *Wäräda*.²

Sululta *Wäräda* is composed of twenty six (26) *qäbälê* (Lower-administrative unit) out of which twenty three (23) are rural *qäbälês* whereas; the rest three *qäbälês* (Çanço (Buba), Dubar and Mugär) are small towns. According to the Administrative Office of the *Wäräda* (AOW) the rural *käbälês* in Sululta *Wäräda* are: Moye Gajo, Gorfo, Sobora, Mulo Adadi, Laga Kabana, Ganda Alge, Ganda mana Abichu, Ganda Abichu, Bufata Kidana Mihiret, Ganda Chala Buba, Laga Akak, Gullalle Babo, Ganda Gabrel, Ganda Holqa *Wäyzaro*, Ganda Hexo, Chala Babo, Wirtu Mugär, Elame, Bana Furgasa, Caliya, Çanço (Buba), Ganda Sabor and Wara Gabina.³ Buba Town is the administrative centre of the *wäräda*. Moreover, Sululta *Wäräda* has 23 rural *qäbälês* including sixty nine (69) sub-*qäbälês* (goxi) having 14,856 peasant households.⁴

¹ Gaddisa Urga'a, "Qacceesa Sirna Raawwii Faakkomii Buna Qabannaa Aanaa Sulultaa,"(M.A. Thesis, Department of Afan Oromo: Addis Ababa University,2015),p.4; Fiqadu Jotie, "Value of Children Perceived Cost and Fertility Behavioral in Mulo-Sululta District of Oromia" (Addis Ababa University: Institute of Development Training and Research Center,1999),p.21.

² The Sululta *Wäräda* Communication Affairs Office Bulletin, 2003E.C,p.4.

³ The *Wäräda* Administration Office of Annual Reports, 2004 E.C,p.2; "The Sululta *Wäräda* Communication Affairs Office Bulletin"...p.2; Eshetu Girma, "Ethno botanical Study of Medicinal Plants Used by Local People of Sululta *Wäräda*"...,p.14.

⁴ The *Wäräda* Administration Office of Annual Reports, 2001 E.C, P.1; "The Sululta *Wäräda* Communication Affairs Office Bulletin"...p.2.

Sululta *Wäräda* is located at altitude between 600ms and 3471ms above sea level. Sululta Town was the administrative centre of Sululta *Wäräda* from its foundation in 1942 to 1963. By the choice of local chiefs, the administrative center of the *wäräda* was shifted from Sululta Town to Ĉanço Town in 1963. Ĉanço Town is located at a distance of 38 kilometers North of Addis Ababa, the capital of the Federal Government of Ethiopia and Oromia Regional State.⁵

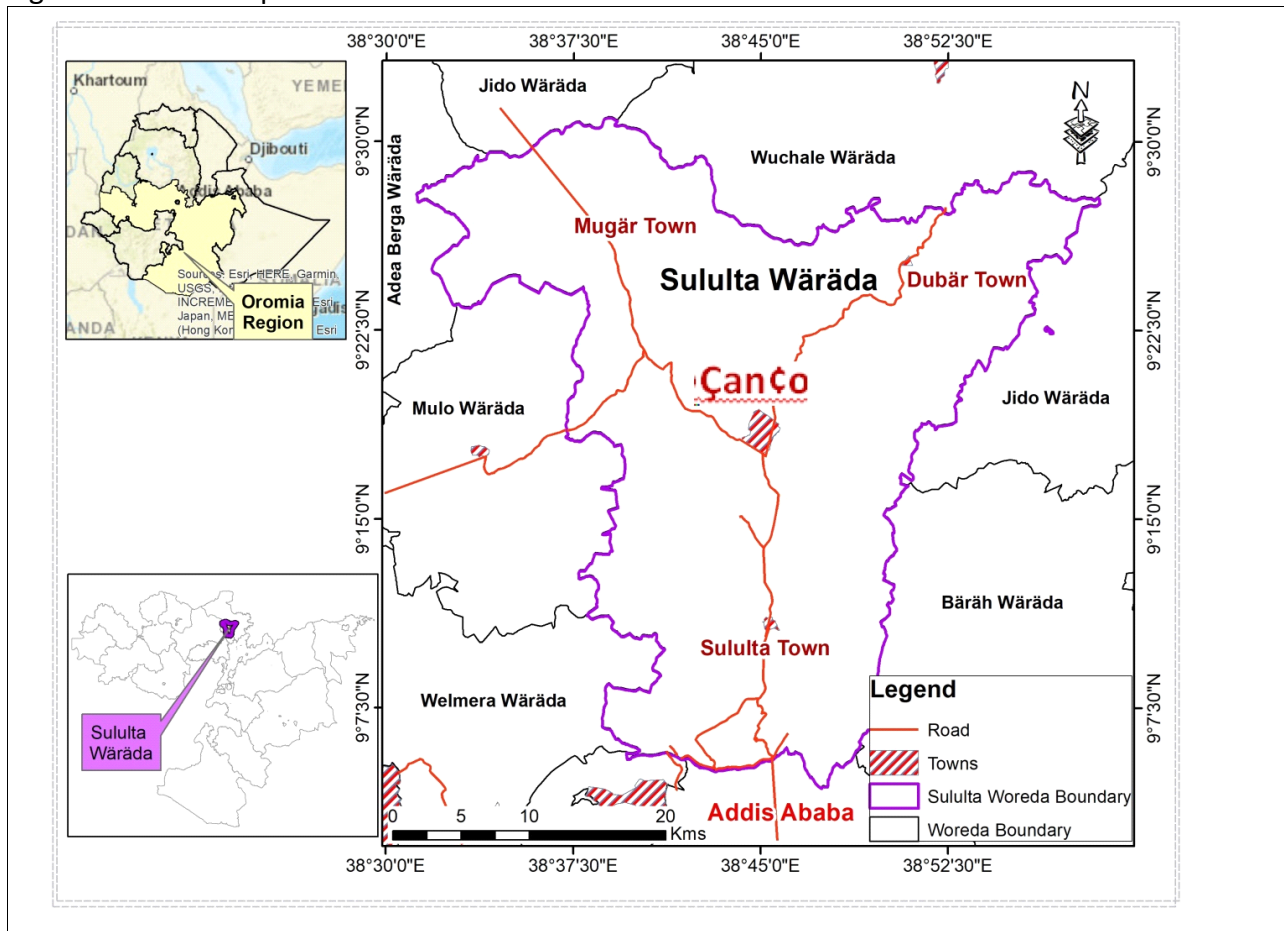
Topographically, the district is dominated by high plateau. There are isolated hills and chains of mountains that extend from the Entoto Mountain that ranges to the north, separating this district from the neighboring Barak and Alaltu districts in the east. The highest elevation exceeds 3,471 meters above sea level and is found to the south of Buba Town. The lowest elevation is found in the Mogär River Valley and its elevation is about 600 meters.⁶

The territorial coverage of the present Sululta *Wäräda* is not similar with that of the pre-1998 E.C Sululta *Wäräda*. The pre-1998 Sululta *wäräda* was structured as *wäräda* immediately after the restoration of Emperor of Haile Sillasie to his throne. Following the withdrawal of fascist Italy, the present-day Mulo *Wäräda*, Sululta Town and Sululta *Wäräda* were parts of the Sululta *Wäräda*

⁵Gaddisa Urga'a, "Qacceesa Sirna Raawwii Faakkomii Buna Qabannaa Aanaa Sulultaa"...p.6; Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Ejersa Yadate and Mamo Dinagde.

⁶Gaddisa Urga'a, "Qacceesa Sirna Raawwii Faakkomii Buna Qabannaa Aanaa Sulultaa"...pp.6-8;Bechtold, D.J;G.K Radcliffe and Teshome Estifanos, 'Land Evaluation of MenageshaAwraja(Shawa): Assistance to Land Use Planning (Draft), the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Ministry of Agriculture' Land Use Planning and Regulatory Department (UNDP/FAO: Addis Ababa, 1989), p.22.

Fig 1.1 Location Map of Sululta Wäräda



Source: CSA 2007 (Census Maps), ESRI ArcGIS Ver 10.8 (2019).

Sululta Wäräda was within the Mennagesha Awrajjja under the Shäwan Province or Shoa General Governorate. The total area of the *awrajjja* is 8915. 68 Square kilometers, the *wäräda* covered 1157.49 square kilometers.⁷

⁷Ethiopia National Archival and Library Agency(ENALA), Box No.789 File No.17.1.3.10.09; Institute of Ethiopian Study Archival Centers(IES), Box No. 3920, File No. 3944; Informants: Käbbädä Täsäma, Gezahign Deggefa and Ishetu Käbbädä;Eshetu Girma, “Ethno botanical Study of Medicinal Plants Used by Local People of Sululta Wäräda” (M.Sc. Thesis: Haramaya University, 2017), p.5.

In the post-liberation period, the regional administration was reorganized and the empire was divided into *Täqalay Gezats* (General-Governorate), Sub-Provinces (*Awrajjas*), *Wärädas* and *Meketel Wärädas*. The Shoan *Täqalay Gezats* (General Governorate) had eleven *awrajjas*. These *awrajjas* were Männagäsha, Märabete, Menzena-Gishen, Yefatena-Tumuga, Täguletena-Bulga, Hayqochina-Butajira, Kambatana-Hadya, Yärärena-Kerreyyuu, Jebatena-Mächa, Salale and Ambo *Awrajja*.⁸

Männagäsha *Awraja* had eleven *wärädas* and all of them were found around Addis Ababa city. These were: Aläm-Gäna *Wäräda*, Akaki *Wäräda*, Sululta *Wäräda*, Jidda *Wäräda*, Aleltu *Wäräda*, Barak *Wäräda*, Addis-Aläm *Wäräda*, Wälmära *Wäräda*, Meta-Robi *Wäräda*, Wucalé and Ada'a Barga *Wäräda*.⁹ Addis Ababa was the administrative centre of the sub-providence.¹⁰

The annual average temperature (T^0c) of the *wäräda* is 14.4^0c (centigrade). The highest annual temperature of the *wäräda* is about 25^0c and higher in some places around Darba areas of the west part of the *wäräda*.¹¹

The lowest annual temperature of the district is about 3^0c , in places around Çanço and Entoto areas.¹² The rainy season starts at the beginning of June and ends in September or sometimes in October. The highest amount of rain fall is recorded between the middle of June and the middle of September. Depending on the current data, the mean annual rain fall range of the *wäräda* is from 834mms to 1440.5mms. The annual average rain fall of the district is 1140.5mms. Sululta *Wäräda* receives relatively high annual rain fall compared with other parts of the special *wäräda* surrounding Finfinne Zone.¹³

⁸IES, Box No. 3920, File No. 3944; Informants: Käbbädä Täsäma and Ishetu Käbbädä.

⁹ IES, Box No. 3920, File No. 3944.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Eshetu Girma, p. 16.

¹²The Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Report, 2003 E.C, P.5; “The *Wäräda* Administration Office Annual Reports”, 2005E.C, p.2.

¹³ The Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Report, 2002E.C,p.1; Eshetu Girma, “Ethno Botanical Study of Medicinal Plants Used by Local People of Sululta *Wäräda*” ...,p.16.

The presences of enough rainfall and suitable climate in the district have promoted crop production and livestock rearing in the *wäräda*. The soil types of the *wäräda* have made it favorable cultivating various types of crops and growing vegetation.¹⁴ Crops like wheat, barley, *Teff* (*Eragrotis Taff*), *Mishinga* (*Sorghum*), *Missir* (*Haricont Been*), *Gayo* (*Chick-Pea*), and *Field-pea* (*Shembera*). Wheat, Barley and *Teff* are dominant crops in the district. Different kinds of vegetations are growing in the area. Tomato, potato, carrot, cabbage, onion and others are some of the vegetation that grows in Sululta *Wäräda*.¹⁵

The main type of soil found in the area are red soil or nitsoil (24.5%), brown soil or luvi soil(49%), black soil or Vertis soil (0.5%) and others types of soil (26%)¹⁶. As sources indicate, most of the *wäräda* both the *Däga* (cool region) or high land and *Wäyna Däga* or middle high land agro-ecology have brown and red soil while the *kola* (hot region) or low land areas have both red and others types of soils.¹⁷

The district is rich in underground water, streams and rivers. The *wäräda* has around sixteen (16) rivers and streams. The main rivers of the districts are; *Mugär*, *Bole*, *Dännäba*, *Orgogo*, *Sibilu*, *Qolla*, *Jallisi*, *Alaltu*, *Gorfo*, *Çanço*, *Garmama*, *Dima*, *Dubär*, *Ejeré Nole* and *Gorfo*.¹⁸

¹⁴ Gaddisa Urga'a, "Qacceesa Sirna Raawwii Faakkomii Buna Qabannaa Aanaa Sulultaa"...Pp6; "The *Wäräda* Natural Resource and Wild Animals Annual Report" 2003 E.C; "the *Wäräda* Communication Office Affairs of Annual Report", 2001 E.C,p.2; Eshetu Girma, "Ethno botanical Study of Medicinal Plants Used by Local People of Sululta *Wäräda*" ...,p.17.

¹⁵The Rural and Agricultural Office annual Report, 2005E.C, p.6; "The *Wäräda* Communication Office Affairs of Annual Report,"2001 E.C,p.2.

¹⁶*Ibid*, Eshetu Girma,p. 15.

¹⁷The Rural and Agricultural Office annual Report, 2005E.C,pp.4-5; "The *Wäräda* Communication Office Affairs of Annual Report", 2001 E.C,p.4;Eshetu Girma,Ethno botanical Study of Medicinal Plants Used by Local People of Sululta *Wäräda*...p. 16.

¹⁸The Water and Irrigation Office Annual Report, 2006 E.C,p.2; "The Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Report", 2005E.C,p.4.

In addition to rivers and main streams, the *wäräda* receives adequate rainfall during the main season of summer or *Kerämt* from June to the September and the *Bälg* (Autumn) season; the short rain season is from March to April. Production during the short season is very important in the *wäräda* to gain more crop seeds and others production in the summer seasons.¹⁹

The rivers are used for different purposes such as; irrigation, home and animal water consumption. Particularly, they are very important for small-scale irrigation and for the purpose of basic livelihood of animal consumption.²⁰

Using traditional system, the society has been using these rivers for irrigation purpose during the dry season. Among these, Bole, Dannaba and Alaltu Rivers are used for irrigation farming in the district. According to the *wäräda* Water and Irrigation Annual Report of the year 2008, around 20,518 farmers were participating on irrigation farming. Out of whom, 17,452 were men while 3066 were females.²¹ In addition to irrigation use, these rivers are believed to have potential for the development of hydroelectric power. However, no attempt has been made so far to use them either for electric generation or modern irrigation purpose.

Despite their merits, these rivers have their own demerits in the summer season. They become basic factor for communication barrier throughout their history. As informants noted, the people of the district had free or good communication from the month of October to the end of June. During the remaining three months, these rivers and their tributaries; including their minor streams over flow their banks to cuase several rapid falls that are very difficult to cross.²²

Even now such challenges are common in different parts of the rural areas of the *wäräda*. The study area covers the land area from Tullu Tita (Gara Guri) or the Entoto to Mugär River which stretches for 60 kilometers. Mugär River is a tributary of the Blue Nile (Abay River).

¹⁹The Rural and Agricultural Office annual Report, 2008E.C,p.3; Informants: Kabada Tesema, Belacho Hurrisa and Gezahign Degefa.

²⁰The Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Report, 2005E.C.p.3.

²¹The *Wäräda* Water and Irrigation Office of Annual Reports, 2008 E.C, P.3; “The Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Report”, 2005E.C,p.3.

²²Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Ishetu Kabada and Belacho Hurrisa; the *Wäräda* Cultural and Tourism Office Bulletin, 2001, E.C,p.1.

Numerous tributaries falling down from the high-land grounds of over 3471 meters to 600 meters feed the Mugär River. The main tributaries of these rivers are the Dubar, Bole, Alaltu, Gorfo, Dännäba and Gärmama. It is estimated that the altitude of the Mugär River is about 600 meters at the top of the gorges.²³ On the other hand, the volumes of these rivers decrease from time to time due to man-made and natural factors. Sometimes rivers like Sibilu, Dima, Ejeré and Jallisi cause flood at in the rainy seasons and interrupt during the dry (winter) seasons.²⁴

The *wäräda* is mostly dominated by plain, plateau and mountains with some undulating characters. The elevation of the *wäräda* ranges between 600 and 3471 meters above sea level. Altitude is the main cause for the variation of climatic condition in the area. Similarly, in Ethiopia one of the most significant factors which cause differences in climatic condition is altitude. Based on temperature and elevation, Sululta *Wäräda* consists of three climatic regions.²⁵ *Däga* (cold climate condition), *Wäyna-Däga* or moderate climate condition and *Qolla* (hot climatic condition). Each climatic zone accounts for 68%, 25% and 7% of the total area of the *wäräda* respectively.²⁶ To a large extent, the *wäräda* is featured with favorable weather condition of *däga*. In addition, the presence of ecological variation in the area provides opportunities to produce different kinds of crops and raising livestock.²⁷

The population of the *wäräda* is ethnically diversified. The major ethnic groups inhabiting the *wäräda* are the Oromo People (94%), Ahmara (5.5%) and the other groups made up on 0.5% of the population. Oromiffa is the predominantly spoken language in the *wäräda*.²⁸

²³The *Wäräda* Cultural and Tourism Office Bulletin, 2001 E.C, p.2; the *Wäräda* Water and Irrigation Office of Annual Reports”, 2008 E.C,p.4.

²⁴The *Wäräda* Water and Irrigation Office of Annual Reports ...p.3; Informants: Tefera Mekuria, Ishetu Kabada and Belacho Mamo.

²⁵Gaddisa Urga’a, “Qacceesa Sirna Raawwii Faakkomii Buna Qabannaa Aanaa Sulultaa”...p.7; “The *Wäräda* administration office Annual Reports,” 2000E.C, p.5;Eshetu Girma,Ethno botanical Study of Medicinal Plants Used by Local People of Sululta *Wäräda*...p.18.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷The *Wäräda* Administration Office Annual Reports, 2000 E.C, p.5,“The Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Report”, 2009E.C,p.3.

²⁸Gaddisa Urga’a,P.7.

Regarding religion in the *wäräda*, there are different beliefs. The majority of the inhabitants of the *wäräda* are Orthodox Christians which accounts for ninety four (94%) percent of the populations 2.8% were Protestants, 2% were followers of Islam while, 1.2% of the population were followers of Waqefana (Waaqa Uumaa).²⁹

Actually, it is difficult to know the history of the population size of the *wäräda* numerically. It was in 1984, the first national population census was carried out. Based on the first national population and housing census conducted in 1984, the population of the Mulo-Sululta *Wäräda* was 110,222 with 55,571 men and 54,671 were women. The census noted that about 7954 of the population were urban dwellers while the remaining 102268 were living in the rural areas.³⁰

The second population and housing census was undertaken in 1994. According to the 1994 National Census report, the total population of Mulo-Sululta *Wäräda* was 133,950. Of whom 66,523 were men and 67,427 women; 9944 or 7.42 % of its population were urban dwellers whereas the remaining 124,006 inhabitants were living in rural area. The overwhelming majority of the population (92.7 percent) was living in rural areas, and this figure is comparable with Oromia's rural population i.e., 89.5 percent. In the *wäräda*, the total population under the age of 14, 15 to 64 and above 65 are 46.9, 48.1 and 5.0 percent respectively.³¹

Population and housing census was carried out in 2007. Based on the figure given by the central statistical agency in 2007, Mulo-Sululta *Wäräda* had an estimated total population of 188,124. Of whom 95,156 were men and 92,688 were women 17748 or 9.43% of its population were urban dweller which is about the same with the zone average of 9.50%.³²

²⁹*Ibid*; Central Statistical Authority, *2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Result for Oromia Region, Vol.1, Part I, Stastical Report on Population Size and Characteristics* (Addis Ababa, accessed on 13 January 2012), p.23.

³⁰ Central Statistical Authority, *1984 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Result for Oromia Region, Vol.1, Part I, Stastical Report on Population Size and Characteristics* (Addis Ababa, 1990), p.34; Fiqadu Jotie, “*Value of Children Perceived Cost and Fertility Behavioral in Mulo-Sululta District of Oromia*” ...,p.20.

³¹Central Statistical Authority, *1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Result for Oromia Region, Vol.1, Part I, Stastical Report on Population Size and Characteristics* (Addis Ababa, 1990), p.24; Fiqadu Jotie, “*Value of Children Perceived Cost and Fertility Behavioral in Mulo-Sululta District of Oromia*” ...,p.20.

³²Fiqadu Jotie.p.21.

With an estimated area of 1157.47 square kilometers, Mulo-Sululta had an estimated population density of 123.7 people per square kilometers which is less than the zone average of 143.³³

The main economic activity of the people in Sululta *Wäräda* is agriculture i.e the people are engaged in crop cultivation and herding of animals. Almost around 87% of the people of the *wäräda* mainly depend on agricultural activities. Moreover, herding and breeding of domestic animals is very important economic activity of the people Sululta.³⁴

The prevailing fertile soil and conducive climatic condition of the districts has enabled the inhabitants of the *woreda* to cultivate variety of food crops. *Teff* (*Eragrotis Taff*), barley, wheat (*Tricum*), maize (*Zea Mays*) and sorghum (*mishinga*) are the major cereals produced by the settlers. Pulses such as; haricont bean, (*missir*), pea (*ater*), chick-pea (*gayo*) and field-pea (*Shumbura*). Similarly, different kinds of vegetation are growing in the area. Potato, tomato, cabbage, onion, carrot, beet root and others are few of the vegetables that grown in the *wäräda*.³⁵ According to the annual report of the rural and agricultural office of the *wäräda*, wheat, barley and *teff* are the leading or dominant crops in the *wäräda* respectively.³⁶

The presence of good weather enabled the *wäräda* people to rear domestic animals. The cool plateau of the Sululta main-land is favorable for animals' husbandry, because of small animal diseases and free environments. According to the Sululta *Wäräda* Fish and Wild Animals Development Office' annual report of 2001 E.C, there are a number of domestic animals that are herd in the study area. These animals are sheep (111,383), goat (23,202), hens (160,849), horse (113,887), mule (1400), donkey (24,711) and livestock (295, 785). These various crops and animal products from the *wäräda* are used at home and the remaining products are often brought to markets.³⁷

³³Cetral Statistical Authority, *2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Result for Oromia Region, Vol.1, Part II, Stastical Report on Population Size and Characteristics* (Addis Ababa, 2009), p.69.

³⁴ The Rural and Agricultural Office annual Report", 2005E.C, P.3; Ethiopia National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA): Box No.789, file no. 17.1.3.10.09.

³⁵ The Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Report, 2005 E.C, p.5.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷The *Wäräda* Administration Office Annual Reports, 2000 E.C, P.2; "The *Wäräda* Communication Office Affairs of Annual Report", 2001 E.C,pp.3-4.

The *wäräda* is largely covered with various types of indigenous tree species. Among other plant species are; wanza (*Cordia' africana*), besana (*Crotoma crostachy*), shola (*Ficus Sure*), warka (*Ficus Vasta*), yehabesha Tid (*Juniperus Procera*), qay barzaf (*Caculyptus*), zigiba (*Podocarpus Falcate*), birbira (*Millettia Ferruginia*) and acacia.³⁸ But, the majority, of the indigenous tree species has been significantly reduced as a result of frequent cutting of forest for crop cultivation, wood fire fuel, building houses, fences and other purposes. The presence of clearing and burning of trees and the absence of soil conservation in the *wäräda* has lead to serious soil erosion and environments.³⁹

Sululta *Wäräda* has both natural and man-made tourist attractions. The natural attraction in the *wäräda* covers; Fica'a Darba (Derba Drain), Holqa Gurracha (Black Cave), Flafilte Bird, Wasarbi Cave, Holqa Wayzaro (Wayzaro Cave), Sululta Drain Cave, Boqu Golba Cave, and forest of Boqu Golba are among the natural tourist attractions which are found in the district. Mogär Bagiyon (bridge) and Irrecha celebration at Darba which are celebrated after the Hora Har-sade celebration are among man-made tourist attractions in the *wäräda*.⁴⁰

Honestly speaking, the *wäräda* did not benefit much from the natural and man-made tourist attractions. There are no standardized facilities like; transportation, road, hotels and others which cloud attract those who tour in the area. In addition, these tourist areas are not protected from man-made and natural challenges. Farmers and other individuals damage these tourist attractions (forest, drainage and other resources) for their own economic purpose without preserving these resources.⁴¹

As one can understand from the above discussion, the tourist area is on the way to lose its attraction, due to less attention of the administrators of the *wäräda* on preserving and protecting the tourist attraction of the *wäräda*. I comment that, the concerned bodies should give due attention to protect and advance the tourist attraction for further economic benefits in the district.

³⁸*Ibid.*

³⁹The Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Report...p.5; “The *Wäräda* Administration Office Annual Reports”, 2000 E.C,p.3.

⁴⁰ Rural and Agricultural Office Annual Reportp.5; “The *Wäräda* Cultural and Tourism Office Bulletin”, 2001, E.C,p.1; Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Zegeye Asfaw and Haile Beyene.

⁴¹Informants: Tefera Mekuria, Ketema Satecha, Asrat Hirko and Tesfaye Bulbula.

They should preserve and protect these resources for the next generation. The concerning bodies should also introduce these tourist attraction areas for those who need to tour it.

Similar to other *wärädas*, in Männagäsh *Awraja*, Sululta *Wäräda* is poor in terms of development of public services. The expansion of senior secondary school is a very recent phenomenon in the *wäräda*. According to local informants, Emperor Haile Sillase had established a secondary school at a distance of one hundred (100) kilometers from Addis Ababa. Consequently, the children of poor farmers had no chance to get access to education in their surroundings. Only a few of the economically self-sufficient farmers could send their children to attain their junior and secondary education in Fiche and Addis Ababa till 1996. Secondary school was not opened in the *wäräda* until 1996.⁴²

The people of the *wäräda* were exposed to different types of diseases like malaria and health facility was inadequate. Till 2017, there was no single Hospital in the district. Only two health centres and six private health clinics were opened in the *wäräda*. Of course, it was after 2000 E.C, that the opening of clinics and health programs was given emphasis in the *wäräda*.⁴³

The infrastructural development like transportation system was poor in the *wäräda* before the coming of World Neighbor Organization (WNO) in the area. Necessary facilities were not expanded like road until 1960 in the *wäräda*. All weather roads were inadequate and they were limited to the town. Only the road that comes from Addis Ababa or Gafarsa to Darba and Fiche which crosses the district was asphalt.⁴⁴ Other roads connecting different *qäbälès* of the *wäräda* are also used in the dry season. It was very difficult to travel on them even on foot during the *kerämt* or rainy season. So, it is possible to say that, the *wäräda* had only dry weather roads which connect it with the surrounding *wäräda*.⁴⁵

⁴²Fiqadu Jotie, Value of Children Perceived Cost and Fertility Behavioral in Mulo-Sululta District of Oromia...p.22; Informants: Tefera Mekuria, Ketema Satecha and Asrat Hirko; “The Sululta *Wäräda* Education Office Bulletin” 2006,p.3.

⁴³Informants: Ketema Satecha, Asrat Hirko and Belacho Hurrisa.

⁴⁴Gaddisa Urga,p.12.

⁴⁵Gaddisa Urga, p.7; Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Bekele Biru and Tesfaye Mekuria.

1.2 Historical Background: Political and Socio-Economic Conditions.

The people of the *wäräda* are predominantly Oromo (94%). There are also other peoples like Ahmara and some of other ethnic groups who live in the district. As different sources indicate, the origin of the Oromo is traced back to the time of their movement in the 16th century. The Oromo branch called Tulama reached the Shoan Region from the south and drove some original inhabitants across the Abay River. They occupied and settled in the area south of Abay, intermingling with in the former inhabitants.⁴⁶ The Tulama Oromo were further broken into sub-clans. Among the sub-clans which were settled in Sululta *Wäräda* and surrounding area were Guto, Galan, Gullalle, Jida and Gimbichu groups.⁴⁷ In fact, the Oromo people are the largest people in Ethiopia. The Oromo enjoy similar culture and share common language, history and descendents. During their long history, the Oromo developed their own cultural, social and political institution known as the Gada system.⁴⁸

Even though, Tsegaye failed to explain further about Gada system in his MA thesis a number of local informants and intellectuals provided us significant information regarding the gada system. For instance, the Oromo Cultural Center (OCC) published a book titled called “Seenaa Oromo hanga Jaarraa 20ffaa” (a History of Oromo up to 20th century) and this book provides us good information about the gada and its background. According to this reference, the Gada system reformed itself in the 12th century to 14th century following the formation of Borena and Barentu confederations.

The period of gada cycle also briefly illustrated. Accordingly, one gada cycle takes 360 years and within this cycle five of the gada grades governed their people nine times in their term of office.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Tesema Ta’a, “the Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Survey to 1910” (M.A. Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1980), p.13.

⁴⁷ “The Profile of Sululta Town”(2016), p.9; Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Bekele Biru and Tesfaye Mekuria.

⁴⁸ Tsegaye Zeleke, “The Oromo of Salale a History: c1840-1935” (MA, Thesis in History: Addis Ababa University, 2002), p.28.

⁴⁹ The Oromo Cultural Center (OCC), “*Seenaa Oromoo Hanga Jaarraa 2ffaa*” *jildii 2*, (Finfinnee, 2016), pp.271-274.

Oral Testimony and written materials indicate that, the first, second and third gada cycle was recycled in 1271, 1631 and 1991 respectively.⁵⁰ But, both the informant and the written materials did not give us an accurate period when and how gada system was formed.

As local and international researchers who conducted research on the gada system explain that, the gada system was democratic system through which the Oromo people governed each other for many centuries. According to Abera Zeleke and Mohammed Hassen's investigations, there was tangible evidence that illuminates democracy in the Gada system. First of all, in the gada system power was transferred through popular election every eight years. It was not allowed for the *Abba Caffee* (*Abba Gada*) or the head of assemble to lead his people for more than eight years.⁵¹ In the Oromo Gada system, the *Abba Gada* governed his people when he was at the age of 40-48. A person of this age was believed to be able to lead his society. All members of the gada grade were not elected to take power. That was the one who had more knowledge about his people, good at military skills, acceptable in the society (honest and royal to his people value).⁵²

At the same time, if the *Abba Gada* did not govern according to the gada regulation or oral law (unwritten law in the society) the people could call him back and they would remove him from the position and replaced him by another effective elected *caffee* member. Most probably such measures would be taken at the mid of his term of office (after 4 years). Mohammed Hassen justified that, the *Abba Boku* was accountable for the people who elected him. His power is limited by the unwritten laws in the society.⁵³ Major office holders in the *Caffee* include; *Abba Gada* (Chief of Gada), *Abba Boku* (Holder of Scepter) or Speaker of House and *Abba Dula* (Chief of the Military).

⁵⁰ *Ibdi*; Informants Ejersa Yadate and Mamo Dinagde.

⁵¹ Abera Zeleke, "Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara *Wäräda* (Western Shoa)1941-1991" (M.A Thesis, Department of History: Ababa University, 2006), p.55; Mohammed Hassen, "The Oromo of Ethiopia A History 1570-1886," (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1990), pp. 68-70.

⁵² Abera Zeleke, "Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara *Warada* (Western Shoa)1941-1991"... pp.55-56; Informants:Ejersa Yadate, Tesema Qoricho and Mamo Dinagde.

⁵³ Herbert S.Lewis, "A Reconsideration of Socio- Political System of Western Galla,"(*Journal of S emetic Studies, IX, 1, 1964*); Mohammed Hssen, p.70; Bairu Tafla (ed and trans), *Asmä Gyorgis and His Works: History of the Galla and the Kingdom of Sawa* (Stuttgart, 1987), p.503; Informants:Ejersa Yadate, Tesema Qoricho and Mamo Dinagde.

The clan leadership was headed by *Abba Gada*. Assisting the *Abba Gada* in the administration the *Abba Boku* practiced authority over assemblies, issue law and acted as judge.⁵⁴ Pastoralism was the predominant economic activity of the Oromo society and this situation was gradually transformed into cultivation. Grazing land was a customary activity that was used in common. According to the Oromo oral law, land was a common resource of the society.⁵⁵

Crop production, combined with animal herding was expanded in the area and occupied an important place in the people economic life. Affecting the traditional socio-economic patterns, agriculture transformed the pastoral life of the Oromo to settled agricultural one.⁵⁶ The transformation was activated through slow and gradual process. Consequently, the development of agriculture in the area became important factor for the transformation of the socio-economic life of the Oromo people in the area.⁵⁷

The other presiding factor of significant consequence in transforming the local socio-economic and political structure was the Shoan-Ahmara conquest of the area and the subsequent Ahmara settlement among the Oromo people'. Local Oromo traditions noted that, the process of the Shoan conquest of Ahmara began with Sebeste Negasi, the first ruler in the lineage of the Shoan dynasty. By the end of the 17th century and beginning of the 18th century Negasi started expanding at the expense of neighboring people and the conquered areas of Dabadabo, Mangest, Doqaqit and Asabo. Similarly, his successors activated his plan over the Oromo people in Shoa region including Suluta and its surrounding.⁵⁸

For stance, military operations against the Oromo communities were common on the Shoa Meda and the Karrayyu area. His grandson Abiye (1718- 1743) died while fighting with the Karrayyu Oromo after taking Barrii Akkoo (Ankober).⁵⁹

⁵⁴Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Tesema Qoricho and Mamo Dinagde; Abera Zeleke, pp.55-57.

⁵⁵Herbert S.Lewis, p.64.

⁵⁶Herbert S.Lewis, "*Wealth Influence and Prestige among the Shoa Galla in Social Stratification in Africa*" (New York, 1970), p. 87.

⁵⁷Dechasa Abäbä, p.51;Tsegaye Zeleke, "the Oromo of Salale A History: c1840-1935"...p.36.

⁵⁸Abera Zeleke, "Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara *Warada* (Western Shoa)1941-1991" (M.A Thesis, Department of History: Ababa University, 2006), p.14; informants: Tesema Qoricho and Guddisa Habebe.

⁵⁹Dechasa Abebe, "The Socio- Economic History of North Shawa Ethiopia: 1800-1935" (PhD Dissertation in History, South Africa: University of South Africa, 2015), p.181.

Campaigns for the conquest of neighboring territories were aggravated during the reign of King Sahelä Silassé (1813-1847) who wisely extended the western territories of Shäwa. Harris, a traveler who visited Shoa in the early 1840s and who left his account on his travel, wrote that *Nigus Sahelä Silassé* was able to expand to Metta, Qarsa Dhagaa (Sululta), Abichu, Worabi, Galan and Bacho. These areas had already been placed under the Shoan Kingdom during the tenures of Wäsän Säged and Sahälé Sillasé.⁶⁰

As local traditions of the Oromo indicate, around 1845 a bloody and sever confrontation took place between King Sahälé Sillasé and the inhabitants of Sululta and Mulo at the place called Beddi at the border of the Mulo and Sululta *Wäräda*. Informants claim that, a number of Oromo people lost their lives on the war. Both, the people of Mulo and Sululta areas had actively participated in resisting these forces.⁶¹

The campaigns conquered the land of the Oromo for two interrelated motives. One was for economic interest. The conquerors wanted the Oromo to collect tribute. Isenberg and Krapf missionaries, who visited Sahle Sillassie's court and accompanied him in a campaign to Metta and Sululta area in the 1840s, provide us evidence for the Christian Ahmara action in the region. They wrote about beautifulness of the territory of Metta, Mulo, Ada'a Barga and Sululta areas. Generally, these missionaries claim that when they further go to south the country became more beautiful.⁶²

The other leading factor was political reunification. The Christian population or the Shäwan Ahmara dreamed to restore their hegemony over the territory of Shoa and its surrounding regions.⁶³ The Shäwa rulers believed that the land inhabited by the Oromo was originally the domain of their lands. As Harris noted, the Oromo occupied their land following the footsteps of *Imam Ahmed Gragh* who had dislocated the Ahmara in the 16th century.

⁶⁰ W.C. Harris, "*The High Land of Aethiopia*" (London, 1844), p.24.

⁶¹ Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho and Guddisa Habebe.

⁶² Isenberg and Krapf, *Journal of C.W. Isenberg of J.L.Krapf: Detailing their Proceeding in the Kingdom of Shoa and Journey in the other Parts of Abyssinia in the Year 139, 1840, 1941 and 1842* (London, 1843), p.243.

⁶³ Abera Zeleke, pp. 13-15; W.C. Harris, p.19; Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire, 1880-1974: The Case of the Arsi Oromo* (Brill: Leiden, 2014), pp.40-45.

The Ahmara in attempting to escape from Ahmed Gragn's invasion moved to the low-land away leaving, behind the high-land to the Oromo.⁶⁴

The rise of identity politics among the Ahmara has reinforced the role of territoriality as source of identity. The Ahmara identity political actors believed that the land occupied by the Oromo was as their "homeland" region with the strong root in the Motto of "primacy of the first settlers" through reconstructing their myth of displacement, was very important.⁶⁵ Oral testimony stated that, the Ahmara political actors (kings) mainly struggled against the Oromo people to rebuild the supremacy of the Ahmara rule over the area.⁶⁶

Moreover, the question of re-establishing the Christian population became an important driving force for the raid of King Sahle Sillassie over the local Oromo inhabitants. As Harris wrote on his account, Sahle Sillassie took military measures against the Oromo of Sälalé like; Gimbichu, Galan, Lube (inhabited in Sululta) and other Oromo groups who had inhabited the Shoa Meda area in the late 1830s and in the early 1840s.⁶⁷

On the other hand, Krapf and Isenberg did not mention direct military confrontation between the Shoan Ahmara expansionists and the Oromo of Tulama in the study area. Rather, they narrated that the Shoans rushed in succession into territories of different Oromo groups like; Sululta, Mulo, Ada'a Barga, Metta of various sub-groups as Meta Warabi, Meta Robi and Bacho Fugule.⁶⁸ According to the accounts of travelers, all the villages and houses were burned by the conquerors. Then the Oromo people had deserted and fled into the forest, mountain and other safe areas.⁶⁹ On the contrary, the Oromo group resistance manifested itself in different ways.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵Odd Erik Arnesen, "The Becoming of Place: A Tulama Oromo Region in North Shoa," J. Hultin and Triulizi (eds), *Being and Becoming Oromo, Historical and Anthropological Enquires* (Upplsala, 1996),pp.213-214; Dechasa Abebe,p.76.

⁶⁶Dechasa Abebe,p.77; Informants: Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho and Belacho Hurrisa; Abera Zeleke,p.13.

⁶⁷W.C. Harris,p.17; Informants: Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho, Belacho Hurrisa and Wälda Mariam Wälda Mikael.

⁶⁸Isenberg and Krapf, *Journal of C.W. Isenberg of J.L. Krapf...*p.241.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*

The Oromo people refused to pay tribute to Wäsän Sägid, Sahelä Silassé and other Shoan kings until the coming to the power of Emperor Menilek II.⁷⁰ According to local informants and written material the Oromo themselves burnt all grasses in their areas to prevent Sahelä Sillassé from coming to the plain areas called Ada'a Barga, Mulo-Sululta and Walmara area. The Oromo people used to attack and return strategy to fight the Shoan expansionists' i.e flight to mountain, leaving the land in devastated state. Krapf and Isenberg observed this one.⁷¹

Before the coming of Emperor Menilek II, many of the Shoan kings had to face confrontation and problem of consolidating their quest. Almost all the Oromo areas (Shoa Meda area) had rebelled refusing to pay tribute. Harris wrote in his account about the refusal of Oromo to pay tribute to King Sahelä Sillassé.⁷²

Asmse Georgies on the same confirmation, clearly wrote that occasion focusing on the refusal of the Oromo people to pay tribute to the Christian rulers in general and King Sahle Sillassie in particular. *Tikimt* or October month shortly, after the rainy season was the usual time of campaign for Sahle Sillassie to meet the Oromo. The *Tikimt* campaign or raids was the first contact out of the three annual engagements that had to be carried out with the Oromo.⁷³

Secondly, at the end of the harvesting season the campaigners contacted and forced the local people to pay tribute. The last annual campaign was usually launched from mid-May to mid-June before the rainy season starts.⁷⁴ Of course, the area of the Tulama Oromo had been a battleground with the Shoan Ahmara rulers since the reign of King Sahle Sillassie, the grandfather of Menilek. Finally, some parts of the Tulama land had fallen under Sahle Sillassie. These areas include Mulo, Ada'a Barga and Gimbichu areas.⁷⁵

⁷⁰*Ibid*; Ejersa Yadate, Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho and Guddisa Habebe.s

⁷¹Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho and Guddisa Habebe.

⁷²W.C. Harris...p.11; Dachassa Abebe,p.151; Informants: Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho and Guddisa Habebe.

⁷³*Ibid*.

⁷⁴Bairu Tafla, Asma Gyorgis and His Work "*History of Galla and the Kindom of Shawa*" (New York, 1987),p. 421.

⁷⁵Griefenow-Mewis,Catherine and Tamane Bitima, *Oromo Poetry Seen from Within*. (Koln: Rudiger Koppe Verlag, 2004), pp.40-42.

Moreover, Emperor Menilek II had effectively occupied the Tulama Oromo and practically consolidated his conquest. Emperor Menilek II used different methods to occupy the fertile lands of the Shoa Meda area including the study area. On behalf of the Shoan Ahmara kings, *Ras Gobana Dache* and priests, who lead the Orthodox Church played unforgettable role in the process of creating suitable condition for the expansionist campaigns in the region.

They preached the non-Christian people in the area about peace, relation and Christianity and worked hard to eliminate unnecessary gap between the local people and expansionist groups.⁷⁶ In addition, these priests and other religious men used their spiritual potential and built many churches in the Shoa Meda area by promoting those local chiefs to reverse the traditional religion (*Waqeffanna*) of local people.⁷⁷

According to testimony of a senior Church-men, *Ras Gobena* had established more than 67 churches in Shoa and Wollega.⁷⁸ Following the model of their father, *Atsede Gobana*, *Wadajo Gobana*, *Askale Gobana*, *Dejazmach Zewdu Gobana* and *Gebre Rufael Gobana* were honestly involved in the career of expanding and building churches from *Dannaba* (their birth-place) to *Addis Ababa* by abandoning the traditional religion of the Oromo (*Waqeffannaa*).⁷⁹

Many churches were constructed in and around *Sululta Wārāda* like; *Tufa Muna St. Georgies*, *Sokoru Mariam*, *Abichu Mekael*, *Marry and Raguel Church*.⁸⁰ Most of the local inhabitants were converted to Orthodox Christianity and got baptism. The local chiefs also immediately accepted Christianity following the measures of *Tufa Muna* or the *Hangafa* of the region.

Political marriage with the Oromo local leaders (*Hangafa*) family was another policy of Emperor Menilek to control the area. For instance, *Ras Dasta Darge* was married to the daughter of *Ras Gobena*. *Wadajo Gobana* also married the daughter of Emperor Menilek (*Shawaragad*) to encourage the co-relations of *Gobana* and *Menilek*. *Ras Gobena Dache* was one of the outstanding Oromo generals in the Emperor Menilek's service, who made a great influence on the *Tulama Oromo* and the *Shoan Ahmara* relations in different dimension.

⁷⁶Dechasa Abebe, p.65; informans: Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho, and Belacho Hurrisa.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸Informants: Wolda Mariam Wolda Mikael, Alemne Wolda Tsadiq and Gezahign Degefa.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*

⁸⁰*Ibid.*

He activated diplomatic work between the Oromo local chiefs and the forces of Emperor Menilek. He had instrumental role in convincing the *Hangafa* to submit-peace fully with the army of Menilek without bloody war. For instance, Tufa Muna stopped his resistance against the forces of Menilek by the efforts of Gobana Dache.⁸¹ Similarly, there were also attempts to link the Oromo and Ahmara people in religious fields by expanding church in Oromo inhabited areas. Moreover, *Ras* Gobena played great role in strengzing of the Oromo-Amhara relation both in diplomacy and social relation.⁸²

Thirdly, the Emperor took military measures to crush the Oromo forces in the area. He had bought modern rifles in large quantity from European countries through Tajura (Djibout). As a result, the army of Menilek was better equipped with modern firearms than the Oromo traditional forces. According to Harris account, the Oromo leaders were equipped with “Lance and sword and shield equipments.”⁸³

They were poorly equipped compared to the modern guns of Menilek and this situation seriously affected the stands of the Oromo people against the army of the Shoan Ahmara. The people of the study area had fallen under the rule of Menilek from 1875 onwards. Many of the inhabitants were displaced from their lands due to the influence of military campaigns of Menilek. The historical song of displacement presented next is a contextualized experience of dislocation and eviction suffered by the Oromo clans of the region here. It believed as a typical example of Gullale Oromo resentment songs that can be titled as “Hafe!” / “No More!”

<i>Entoto irra bahanii</i>	<i>No more standing on the Entoto hill top,</i>
<i>Caffee ilaaluun hafee</i>	<i>to watch the meadow and wild grass below,</i>
<i>Finfinne loon geessanii</i>	<i>no more taking cattle to Finfinne,</i>
<i>Hora obaasuun hafee</i>	<i>to water at the mineral spring.</i>
<i>Bara jarri dhufanii</i>	<i>the year the conqueror came</i>
<i>Loon keenyas in dhumanii</i>	<i>our cattle perished.</i>
<i>Erga Mashashaan dhufee</i>	<i>Since Mashasha came,</i>

⁸¹Informants:Wolda Mariam Wolda Mikael, Gezahign Degefa and Tesema Qoricho; Dechasa Abebe, “Socio- Economic History of North Shawa Ethiopia: 1800-1935”..., p.65.

⁸²Dechasa Abebe, pp. 65-66; Informants: Walda Mariam Wälda Mikael and Alemne Wälda Tsadiq.

⁸³ W.C. Harris, p.19; Abbas Haji, *Conquest and Resistance in the Ethiopian Empire, 1880-1974...*, pp. 40-45.

Ras Gobana was one of the military leaders of Emperor Menilek II. He was one of the prominent architects who brought about fiscal and military integration of the whole Oromo provinces and the rest of unincorporated regions under the central empire. He played an unforgettable role in the formation of modern Ethiopian empire.⁸⁵

Resistance was common from the Wollo Oromo, the Hararge Oromo, the Arsi Oromo, the Kafa, the Gurage and the Walayita peoples against Menilek II and his campaigns in different ways in the last quarter of the 19th century. Similarly, Tufa Muna of Gullalle and Sululta, Amante Jalata of Kolfe, Habebe Tufa of Yeka, Kejela Doyo of Gafarsa and Burrayu, Gurara Lata of Finfinne and others were some of the Tulama Oromo local chiefs in and around Finfinne (Addis Ababa) who fought against the forces of Menilek II in the late 1870s and the early 1880s.⁸⁶

Except Tufa Muna, the local leaders had lost their lives at the war and the rest were captured by Menilek's military forces and sent to prison. As a result, the majority of the Galan, Gimbichu Gullalle, Guto (Lube), Jida, and other sub-tribes who inhabited the area were subjugated and reduced to the status of *Gebbar* (tributors).

Almost all parts of the region failed under the Shoa Ahmara rulers and the inhabitants were reduced to the status of *tenants* (*gebar*). And they were also forced to pay tax (*gibir*) to Emperor Menilek's governments. At the same time the study area was also forced to accept the rule of Menilek from 1875 onwards.⁸⁷

Menilek also took different diplomatic measures to minimize the influence of Tufa Muna in the study area. Tufa Muna accepted Christianity and got baptized in Liche near to Debre-Bهران in 1880. Consequently, St. Georges Church was constructed in the name of Tufa Muna at the hill of Wasarbi in 1884.

⁸⁴Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Mamo Dinagde and Tesema Qoricho.

⁸⁵*Ibid*; Ed Semone, "The Ahmara Military Expedition against the Shoa Galla (1800-18500): A Reappraisal." ...p.68.

⁸⁶Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Tesfaye Bulbula and Haile Beyene.

⁸⁷*Ibid*.

He was also appointed as *balabbat* or governor of Sululta, Mulo, Mugär and an half of Gullalle (northern part of the present Addis Ababa) which stretches 60 kilometers from Birbirsa (Pissa) to the end of Mugär bereha.⁸⁸ But, secretly these Christian leaders made attempts to evaluate his loyalty.⁸⁹

Inversely, the people of the study area and other Tulama Oromo group were showing their resistance via different songs. The song below is one of the typical examples of Oromo resentment songs composed and performed to invigorate resistance and challenge the unbearable human condition in which they found themselves. This particular song is about a helpless, passive milk cow representing the Oromo people in the area, which is fertile and has adequate natural resources, but its people are kept in abject poverty:

Burre yaa gaaddidduu	Oh, Burre, the lactating cow,
booso maa si elmatti	how could a stranger milk you,
dhiittee hin didduu ⁹⁰	how dare he, how

According to the Raguel Church Bulletin, Emperor Menilek preferred Entoto Mountain as a political and religious centre of his state for 12 years (1875- 1887).⁹¹ The palace was constructed in 1875 at Entoto on the left side of St. Marry Church. Significantly, it was selected because it was a fortress.

But, its mountainous nature and high altitude gave it extremely cold weather. The absence of drinking water and difficulty in accessing transport facilities were other reasons for the change of the centre of the imperial capital. Then the administrative centre of Menilek shifted from Entoto to Finfinne (Addis Ababa) to the south after 12 years.⁹²

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Gemechu Megersa, “*The Oromo Worldview*”, Interdisciplinary Seminar of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies 1 (June 6-7, 1998), p.41.

⁹¹ Raguel Church Quarterly Published Bulletin (1988 E.C), pp.5-7; Informants: Tesfaye Mekuria and Walda Mariam Wolda Mikael.

⁹² *Ibid.*

Figure 1: 1 Emperial Palace at Entoto (1883)



Photo graphed by researcher during observation (2019).

The *gebar* system, so named after *gibir* (tribute) was institutionalized in the region. This institution was established by the Shoan kings to strengthen their economic and political power over their subjects. The *gabars* were obliged to perform onerous labor services which included; grinding grains, fetching water, collecting fire wood, building and repairing churches, constructing and maintaining fences and houses, building granaries, working on farms and *hundad* (government and individual land), keeping mules or houses for those *balabbats*, guarding the tent, store and repairing and clearing tents are some the duties of farmers to master.⁹³

The *gabar* system had challenged the traditional right of the people of the study area to land. The land was appropriated by the crown, who claimed prerogative rights over its disposal. From 1900 onward, Emperor Menilek II could appropriate and redistribute land among his favorite institutions and individuals in the study area. Of course, land measurement was based on the size and quality of land. These measured lands were divided and transferred to the state agents and war leaders. The institution used to measure was *qalad* (robe) and the unit was *gasha* and size was based on the length and quality of *lam*-land (developed land), *lam-taf* (semi-fertile land) and *taf* or uncultivated land.⁹⁴ Actually, when the *gabar* system was introduced to the Sululta *Wäräda* is not clearly known. The local informants did not know when and by whom the land measurement began in the *wäräda*.

Of course, the introduction of this measurement was aimed at facilitating taxation in the area. The state appropriated the land leaving certain proportion of it as *balabbat meret* or portion of land which the local chiefs retained and redistributed it among famous individual and church. This appropriated land by the state was sold to the *gabbars*. In other words, the former land holders bought back their land from the state at low prices. Accordingly, one *gasha* of land was sold for one *birr*.⁹⁵ Other portion was reversed as *ye-mengist meret* (government land) in the form of *hudad* (farm land and *wärä gänu* (grazing land).

⁹³Mengistu Geremew, p.19.

⁹⁴Shiferaw Bekele, "The Evolution of Land Tenure in the Imperial Era", *An Economic History of Modern Ethiopia: The Imperial Era, 1941-1974*, (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1995),p. 109.

⁹⁵Mengistu Geremew, p.9; Informant: Tasfaye Wälda Mikael.

Three *Gashas* of land was given to the state for the purpose of grazing of horse and mules in the study area. The remaining portion of land was also given to churches.⁹⁶

In Sululta area, 33.5 *gashas* of land were given to the Orthodox Church to maintain the life of clergy and it was also allocated to increase the income of the church.⁹⁷ Following the rule of Fascist Italy from 1936 to 1941 the study area was confronted with other challenges. Fascist Italy established military garrison on a strategic area in Sululta Town which is locally called Mishig (fortification) to defend the patriots who came from the country side. Lastly, the area was liberated from the domination of Italy in 1941 and immediately after independence Sululta *Wäräda* was established in 1942.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Dechasa Abebe..., p.111.

⁹⁷ Dechasa Abebe..., p.65; Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Alemu Fulasa and Tasama Qoricho.

⁹⁸ Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Alemu Fulasa and Tasama Qoricho.

CHAPTER TWO

2. FORMATION OF SULULTA WÄRÄDA AND ITS ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY (1941-1974)

This chapter will deal about the formation and administration history of the Sululta *Wäräda* (1941-1974). It will cultivate four main issues; Italian rule and formation and administration history of the *wäräda*. It will also discuss the issues of taxation and maladministration in the study area during the period under discussion.

2.1. Italian Rule (1936-1941)

Ethiopia was invaded by Italy on October 3, 1935, so as to build a large colonial empire in East Africa in general and to revenge Ethiopians for their victory against the Italians at the Battle of Adwa in 1896 in particular.⁹⁹ According to the testimony of oral informants, the district was occupied in 1936 by the Italian army. Most of the territory of the *wäräda* was controlled by the well trained and properly equipped Italian troops for a period of five years.¹⁰⁰

Before the surrender of the region to fascist Italy, a few imperial bodyguard soldiers and civilians had made attempts to defend the invaders coming from Addis Ababa, Sululta and Walmera (Holota) areas to fight against the Italians. They were commanded by *Balambaras* Abäbä Arägai.

Oral testimony and Anthony Mocker claim that, *Balambaras* Abäbä was an Ethiopian military commander who led the resistance fighters known as *Arbägna* or patriots that operated in Addis Ababa and its surrounding areas. He took part in the unsuccessful attempt made to retake the capital in the July 1936. But, the resistance group was beaten back by the Italians.

⁹⁹Takläsadiq Makurya, *Yà Itopiya Tarik: Kä Atse Tewodros Eskä Wädamawi Haile Sillasie*, 2nd ed (Addis Ababa: Qiddus Geyorgis Pring Press, 1951 E.C), p.257.

¹⁰⁰Informants: Tesfaye Hunde and Dejene Tägi.

According to Anthony Mockler's narrative, in September 1937 Abäbä left Addis Ababa to 40 soldiers and had begun to organize the local people against the Italians in Mugär area (Sululta *Wäräda*).¹⁰¹ They were poorly armed with traditional weapons.¹⁰² Two of Abäbä's family members (Konjet and Asnaqech Gobana) were directly involved in the resistance struggle against the fascist Italian rule. On behalf of his military leadership, he provided firearms and valid information to the regional patriots through letters and others meanses.¹⁰³

Local inhabitants were also actively involved in the stiff resistance against the forces of Italy in the *wäräda*. According to the testimony oral informants, Zägäye Bali was directly involved in the stiff resistance from Mulo area against fascist Italy. More of the inhabitants of the *wäräda* were participating in the patriots' resistance through providing information and food supply to the patriots.¹⁰⁴

Oral testimony claim that, after hearing the heroic actions of Abäbä Arägay and his followers, many patriots launched their attacks from various regions to Mugär Baraha(Mugär Desert) to liberate Addis Ababa from fascist rule. For instance, Jima Sanbato (Dannaba), Garasu Duki (Waliso), Haile Mariam Mamo (Yaya Gulale) and others patriots had joined the group of Abebe in December 1937.¹⁰⁵ There were attempts to score some initial victories over the Italian armies, but the Ethiopian patriots were finally unable to withstand the well armed Italian force from the area. Most of the areas in the *wäräda* were easily occupied by the Italian army, due to the absence of internal political unity and the Italians military superiority. Then after, the Italians settled in the present-day SulultaTown which was commonly called Mishig (fortified) area. Oral testimony clam that, around 900 soldiers were stationed in Sululta Town to save their camps and soldiers from sudden and planned action of patriots in the area.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹Anthony Mockler, *Haile Sillasié's War* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), p.251; Informants:Mamo Dinagde, Ejersa Yadate and Walda Mariam Wolda Mikael.

¹⁰²Informantnt: Abebe Tesema.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴Informant: Mamo Dinaqqde.

¹⁰⁵Informants:Ejersa Yadate and Alemu Fulasa; Anthony Mockler, *Haile Sillasié's War...*, p.251.

¹⁰⁶The Sululta Town Administration: "*Annual Bulletin*" (2006 G.C), p.12; Informants: Tesfaye Hunde and Dejene Tegi.

According to the Bulletin of Sululta Town's Administration, the town was established by the Italians in 1937 following the occupation of fascist Italy and nowadays it is located at south corner of Sululta *Wäräda*. Following the occupation of the Italians, different types of infrastructures were established in the town during the period of Italian rule. Modern houses, offices and other necessary buildings were constructed in Sululta Town for administrative and military purpose. Asphalt road was also constructed from Addis Ababa to Fiche-Bahar-Dar main centre which passed through the Sululta *wäräda*.

The town was nearer to the political centre of the country as well as to the centre of local patriot's. Generally, Sululta Town was purposely established by the Italians to control the forces of the patriots who launched their attacks from different directions of the country.¹⁰⁷

Immediately after their occupation of Sululta, the Italians had assigned representatives of the people from the local chiefs. For instance, Godana Arado was assigned by the Italians as representative of Sululta area and he cooperatively worked with the Italian rulers both in administration and security cases. He also served for Italian as an advisor for five years.¹⁰⁸

At the same fashion, the Italian armies made attempts to assign the families of former local rulers over sub-centers of the *wäräda* during the period of their occupation. But, they failed to get true-hearted (loyal) *Qoros* or local chief from local representatives who implemented the policy of the Italians in the *wäräda*.¹⁰⁹ Tullu Dadhi of Wasarbi, Malka Masqale of Çanço, Tufo Kalu of Gorfo, Arado Nagaya of Mulo and Hunde Lama of Beddi are said to have kept silent to the questions of the Italians. The Italians also save themselves from taking any harsh measures on the local *balabbats* to manage the area peacefully. But, indirectly they checked the action and movements of these local chief through their security forces.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸The Sululta Town Administration: "*Annual Bulletin*"...; p.12; Informants: Tesfaye Hunde and Abebe Tesema.

¹⁰⁹Informants: Mamo Dinagde, Sime Tola and Bekele Biru.

¹¹⁰Informants: Mamo Dinagde and Bekele Biru.

Oral testimony claims that, many local patriots came from different parts of the country making Sululta their centre to liberate their capital city from the vainglorious Italian invaders. For instance, Mesfin Siläsh, Gabramariam Gari, Badhane Gari, Urga Gari, Jima Sanbati, Mekonnin Wasanu, Mulu Wäsänu and Alamu Kiteessa had taken part on the stiff resistance at Mugar Baraha against the Italians from 1937 onwards.¹¹¹

The arrival of patriots from Säälalé, Dabra Brahan and West Shäwa further added fuel to the struggle and it strengthened the forces of Abäbä Arägay. Of course, the nation wide struggle in the various parts of the country pushed forward the already started resistance struggle. Therefore, such stiff resistance and struggle in Ethiopia shows the patriots' readiness to die for our liberty and independence.¹¹²

As Mockler explains, by the second month of 1937 year Abäbä joined with the group of *Lej* Haylämariam Mamo and *Fitäwrari* Zewdu Abba Korra in Manz to crush the Italian in the region. Their joint works caused great frustration among the Italians in the region. General Ruggeri Traechia the Commander of the North Shäwa garrison feared and reported to calling in reinforcement from surrounding areas to combat the resistance fighter.¹¹³ To overcome the existing problems the Italians built impressive fort in SulultaTown in which the Italians forces got fortified. To stop the condition, the reinforcement was instructed from SulultaTown on air and from the ground.¹¹⁴

The first actual fighting took place between the joint forces of local patriot (Abebe, Haile Mariam Mamo) and General Ruggeri Traechia the Commander of the North Shäwa garrison at place called Halaya Jaldessa (Northen Sululta). The Italians scored victory over the forces of *Balamaras* Abäbä and Haile Mariam Mamo.¹¹⁵ Their military technology and the use of air plane contributed for their quick victory. In this confrontation, many local people and patriots lost their life while, some of the local patriots were captured in the fighting.

¹¹¹Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Tesfaye Balacho and Haile Beyene.

¹¹²Mengistu Geremew, "A History of Wanbara Woreda from 1941-1991"..., p 21.

¹¹³Informants: Tesfaye Balacho, Mamo Dinagde and Haile Beyene; Anthony Mockler, *Haile Sillasie's War*..., p.256.

¹¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹¹⁵Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Mamo Dinagde and Haile Beyene.

Moreover, the local patriots were unable to resist the Italian army.¹¹⁶

Eventhough, the Italians had the upper hand, the resistance struggle against the Italians still continued in the western part of the Sululta *wäräda* assisted by *Balambaras* Abäbä Arägay. Fortunately, they saved the southern part (low land areas) of the *wäräda* from the Italians.¹¹⁷

Side by side, Abäbä attempted to make agreement with the Italians in 1939. Anthony Mockler explains, he presented himself to the Italians as ambivalent about his role as patriot, dreaming to submit to the occupiers in return for money, army and power. Abäbä made negotiation with General Nasi the Italian governor of Shäwa of the period. In the negotiations, he gave intimations of his readiness to surrender. Simultaneously, he wrote to Haile Mariam Mamo, Geresu Dhuki *Fitawrari Abba* Korra and others local patriots explaining the actual reason for engaging in the talk, to buy time. After he had made sure that his forces had sufficiently recovered from the reverses they had suffered, he broke off the negotiation, using as a pretext the killing by the Italians of the patriots in another locality.¹¹⁸

But, the Italians continued their talk with him until 15 March 1940. Nasi understood their miscalculation concerning their negotiation with *Balambaras* Abäbä and he did not take any measures on the resistance forces because of the rising of tension in the region.¹¹⁹ Rather, the Italians followed other tactics to control effectively the *wäräda*. They provided free medical treatment; cloths, shoes and food began to be provided and other social services to the local people to get support from the local community.

But, their self-absorbed plan failed and many of the local people escaped to the lowland area of the *wäräda* to be free from the influence of fascist Italy. Generally, the rule of the Italians was hated in the *wäräda* due to the influence of the local people and the patriots which led to absence of peaceful administration in all parts of the *wäräda*.¹²⁰

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷Informants: Tesfaye Balacho and Haile Beyene.

¹¹⁸Anthony Mockler, *Haile Sillasie's War...*,p.254.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

Moreover, the arrival of Emperor Haile Sillassie from exile via the western direction (Gojjam) to Addis Ababa by the support of the British soldiers greatly encouraged the patriots and boosted the fighting moral of the guerrilla fighters. This breaking news suddenly pushed the army of Italy from Sululta or Mishig area to evacuate.¹²¹ Since the area was much closer to Addis Ababa, the imperial government immediately controlled it and Sululta was structured as Sululta *wäräda* in 1942. In the post-1941 period, Tullu Dadhi of Wasarbi, Malka Masqale of Çanço, Tufo Kalu of Gorfo, Arado Nagaya of Mulo and Hunde Lama of Beddi were appointed as *Balabbat* of their sub-district respectively.

2.2 Administrative History of Sululta Wäräda (1941-1974)

The year of 1941 was unique in the history of modern Ethiopia. Because, Ethiopia was liberated from the control of fascist Italy and Emperor Haile Sillassie was restored to his power after five years in exile. This brought the revival of centralization attempts in the country. To achieve this plan, the Emperor introduced a series of proclamations and decrees starting from 1942 onwards all over the country.¹²² To make sure this objective, the imperial government established similar local administration system throughout the country. All governors were centrally appointed. Generally, the period from 1941 to 1974 was marked by the announcement of successive policies that were targeted to ensure central administration in the country and consolidate the absolute power of Emperor Haile Sillassie.¹²³

The post-1941 period saw structural transformation in the Ethiopian state. Immediately at the beginning of 1942, the imperial government announced a decree that rearranged the empire into a new administrative system. According to the new administration structure, the country was sub-grouped into twelve (12) Governorate-General or *Täqalay Gezat*.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopian 1855-1991*(London: James Cuny Ltd, 2002), p.178.

¹²² Markakakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia* (Nottingham: the Russell Press, 19978), p.44.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴; Michael Ståhl, *Political Contradiction in Agricultural Development* (Liber Tryck: Stockholm, 1974), p.78; Mengistu Geremew, “AHistory of Wanbara Woreda from 1941-1991 ”...,p 28.; informants: Gezahign Degefa and Tesfaye Balacho.

The governorate Generals were again reformed in 1946, after Hararge general governorate was divided into Hararge and Bale provinces. In this reform, the country was sub-grouped into thirteen (13) provinces.¹²⁵ Following the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia, the country was re-structured its administrative unit; under fourteen (14) *Täqalay Gezat*, one hundred and three/103/ *awrajja* (sub-provinces), five hundred and five /505/ *wärädas* (districts) and nine hundred and forty nine /949/ *meketel wärädas* (sub-districts).¹²⁶

Shao Province (*Täqalay Gezat*) was one of the general governorates in the new administrative system and it was a huge province in population size than the rest of *Täqalay Gezats* in the country. The sub-provinces included under Shoa General Governorte were; Mänzena-Gishen, Tägülate-Bulga, Männagäsha, Sälalé, Märabété, Kambata-Hadya, Jibate-Mecha, Yärärena-Kerreyyuu, Yefatena-Dhumuga, Hayqochena-ButaJira and Ambo *Awrajja*.¹²⁷

The Männagäsha *Awrajjaa* came under the Shäwa Province and Addis Ababa was the administrative centre of the sub-province during the period. More than, eleven (11) *wärädas* were included under the Männagäsha *Awrajja* and they were; Karsana-Maléma *Wäräda*, Alem-Gena *Wäräda*, Akaki *Wäräda*, Walmara *Wäräda*, Sululta *Wäräda*, Jida *Wäräda*, Barak *Wäräda*, Alaltu *Wäräda*, Addis-Alem *Wäräda*, Meta-Robi *Wäräda* and Ada'a Baraga *Wäräda*.¹²⁸

Sululta *Wäräda* was one of the members of the *awrajja* and it was newly formed as a *wäräda* immediately after liberation. In the pre-1941 period, the Beddi, Wasarbi (Sululta), Buba, Mulo and Gorfo sub-districts had their own *Balabbats* and they governed themselves separately. These areas were directly paying tribute to the central government from 1880 to 1941. Following the withdrawal of fascist Italy, the Sululta area attracted the imperial government for its geographical and strategic importance and proximity to the political centre of the country.

¹²⁵ Michael Ståhl, *Political Contradiction in Agricultural Development...*, pp.78-80.

¹²⁶ IES: Progress Report From Mulo-Community Centre to Ministry of National Community Development, the Imperial Ethiopian Government May, 1964 to June 1965 Box No Ms.789 File No.1272; Mengistu Geremew, "A History of Wanbara *Wäräda* from 1941-1991"..., p 28; Eshetu Girma, "Ethno-botanical Study of Medical Plants Used by Local People of Sululta *Wäräda*, Oromia Region Special Zone Ethiopia"..., p.17.

¹²⁷ Institutes of Ethiopian Study (IES): Progress Report From Mulo-Community Centre to Ministry of National Community Development, the Imperial Ethiopian Government May, 1964 to June 1965 Box No Ms.789 File No.1272.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*; Informant: Gazahing Degefa.

Sululta *Wäräda* was established in 1941 and Sululta Town was preferred as its administrative centre. Five of the Semi-autonomous sub-districts were placed under Sululta *Wäräda* in the post-liberation period.¹²⁹

Immediately in the post-liberation period i.e, from 1942 onwards, the Wasarbi, Çanço, Beddi, Mulo and Gorfo areas were structured as *meketel wäräda* under the Sululta *Wäräda*.¹³⁰ Each of the sub-districts had their own local chiefs who govern the people, on behalf of the *meketel wäräda* governors. The *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* administrators were directly appointed by the government officials.¹³¹

The 1942 national decree (on land tax) was not fully implemented in that fiscal year in the *wäräda*. The national decree was gradually practiced in the *wäräda* from the beginning of the 2nd month of 1943.¹³² The *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors were appointed by the Emperor himself, up on the recommendation of Ministry of Interior. Since the *wäräda* is much closer to the centre of the country, the Emperor used to appoint his relatives to manage the area properly.¹³³

The *awrajja* governor also had the right to recommend the potential of the *wäräda* governor to the governor-general who had the right to submit such recommendations to the Ministry of Interior.¹³⁴

The government did not take formal education as criteria in the selection of *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors in the areas.

¹²⁹Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Sime Tola and Bäqqälä Biru.

¹³⁰Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Gazahing Degefa and Mamo Dinagde.

¹³¹*Ibid.*

¹³²*Ibid*; Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopia; Power and Protest, Peasant Revolts in Twentieth Century*, (Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press, 1996), p.178.

¹³³Informants: Sime Tola and Bäqqälä Biru.

¹³⁴Gebru Tareke, *Ethiopian Power and Protest, Revolts in Twentieth Century...*,pp.178-180; WNO: IES: Progress Report From Mulo-Community Centre to Ministry of National Community Development, the Imperial Ethiopian Government May, 1962 to June 1963 Box No Ms.789 File No.12.72.

The formal requirement for appointment of officials, in this period was their faithfulness to the Emperor, their commitment to crush opposing groups and their leadership quality.¹³⁵ The governors of the *wäräda* and *meketel wärädas* were employees of the central government with monthly salary. The salary for a *wäräda* governor was one hundred (100) Ethiopia *birr* in the 1960s.¹³⁶

Oral testimony claims that, nine (9) individuals were appointed as governors of Sululta *wäräda* in the post-liberation period, but my informants failed to list their names properly. Only the name of two individuals is mentioned by my informants. Hagos Gebremedin and Tesema Gedilu are mentioned by informants. The salary of *meketel* governors were extended from twenty-five to fifty (25-50) *birr* ¹³⁷

Table 2: 1 Some of the Governors of *Meketel Wärädas* in the 1950 and 1960s and their Salaries

No	Name of the <i>Meketel Wäräda</i> Governor	Name of <i>Meketel Wäräda</i>	Salary
1	<i>Ato Ayälä Täfära</i>	Wasarbi	50 <i>Birr</i>
2	<i>Ato Däsme Gebrekidan</i>	Gorfo	50 <i>Birr</i>
93	<i>Ato Aserat Goshu</i>	Çanço(Buba)	50 <i>Birr</i>
4	<i>Kegnazmach Täsäma Wolda Tsadiq</i>	Beddi	50 <i>Birr</i>
5	<i>Ato Gugsa Mängäsha</i>	Mulo	50 <i>Birr</i>

Source: Ethiopia National Archival and Library Agency; Annual Report by A.D.Sanford (1962), P.6.

¹³⁵Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Gazahing Degefa and Bäqqälä Biru.

¹³⁶IES: Progress Report From Mulo-Community Centre to Ministry of National Community Development, the Imperial Ethiopian Government May, 1962 to June 1963 Box No Ms.789 File No.12.72.

¹³⁷*Ibid*; Informants:Bekele Biru, Sime Tola and Gazahing Degefa; IES: Progress Report From Mulo-Community Centre to Ministry of National Community Development, the Imperial Ethiopian Government May, 1962 to June 1963 Box No Ms.789 File No.12.72.

All of the *meketel wäräda* governors were not from the local people. They were assigned by the central government to make sure the security of the region in general and Addis Ababa in particular. Most of the government appointees devoted their time on assessing the security cases than the issues of the inhabitants.

This condition directly or indirectly reduced the power of the local *balabats*. Anyway, the *meketel wäräda* governors and local chiefs had worked cooperatively to achieve the central government programs.¹³⁸

The imperial government used the existing local chiefs as representatives of the inhabitants and involved them in the new Ethiopian political administration in the name of *balabbat*. In the post-1941 period, the central government was endorsing the *balabbats* title to the first-born son of the deceased *balabbat*.¹³⁹ Tullu Dadhi of Wasarbi, Malka Masqale of Ĉanço, Tufo Kalu of Gorfo, Arado Nagaya of Mulo and Hunde Lama of Beddi had received this status in their sub-district respectively. These local chiefs were actively participating in most administrative functions together with the governors of the *wäräda* and *meketel wärädas*.

Both the government appointees and the local chiefs were working hard to put in practice, the programs of the central government but, they were not decision makers in the areas of finding and using finance without the permission of the central government.¹⁴⁰ Table 2: 2 List of the *Balabats* in each *Meketel Wäräda*

No	Name of the <i>Meketel Wäräda balabbats</i>	Name of <i>Meketel Wäräda</i>	Their duration on position	Successor
1	<i>Kegnazmach</i> Tullu Dadhi Tufa	Wasarbi	1941-1974	-
2	<i>Balambaras</i> Tufo Kalu	Gorfo	1942-1974	-
3	<i>Ato</i> Malka Masqalé Qiltu	Buba(Ĉanço)	-	-
4	<i>Grazmač</i> Hunde Läma Garbisa	Beddi	1941-1963	Teferi Hunde lama(son)
5	<i>Ato</i> Arado Nägaya	Mulo	1941-1952	Hundee Arado Nagaya(son)

Source: informants: Kabada Godana and Gezahgn Dagafa.

¹³⁸Informants: Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho, Gazahign Degefa and Bekele Biru.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰Informants: Kabada Godana, Mamo Dinagde and Gezahgn Dagafa.

The *balabbats* were not getting salary in the form of cash in hand like that of the appointees of the government officials. Eventhough, there was no cash payment in the form of monthly salary from the central government, the *balabbats*, and *koros* main advantages were labor services rendered by the local people individually or in group. Oral testimony and Dechasa Abebe explain that, the local people were expected to construct houses and fences of the local lord, as well as store houses for the produce that was collected from the locality.¹⁴¹ They were also responsible to guard stores of the local chief.¹⁴²

The local people also gave great respect to them and to their families in all social all social activities. They also served as a bridge between the government and the people due to their traditional prestige.¹⁴³

Under the *balabbats* (local chiefs) there were other government officials who provided services without receiving any formal salary payment from the central government. These administration agents were known as *Koro* or intimidators between the upper rulers and the people. These officials were appointed by the *Balabbats* to transmit order and regulations to the ordinary people. They were directly responsible to the *balabbats* and they adulate the positive sides of the *balabbats* to the local people.¹⁴⁴ They could not make decisions and take any measures of their own in any condition. Their major duties were promoting the people to pay tribute to the *wäräda* treasurers on time. The *Koros* were the right-hand men of the *balabbats* in the case of providing information about the various civil and criminal issues. On the other hand, these officials were responsible for ensuring peace and security of their locality.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹Dechasa Abebe, "Socio- Economic History of North Shawa Ethiopia: 1800-1935"...p.281; Mengistu Geremew, "A History of Wanbara *Wäräda* from 1941-1991"...p.45; Informant: Gezahgn Dagafa.

¹⁴²*Ibid*; Informants: Kabada Godana and Gezahgn Dagafa.

¹⁴³Gebre Tareke, "Rural Protest in Ethiopia: Study of Three Rebellion," (PHD Dissertation: Syracuse University, 1977), p.275.

¹⁴⁴Informants: Tesfaye Hunde, Dejene Tegi and Ejersa Yadate; Debela Alemu, "A Historical Survey of Asosa Town to 1991," (M.A. Thesis, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2007), p.6; Nebeyu Eyasu, "Administrative History of Gojjam from 1941-1974" (M.A. Thesis Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2004), pp.48-49.

¹⁴⁵Informant: Mamo Dinagde.

Under the *Koros*, there were the *Näč-Läbaš* or peace keepers who served the people at village levels without any formal salary payment from the government. The *Näč-Läbaš* was selected from local people by the *koros* by the recommendation of the *balabbats*. The duties of the *Näč-Läbaš* were maintaining peace and stability in the community at village level.¹⁴⁶

The Italian period in Ethiopia was the time in which significant socio-economic developments were observed in the study area. For instance, Suluta Town was established and transformed from a village to a town. They also constructed asphalt road which crossed the town. Many offices, houses and others building were ready made in the area.¹⁴⁷ Immediately following the withdrawal of the Italians, the central government established Sululta *Wäräda* in 1941.

Oral testimony and Sanford's report claim that, permanently the town was serving as administrative center for sixteen (16) years. By the year 1957, the educational, health and agricultural head offices were shifted from Sululta Town to Mulo-Community Development Centre. The central government shifted these sectors to apply Minimum Package Program (MPP) in Mulo area. The other governmental offices remained in Sululta Town.¹⁴⁸

Gradually, many comments were raised from the local governors and communities regarding the way of gaining public services easily in the *wäräda*.¹⁴⁹ Especially, the local *balabbats*, *meketel wäräda* governors and the inhabitants presented the issue to the Männagäsha *Awrajja*, General Governorate and the Ministry of National Community Development. The Ministry of National Community Development and other concerned bodies accepted their question and formed one team that included the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts, Ministry of Public Health and other government officials.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Informants: Dejene Tegi and Ejersa Yadate.

¹⁴⁸ Sanford Report to Ministry Public Health, September 1958 G C Box No.789 File No.12.72; Informants: Kabada Godana, Baqala Biru and Gezahgn Dagafa.

¹⁴⁹ Informant: Gazahign Degefa.

¹⁵⁰ Institutes of Ethiopian Study (IES): Progress Report From Mulo-Community Centre to Ministry of National Community Development, the Imperial Ethiopian Government May, 1962 to June 1963 Box No Ms.789 File No.1272.

The team directly explained the information obtained from the local *balabbats*, *meketel wäräda* governors and local communities about the issue of the capital of Sululta *Wäräda* within 18 months. Lastly, the team accomplished its task and reported its final proposal to the Ministry of National Community Development, about change of the location of the capital from Sululta and Mulo to Ĉanço, to gain public services easily.¹⁵¹

The team proposed the new capital of the *wäräda*, depending on the interests of the observed bodies in all the five *meketel wärädas*. Accordingly, Ĉanço Town was proposed as the capital of Sululta *wäräda*. The observers' listed different reasons why they proposed Ĉanço Town as administrative centre of the *wäräda* than the other towns. According to the report of the assigned team, Ĉanço or Buba Town was a trading centre for the whole *meketel wärädas* and there were two market days a week. It was the seat of the police station in the *wäräda*.

The area was centre of the following places; Wasarbi, Beddi, Meta Robi, Gorfo, Mugar Vally, Gida *Wäräda*, Dannaba *Wäräda*, Ada'a Barga *Wäräda* and Ĉanço areas itself.¹⁵² The town is also located on the main road Fiche and Addis Ababa.¹⁵³ Depending on the report of the appointed committee, the Ministry of National Community Development (MNCD) wrote a letter to Sululta *wäräda* on January 2/1/1963, about the selection of Ĉanço Town as administrative centre of the *wäräda*.¹⁵⁴ The letter clearly explains the shift of political centre to Ĉanço Town:

*የሱሉሊታ ወረዳ መቀመጫ ከጥር 10/5/1955 ጀምሮ ካለበት ወደ ጫንጮ ከተማ መዘዋወሩን
አናሳውቃለን። ለአዲሱ (ጫንጮ) ከተማ አንድ ጋሻመሬት ከመንግስት ካዘና እንዲሰጥ ወሳኔ ተላልፏል።
ወሳኔውን በባለበትነት የወረዳው ሹምና ተቆጣጣሪ እንዲያስፈጽሙ ወሳኔ መተላለፉን በጥብቅ አናሳውቃለን።¹⁵⁵*

*The administrative centre of Sululta *Wäräda* is changed from its former center to Ĉanço Town from January 02/01/1963. For the newly selected town one gasha land is allocated from the government land. The governor of the *wäräda* is authorized to implement this decision.*

¹⁵¹Ethiopia National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA): A Letter from D.A Sanford of Community to Ministry Public Health, September 1958 G C Box No.789 File No.12.72.

¹⁵²*Ibid.*

¹⁵³Mulo-Community Centre: A Letter from D.A Sanford to Ministry National Community Development, September, 1960 G C Box No. 789 File No.12.66.

¹⁵⁴MNCD: A letter from Ministry National Community Development to Sululta *Wäräda*, January 1963 Box No. 789 File No.12.62.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*

The plan of the town was prepared within three to four months by Abayneh Alemu (professional person in urban planning).¹⁵⁶ Gebremedin Hagos was the governor of Sululta *Wäräda* and he facilitated the issues of the capital of the *wäräda* on behalf of the government.

2.3 Taxation in Sululta *Wäräda* after 1941.

Following the restoration of the Imperial regime in 1942, the Ethiopian government introduced a new taxation decrees to enforce peasants to pay taxes.¹⁵⁷ This decree brought two basic changes in the history of the area. The traditional tax collection system in kind was replaced by new taxation style in cash. Each family head holding land was registered and land assessment was implemented. Secondly, the 1942 land tax decree also included all the cultivated and uncultivated lands occupied by the inhabitants of the *wäräda*.¹⁵⁸

The amount of tax paid varied depending on the size and fertility of the land possessed by the peasants. The main aim was to increase the government revenue. The government gave due attention to the tax collection and introducing administrative reforms that could enable it to fulfill the state economic objectives.¹⁵⁹

Concerning taxation and financial system of the study area, the local governors had no power to generate and utilize their own budget. The local chiefs were used as initiators of income collection from the inhabitants and to send it to the central government.¹⁶⁰ The *wäräda* administrators were responsible to collect the pre-determined amount of tax from their respective areas.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷Gebbru Tareke, Rural Protest in Ethiopia: Study of Three rebellions...,p.275; Mengistu Geremew, "A History of Wanbara *Wäräda* from 1941-1991" ...,p.32.

¹⁵⁸*Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No.8 of 1942.

¹⁵⁹ Markakakis and Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia* ..., p. 45.

¹⁶⁰Informants:Gezahign Degefa, Zegeye Asfaw and Ejersa Yadate; J.C.D.Lawrance, *Land Taxation in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, 1964), P.1; Abayneh Girma, "The Nature of Administration and Development in Ethiopia the Case of Walamo Development," (BA Essay, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 1971), pp.34-36.

Standard land tax was proclaimed by the imperial government in 1942 and it was a major tax obligation that peasants had to meet.¹⁶¹ The *wäräda* treasure, whose office was stationed in Sululta Town, was responsible for initiating ways of collecting. It was also responsible to prepare balance sheet for the income and expenditure of the *wäräda*. Both the *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors were responsible for the collection of taxes in the area.¹⁶²

The governor of the *wäräda* was responsible for passing orders and enforcing the *meketel wäräda* governors to collect income for the central government relatively equal to the expected amount. Annual income expectation from taxation in the district was done based on land and property assessment techniques. The *meketel wäräda* governors were charged with the duty of selecting tax-assessors in each area. The selected tax assessors were also expected to be recommended by the *balabbats* of their area and to make an oath to be free from bias.¹⁶³

The government promulgated two proclamations to give legal confirmation to this tax requirement. The 1st was the land tax-decree of 1942. It was issued to adjust payment in accordance with land fertility and size of the land possessed. As *Nagaret Gazeta* asserted, the tax was imposed on peasant farmers depended on categories of lands: *lam*, *lam-taff* and *taff lands* respectively.¹⁶⁴ According to the decree, the amount of money collected was 15, 10 and 5 *birr* for cultivated, semi-cultivated and uncultivated lands respectively.¹⁶⁵

The subsequent tax decree of 1944 also increased the amount of tax payment from each family land holders. The tax payers were classified under five categories based on the number of cattle and the amount of land they owned. From the first to the fifth classes, taxpayers were expected to pay 10, 8, 6, 4 and 2 *birr* respectively.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶¹Abera Zeleke, "Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara Warada (Western Shoa) 1941-1991"...,p.61;Täshalä Tebäbu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896-1974* (Lawrenceville, 1995),pp. 71-72.

¹⁶²Informants: Askala Megersa, Wude Ararsa and Zegeye Asfaw.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*;Täshalä Tebäbu, *the Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896-1974* (1995)..., p.74.

¹⁶⁴*Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No.8 of 1942; J.C.D. Lawrence, *Land Taxation in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, 1964),pp. 1-2.

¹⁶⁵*Ibid*.

¹⁶⁶Informants: Zenay Gezete and Zebebe Bekele.

Although the tax levied in lieu of tithe, was imposed for measured lands.¹⁶⁷

In this decree, the *wäräda* people were forced to pay 35, 30 and 10 *birr* for cultivated, semi-cultivated and uncultivated lands respectively. *Madaria* lands enjoyed tax exemption¹⁶⁸. Finally, the introduction of education and health taxes on land in 1949 and 1959 respectively, was connected with persistent desire of the state to increase revenue from the peasantry¹⁶⁹. All of the proclamations apparently did not consider the existing situation on the ground and the income of the peasant farmers during the period under discussion. The moral of the tenants was twiddled and this forced them to live destitute life in the *wäräda* during the period under study.¹⁷⁰

On behalf of the burden of tax, the people also faced hardship in traveling from the areas to Sululta Town where the *wäräda* treasury was situated. Each family head was expected to pay tax levied by the assessors directly to the *wäräda* treasury. The amount of money, time and labor force utilized by the people in their journey was another challenge for the tax payers. Averagely, the tax payers used to walk 30 kilometers to reach Sululta Town to pay tax during the period under discussion¹⁷¹. They were also challenged by rivers and mountains, during their journey to Sululta Town due to the absence of modern transportation.

¹⁶⁷*Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No.70 of 1944.

¹⁶⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹Abera Zeleke, “Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara *Wäräda* (Western Shoa) 1941-1991”...p.61.

¹⁷⁰Informants: Zegeye Asfaw and Gezahign Degefa; *Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No.80 of 1959.

¹⁷¹Informants: Nigatu Changare, Zegeye Asfaw and Gezahign Degefa.

2.4 Maladministration and Corruption

There was administrative prejudice and corruption in Sululta *Wäräda* in the post-liberation period. According to the new administrative platform, the *wäräda* governors were appointed by the Emperor himself upon the recommendation of the Ministry of the Interior. At the same time, a governor of the *awrajja* recommended individuals for such status to the governor general who transferred the information to the Ministry of Interior.¹⁷²

But, such dual recommendations sometimes created unfairness in the appointment. It gave a good opportunity to the governors of the *awrajja* to select their own relatives, friends and families for such status. Local informants noted that, there was nepotism in the selection and appointment of the *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors in Sululta.

Individuals, who had friendly relations and blood ties with the *awrajja* governors, were given important positions and sometimes they were promoted to higher positions without any criteria.¹⁷³ Amazingly, all of the *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors were appointed from the central government in the study area in the post-liberation period. None of the local *balabbats* got the chance to govern the *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors during the period under discussion.

In the post-liberation period, the level of administrative injustices was increased. According to the structural administrative system of the period, the governors of the bottom level were responsible to the officials at the next status of the administrative hierarchy.¹⁷⁴ Similarly, in Sululta administrative structure, many governmental institutions were established both in the *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda*. The court, police, treasuries and secretarial offices were established in the district. The central government had assigned each organ to implement specific tasks. However, sometimes the government agencies in the Sululta *Wäräda* exercised out of their specific duties, because of the complex nature of the administrative system of the period under discussion.

¹⁷² Abayneh Girma, "The Nature of Administration and Development in Ethiopia the Case of Walamo Development," ..., P.26; informants: Zegeye Asfaw and Gezahign Degefa.

¹⁷³ Informants: Nigatu Changare, Zegeye Asfaw and Gezahign Degefa.

¹⁷⁴ Informants: Zenay Gezete and Abebe Bekele.

But, either due to inability of the governors in implementing their task or due to the failure of the higher administrators to respond urgently to requests and directions, several administrative issues remained unsolved.¹⁷⁵

Informants also stated that, most of the governors of the *wäräda* made little efforts to ensure the progress of the area. Almost in many cases, they were described as inefficient. On the contrary, the peasant provided gifts to the local chief and government officials. The *gäbbars* were required to provide their masters with different special dishes in cases where they held personal feasts for a wedding, the baptism of their children and other related occasions.¹⁷⁶

As Pawulos explains, one pot or *gänbo* of local beer (*tälla* or *täj*), bread and *enjera* were supplied to the *balabbats*, *chiqa shum* and government officials.¹⁷⁷ The labor of the peasants was exploited by the local chiefs and government bodies. They were expected to construct the houses and fences of the local lord or the court, government offices, churches as well as storehouses for the produce that was collected from the locality.¹⁷⁸

Oral testimony stated that, there was interruption or problem in the fields of justice in the *wäräda* in the post-liberation period. The judges did not usually carry out their duties on time and the judges mostly decided in favor of their relatives, friends and those who could pay good bribery. The Judges knowingly, rescheduled hearing for further abuse. This in return set more burdens on the peasants who made long tour or 30 kilometers leaving their works. The people were mistreated and discontented.¹⁷⁹

Moreover, the *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors were involved in exploiting the human and material resources of the area. Adequate attempt was not made to develop the *wäräda*. Side by side, complicated and slow bureaucratic systems of administration brought great exploitation and suffering on the residents of the *wäräda*.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁶ Informants: Kabada Godana, Baqala Biru and Gezahgn Dagafa.

¹⁷⁷ Pawulos Gnogno, *Até Menilek Bähagär Wuset Yätätsatsafuachew Däbdabéwoch* (Addis Ababa: Aster Näga Publisher, 2011), p.212.

¹⁷⁸ Mahetämä Sillasé Wäldä Mäsqäl, *Zekerä Nägär*, pp. 110-111; Gäbrä Wäld, pp. 17-21.

¹⁷⁹ Informants: Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho and Gazahign Degefa.

CHAPTER THREE

3. LAND TENURE: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

This chapter will present land tenure patterns that prevailed in the *wäräda*. In doing so, it will investigate three main points; land rights (uses, disuses, transfer and administration), obligation that these right entailed and their effects on the life of the local farmers in the district. It will discuss the major forms of land ownership in the *wäräda* as well as taxes and tributes that peasants were forced to pay in the period under discussion.

3.1 Forms of Land Ownership

As Jabessa Ejeta wrote, land was the collective property of all the community among the Oromo and they had common right over the land they were using. All members of the individual groups or families had the right to land and could keep the benefits of the land for themselves.¹⁸⁰ This created a communal land tenure system among the Oromo Community in the mid 19th century in the region. Moreover, agriculture had special impacts for the emergence of a group or family tenure and gradually private ownership emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century.¹⁸¹

The Shoan conquest of the area further added fuel to the process of replacement of traditional group right over land by private ones. The socio-political structure of the society was gradually changed. The imperial government used the existing *hangafa* (clan leaders) of the Oromo as representatives of the inhabitants and empowered them in the Christian government system. The *hangafa* of the Oromo clan leaders were involved in the newly introduced political administration in the name of *balabats*.¹⁸² The *balabbat* title was given to the first-born sons of the deceased clan leaders.

¹⁸⁰Jabessa Ejeta, *Ya Oromo Berer Tarik* (Addis Ababa, 1992), P. 9; Täshalä Tebäbu, *the Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896-1974* (London, 1996), p.73.

¹⁸¹*Ibid*; Märsé Hazän Wäldä Qirqos, "Yä Ras Kassa Astädadär Danb", Mss. No., 1792 (IES).

¹⁸²Informants: Kebede Godana, Haile Gugse and Gezahign Degefa; Mähetämä Sillasé Wäldä Mäsqäl, *Zekerä Nögär* (Addis Ababa, 1972), pp. 107-108; Gäda Mälba; *Oromia: Yätädäbäqäw Yägef Tarik* (Addis Ababa, 1994), pp.44-48.

For instance, Tufa Muna Arado was one of the members of the hangafa of the Gulale clan in the study area and he received the title of *balabbat* by the influence of Emperor Menilek and *Ras Gobana* in the last quarter of 19th century.¹⁸³ On behalf of his political calculation in the Oromo lands, Menilek also appropriated all the conquered lands to his Shoan favorites and institutions. This enabled him to have supreme power over the Oromo people in the area.¹⁸⁴ The lands were redistributed in accordance with rank and status of the recipients.¹⁸⁵

As Mahetama Selassé wrote, the land measurement was tested and implemented at a place called Chacha River in the 1880s. According to his investigation, land measurement was begun during the reign of Emperor Menilek II. It was implemented to empower the political and economic base of the imperial government. The unit employed in this measurement was *Gasha* (equivalent to 40 hectares of land) which in practice varied considerably and most probably it was equivalent to 1200 meters heights and 800 meters width.¹⁸⁶

The measurement was carried out with the aid of *Robe or Wadaro* (133 cubits in length) which in many areas was known as *qalad* (measured land) and given its name to land measurement. The length of the cubit was fixed by the arm of a very tall man called “*Baymot*” taken as the standards. The arm of the tall man was approximately about 661/2 centimeters.¹⁸⁷

Moreover, the measurement of land by *qalad* system was carried out through investigation of the fertility of the land. During the period under discussion, the land was graded according to its fertility as follows: first grade was grouped to land which was well cultivated. Land categorized under first grade was seven *qalads* in width and eleven *qalads* in length. The second grade was land of *lem-taf*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸³*Ibid*; Tsegaye Zeleke, pp. 36-43, 56.

¹⁸⁴Abera Zeleke, “Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara *Warada* (Western Shoa) 1941-1991”..., p.48.

¹⁸⁵Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Mamo Hunde and Sime Tola.

¹⁸⁶Mähetämä Sillasé Wäldä Mäsqäl, *Zekerä Nögär* (Addis Ababa, 1972), pp. 106-108; Gäbrä Wald Engeda Warq, *Yä Itophiya Märetena Geber Sem*(Addis Ababa, 1956),p.9.

¹⁸⁷Mähetämä Sillasé Wäldä Mäsqäl, *Zekerä Nögär*...pp.106-107;R. Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia*,pp. 151-153.

¹⁸⁸*Ibid*.

This was nine *qalads* wide and twelve *qalad* long. The last and the third grade of land were known as *taff* land. It was twelve *qalads* width and fifteen *qalads* length land.¹⁸⁹ Following the withdrawal of the fascist Italian rule in 1941, Emperor Haile Sillasié introduced a new land policy which enabled the central government to hold political and economic power. As pre-requisite for the process of apportionment and redistribution, land measurement was practiced. The institution of land measurement was aimed to control land and facilitate taxation.¹⁹⁰

After 1941, the land was appropriated among royal family, church, government officials and *malkegnas* who force the local farmers to be tenant or *gebbar* on their own land. The *gebbar* system reached its height during the reign of Emperor Haile Sillasié. According to Bahru Zewde's justification, the royal families, the government officials and the nobility owned 50% land, 20% belonged to Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the remaining 30% belonged to the mass of the people.¹⁹¹

The size of individual units of measured land depended on the importance of the land in terms of its economic value and its access to various facilities. Along with the rank and status of recipients, economic value of the appropriated land served as criteria to determine the physical size of land to be granted for individuals or institutions.¹⁹²

If the measured land was fertile enough to produce important crops the size of land tended to be small.¹⁹³ Mähetemä Sillasié adds that the measurements during the period under study were not very exact, because of the variations in the length of the rope, the level of the land, or because of the fact that the sides of the plot were not always at right-angles.¹⁹⁴

In the post-1941 period, the process of apportionment and redistribution of land resulted in two basic and interlinked developments. One was the introduction of a new form of land tenure system in the period under discussion. The other was the introduction of new economic structure in the region.

¹⁸⁹ Gäbrä Wald Engeda Warq, *Yä Itophiyä Märetena Geber Sem...*pp.9-10.

¹⁹⁰ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* (London: James Cunny Ltd, 2002),pp. 166-167.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.* P. 89; Informants: Tesfaye Bulcha and Hayile Beyene.

¹⁹² Informants: Tefera Mekura, Baqala Biru and Hayile Beyene.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ Mähetämä Sillasié Wäldä Mäsqäl,p.108.

The appropriate land was sub-divided and granted out to the local chief; the government itself and religious institutions.¹⁹⁵ The excess land was then confiscated by the government and reallocated to landowners (*Abbaa lafaa*), *Melkegnas* and *Qoros*. The government itself received three *gashas* of land in the *wäräda*.¹⁹⁶

Land measurement was started in 1900 in Sululta and its surrounding areas. The imperial government preferred the area for grazing mules and horses in the palace rather than use it for crop cultivation. Most of the land of the *wäräda* is categorized under semi-cultivated soil type and still now only 25% of the land is valid for cultivation.¹⁹⁷

Since the *wäräda* was much closer to the political centre of the country, the land of the area was confiscated by the government and reallocated to landowners, *melkegnas*, government officials and *qoros* without any compensation and replacement during the period under discussion.¹⁹⁸

The majority of the government officials and *melkegnas* received plots of land from the district in the post-liberation period. *Ras Mesfin Silesh*; *Ras Abäbä Arägay*, *Ras Hailu Teklehaimanot*(governor of Gojjam), *Dejjach Gabra-Mariam Haile Sillassie* and General Abiy were some of the government officials who received plots of land in Sululta *Wäräda*.¹⁹⁹ Following the process of land measurement, the *wäräda*'s land fell into categories of *balabat*, state and church domains for taxation. Apportion of land theoretically 1/3 was left to the local *balabats* as their share. But, on the ground, the size of the land which was allocated to the local *balabats* was reduced from one third to one sixth (3rd to 6th).²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵Abera Zeleke, "Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara *Warada* (Western Shoa)1941-1991" ...,p.49; B. Henze, *Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia* (Palgrave: New York, 2000), p.129.

¹⁹⁶Informants: Tefera Mekura and Hayile Beyene; Mähetämä Sillasé Wäldä Mäsqäl,p.105-106.

¹⁹⁷Informants: Tefera Mekura and Hayile Beyene.

¹⁹⁸Informants:Mamo Dinagde, Tesema Qoricho and Gazahign Degefa.

¹⁹⁹Informants: Girma Legese, Gezahign Degefa and Nigatu Changare.

²⁰⁰ John Markakis, *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity* (Addis Ababa: Oxford University Press, 1974),pp.115-118; Abera Zeleke,pp. 60-61; Informant: Abebe Tesema.

In the hierarchy of power, the *balabats* were given responsibility for maintenance of the local peace and order. The main duty of the local *balabats* was linking the people and the state. The *balabbats* were also responsible for collecting and forwarding taxes to the state.²⁰¹ When they accomplished their duty, the local chiefs enjoyed exemption or reduction of taxes in return for such services rendered to the state.²⁰²

The second claimant of certain share of land in the *wäräda* was the church. It has already been a customary practice for the state to grant land to the church. The government provided some sort of land to the religious institution i.e the church for its maintenance. The Emperor and other local elites were also generous enough to grant land to the Orthodox churches.²⁰³

The land that the church received was labeled as *Samon* land. *Samon* land was parceled and shared out among individual bound that had to church services. The land was permanent tenure and the holders could then bequeath it so long as heirs kept on offering the obligation to church. The obligation rested on land not on persons. Depending on the status of religious men and their services, the land was allocated for them.²⁰⁴

The *qesenna* or priestly services were attached to *qesenna* land and *dequnna* (church-men under priest) services were attached to *dequnna* land.²⁰⁵ Additionally, the local inhabitants had duty to pay *asrats* or one-tenth of their products to church per year. According to the profiles of the Ragueel Church and Dachassa Abebe's investigation, about 504.75 *Gashas* of land or 20190 hectors of land was occupied by the church in seven *wärädas* in North Shoa.²⁰⁶ The study area was also venerable to this measure during the period under discussion. As Dachassa clarifies in his investigation, around 33.5 *gashas* of land or 1340 hectors of land was allocated as church land in the *wäräda*. Moreover, the church received huge lands freely.²⁰⁷

²⁰¹Mähetämä Sillasé Wäldä Mäsqäl,p.145; R. Pankhurst...,pp. 151-153.

²⁰²R. Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia: 1800-1935* (Addis Ababa: Oxford University Press, 1966),p.152; Informants: Zenay Gezete and Asrat Hirko.

²⁰³Dechasa Abebe, "Socio- Economic History of North Shawa Ethiopia: 1800-1935"...p.78; Informant:Hayile Beyene; Gäbrä Wald Engeda Warq, *Yä Itophiya Märetena Geber Sem...* p. 24.

²⁰⁴Gäbrä Wald Engeda Warq, *Yä Itophiya Märetena Geber Sem...*, pp.15, 29.

²⁰⁵*Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ Informants: Alamu Fulasa, Gadisa Habebe and Zenay Gezete; Shifaraw Bäkälä, ed...p.95.

²⁰⁷Dechasa Abebe, "Socio- Economic History of North Shawa Ethiopia: 1800-1935"...p.81; Informants: Girma Legese and Gezahign Degefa.

Table 3: 1 Data of Church Land in *Gasha* in North Shoa in some *Wärädas*:

No.	Name Districts	Total amount of land in <i>gasha</i> in each <i>wäräda</i>	Total amount of church land in <i>gasha</i> in each <i>wäräda</i>
1	Aleltu <i>Wäräda</i>	407	60
2	Sululta <i>Wäräda</i>	257	33.5
3	Barak <i>Wäräda</i>	1065	-
4	Gida <i>Wäräda</i>	656.25	85
5	Gimbichu <i>Wäräda</i>	521	45.5
6	Abichu <i>Wäräda</i>	408.75	38.5
7	Darra <i>Wäräda</i>	2023	242
	The seven <i>wärädas</i> together	5238 <i>gasha Lands</i>	504.75 <i>gasha lands</i>

Source Dachassa Abebe, Socio-Economic History of North Shawa: 1800-1935,p.81.

The remaining portion of the land was land under the state domain. The state had exclusive right to appropriate land. The land under the state domain was mainly used for two purposes. One was for temporary grants to individuals or institutions and the other was for direct state control.

State land grants to individuals in the study area went under different names; for individuals for their livelihoods like: *maderia*, *resta-gult wärägänu* (grazing lands) and *hudad* land fell into the category of land left under direct state control for palace food requirements.²⁰⁸

Maderia land (temporarily granted land) was state land given to officials for temporary possession as compensation for their services and they only used them during the time when they serve in office or work in fields. According to oral informants, *Ato Asrat Kasa*, *Ato Hilma Dheressa*, *Dejach Gabra-Mariam Haile Sillassie* and *Ras Hailu Kasa* had received more than 13 *gashas* of land in the area for their services.²⁰⁹ The officials had only limited right over *maderia* lands²¹⁰. The state also kept its reversionary rights over it and transferred the land to other officials when the need arises. Generally, *maderia* was not inheritable neither could be disposed off by sale, but its holders enjoyed exemption right from land tax.²¹¹

Rest-gult land was a reward granted out by the Emperor to the members of the royal family and other important personalities for different services. *Rest-gult* right was inheritable to individuals. For instance, *Ras Abäbä Arägay*, *Mäsfän Silésh*, *Grazmach Godana Arado* and other individuals had received more than sixteen (16) *gashas* of lands in Sululta, Çanço and Gorfo as *rest-Gult* land in area.²¹²

Wärägänu and *hudade* lands were other portions of land that the state had retained. *Wärägänu* and *hudade* lands were allocated for palace consumption or *madbet*. The amount of state land in the form of *Wärägänu* or *hudade* was too small. Three *gashas* of land was only allocated for the purposes of *wärägänu* in Sululta *wäräda*. *Wärägänu* lands were set aside as pasture to fatten cattle belonging to the palace. *Gebar* farmers looked after the pasture and fed the cattle with grass cut and piled to the way.²¹³

²⁰⁸John Markakis, *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity...*p.110; Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Wude Ararsa and Nigatu Changare; Abera Zeleke ...,p.59.

²⁰⁹Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Wude Ararsa and Nigatu Changare.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*

²¹¹*Ibid*; Dechasa Abebe, *Socio-Economic History of North Shawa Ethiopia: 1800-1935*,pp.78-82.

²¹²Informants: Girma Legese and Gezahign Degefa.

²¹³*Ibid.*

The traditional *gada* social and political structure of the Oromo community was eventually replaced by the Shoan Administration. *Abba Boku* (head of the Chaffee) and *Abba Burqa* (father of Sprit) were changed by a new title called *balabats*.²¹⁴ The *balabats* were appointed by the state to fill the office of the *melkenga*.²¹⁵ The office of the *balabats* was associated with certain duties and responsibilities ranging from collection of taxes and tributes to maintenance of peace and order.

The *balabats* were responsible for linking the people and the government, settling public disputes and providing other services.²¹⁶ The local leaders' exercised prepotent (great) influence in several ways over the population and this made them important elements of the administration.²¹⁷

Below the *balabats*, the lowest level in the hierarchy of the local administration was the *qoro* who were responsible for detailed administration matters in the villages. The *qoros* were responsible for the *balabats*. They were assigned over limited villages and they were the right hand of the *balabats*.²¹⁸ The local judges had similar status with the *qoros* in settling peace and stability at local level.

The local judges were particularly concerned with settlement of local disputes. Both the *Qoro* and local judges were the most immediate authorities over the local people.²¹⁹ Oral testimony claims that, both the *balabats* and the *Qoros* received 46 *gashas* of land in the study area during the period under discussion.²²⁰

²¹⁴Lewis, pp.164-166.

²¹⁵Täkalign Wäldä Mariam, "A City and Its Hinterlands: The Political Economy of Land Tenure, Agriculture and Food Supply for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1887-1974." (PhD. Dissertation: Boston University, 1995), p.84; John Markakis, *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*... pp.309-311.

²¹⁶Patrick Gilks, *the Dying Lions Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia* (London: Julian Freidman Publishers Ltd, 1975), p.111; John Markakis, *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*... p.16.

²¹⁷*Ibid.*

²¹⁸John Cohen and Weintraub, *Land and Peasant in the Imperial Ethiopia* (Assen: Yen Corium and Comp.B.V.1975), p.53.

²¹⁹*Ibid.*

²²⁰Informants: Kabada Godana and Nigatu Changare.

Finally, peasants or the most dominant peoples had occupied the social strata. They were generally comprised of two major social groups (landless and small land holders) and both groups were engaged in tenancy.²²¹

Oral testimony stated that, the *gebbars* received a very less portion of land (81.5 *gashas* of land) and this clearly indicates how much the peasants were forced to live in poverty. On the contrary, the government officials, *balabats*, churches and governments were owners' of huge and fertile lands in the district.²²² See the below tables regarding the appropriation of land in the *wäräda* during the period under discussion.

Table 3: 2 Data of the Appropriated Land during the period under discussion.

No.	Owner of the land	Amount of land in <i>gasha</i>
1	Church	33.5
2	<i>Balabbats, koro</i> and government officials	75
3	Government	4
4	<i>Gabbars</i> (75%) the population of the <i>wäräda</i>	81.5
5	Communal land (free land for grazing)	63

Source: Dechasa Abebe ...,P. 218.

²²¹Dechasa Abebe.,p.115; informants:Nigatu Changare, Gezahn Degefa and Askala Megersa.

²²² *Ibid.*

Generally, the land of the *wäräda* was appropriated by the government officials, *balabbats*, churches, *gabbars* and the government itself during the period under discussion.²²³

Landless tenants were farmers who had neither ownership nor rights to land at all and therefore they were hired by the landowners as labor force. Landlessness largely emanated from population pressure and eviction from their land.²²⁴ *Sem*-tenants rented part of the land to cultivate. However, both categories of peasants rented land on contractual basis: *Irbo* (one-fourth), *Siso* (one-third) and equal (an half of the products).²²⁵

The contractual arrangements were onerous (onesided) and they mostly favored the economic domination of the landlords. Of course, to produce adequate food supply, the tenants could arrange contracts with more than one landlord, if he can offer enough labor and has farm oxen for the production process.²²⁶

Landlords appointed their own agents, to look after their holding including the irrigated areas and eucalyptus trees. These agents represented the landlords and performed similar duties and responsibilities. Most of the time, the landlords were absentees, living in the capital and other towns.²²⁷ Absentee landlords entrusted agents with all matters on their holdings. They only come for occasional supervision of their holding and for weekend vacation and also for resolving problems that occurred with small peasants.²²⁸ The agents used to severely affect the life of peasants in the *wäräda* during the period under discussion.

Share-crops arrangements between landlords and tenants undermined the value of agriculture in the area. Accordingly, the tenants were forced to share their produce to landlords based on exploitive agreements. For instance, *Erbo-arash* $\frac{1}{4}$ tenants had to offer one fourth of their harvest, *siso-arash* tenants had to offer one third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of their harvest and equal-*arash* ($\frac{1}{2}$) tenants.

²²³*Ibid*; Dechasa Abebe ..., p. 218.

²²⁴ Gäbrä Wald Engeda Warq, *Yä Itophiya Märetena Geber Sem...*, p.25; R. Pankhurst, *A Social History of Ethiopi* (Addis Ababa, 1990), p.520.

²²⁵ Informants: Girma Legese and Gezahign Degefa; Dechasa Abebe...p.216.

²²⁶ *Ibid*.

²²⁷ *Ibid*.

²²⁸ Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Gezahign Degefa and Dechasa Kumsa.

The variation in share of landlords depended on the fertility of the land and accessibility of the land. The more fertile land the high share to the landlords would be. In addition landlords provided inputs (improved seeds, oxen and agricultural tools) necessary for agricultural production.²²⁹

According to the oral informants, the tenants and semi-owners formed the core of the peasantry. Those semi-land holders were around 24% out of the population of the *wäräda* and they received less than three hectares of the land for each of them. The rest of the mass of the population were forced to make unfair agreement with the land owners to meet their basic needs in the cereal and other crop production.²³⁰

The second or final social groups in the peasantry were the land owner-cultivators. This group was not engaged in share-cropping or renting land from land holders. Owner-cultivators cultivated their land self-sufficiently. Compared with the tenants, they were less dependent and occupied better status in rural community.²³¹ Abera Zeleke has clearly illustrated in his M.A thesis about those social groups in the peasantry. In the context of Sululta *wäräda*, the owner-cultivators cover only 1% out of the population of the district.²³²

Generally, the disgraceful activities by the landlords and the central government itself were continuously imposed on very poor peasants who owned tiny plots of land. On the top of this poverty, the unpaid forced free labor which was exacted from peasants aggravated their suffering. They had neither the time nor the courage to produce surplus production. Moreover, the tenants did politically, socially and economically suffer from time to time in the area in the period under discussion.²³³

²²⁹Mengistu Wube, Problems of Land Reform Implementation in Rural Ethiopia, A Case Study of Dejen and Walmara Districts(Uppsala: Department of Human Geography,1986),p.135.

²³⁰Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Hayile Gusge and Mamo Dinande.

²³¹ Abera Zeleke, *Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara Warada...*,p.59.

²³²*Ibid*; Informants: Ejersa Yadate, Hayile Gusge and Mamo Dinande.

²³³Dechasa Abebe...,p. 215; Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Ejersa Yadate, Nadhi Alamu and Gezahign Degefa.

3.2. Peasants Duties and the Economic Aspects of the Land Tenure.

Peasant farmers worked not only to sustain their basic livelihood, but also to fulfill their obligation to the state, clergyman, nobilities and government officials. In addition, they had to render onerous labor services to the landlords. The burden of taxation became more acute with the introduction of land measurement that was pre-eminently instituted for this purpose. Land measurement made determination of taxes possible.²³⁴ Peasant labor and obligation constituted the base for the existing socio-economic system. Burden of taxation would be imposed on lands in accordance with land classification of *lam*, *lam-taf* and *taf*.²³⁵

The amount varied with quality and size of the land. This did not deny the fact that other factors made differences like accessibility of the land to roads, markets and the others driving forces had their own influences on taxation.²³⁶

Tenant peasants' labor services constituted working on *hudad* (government farms), building and maintaining granaries, houses and fences, transportation of grains from or to granaries of the house of land lords, grinding grains, fetching water and fire woods. Transporting the shares produce mostly to Addis Ababa was conducted by pack animals. The tenants were responsible to take food and other provision for landlords in the area during the period under the discussion.²³⁷

Traditional obligation and labor services were windup after 1941. Divergent taxes were unified and eventually made payable in money. State revenues were going on toward centralization, eliminating intermediary groups who appropriate part of the tribute before handing them over to the state.²³⁸ But, in the study area labor services were informally continued in the post-liberation (1941) period as well. According to my informants, the local farmers were forced to fulfill their obligation both in labor and finance in the post-liberation period.²³⁹

²³⁴Dechasa Abebe, "Socio- Economic History of North Shawa Ethiopia:1800-1935" ...,p.218.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*

²³⁶Informants: Sime Tola, Baqala Biru, Damitu Tola and Zegeye Asfaw.

²³⁷ Gābrä Wald Engeda Warq, *Yä Itophiya Märetena Geber Sem...*,p.25; Mähetämä Sillasé Wäldä Mäsqäl, pp.110-111.

²³⁸ Tekalign Walda Maraim, p.86.

²³⁹Informants: Kebede Godana, Obse Gutama and Gezahign Degefa.

Most of the proclamations were basically issued to achieve the needs of the state rather than improving the economic burdens of peasants. *Gebar* peasants were required to meet tax obligation of four kinds: land tax, *Asrat* (tithe) tax, and education and health taxes in the last decades of the monarchy government.²⁴⁰

A land tax was a major tax obligation that peasants had to meet. The government passed two decrees to give legal confirmation to this tax requirement. The 1st was the land tax-decree of 1942. It was issued to adjust payment in accordance with land fertility and size. Classification of land into; cultivated, sem-cultivated and uncultivated land were made to establish variations in the rate of taxation.²⁴¹

The other proclamation was formulated and issued in 1944 to make distinctions to various regions in an attempt to rationalize the payment. It was land tax that raised the respective amount of tax, in lieu of tithe for measured lands.²⁴² *Madaria* lands enjoyed tax exemption.²⁴³

The other obligation was the *asrat*, a tenth of peasants' products total produce traditionally imposed on land. This practice of requiring tenants and owner-cultivators to pay *asrat* was common and remained unaffected with the land proclamation. But church retained *asrat* on *Samon* land.²⁴⁴

Asrat of the produce had to be deducted before tax and rent payments and paid at the threshing floor, the deduction or payment of *asrat* before all the other payments to the states and landlords had a detrimental effect on the peasants.

²⁴⁰ Abera Zeleke..., p.63; Informants: Baqala Biru and Zegeye Asfaw.

²⁴¹ *Negaret Gazet*: Land Proclamation No.8 of 1942(On Land Tax).

²⁴² *Negaret Gazet*: Land Proclamation No.70 of 1944 (Tax in Lieu of Tithe).

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Tasfaye Bulcha and Girma Lagese.

Following the 1944 proclamation, landowners in Shawa paid tax in lieu of tithe to the state of 35, 30 and 10 *birr gasha* of cultivated sem-cultivated and uncultivated lands respectively.²⁴⁵ The *asrat* was higher in amount than land tax and this made it harder and damaging to the viability and security of peasant household than the land tax proper.²⁴⁶

Finally, introduction of education and health taxes on land in 1949 and 1959 respectively, was related with the desire of the state to increase revenue from the peasantry. Both of them payable at the rate of 15, 12 and 4.5 *birr per gasha* of the three categories of land: cultivated, sem-cultivated and uncultivated lands respectively.²⁴⁷ The tax was handed over to the state and the remainder used for facilitating local education and health. More of the taxes were used for the construction of schools and health services.²⁴⁸ In the 1940s and the early 1960s, five primary schools were established in the *wäräda*.

Table 3: 3 Clearly Illustrates each Imposed Taxes in Shao Provinces from 1941-1967.

Categories of Lands	Land Tax	Tithe	Education Tax	Health Tax	Total
Fertile Land	15	35	15	15	80
Semi-Fertile Land	10	30	12	12	64
Poor Land	5	10	4.50	4.50	24

Source: Adapted from John Markakis, Ethiopia Anatomy of a traditional polity (Addis Ababa: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.1

²⁴⁵*Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No.70 of 1944.

²⁴⁶Tekaling Walda Maraim, p.28; Abera Zeleke..., p.60.

²⁴⁷*Negaret Gazeta*: Education Tax Proclamation No.94 of 1949 and Health Tax Proclamation No.39 of 1959.

²⁴⁸*Ibid*; Abera Zeleke...,p.64.

.Tenant peasants had to carry heavier tax burdens than all other tax-paying groups.²⁴⁹ As one can understand from the table, averagely the peasants paid 56% of their products to the land lords, the church and the government.²⁵⁰ Judges on grounds of social equity and income generating capacity of the taxes on the land seem to have been defective.²⁵¹

Economic necessity made the state to change tax in lieu of tithe in favor of income tax, which was the first considerable attempts equability. Income tax proclamation was promulgated in 1967.²⁵² According to this proclamation, the old asrat system was abolished and all land holders were made to pay income tax directly to the government treasury. But, this proclamation did not include the church land. It was levied (imposed) on agricultural products. The quality and size of land was not taken into consideration.²⁵³ The proclamation envisaged (interested) to raise state revenue by making tax-paying peasants pay on the basis of their income, which at the same time would bring about social equity at least theoretically.²⁵⁴

On the other hand, the process of tax assessment had its own impacts on the life of peasants. Tax-assessors and tax-collectors were organized in to a committee consisting of local *Qoro*, government officials and local representatives or elders. But, on the side of the tax assessor, there was a tendency to impose unreliable tax on the land owners. Such measures might directly or indirectly affect the life of the peasants in the *wäräda*. More importantly, the techniques of fiscal administration made the situation even worse for the peasantry. Taxes had solitary effect on peasant subsistence because of the heavy-landed and self-serving of tax administration.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁹Taye Gulelat, "The Tax in Lieu of Tithe and the New Agricultural Tax, *Preliminary Evaluation*" *Dialogue*, Vol. II, No.1 (Addis Ababa, 1968), pp.17-25.

²⁵⁰*Ibid.*

²⁵¹Informants: Tesema Qoricho, Tasfaye Bulcha and Girma Lagese; Abera Zeleke, *Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara Warada (Western Shoa) 1941-1991*..., p.70.

²⁵²*Negaret Gazeta*: Income Tax (Amendment) Proclamation No. 255 of 1967.

²⁵³*Ibid.*

²⁵⁴Abera Zeleke...; p.65.

²⁵⁵Informants: Mokonin Dabale, Dejene Tegi and Tasama Warqu; Abera Zeleke, *Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara Warada (Western Shoa) 1941-1991*..., p.76.

The peasants were encumbered with all kinds of heavy obligations and this was particularly true for tenants. They had to cultivate land under unsuitable conditions and portions of their produce went to the state and landlords. But, the payments of these entire obligations did not make tenants feel secure in their holdings and they were prevented at any time by the land lords. According to local tradition, the tenants could not build their house on the lands of landlords and plant trees.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶ Täkalign Wäldä Mariam, "A City and its Hinterlands: The Political Economy of Land Tenure, Agriculture and Food Supply for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1887-1974."..., pp.237-238; Täshalä Tebäbu, *the Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896-1974* (Lawrenceville, 1995), pp.71-72.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN SULULTA WÄRÄDA.

This chapter will present the socio-economic development in the study area, in the post-liberation period. It will cultivate two main points; infrastructural and public service development in the *wäräda* as well as effects of the Minimum Package Program (MPP) in the district. It will also discuss the educational, health, transportation and communication services in the period under discussion.

4.1. Infrastructural and Public Service Development in the *Wäräda*

Even if relatively significant changes were made in the 1960s and 1970s, the development of infrastructure which could provide public and private services for the community was very low in the study area during the period under discussion.²⁵⁷ The government also paid less attention to rural residents in the area in providing public services compared to the town dwellers. For instance, in the early 1950s and 1960s five primary schools were established at the urban centers (towns) of the *meketel wäräda* and this shows the less emphasis of the government to the rural residents.²⁵⁸

In the 1950s and 1960s, around five primary schools were constructed in all administrative centres of the *meketel wäräda s* of the district. But, even a single school was not established in the rural *qäbälès* of the study area. Different reasons were listed by oral informants for the low level development of public and private services in the rural areas of the *wäräda*.

Firstly, the involvement of the local community was very low in the establishment and expansion of public services both in labor and finance.²⁵⁹ Secondly, although the amount of the collected tax for the central government was very high, the annual budget allocated by the imperial government to the *wäräda* was poor.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁷Informants: Terefe Mekuria, Tesfaye Hunde and Ishetu Kebede.

²⁵⁸Informants: Hurrisa Kebede, Tesema Qoricha and Alamu Gutema.

²⁵⁹*Ibid*, MOE, *Education Sector Development Program III, Action Plan* (Addis Ababa, 1994), p.31.

²⁶⁰*Ibid*.

Generally, the absence of reciprocal system between the government and the community had greatly affected the public service and infrastructural development in the district.

4.1.1 Educational Services

Education can be conceived as a means of gaining knowledge, skills and attitudinal changes. It is an instrument used to obtain information, develop skill and awareness regarding different issues which in turn change the attitude of people and bring about the over all improvement of the individual.²⁶¹ Besides, education is universally recognized as one of the most fundamental building blocks for human development and poverty reduction and a key to attaining growth and development.²⁶²

Of course, modern education was a very recent phenomenon in Ethiopia. It was introduced in the country after the victory of Adwa. Especially, fortunate and self-educated groups of Ethiopian intellectuals had begun to appear in the country in the early 20th century.²⁶³ Particularly, self-educated Ethiopian intellectuals had greatly influenced Emperor Menilek II himself regarding the necessity of modern education to their country.

Meanwhile, the interest of the state developed towards modern education for various purposes in the field of administration and diplomacy.²⁶⁴ The expanding bureaucracy needed educated individuals for the services of international relations and the governments itself needed educated persons for different jobs like clerks and accountants.²⁶⁵ Moreover, schools were established and spread by the government to mitigate (reduce) problem in public services in a good manner.²⁶⁶ More probably, the government gave great focus for the establishment and expansion of modern education in the country in the post-Italian occupation period.

²⁶¹Getnet Tesfaye, “an Assessment of Adult Learners’ Perception on Social and Economic Benefits of the Integrated Functional Adult Literacy Program: The Case of Akaki Kaliti Sub-City *Woreda* One”(M.A Thesis; Department of Curriculum and Instruction Program: Addis Ababa University, 2016), p. 9.

²⁶²*Ibid.*

²⁶³Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia from 1855-1974*, (Addis Ababa 1992), P.53.

²⁶⁴Bahru, pp.26-27.

²⁶⁵Bahru, p.29.

²⁶⁶Meaza Bekele, “A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: It’s Foundation, Its Development, Its Future with Emphasis on Primary Education ” (PHD Dissertation, Colombia: Colombia University, 1996), pp.32-34.

Menilek Primary School was opened in 1908 and it was the first government secular school in the history of the country. Even though, modern education was opened in the first quarter of 20th century, it was more expanded in different parts of the country in the post-liberation period (1941).²⁶⁷

For the beginning of modern education in the country, religious (church) education had played vital role. Church education had been dominant and it was delivered through the clergymen and missionaries.²⁶⁸ Entoto Saint Raguel and Saint Marry Churches were established in 1885 and 1888 respectively by Emperor Menilek II and Empress Tayitu at the top of Entoto or Dildila Hill (East Sululta *Wäräda*). Oral testimony stated that, these churches had been providing church education to the local people. Particularly, the Raguel Church had played a vital role in the spread and expansion of church education in the *wäräda* and its surrounding areas. This education was provided to the children of the adherents of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity in four houses, which were constructed by religious men and by the local people.²⁶⁹

The role of the church was significant in the beginning and expansion of modern education in the area. Gradually, the number of students who attended church education increased in the district. Parallel to church education, a few of the local elites became interested to establish modern education in the early 1950s. Dadhi Tufa and the village leaders decided to establish school, in the Wasarbi *Meketel Wäräda* in the late 1940s. By their initiation, two primary schools were constructed in 1956 and 1957 at Sululta and Çanço Towns respectively.²⁷⁰ Fayisa Waqo was one of the inhabitants of Sululta Town who freely gave land to the local people for the construction of a school and the Sululta Primary School was established in 1956.²⁷¹ The classes were constructed from local materials like; mud, grass and wood which could easily be exposed to damage at the time of rainy season. It was first opened to teach grade 1-2 students having two teachers.

²⁶⁷Bahru Zewde. *A History of Ethiopia: 1855–1991*, (2nd ed) (Eastern African studies, 2001), p.41; Informants: Gezahign Degefa and kidane Kebede.

²⁶⁸Informants: Hurisa Kebede, Tesema Qoricha and Alamu Gutema; Bahru Zewde. *A History of Ethiopia: 1855–1974...*, p.17.

²⁶⁹*Ibid*, Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Tesema Qoricho and Alamu Gutema.

²⁷⁰Informants: Hurisa Kebede, Alamu Gutema and Tesema Qoricha.

²⁷¹*Ibid*.

Two male teachers were employed to conduct the teaching-learning process from the beginning of 1956. They thought both religious and secular education and each of them received 30 Ethiopian *Birr* monthly salary.²⁷²

In 1957, Chanco Primary School was constructed by the government. The school started teaching grade 1 students in a classroom having one male teacher.²⁷³ Even though, Sululta and Chanco primary schools were established on the Addis Ababa-Fiche main road, the basic problem was not solved in the field of education and others public services in the *wäräda*.

As written source show, an auspicious agreement was made between World Neighbor Organization (WNO) and the government of Ethiopia in 1957, in the area of agricultural and public service sectors. It was a five years agreement (1957-1962) and it was aimed at applying Minimum Package Program (MPP) in the *wäräda*. The Imperial government made agreement with WNO to get experience on improving public services and the agricultural sector in the first five years plan.²⁷⁴ The project had short term plan and it had aimed at acquiring experience towards education, modern agriculture and health services. The Mulo-*Meketel Wäräda* was selected to apply the project in the first five years plan. Sanford was appointed as administrator of the project on the side of the World Neighbors Organization.²⁷⁵

Following the beginning of the project, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts and World Neighbors Organization were working jointly to solve the following existing problem in the field of education. Three problems were mainly distinguished by the government which needed solution in the *wäräda* during the period: First, there was a problem concerning the arrangement of educational structures in the *wäräda*, which guide and control the activities of education in the district. For instance, qualified persons were not appointed as head-masters of the schools until 1957.²⁷⁶

²⁷²*Ibid.*

²⁷³*Ibid.*

²⁷⁴ World Neighbors, Annual Report to the Ministry of Education in December 1959, file no. 189 box no. 0.17.9.

²⁷⁵ Ethiopia National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA): *A Letter* from D.A Sanford of community to World Neighbor, September 1958 G C Box No.192 File no.32.09.

²⁷⁶ ENALA: Memorandum May 15, 1962 Tripe Report by Paul Agnano to Mulo-Community Centre April 16-17, 1962 File No. 192 Box No.32.09.

The second identified problem by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts was related with the quality of the constructed schools. The already established schools had not fulfilled the necessary facilities. The absence of strict and frequent inspector by qualified Ministry of Education and Fine Arts inspectors was also identified as another problem in the *wäräda*.²⁷⁷

The 3rd problem was related to the shortage of schools and absence of classes above grade IV and V.²⁷⁸ Three of the above challenges attracted both the World Neighbor Organization and Ministry of Education and Fine Arts to work jointly. To minimize these challenges, the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts took serious measures in the field of education.

The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts gave duty to B.A. Sanford to supervise and advise the schools in the *wäräda*. Similarly, a qualified and professional person was assigned as a head of the Education Office in the *wäräda*.

Ato Alemayehu Tesema was appointed as head-master of these schools and he was assigned as facilitator of the teaching-learning process in the district.²⁷⁹ According to the reports of B.A. Sanford, World Neighbors Organization had begun its career in 1957 to curb the above listed problems.²⁸⁰ Following the joint works of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts and World Neighbor Organization different improvements were seen in the field of education during the period under discussion. Of course, five of the *meketel wärädas* had great interest to establish and expand modern education in their respective areas.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ ENALA: Progress Report from B.A Sanford, Mulu Community Centre to Ministry of Education, Imperial Ethiopian Government, 2nd September 1958 to 31st August 1959, Box No 192. File No.32.09.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid*, informant: Balacho Arsadi.

²⁸⁰ IES: Annual Report from B.A. Sanford, Mulu Community Centre to Ministry of National Community Development, Imperial Ethiopian Government and December 1960 Box No 12. File No 12.10.

For instance, in Mulo *Meketel Wārāda* the local people started the teaching-learning process in a private house in the first month (September) in 1958, before WNO accomplished its project. The Mulo Primary School was conducting its career beginning from December 1958 in the new constructed school. Its facility was better than Chancho and Sululta Primary Schools.²⁸¹

The local people and World Neighbors Organization took the lion share in the construction of Mulo-Primary School. 7 Ethiopian *birr* was imposed on each individual peasant by Hunde Arado Nagaya (local chief) for the construction of school and almost all the inhabitants had paid the required *birr* within six months in 1958.²⁸² Qualified teachers were supplied by the Shaon Province Educational department. Sagno Gebeya Primary School and Beddi Primary School were constructed in 1959 and 1960 respectively.²⁸³

In the construction of these schools, the local community was actively involved both in supplying finance and providing free labor forces. Necessary materials were fulfilled by the inhabitants and the local *balabbats*. The World Neighbor Organization was also technically involved in the construction of these schools.²⁸⁴ The educational program was going on satisfactory way with the full cooperation of Ministry of Education and Fine Arts under the supervision of B.A. Sanford in the *wārāda*. Relatively, impressive changes were witnessed in the fields of education both in the number of pupils and the number of primary schools.²⁸⁵

²⁸¹*Ibid.*

²⁸²Informants: Gezahign Degefa, Tesema Qoricho and Alamu Gutema.

²⁸³Sanford's Report, p. 17.

²⁸⁴ IES, Sanford Report: Box No 12. File No 12.10; Informants: Hurisa Kebede and Alamu Gutema.

²⁸⁵*Ibid.*

Table 4: 1General Data of Pupils, Schools and Teachers in the Wārāda in the 1960s:

List of schools	Grade Level	No. of available classes	Number of pupils in the school in 1962	List of secular and spiritual teachers in schools				
				Secular teachers			priests	Total teachers
				Male	Femal	Tota		
Mulo Primary School	1-6	Six classes	142	4	2	6	1	7
Sululta Primary School	1-6	Six classes	180	3	2	5	1	6
Chancho Primary School	1-4	Five classes	130	3	1	4	0	4
Sagno Gebeya Primary School	1-4	Three classes	60	1	1	2	0	2
Beddi Primary School	1-2	Two classes	50	2	1	3	0	3
Total			562	13	7	20	2	22

Source ENALA: *D.A Sanford Annual Report, 1962, P.8*

The numbers of pupils was increased from 59 to 562 in the early 1960s by the joint work of WNO and Ministry of Education and Fine Arts. Necessary materials were fulfilled by the support of the World Neighbors Organization.²⁸⁶ Most probably at each school 100-150 children used to attend their education and 12-15 of them were female students.²⁸⁷ The subjects thought were Ahmaric, English (reading and writing), Geography and History. Similarly, these schools were staffed by 22 teachers in 1960. Seven of whom were women; while fifteen were men including two priests.²⁸⁸

Parallel to the regular classes, night school program was opened in Mulo Primary School in 1959 by the support of World Neighbor Organization. As written materials assert, in the 1960, 1961 and 1962 academic years, 45, 56 and 60 students had attended their education respectively.

²⁸⁶Sanford's Report: Box No 12. File No 12.10.

²⁸⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸⁸Progress Report from Paul Angano, Mulu Community Centre to Ministry of National Community Development, December 1962 ,Box No.178. File No 33.11

The majority of the night school students were daily laborers.²⁸⁹ The night school program was going progressively even after the fall of the monarchical regime. But, the night school program was not provided in the remaining four schools in the *wäräda*, due to the absences of electric light.²⁹⁰

In addition to the class-room lesson, in each school special attention was given to physical education and it was provided to pupils out of the classroom. According to D.A Sanford's report, physical education was provided to all pupils out of the classroom in all schools and it was regularly provided to students for two periods per week.²⁹¹

Basically, it was provided to pupils for the health or physical fitness of the learners. Secondly, it was aimed at attracting the pupils to schools. Annual competitions were commonly conducted among these schools in different sport fields regularly. For instance, in 1962 competitions were made between five schools in the yard of Chanco Primary School.²⁹² Athletics, football and volley ball types of sport disciplines were included in the game. Finally, the Çanço Primary School achieved victory in all sport fields. Emperor Haile Silasie was one of the guests on the festivals and he observed the final game at Çanço (Buba) Town. Finally, the winners received cups and certificates from Emperor Haile Sillassie.²⁹³ World Neighbors Organization had provided the necessary materials and the finance needed for conducting the program.

In addition to the regular and night programs, field-work was given to the regular students by the agents of World Neighbor Organization about vegetation and its production at the school in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts and Ministry of Agriculture. According to Paul Agnano report, individually a plot of land was given to each pupil and each pupil was expected to produce vegetables on two plots. Seeds were supplied by FAO and the Ministry of Agriculture through their agents to all pupils of each school. The students were using the seeds for their own or to sell.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁹Paul Angano Report: Box No.178. File No 33.11; Informant: Balacho Arsadi.

²⁹⁰Informants: Terefe Mekuria and Tesfaye Hunde.

²⁹¹*Ibid.*

²⁹²Paula Angano Report: Box No.178. File No 33.11

²⁹³*Ibid.*, Informants: Terefe Mekuria and Tesfaye Hunde.

²⁹⁴ENALA, Paula Angano Report: Box No.178. File No 33.11.

Two periods were allocated per week to all students to plant and handle their vegetables. The pupils also worked voluntarily outside school hours and this situation gradually encouraged them to produce their own seeds for further advantages.

Non-formal education was another main concern of the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts in the 1960s. It played a significant role in providing knowledge skill and attitude for individual who cannot involve in formal schooling. The importance of adult education for development of any nation is unquestionable.²⁹⁵

It is because, in addition to resource and finance, for a country to be transformed, it requires human capital which could play vital role in the development process. Adult education is also believed to bring associated development i.e political, social, economic and cultural progress of individuals who passed through it.²⁹⁶

Adult education program was formally included in the education system in 1963 in the charter of the United Nations. All member states of the UN were required immediately to implement the new adult education program in their education system.²⁹⁷ In 1963, the government took serious measures to implement adult education. First of all, the government announced about the necessity of fundamental education or adult literacy through public notice to its fellow citizens.²⁹⁸ On this program, all adult illiterate (18-50 years old) people were invited to become literate voluntarily. The literate Ethiopians were called by the imperial government to educate their citizens and most of the educated Ethiopians had positively responded to the call of the imperial government.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁵Selamawit Haile, “An Assessment of the Implementation of Functional Adult Literacy in Merhabete *Woreda*”, (MA Thesis; Department of Curriculum and Instruction Program: Addis Ababa University, 2014), p.3.

²⁹⁶*Ibid.*

²⁹⁷Sululta *Wärda* Cultural and Tourism Office (SWCTO), *Yä Qoyu Fayiloch*, Annual Report 1970 G C, Box No.192 File no.32.09.

²⁹⁸Mohammed Sabit, “Implementation of Integrated Functional Adult Literacy Program in Obora *Woreda* (MA Thesis: Haramaya University, 2013), p.21.

²⁹⁹Getnet Tesfaye, an Assessment of Adult Learners’ Perception on Social and Economic Benefits of the Integrated Functional Adult Literacy Program: The Case of Akaki Kality Sub-City *Woreda* One...,p.16.

Necessary resources were supplied by the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts to the selected areas and by doing so, adult education was provided almost in all parts of the country. Within short time, the imperial government implemented the adult education in all provinces of the Empire from 1956 onwards.³⁰⁰ At the same fashion, Sululta *Wäräda* had paid attention to implement adult education in the district. Then after, adult education was continuously provided to the local community two days in a week in Gorfo, Waju Dalota and Mulu- primary Schools.³⁰¹

By the support of the local *balabbats* and local governors, the peasant farmers were certified in adult education, in 1968 in the *wäräda*.³⁰² For instance, at Mulo-Community Centre 15 male farmers were certified and received certificates from the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts in 1968. Similarly, 9 females were enrolled and finally six of them were certified in the same year. Generally, in the first round about 21 local residents were certified in adult education in 1968 in the *wäräda*. The imperial government also recognized the efforts of the local governors and *balabbats* by providing certificates to the attendees through the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts.³⁰³

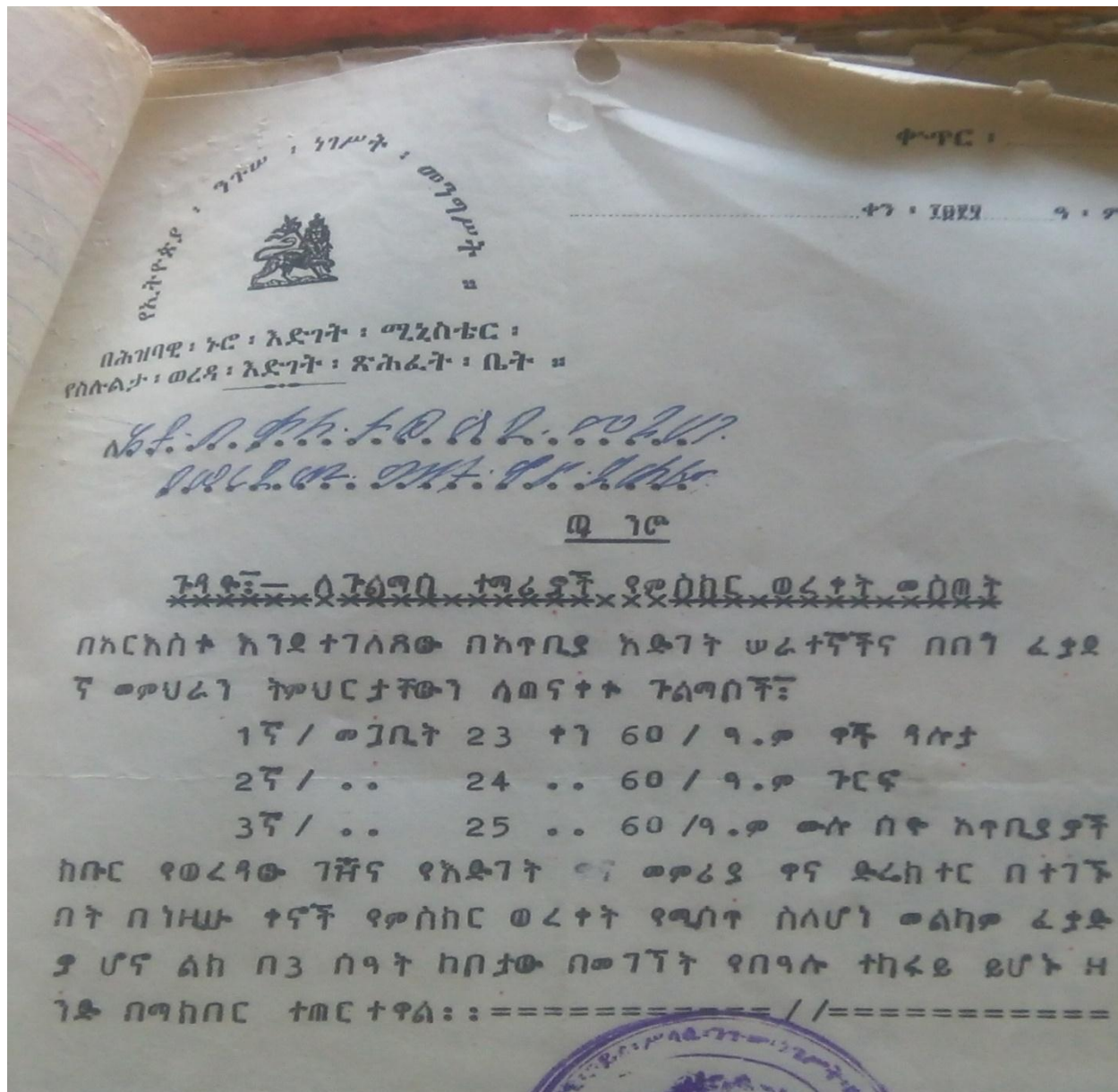
³⁰⁰*Ibid.*

³⁰¹ENALA, Paula Angano Report: Box No.178. File No 33.11.

³⁰²IES: Progress Report from B. Sanford, Mulu Community Centre to Ministry of Education, Imperial Ethiopian Government, 2nd April 1961 to May 15 1959, Box No.12 File no.12.09.

³⁰³*Ibid.*

Figure 4: 1 Adult Education Certificate (1968 G.C)



Source: Sululta Wārāda Archival Center,

The above letter shows how much the imperial government had paid attention to the adult education. The program was going on progressively even during the period of the military junta, than other programs in education fields.

In addition to formal education, school health services were regularly provided to all students one day a week, in the schools. Typhus vaccination was also provided to the students.³⁰⁴ It was facilitated by the World Neighbor Organization. Generally, the school health services were provided to pupils in schools to achieve the following objectives:

- To protect the health of the children.
- To promote health education in the *wäräda*.
- To provide inspections, weighing and measuring of all students.
- To vaccinate children against smallpox, T.B and others cases. Health education films were shown in all schools when suitable films were available. The Mulu-Primary School was show educational films using electric power and the rest of the schools were using generator power to show educational films to the school community due to absence of light or electric power.³⁰⁵

Under the United Nations agents, UNICEF provided non-fat milk to all schools to protect the health of the children for four and half years. A glass of milk was given to all students every day except the first day of the week of education (Monday).³⁰⁶ But, non-fat milk donation was not continued after the withdrawal of World Neighbors Organization from the *wäräda*, in 1962.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Box No.192 File n*o.32.09.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ ENALA: Sanford Report to World Neighbors Association April 1962, Box No.192 File no.32.09.

Table 4: 2 A Comparative List of Weights and Heights of Six Children Taken from Various Schools to check the validity of donation.

Age	Sex	Academic year 1960		Academic year 1961	
		Weight	Height	Weight	Height
5	M	39	3.6	41	3.7
7	F	46 ½	3.11 ½	50 ½	4. ½
8	F	38	3.1	43	3.3 ½
10	M	62	4.3 ½	70	4.7
13	M	59	4.6	61 ½	4.9
16	M	80	5.01	94	5.3

Source.Mulo-Community Centre Annual Report, 1961 (See Appendix “A”), P.1.

As one can understand from the above data, impressive improvement was achieved on the weight and height of pupils after they received non-fat milk. According to Paul Agnano’s report, 384 students were supported by the World Neighbor Organization within two and half years.³⁰⁷ The standard of health and cleanness had improved than even before during the period under discussion. Relatively, fruitful achievements were scored in the felids of education in the area in the 1960s, than anywhere in the imperial regime.

³⁰⁷Mulo-Community Centre, Progress Report, April 1961-May 1962 Box No. 176 File No.29.02.

For instance, in 1962 the number of primary schools had increased to five and the number of pupils also rose from 59 to 562 in the study area.³⁰⁸ As a result, in the academic year of 1962, 8 boys had completed VI grade for the first time in the history of the *wäräda* and all of them the scored necessary result to get transferred to the next grade level. But, they were lost the chance to join the next grade, due the absence classes and shortages of skilled man power.³⁰⁹

To minimize the existing challenges, both the Ministry of Education and Fine Arts and the agents of the World Neighbor Organization identified the interests of the eight students who passed VI grade national examination by asking their future professional interest. All of them preferred to join the next level of education in different fields of education and 8 of them joined the next level of grade in different fields of education program.³¹⁰

Among the 8 male students, three of them had parents who had the capacity to send them to schools in Addis Ababa to pursue their next level of education. One student was interested to be a carpenter and he got the chance to get employment in World Neighbor Organization Projects. Two pupils wished to become health dressers and they joined the Mission or Swidish Clinic for more training.³¹¹

Two of the remaining students wished to become teachers and they were employed as assistant teachers in the night school program. They received fifteen (15) *Birr* per month permanently.³¹² But, the question of promoting the school to a junior secondary school was not solved either by Ministry of Education and Fine Arts or the World Neighbors Organization. Even if, significant changes were witnessed in the 1950s and 1960s in the spread and expansion of modern education, the situation was not satisfactory in the educational field after 1962, following the withdrawal of the World Neighbors Organization.³¹³

³⁰⁸World Neighbor, Progress Report, April 1961-May 1962 Box No. 176 File No.29.02.

³⁰⁹ENALA: Sanford Report to World Neighbors Association April 1962, Box No.178. File No 33.11.

³¹⁰*Ibid*

³¹¹World Neighbor, Box No. 176 File No.29.02.

³¹² *Ibid.*

³¹³Informants: Tesfaye Hunde, Dejene Tegi and Ishetu Kebede.

The Ministry of Education and Fine Arts also reduced its follow up, strict and frequent inspection of schools and this situation affected the educational system in the *wäräda* in the late 1960s. The already established schools did not enlarge their class level up to VIII grade. Additional schools were not constructed until the fall of the Emperor Haile Slassie's government in September 1974.³¹⁴ A few of the economically self-sufficient families were sending their children to Addis Ababa to educate the next grade level. But, the majority of the students who completed grade 6 were forced to drop out their education due to absence of the next grade level or grade 7-8 and senior secondary school in their surrounding during the imperial regime.³¹⁵

4.1.2 Health Services

Until the 1940s, there was no modern health service which provided service to the inhabitants of the *wäräda*. Informants underscore that the first private aid clinic was established in Mulo- area in 1947 and it was begun by private owners. But, the problem of health services was going ahead with poor situation till 1957. As written materials indicate, the Ministry of Public Health had made an agreement with UNICEF in 1958 to construct a health centre at the Mulo-Community centre to avert the problem of the health services in the *wäräda*. 5,000.00 Ethiopian *Birr* was allocated for the constructions of the health centre. The necessary facilities were fulfilled by the support of World Neighbor Organization.³¹⁶ The Mulo-Health centre was established to achieve the following main objectives in Sululta *Wäräda*:

- To provide education and welfare services to mothers and children at the centre.
- To provide training to local women about hygiene and maternity issues.
- To establish sub-centre at Beddi, Sagno Gebeya, chanchoo and Gorfo with dresser and assistance under regular supervision.
- To provide health services through mobile health team at the centre of sub- district's on market day weekly.
- To provide sanitation and education services for the local people.³¹⁷

³¹⁴*Ibid.*

³¹⁵*Ibid.*

³¹⁶Informants: Tesfaye Hunde, Dejene Tegi and Ishetu kebbede.

³¹⁷ENALA: Progress Report from B. Sanford, Mulo Community Centre to Ministry of Public Health, Imperial Ethiopian Government, 2nd April 1961 to May 15 1959, Box No.178. File No 33.11.

From December 1957 to September 1960, general medical service was provided to the local people both at the head quarter of the project and sub-centre of the *wäräda* with the aid of an ambulance. The organized professionals from the centre were involved in the treatment of the disease and creating awareness at Mulo, Buba, Sagno Gebeya, Beddi, Muger and Yeka (Robe-Gebeya).³¹⁸

Mulo Town was the head-quarter of the project. More than 20 houses (offices) were constructed from local mud and wattle. Waiting room, registration room, examination room, laboratory room, treatment room, finance, clinic, sanitarian and managerial offices were constructed to run the project properly in the field of health in the *wäräda*. Similarly, additional house for emergency medical room cases, and one delivery room were constructed at Mulo-Health Centre.³¹⁹

The health centre provided its services in 1960 for the local people and a system of payment was introduced for treatment in March 1961. This was 0.5 cents for registration and 0.25 cents a minimum payment for the drugs received. All communicable diseases and mothers and children health problems were treated freely. The Ministry provided a treatment card, which greatly aided the continuity of treatment and keeping of statistics.³²⁰

Poly clinic was opened by organized professionals to provide health services for five days of working days per week. It was provided to the people for three years. Mother and child welfare clinic held service once a week on a market day. The Mulo-Health Centre provided this service. Similarly, mobile health team and school health services were setup and were giving service in the *wäräda*.³²¹

³¹⁸Informants: Tesfaye Hunde, Dejene Tegi and Ishetu kebede.

³¹⁹*Ibid*, B. Sanford Report Box No.178. File No 33.11.

³²⁰ENALA, A Letter from D.A Sanford of Community to Ministry of National Community Development, September 1958 G C Box No.179. File No 32.09.

³²¹*Ibid*.

Hospitalizations of Patients- by using an ambulance 23 patients were transported from the community development to Addis Ababa Hospital in the preceding years (1960-1962). 11 patients were taken to the Princes (Zewditu) Hospital. 8 of them were sent to Filwoha Hospital. Two of them were taken to Ethio-Swedish Clinic and the two remaining patients were taken to Menilek Hospital.³²² According to Sanford's report, 9 patients obtained supportive letters from the local administrators with the information that they were poor and thus they got treated free from 1960 to 1962. For nine patients the World Neighbor Organization funded around 303 *Birr* for the treatment. Five patients paid for their own treatment amounting to 261 *Birr*. All cases taken to hospital were serious and except one patient, all of them were treated successfully.³²³ But, one patient died in Menilk Hospital.³²⁴

Mobile Health Team services-were implemented out of the health centre on the market day weekly at sub-centers of the health centre. Saturday, Monday, Wednesday and Thursday were market days at Ĉanço, Sagno Gebeya, Robe-Gebeya and Beddi-Gebeya respectively.³²⁵ A group of mobile health teams used to give medical services on the market days. The health teams used a vehicle for transportation to work in the sub-centers of the *wäräda*. In Sagno Gebeya, Beddi and Ĉanço or Buba centres there were buildings for the services of poly clinic and the buildings were rented by the World Neighbor Organization.³²⁶

The team was usually composed of a driver, a nurse, a dresser and cashier and conducted the clinic service from 12 mid-untill 3:00pm at each market days with similar price and service to the Mulu-Health Centre.³²⁷

³²²ENALA: Sanford Report, Box No.178. File No 33.11.

³²³*Ibid.*

³²⁴World Neighbor, Progress Report, April 1961-May 1962 Box No. 176 File No.29.02.

³²⁵*Ibid.*

³²⁶ *Ibid*, Informants: Hayile Gugse and Balacho Hurisa.

³²⁷Informants: Gudisa Habebe, Hayile Gugse and Balacho Hurisa.

Table 4: 3 General Statistics toward Health Services in the *Wäräda* in the 1960s:

No	Types of health services	Number of treated individuals
1	General Treatment	12,469
2	Typhus Vaccination	2300
3	Child treatment	629
4	Pregnant and mother	1,200
Total		16,598

Sources: Mulo-Community Centre Annual, 1961 (See Appendix "A"),p.2.

According to the Paul Agnano's report, more than 16, 598 individuals got health services by the joint works of the Ministry of Public Health and the World Neighbor Organization in the early 1960s.³²⁸ The health officers and sanitarians taught the local people weekly at sub-centres on market days about keeping the cleanness of the body, values of healthy, preparation of food and the like.³²⁹ Soaps and cakes were donated by UNICEF to all pupils monthly at the schools and non-fat milk was given for pre-school children.³³⁰ But, such services were limited to the town. Shortage of professional persons was another problem of the *wäräda* in the health service area. Lack on equipments and shortage of bed-rooms forced the patients to remain for a long period without treatment. Generally, health service was some extents weakened in the early 1970s due to less of the imperial governments towards health service.³³¹

³²⁸World Neighbor, Progress Report, April 1961-May 1962 Box No. 176 File No.29.02.

³²⁹ENALA: Sanford Report, Box No. 182 File No. 32.06.

³³⁰ World Neighbor, Progress Report, April 1961-May 1962 Box No. 176 File No.29.02.

³³¹*Ibid.*

4.1.3 Water Supply

Water is one the most important basic needs to human-beings to be healthy and productive. Even though access to water is a basic need, a large number of the world populations (47%) are challenged by shortage of pure water supply. Especially, the problem is more aggravated in the 3rd world nations like, Ethiopia and other developing nations. These countries suffer from lack of clean drinking water. At the same fashion, the rural and urban residents of our country have suffered from shortage of pure drinking water during the period under discussion.³³² In the context of the Sululta *Wäräda*, the source of water for home utilization in the rural areas is mainly gained from ponds, rivers, well and while urban inhabitant used tap water.³³³

Pure water supply in the Sululta *Wäräda* was very poor in the post-liberation period. The *wäräda* is endowed with the natural sources of Çanço, Dannaba, Garmama, Dubar, Sibilu, and Alaltu Rivers which are known tributaries of the Muger River which lastly tribute to the Abay River. Inhabitants of the *wäräda* used these rivers for drinking, irrigation, home utilization, and others purposes for a long period of time.³³⁴

Dwellers in Mulo and Buba towns were using well water.³³⁵ Moreover, the people of the *wäräda* could not gain sufficient water, even still now, the coverage of clear water in the *wäräda* is less than 52%.

³³²Adam Alo, “The Impact of Soil Erosion in Sululta Town Administration: Particularly in the case of Nono Mana Abichu Kebele” (BA, Essay: Haramaya University, 2017),p.12; Geremew Mengistu, “A History of Wanbara *Woreda*1941-1991 “(MA Thesis, History Department: Addis Ababa University,2016),P.72;Mahetämä Sillassé Wäldä Mäsqäl, *Yä Itiyopiya bahel tinat: Bulga* (Addis Ababa, 1973), pp 8.

³³³ Adam Alo,..p.12; informants: Sime Tola and Tulu Lata.

³³⁴Informants: Gudisa Habebe, Hayile Gugse and Balacho Hurisa.

³³⁵NAC:A Letter from D.A Sanford of Community to Ministry of National Community Development, September 1958 G C Box No. 176 File No.29.02.

4.1.4 Road Transportation

Regarding road transportation, the *wäräda* was characterized by inadequacy of well organized infrastructure. In the absence of modern transportation in some parts of the rural areas of the Ethiopia, pack animals such as donkeys, mules and horses are largely used to transport commodities and people from place to place still today.³³⁶ In the *wäräda*, pack animals were the major means of transportation in the rural areas in the absence of modern road transportation and the difficulty of the geographic features of the district's.³³⁷

In the history of the area, modern means of road transportation was introduced during the period of the Italian occupation (1936-1941). For instance, asphalt road was constructed by the Italians from Addis Ababa to Fiche or Baher Dar which passes through the *wäräda*. Except the main road, there was no modern track road that could link the sub-districts of the *wäräda* during the rainy season. It was unthinkable to provide vehicle service in the *wäräda* in the rainy season.³³⁸

For instance, Mulo *Meketel wäräda* was challenged by Sibilu River during the rainy seasons to communicate with other *meketel wärädas*, due to the absence bridge and modern transportation service in the area. To improve such tedious transportation system in the *wäräda*, the local *balabbats* initiated their people to start construction of bridge. By the efforts of the local governors and the *balabbats*, a traditional bridge was constructed from wood on the Sibile and Alaltu River in 1956 which connects more than three sub-district.³³⁹

³³⁶Harold Marcus, *the Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844-1913* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975),p.23.

³³⁷Informants: Gudisa Habebe, Hayile Gugse and Balacho Hurisa.

³³⁸*Ibid.*

³³⁹ENALA: D.A Sanford Report,Box No. 182 File No. 32.06.

Figure 4: 2 Traditional Bridge in the Study Area (1962)



Source, ENALA: *D.A Sanford Report, " Appendix B" in 1962.*

The above *Riqa* (bridge) was constructed from very big trees by the labor of the local population and it served the local people to cross the river. But, it was not suitable for vehicle transportation service.³⁴⁰ Within a short period of time motor track road had been constructed in 1958 by the voluntarily labor of the local people. Consequently, the Beddi, Segne Gebeya, Chancho and

³⁴⁰ENALA: D.A Sanford Report, Box No. 182 File No. 32.06.

Mulo Sahilu lines were connected with each other. By the joint work of the local *batabbats* and World Neighbor Organization, the transport system got improved in the 1960s.³⁴¹

Moreover, the *wäräda qäbäles* were connected with each other by roads that were constructed by the labor force of the people. The construction of dry weather road enabled the local people to communicate each other for different reasons. The people used the road during the market days and for other public services.³⁴²

Generally, transportation system was better improved than before by the initiation of World Neighbor Organization and the active participation of the local community. Such, significant changes in the fields of transportation positively influenced the socio-economic condition of the people. The inhabitants managed to easily communicate each other and they also, began to supply their products to the markets easily.³⁴³ Seasonal transportation was relatively improved and the people of the *wäräda* were easily using the constructed roads for different purposes.

4.1.5 Communication

Communication is the most important aspect which played a vital role in the social, political and economic development of any country. Telecommunication, postal, and media were some of the types of communication services. In the context of Ethiopia, the idea of communication services could be traced back to the reign of Emperor Menilek II and it was introduced in 1904.³⁴⁴ Even though, telecommunication plays a great role in the exchange of ideas and information in different political, social, economic and cultural spheres, the rural and urban inhabitants of the *wäräda* were unable to get communication services during the period under discussion.³⁴⁵

In addition, electricity is the most important sector for transformation and development of towns. It put basis for the development of business, technological and industrial sectors.

³⁴¹Informants: Gudisa Habebe and Hayile Gugse.

³⁴²ENALA: D.A Sanford Report, Box No. 182 File No. 32.06; informants: Sime Tola, Tulu Lata and Dinagde Mamo.

³⁴³Informants: Hayile Gugse and Balacho Hurisa.

³⁴⁴ Adinew Bitew, “The Political and Socio-Economic History of Asosa *Wäräda* from 1941-1991” (MA.Thesis, History Department: Addis Ababa University, 2016), p.72.

³⁴⁵Informants: Gudisa Habebe, Hayile Gugse and Balacho Hurisa.

But, in the period under study, the *wäräda* had no electric light supply except in the Mulo-Community Centre. The majority of local inhabitants had no access to electric light.³⁴⁶

Moreover, the spread and expansion of communications like; postal and telecommunication was very poor in the *wäräda*. Even still now, the spread and expansion of communication is not adequate both in the rural and urban areas in line with the demand of the inhabitants of the *wäräda*.

³⁴⁶*Ibid.*

4.2 The Effects of Minimum Package Program in the *Wäräda*, in Agricultural Area.

Like other third world nations 80%, of the Ethiopian economy depends on agriculture. Crop cultivation and animal herding are mostly practiced in the country interpedently. Both are often viewed in combination and mixed farming is evidently a typical feature of small-scale farming in the country. It is almost impossible for small holders to exclusively depend on one or other type for household subsistence.³⁴⁷ Moreover, agriculture has occupied a basic place and played pivotal role in the long history of the Ethiopia. In Ethiopia agricultural products take the lion share in the large portion of export trade item which added the considerable to the national income.³⁴⁸

Cereal production and raring of animals in Sululta *Wäräda* were inseparably related to each other; and found in almost every farming households. Endowed with good climatic conditions, Sululta *Wäräda* is suitable for growing a variety of crops: cereals, pulses and oil seeds. Wheat (*Tricum*), Barley and Teff (*Eragrotis Taff*) are the dominant cereals' in the *wäräda*.³⁴⁹

The cereal crops were produced for home consumption in the area. Informants also indicated that the amount of land needed for the production was relatively small compared to the quantity that could be grown on limited areas.

As the Annual Reports of Administrative Offices the *wäräda* (1989) indicates near to 26,662 hectares (25%) land are valid for crop cultivation out of 109,269 hectors of land in the *wäräda*.³⁵⁰

Oral tradition testimony claims that, the economy of the inhabitants was more based on herding livestock than cultivation.³⁵¹ The presence of sufficient grazing land supports the peasant to rear animals broadly in the study area.

³⁴⁷ Adem Alo..., P.21.

³⁴⁸ Abera, P.25.

³⁴⁹ Sululta *Woreda* Agriculutural and Rural Development Office (SWARDO): *Yä Qoyu Fayiloch*, Annual Report Dated since 1989, E.C, Box No. 11-12 files no. 12.

³⁵⁰ SWARDO: *Yä Qoyu Fayiloch*, Annual Report Dated since 1989, E.C, Box No. 11-12 files no. 12; Informants: Gudisa Habebe, Hayile Gugse and Balacho Hurisa.

³⁵¹ Informants: Gudisa Habebe, Hayile Gugse and Balacho Hurisa.

For instance, among the total land of the area 26% (28742hectares) was reserved for grazing land, which was greater than cultivated land by 2% (26662hectares).Grazing fields for livestock are made up of fallows hill sides and swampy areas.³⁵²

Even though the *wäräda* was very conducive for raring livestock, the farmers were not able to adapt systematic feeding of livestock which reduced efficacious of peasants in the fields of animal herding. There was poor management which seriously affected the standards of livestock in the district. Farmers were unaware of a systematic means of feeding livestock and modern ways of farming. Fortunately, the imperial government had selected Sululta *Wäräda* to apply Minimum Package Program (MPP) or model farming extension in 1957. The project was established at the Mulo-Community Centre by the joint efforts of the World Neighbor Organization and the imperial government of Ethiopia.³⁵³

The project was aimed at acquiring experience on modern ways of farming by the use of agricultural inputs, in the country. It was also targeted to get input for future plan in the agricultural sector. The project was a five years long program from 1957 to 1962 and it was expected to create model farming centre to expand modern ways of farming.³⁵⁴

Following the establishment of model farm centre, the Ministry of Agriculture provided wheat and barley that was imported from Kenya in the 1960s which had high yields and rust resistant crop to tackle the problem.

Consequently, the productivity of the household peasants was mitigated both in farming methods and producing high yields.³⁵⁵ The moral of the peasants was also heightened. According to Sanford's report, the yields were grown from 5 quintals to 25 quintals per hectare in the production years of 1961 and 1962.

³⁵²SWARDO): *Ye Qoyu Fayiloch*, Box No.7-8 File NO.12.

³⁵³ENALA: D.A Sanford Report, Box No. 182 File No. 32.06.

³⁵⁴The First Five Plans (1957), P.6.

³⁵⁵Sanford's Report, Box No. 182 File No. 32.06.

In addition, the newly adapted crops resisted various diseases in the area.³⁵⁶ The dairy farms were also expanded in the *wäräda* after 1957 by the support of the World Neighbor Organization. According to Mulo-Community annual report, the centre reared around 150 cattle and sold them at low price (30 Ethiopian *birr* on the average) to the local peasants from the centre. The farm centre also provided vaccination services in the area to protect the health of animals.³⁵⁷

As a result, the local populations were greatly interested in the newly introduced modern dairy farms and their productivity was improved than before. The centre also provided modern ways of feeding cows for further milk production and others.³⁵⁸ The project also promoted milk production and breeding of cattle for meats. Grazing fields were supplemented by good feeding at night and occasional concentrates made of maize wheat and salts.³⁵⁹

Averagely, the daily milk production was grown up to 15 liters per cow in the *wäräda*.³⁶⁰ Moreover, livestock was means of expression of wealth than cultivation production. In this case, poultry served as a typical source of cash revenue to the farmers.³⁶¹

In the first five years plan, the *wäräda* was benefited in the area of public services and agriculture compared with the years before the plan was implemented. The productivity of the peasants was relatively improved. The productivity of the household peasants was increased both in farming methods and producing high quality yields. For instance, the rate of growth was increased in the cereal cultivation (wheat and barley). According to Sanford's report, the yields had grown from 5 quintals to 25 quintals per hectare during the period under discussion. In addition; the attitude of the local farmers was improved toward agriculture and agricultural products.³⁶²

³⁵⁶Ethiopia National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA): *A Letter from D.A Sanford of Community to Ministry of National Community Development*, September 1958 G C Box No. 176 File No.29.02.

³⁵⁷ENALA: D.A Sanford Report, Box No. 182 File No. 32.06.

³⁵⁸*Ibid.*

³⁵⁹*Ibid.*

³⁶⁰NAC: Progress Report April 1960 to June 1961, Box No. 178 File No.29.09.

³⁶¹Abera Zeleke, *Agriculture and Land Tenure In Walmara Warada* (Western Shoa) 1941-1975...p,33.

³⁶²ENALA: D.A Sanford Report, Box No. 182 File No. 32.06.

Peasants adopted modern ways of farming style from World Neighbor Organization within a short period of time. Since the Mulo-farm extension was established as a temporary project, it was phased out in 1962. However, the third five years plan on agriculture had no significant positive effect in the Sululta *Wäräda* on the life of peasants in the field of agriculture. Because, the integrated package projects were not implemented and such governmental neglect of the Sululta agriculture implies how much the agricultural sector stagnated during the period under discussion.³⁶³ Even the already established farm center at Mulo-Farm Extension was closed by the government in 1962 and this was a good indicator for the failer of the sector in the *wäräda*.

³⁶³Informants: Zegeye Asfaw and Haile Gugse.

Conclusion

The study gave emphasis to cultivate the history of Sululta *Wäräda* from the period of restoration of the monarchical regime to its downfall (1941-1974). It aimed at studying the history of the *wäräda* based on oral sources, written materials and a few archival materials. In the post-liberation period the imperial government took different measures in the area of administration, land cases in relation to economic spheres of live of inhabitants of the district. The objectives of re-arranging centralized political power and conforming the government's economic foundation was to attend different tasks of existing administration and land issues. Concerning administration, the central government brought effective administrative organization that aimed at managing the administrative system in a centralized way. All these measures were attempts to make tax collection better organized and easy.

The study looked at the period of the Italian occupation of 1936-1941. The study also assessed the formation of Sululta *Wäräda* and the appointment of the *wäräda* as well as *meketel wäräda* governors. The thesis examined the prevalence of maladministration in the post 1941 period. The *wäräda* and *meketel wäräda* governors exploited the inhabitants both in materials and labor. There was also taxation burden on local peoples during the reign of Emperor Haile Sillassie. The study also outlines the main features of land tenure in the *wäräda* in the political and socio-economic aspects in the period under discussion. The study attempted to assess the forms of land ownership and its burden on the life of tenants in the district. The study crealy asses, the public and infrastructural developments in the area. Transportation, education and health services exhibited better improvement in the post-1941 period than before. But, other public services like; communication and water services remained low in the area. The effects of Minimum Package Program in the *wäräda* also clearly illustrated.

Bibliography

I. Unpublished References

1. Archives

Ethiopian National Archival and Library Agency (ENALA)

1. Box No.192 File no.32.09.
2. Box No.179. File No 33.11
3. Box No. 320.09 file no. 32.10.
4. No. 789 File No.1272.

Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES)

Ms, Box No. 3920, File No. 3944

Sululta Wārāda Agricultural and Rural Development Office (SWARDO)

Box No. 11-12 files no. 12

Box No. 8-9 File no. 12.

Sululta Wārāda Cultural and Tourism Office (SWCTO)

Box No.192 File no.32.09.

1.1 Bulletins

The Profile of Sululta Town. Mega Printing Press, 2016.

Raguel Church Quarterly Published Bulletin, 1988 E.C.

The Sululta Town Administration: *Annual Bulletin*, 2006 G.C.

The Sululta Wārāda Education Office Bulletin, 2006.

PHD Dissertation, MA Thesis, BA and Report Papers

- Abayneh Girma. "The Nature of Administration and Development in Ethiopia the Case of Walamo Development." Senior Essay, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 1971.
- Abera Zeleke. "Agriculture and Land Tenure in Walmara *Woreda* (Western Shoa) 1941-1991." M.A Thesis, Department of History: Ababa University, 2006.
- Adem Alo. "An Assessment of the Cause and Consequences of Land Degradation: In the Case of Administration of Suluta Town particularly, in Nono Mana Abichu Kebele." Senior Essay: Haramaya University, 2017.
- Adinew Bitew. "The Political and Socio-Economic History of Asosa *Woreda*, 1941-1991." M.A .Thesis, History Department: Addis Ababa University, 2016.
- Debela Alemu. "A Historical Survey of Asosa Town to 1991." M.A. Thesis, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2007.
- Dechasa Abebe. "The Socio-Economic History of North Shawa Ethiopia: 1800-1935." PhD Dissertation in History, South Africa: University of South Africa, 2015.
- Eshetu Girma. "Ethno-botanical Study of Medical Plants Used by Local People of Sululta *Woreda*, Oromia Region Special Zone Ethiopia." MSC, Department of Agriculture: Haramaya University, 2017.
- Fiqadu Jotie. "Value of Children Perceived Cost and Fertility Behavioral in Mulo-Sululta District of Oromia." MA Thesis Addis Ababa University: Institute of Development Training and Research Center, 1999.
- Gaddisa Urga'a. "Qacceesa Sirna Raawwii Faakkomii Buna Qabannaa Aanaa Sulultaa." M.A. Thesis, Department of Afan Oromo: Addis Ababa University, 2015.
- Gebru Tareke. "Rural Protest in Ethiopia: Study of Three Rebellion." PHD Dissertation: Syracuse University, 1977.
- Getnet Tesfaye. "An Assessment of Adult Learners' Perception on Social and Economic Benefits of the Integrated Functional Adult Literacy Program: The Case of Akaki Kality Sub-City *Wäräda* One." M.A Thesis; Department of Curriculum and Instruction Program: Addis Ababa University, 2016.
- Meaza Bekele. "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: It's Foundation, Its Development, and Its Future with Emphasis on Primary Education." PHD Dissertation, Colombia: Colombia University, 1996.

- Mengistu Geremew. "A History of Wanbara *Warada*, 1941-1991." MA. Thesis Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2016.
- MOE, *Education Sector Development Program III, Action Plan*. Addis Ababa: Berihan ena Selam Printing Press, 1994.
- Mohammed Sabit. "Implementation of Integrated Functional Adult Literacy Program in Obora Sub-Zone of East Hararghe." MA Thesis: Department of Curriculum and Instruction Program, Haramaya University, 2013.
- Nebeyu Eyas. "Administrative History of Gojjam, 1941-1974." M.A. Thesis, Department of History: Addis Ababa University, 2004.
- Selamawit Haile. "An Assessment of the Implementation of Functional Adult Literacy in Merhabete *Woreda*." MA Thesis; Department of Curriculum and Instruction Program: Addis Ababa University, 2014.
- Täkalign Wäldä Mariam. "A City and its Hinterlands: The Political Economy of Land Tenure, Agriculture and Food Supply for Addis Ababa, Ethiopia 1887-1974." PhD. Dissertation: Boston University, 1995.
- Täsäma Ta'a. "The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Survey to 1910." M.A. Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1980.
- Tsegaye Zeleke. "The Oromo of Salale A History: c1840-1935". MA, Thesis in History; Addis Ababa University, 2002.

II. PUBLISHED REFERENCE

- Alemayo Haile. "*Seenaa Oromoo Hanga Jaarraa 2ffaa*" jildii 2. Finfinnee, 2016.
- Arnesen Erik Odd. "The Becoming of Place: A Tulama Oromo Region in North Shoa," J. Hultin and Triulizi (eds), *Being and Becoming Oromo, Historical and Anthropological Enquires*. Uppsala, 1996.
- Asmarom Legese. *Gada*. New-York: The Free Press, 1973.
- _____. *Oromo Democracy: An Indigenous African Political System*. Trenton NJ: Red Sea Press, 2006.
- Bahru Zewde. *A History of Ethiopia: 1855–1991*, 2nd ed. Eastern African studies, 2001.
- . *A History of Ethiopia from 1855-1974*. Addis Ababa, 1992.
- . *History of Ethiopia from 1855-1991*, 2nd ed. Addis Ababa, 2002.
- Bairu Tafla. Asma Gyorgis and His Work. "*History of Galla and the Kingdom of Shawa*." New York, 1987.

- Central Statistical Authority. *1984 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Result for Oromia Region, Vol.1, Part I, Stastical Report on Population Size and Characteristics* Addis Ababa, 1990.
- _____. *1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Result for Oromia Region, Vol.1, Part I, Stastical Report on Population Size and Characteristics*. Addis Ababa, 1995.
- _____. *2007 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia: Result for Oromia Region, Vol.1, Part II, Stastical Report on Population Size and Characteristics*. Addis Ababa, 2009.
- Bechtold, G D. J, K. Radcliffe and Teshome Estifanos. 'Land Evaluation of Menagesha Awrajja (Shawa): Assistance to Land Use Planning (Draft), the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Ministry of Agriculture' Land Use Planning and Regulatory Department. UNDP/FAO: Addis Ababa, 1989.
- Donald N. Levine. *Greater Ethiopia: The Evolution of a Multiethnic Society*. University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Ed Semonshifte. "The Ahmara Military Expedition against the Shoa Galla (1800-18500): A Reappraisal." *In Proceeding of the First United States Confrence on Ethiopian Studies*. Michigan: State University, 1975.
- E, Semone. The Amhara Military Expeditions against the Shäwa Galla: 1800 - 1855. A Reappraisall in *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies*. East Lansing, 1975.
- Gäberä Wäld Engeda Wäreq. *YäItophiya Märétna Geber Sem*. Addis Ababa, 1956.
- _____. Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation in *Ethiopian Observer*, Vol.5 No. 4. Addis Ababa, 1961.
- Gäda Mälba. *Oromia: Yätädäbäqäw Yägef Tarik*. Addis Ababa, 1994.
- Gämächu Mägärsa. The Oromo World-View: In *the Journal of Oromo Studies*. Vol. XII. No. NewYork, 2005.
- _____. "The Oromo Worldview", Interdisciplinary Seminar of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies. June 6-7, 1998.
- Gebru Tareke. *Ethiopian Power and Protest, Revolts in Twentieth Century*. Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press, 1996.
- Gilks Patrick. *The Drying Lions Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia*. London: Julian

- Freidman Publishers Ltd, 1975.
- Harris W. Cornville's. *The High Land of Aethiopia*. London: Gregg International Publishers Ltd, 1968.
- Henze B. *Layers of Time: A History of Ethiopia*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.
- Herbert S. Lewis. "A Reconsideration of Socio- Political System of Western Galla." *Journal of Semetic Studies*, IX, 1, 1964.
- _____. "Wealth Influence and Prestige among the Shoa Galla in Social Stratification in Africa." New York, 1970.
- Jabessa Ejeta. *Yä Oromo Beher Tarik*. Addis Ababa, 1992.
- John Cohen and Weintraub. *Land and Peasant in the Imperial Ethiopia*. Assen: Yen Corium and Comp.B.V. 1975.
- Lawrence J.C.D. *Land Taxation in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa, 1964.
- Mähetämä Sillasé Wäldä Mäsqäl. *Zekerä Nögär*. Addis Ababa, 1972.
- Marcus Harold. *The Life and Times of Menelik II: Ethiopia 1844-1913*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Markakis John. *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*. Addis Ababa: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Mäsfen Wäldä Mariam. *An Introductory Geography of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Bereheana Selam H.S.I Print Press, 1972.
- Mengistu Wube. Problems of Land Reform Implementation in Rural Ethiopia, a *Case Study of Dejen and Walmara Districts*. Uppsala: Department of Human Geography, 1986.
- Mewis Griefenow, Catherine and Tamane Bitima. *Oromo Poetry Seen from Within*. Koln: Rudiger Koppe Verlag, 2004.
- Mockler Anthony. *Haile Sillasie's War*. New York: Palgrave, 2000.
- Mohammed Hassen. "The Oromo of Ethiopia A History 1570-1886." Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1990.
- Pankhurst, R. *Economic History of Ethiopia: 1800-1935*. Addis Ababa, Oxford University Press, 1968.
- _____. *A Social History of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa, 1990.
- _____. *State and Land in Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa, 1966.
- Pawulos Gnongo. *Ate Minelik be Hagar Wust Yetetsatsafauchew Dabdabewoch*. Addis Ababa, 2003.
- Shifäraw Bekele. "The Evolution of Land Tenure in the Imperial Era", *an Economic History of*

- Modern Ethiopia: The Imperial Era, 1941-1974*. Dakar: CODESRIA, 1995.
- _____. *An Economic History of Ethiopia: Imperial Era 1941-1971*. CODESRIA Antony Rowe ltd, 1995.
- Ståhl, Michael. *Political Contradiction in Agricultural Development*. Liber Tryck: Stockholm, 1974.
- Taklāsadiq Makurya. *Yà Itopiya Tarik: Kä Atse Tewodros Eskä Wädamawi Haile Sillasie*, 2nd ed. Addis Ababa: Qiddus Geyorgis Pring Press, 1951 E.C.
- Täshalä Tebäbu. *The Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896-1974*. Lawrenceville, 1995.
- Taye Gulelat. "The Tax in Lieu of Tithe and the New Agricultural Tax, *Prelimina Evaluation*" *Dialogue, Vol. II, No.1*. Addis Ababa, 1968.
- _____. *The Making of Modern Ethiopia: 1896-1974*. London. 1996.
- W.C. Harris. "The High Land of Aethiopia." London, 1844.

Newspapers

- Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No.8 of 1942.
- Negaret Gazeta*: Land Proclamation No. 70 of 1944.
- Negaret Gazet*: Education Tax Proclamation No.94 of 1949 and Health Tax Proclamation No.39 of 1959.
- Negaret Gazet*: Income Tax (Amendment) Proclamation No. 255 of 1967.

List of Informants

No	Name of Informants	Sex	Age	Place of Interview	Date of Interview	Remarks
1	Abäbä Täsäma	M	84	Kata	February 2019 Date 2/2/2019	He has lived for about 51 years in Sululta <i>wäräda</i> . He is a very good informant on historical development in the <i>wäräda</i> .
2	Alämu Fullasa	M	81	Mulo	February 2019 Date 5/2/2019	He was a native of the region. He is a knowledgeable informant on the impacts of taxation in Sululta <i>wäräda</i> .
3	Alämu Gutama	M	75	Gorfo	February 2019 Date 22/3/2019	He is a knowledgeable informant on the issues of taxation in Sululta <i>wäräda</i> .
4	Alämneh Walda Tsadiq	M	96	Entoto	February 2019 Date 20/2/2019	He is a priest in the Entoto Maryam Church. He has a good knowledge about the establishment of the Church. He also clearly outlines the history of the Italian rule in the <i>wäräda</i> .
5	Askalä Mägärsa	F	69	Ĉanĉo	February 2019 Date 18/2/2019	She was one of the family members of <i>Chiqashum</i> in Mulo- <i>Miketel Wäräda</i> . She has a good knowledge on the political history of the <i>wäräda</i> in general.
6	Asrat Hirko	M	77	Ĉanĉo	March 2019 Date 18/2/2019	His oral information on the land tenure system is very important.

7	Bäqqälä Biru	M	75	Lube	March 2019 Date 18/3/2019	He was a family member of Aba Gada in the region. Nodaways he is Aba gada in the Sululta area. He provides important information about the gada system. He shares us good information on public service in the district.
8	Bälächäw Arsadi	M	92	Darba	March 2019 Date 8/3/2019	He has lived for about 48 years in Sululta <i>wäräda</i> . He is a very good informant on historical developments in the <i>wäräda</i> . Additionally, he has valuable information about the Italian rule in the region.
9	Bälächäw Hurrisa	M	82	Wasarbi	March 2019 Date 1/3/2019	He was educated person. He has good information on the history of the <i>wäräda</i> and development of modern education during the period under discussion.
10	Bälächäw Mamo	M	90	Eka Yaya	March 2019 Date 5/3/2019	He has a good informant about the issues of land tenure and taxation in the <i>wäräda</i> .
11	Bashadu Fayisa	F	56	Ĉanço	March 2019 Date 18/2/2019	She is one of the family members of the <i>Qoros</i> in the region. She is well informed oral informant on taxation. Because she heard a lot of information from her father about the period.
12	Beranu Ishetu	M	70	Ĉanço	March 2019 Date 18/3/2019	He is a good informant on the impact of land tenure in the <i>wäräda</i> .
13	Damitu Tola	F	59	Gorfo	March 2019 7/3/2019	She has very crucial information on the taxation system in the <i>wäräda</i> .

14	Dājāne Tägi	M	70	Ĉanço	February 2019 Date 18/2/2019	He is native to the region. He gives relevant information about infrastructural development in the <i>wäräda</i> in the post-liberation period.
15	Ejersa Yadate	M	95	Ĉanço	January 2019 Date 18/2/2019	He is one of elder resident in Sululta Town. His knowledge on administrative history of the <i>wäräda</i> is important.
16	Gāzahign Dägāfa	M	70	Sululta Town	January 2019 Date 23/2/2019	He was one of the family members of the <i>Qoros</i> in Wasarbi <i>Mektel-Wäräda</i> . His information on the political and social development of the district is very crucial.
17	Girma Lägäsä	M	78	Darba	March 2019 Date 8/3/2019	A very knowledgeable informant concerning the impact of taxation on the life of peasants in the <i>wäräda</i> .
18	Girma Yadate	M	69	Gullale	April 2019 Date 4/4/2019	He provides valuable and interesting oral information on the general history of the study area.
19	Guddisa Habebe	M	76	Gorfo	February 2019 7/2/2019	A very knowledgeable informant regarding the impact of the <i>gebbar</i> system and on the life of peasants in the <i>wäräda</i> .
20	Haile Beyene	M	90	Sululta	January 2019 Date 23/2/2019	He has much hearsay knowledge about the early history of the district.
21	Haile Gugse	M	94	Wasarbi	December 2019 Date 1/11/2019	He was one the <i>Qoros</i> in Wasarbi <i>meketel wäräda</i> . He haS a deep knowledge about the administrative and socio-economic history of the <i>wäräda</i> .

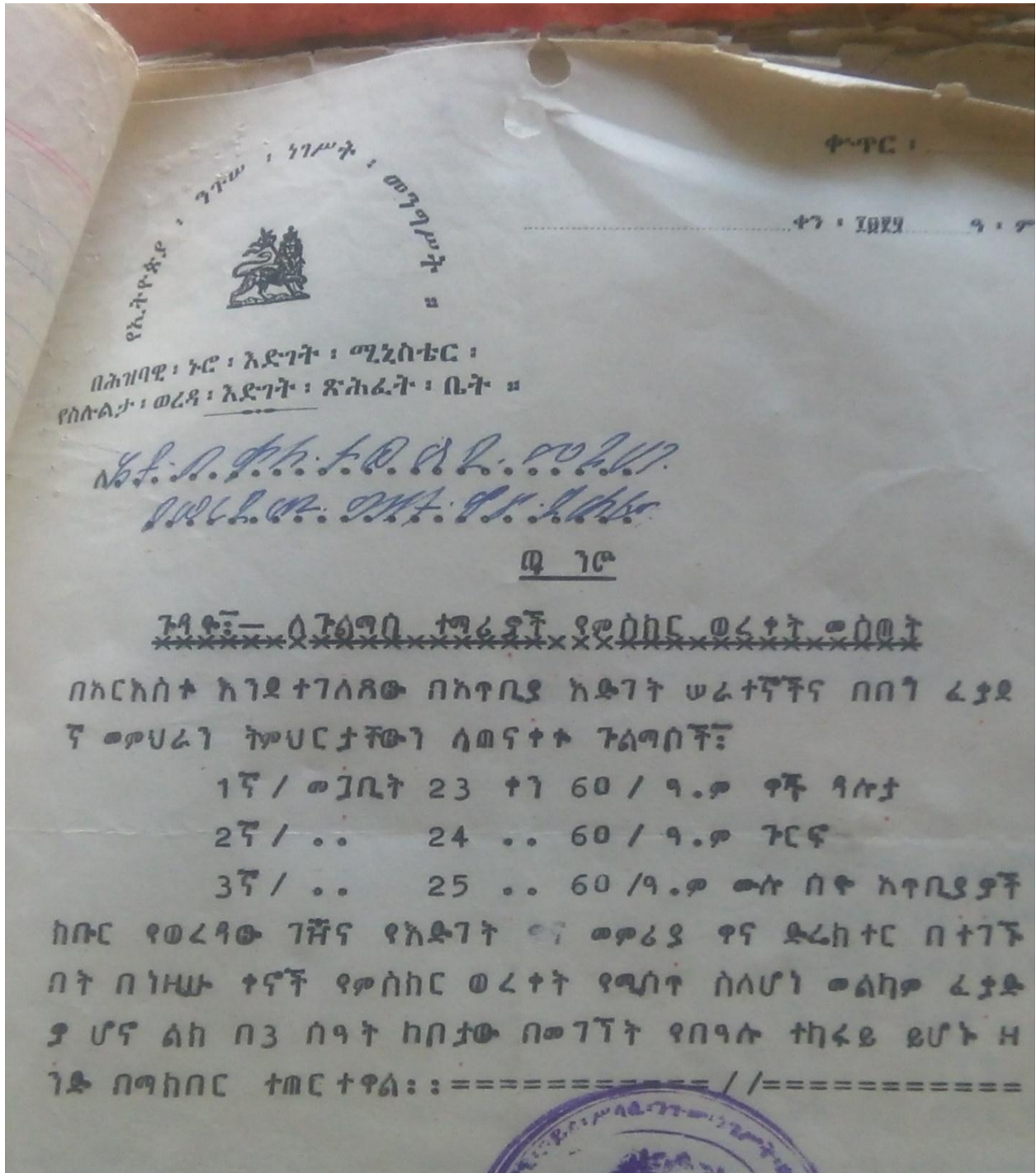
22	Ishetu Käbbädä	M	57	Ĉanço	December 2019 Date 1/11/2019	He was an employee in the <i>wäräda</i> administrative office. He gives good information on the educational and administrative history of the <i>wäräda</i> .
23	Käbbädä Godana	M	83	Wasarbi	February 2019 Date 1/1/2019	He is a grandson of Dadhi Tullu and the Son of Godana. He has quite important oral information on the political situation of the <i>wäräda</i> during the governorship of his grandfather.
24	Käbbädä Täsäma	M	63	Mulo	January 2019 Date 2/2/2019	He provides valuable and interesting oral information on the socio-economic history of the study area.
25	Kätäma Jata	M	68	Ĉanço	January 2019 Date 13/1/2019	He has much hear say knowledge about the early history of the district.
26	Kätäma Satécha	M	73	Ĉanço	January 2019 Date 13/1/2019	His knowledge on the political history and infrastructural development of the <i>wäräda</i> is very important.
27	Mamo Dinagde	M	98	Sululta Town	March 2019 Date 23/2/2019	He gives relevant information on the history of Italian rule in the <i>wäräda</i> .
28	Mamo Hunde	M	87	Ĉanço	March 2019 Date 05/3/2019	He provides a very good information on the issue of land tenure in the <i>wäräda</i> .
29	Mäkonen Dabale	M	75	Darba	May 2019 Date 4/3/2019	He is a knowledgeable informant about the impact of the <i>gebbar</i> system on the life of peasants in the area during the period under discussion.

30	Nadhi Alamu	F	60	Gorfo	March 2019 7/3/2019	She is native to the area. She is well informed oral informant about the socio-economic development in the <i>wäräda</i> .
31	Nigatu Chängare	M	91	Mulo	March 2019 Date 5/3/2019	He is an early resident in Mulo. He gives us relevant information on the history of the Italian in the <i>wäräda</i> .
32	Obse Gutama	F	63	Sululta	March 2019 Date 29/2/2019	She has much hearsay knowledge about the early history of the district.
33	SiméTola	M	75	Kata	February 2019 Date 2/2/2019	He has a very crucial information on the land tenure and taxation during the imperial regime.
34	Täfära Mekuria	M	87	Eka Yaya	April 2019 Date 14/4/2019	He was one of the nobles in Eka Yaya (Ĉanço) area. He knows the amount of salary paid for the government of <i>wäräda</i> and <i>meketel wäräda</i> during the imperial regime.
35	Täsäma Qoricho	M	96	Darba	May 2019 Date 4/3/2019	He has lived for about 59 years in Sululta Darba area. He is a very good informant on the historical and infrastructural development employees in the <i>wäräda</i> .
36	Täsfaye Awulacho	M	92	Moye Gayo	March 2019 Date 22/3/2019	He has lived for about 68 years in Gorfo area. He has a very important information about the administrative system and tenants' life. Because, he was one of the tenants during the period under discussion.
37	Täsfaye Bulbula	M	76	Sululta Town	May 2019 29/2/2019	He is a well informed oral informant on the political and socio-economic development of the <i>wäräda</i> .

38	Täsfaye Hunde	M	78	Ĉanço	March 2019 Date 05/3/2019	His information about political development on the area is very significant.
39	Täsfaye Taddäsä	M	79	Addis Ababa	March 2019 Date 21/3/2019	He has very crucial information on the taxation system during the imperial regime.
40	Tewodros Tamrat	M	86	Ĉanço	March 2019 Date 12/3/2019	He has lived in Sululta <i>wäräda</i> since 1956. His knowledge on administration, social services and infrastructural developments in the <i>wäräda</i> is very important.
41	Tola Koloshe	M	71	Wasarbi	March 2019 Date 1/3/2019	A very knowledgeable informant concerning the impact of the <i>gebbar</i> system and the life of peasants in the area during the period under discussion.
42	Warke Hunde	F	55	Mulo	March 2019 Date 5/3/2019	She gives important information on the life of peasant in the <i>wäräda</i> .
43	Walda Mariam Walda Mikael	M	93	Entoto	March 2019 20/3/2019	He is a priest in Etoto Maryam Church. He has a good knowledge about the establishment of the Church. He also clearly outlines the history of Italian rule in the <i>wäräda</i> .
44	Wude Ararsa	F	58	Beddi	March 2019 19/3/2019	She is a women merchant and gives information on infrastructural development on the <i>wäräda</i> .

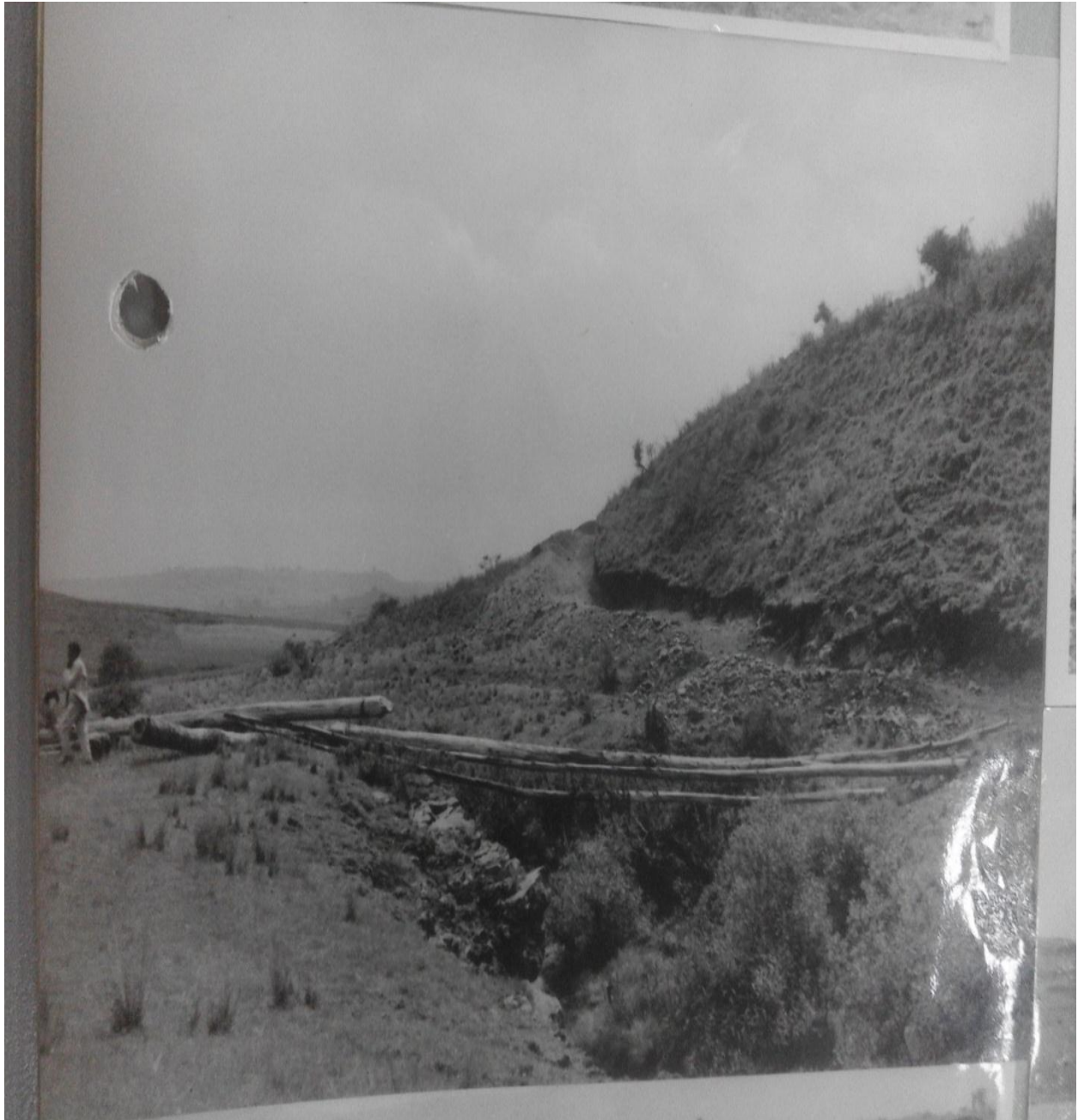
45	Zänäbä Bäqqälä	M	68	Ĉančo	March 2019 Date 12/3/2019	He is an educated person. He served as head of the Education Office of the <i>wäräda</i> during <i>derg</i> regime. He gives relevant information regarding education in the <i>wäräda</i> .
46	Zägäye Asfaw	M	82	Addis Ababa	March 2019 Date 21/3/2019	He is an educated person. He is a family member of Tufa Muna. He is a good informant on the historical developments of Sululta <i>wäräda</i> . Similarly, he gives us valid information about the history of his family.
47	Zenay Gesite	M	84	Ĉančo	March 2019 Date 12/3/2019	He was one of the vice administrators of Mennagesha <i>Awrajja</i> during the imperial regime. In addition, he also served as civil servant in Sululta <i>wäräda</i> during the <i>derg</i> regime. He gives valuable information about administrative and general history of the <i>wäräda</i> .

Appendix A



Report on Adult Education in the wäräda

Appendix B



Sanford's Report on traditional bridge in the study area

Appendix D



Sanford's Report on the improvement of transportation in the *wäräda*, in the early 1960s