

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**GRADUATE PROGRAM**  
**COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

**A HISTORY OF DODOLA DISTRICT, 1910-1991**

**BY**  
**PETROS ARGAW**

**November, 2015**

**Addis Ababa**

**A HISTORY OF DODOLA DISTRICT, 1910-1991**

**BY**

**Petros Argaw**

**Advisor: Mr. David Chapple**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Program of Addis Ababa University in  
Partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in  
History**

**November, 2015**

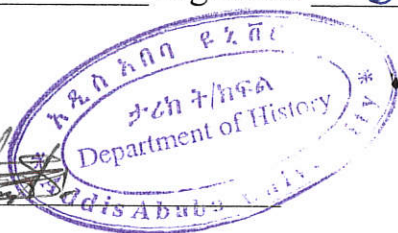
**Addis Ababa University**  
**Graduate Program Office**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Petros Argaw, entitled: "A History of Dodola District, 1910-1991" and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement of the Degree of Master of Arts in History complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner: Manu Hebo Signature [Signature] Date 4/12/2015  
Examiner: Belete Bizneh Signature [Signature] Date 4/12/15  
Advisor: David Chapple Signature [Signature] Date 4/12/2015

Samuel Negoll



Chair of Department or Graduate Program Coordinator



## Table of Contents

Contents	Pages
Acronyms -----	i
Keys to Transliteration Systems-----	ii
Key to Qubee Afaan Oromo -----	iii
Acknowledgements -----	iv
Preface -----	v
Abstract -----	viii
 <b>Chapter One Introduction to Geographical and Historical Background of the Dodola District</b>	
1.1 Geographical background -----	1
1.1.1. Naming and Location-----	1
1.1.2. Landscape and Climate-----	3
1.1.3. Fauna and Flora -----	4
1.2. Population Setting -----	5
1.2.1 Historical Background of the people -----	7
1.3. Imperial Incorporation in1892-----	9
1.4. Traditional Administration, Religion and Traditional Social values and practices-----	13
 <b>Chapter Two the History of Dodola from 1910-1937</b>	
2. Administrative Bureaucracy and Socio-Economic Life-----	18
2.1. Imperial Administration-----	18
2.2. The First Settlement in the Area of the Later Dodola District -----	20
2.2.1. Historical Foundation of Dodola District -----	22
2.3. Land Issues and Subsequent Development-----	26
2.4. Economic Life -----	33
2.4.1. Agriculture-----	33
2.4.2. Pastoralism-----	34
2.4.3. Trade -----	35
2.4.4. Craftsmen-----	37

### **Chapter Three Dodola in the Italian Period 1937-1941**

3.1. The Italian Occupation in Dodola-----	39
3.2. Socio-Economic Conditions-----	44
3.3. Fascist Administration In Dodola -----	45
3.4. Fascist Invasion As a Factor for the Expansion of Islam-----	47

### **Chapter Four Dodola District In the Post-Liberation Period (1941-1974)**

4.1. Post Liberation Administrative Developments in Dodola-----	50
4.2. Land Tenure -----	57
4.3. Maladministration Burdens of Taxations and the Resulting Peasant Protest and Rebellion in Dodola -----	61
4.4. Policy Direction and Agricultural Growth in Dodola -----	70
4.5. Dodola Town as District and Administrative Centre of Gannale <i>Awrajja</i> -----	75
4.5.1. Justice and police -----	76
4.6. Provisions of Social Services in Dodola Town-----	80

### **Chapter Five Dodola From 1974-1991**

5.1. The Ethiopian Revolution and Its Effects In Dodola-----	88
5.2. Land Reform and Agricultural Activities -----	91
5.3. Peasant Associations, Peasant Cooperatives and State Farms-----	94
5.4. Heavy Exaction on Peasant -----	100
5.5. Villagization -----	103
5.6. Conscription of Youngsters for Compulsory Military Service-----	105
5.7. Local Administration During the <i>Därg</i> Rule-----	106
5.8. Dodola Town in the <i>Därg</i> Regime-----	111
5.9. The Downfall of the <i>Därg</i> and Its Results in Dodola-----	114
Conclusion -----	118
Glossary-----	122
Bibliography-----	127
Appendices-----	142

## **Acronyms**

AMC	Agricultural Marketing Corporations
APCs	Agricultural Producers Cooperatives
BDE	Bale Agricultural Enterprise
CSA	Central Statistics Agency
DUPE	Democratic Unity Party of Ethiopia
ENALA	Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
EWCO	Ethiopian Wild Life Conservation
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GTZ	The German Agency for Technical Assistance
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
PAs	Peasant Associations
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
WPE	Ethiopian Workers' Party

## Key to Transliteration Systems

### I. The Seven Sounds of the Ethiopian Alphabets.

Values	Symbol	Example
1st order (ge'ez)	ä	<i>Därg</i>
2nd order (ka'eb)	u	<i>Ayu</i>
3rd order (sales)	i	<i>Iyyasu</i>
4th order (rab'e)	a	<i>Ras</i>
5th order (hames)	é	<i>Qäbälé</i>
6th order (sades)	e	<i>Menilek</i>
7th order (sab'e)	o	<i>Molla</i>

### II. Palatalized Sounds

Symbol	Example
ś	śum
č	Zämäča
ñ	Dägäññä
Ş	Şähay
j	Däjjazmač

### III. Glottalized sources are represented as follows

Symbol	Example
Q	Qäbälé
Ṭ	Ṭäbbäqa
Č	Čiqaśum
Ş	Şähay
P	Péṭros

### IV. Gemination should always be indicated by doubling.

Example	Käbbäda	Tädässä
---------	---------	---------

## Key to Qubee Afaan Oromo

I. Doubling of vowels in Afaan Oromo indicates lengthening of its sounds.

Short	Long	Example
a	aa	Laafaa
e	ee	Ulee
i	ii	Miila
o	oo	Moonaa
u	uu	Muuda

II. Doubling of consonants indicates gemination (stressed) sounds.

Example- Abba  
Miccirra  
Caffee

III. If More than two Vowels appear it must be separated by glottal stop(‘)

Example- Re’ee

IV. There are five paired phonemes in qubee Afaan Oromoo dh, ch, sh, ny, ph. Three of them have English equivalent.

Qubee Afaan Oromo	English	Example
Ch	Ch	Guddifacha
Sh	Sh	Shawa

Other three Dh, Ny and Ph have no English equivalent

Example

Dh- Bedhaso

Ny- Nyaata

Ph-Tapha

## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Mr. David Chapple for his guidance, supervision and constructive criticism. My heartfelt thanks are also extend to Professor Tesema Ta`a who supported me, giving an essential framework for my study. My grateful thanks go also to Dodola District Communication and Office of Government Affairs. I am indebted to my wife, Workinesh Agegnehu, for her vital support in the work on the thesis. Last but not least, I would like to extend my thanks to Kabeto Garjaja who helped me during my fieldwork and to all of my informants who provided me with information while I was conducting this research.

## Preface

The district of Dodola has no comprehensively studied history. This thesis aimed at reconstructing the history of this district from 1910-1991. Some MA and BA theses have been written on economic and social aspects of Dodola, but no one has done comprehensive historical research on the district and town. My thesis covers the history of the period 1910-1991. The year 1910 was the historical foundation of Dodola as a small village. The terminal date 1991 was a turning point, being the end of the military regime and the coming of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Front (EPRDF) to power. This thesis starts from the early years of the foundation of Dodola. Most of the MA theses conducted on *wäräda* history had a similar beginning the Ethiopian liberation, but my study hopes to contribute to the history of Dodola for the period before the Italian occupation and under the Italian occupation.

I have attempted to collect data from informants on the basis of interview questions and discussion. From the Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency I have found essential material mainly concerned with post liberation period on land administration, the prevailing injustice, and peoples' appeal to the central government and the emperor's official visit to Bale. In Woldemeskel Tariku Memorial and Research Center I have got some archival material that deals with issues of land grants and individual cases of appeals related to land confiscation. From the Zonal and *Wäräda* offices and Dodola Municipality I obtained some material on the formation of the peasant associations, cooperatives, and the formation of state farms, the drought and its negative impacts in the *Därg* period after exhaustive efforts. I obtained valuable published and unpublished materials from the Institute of Ethiopian Studies to support my thesis.

There are no archival materials to construct historical events for the years before the Italian invasion and the brief period of Italian occupation. Therefore, for these periods, I have relied mainly on oral sources collected from elders and knowledgeable persons.

For the post-liberation period published, unpublished and archival documents are available. To support events of the *Därg* period it was difficult to get different documents because most of them were burnt when the *Därg* government fell.

Aiming to overcome the barrier of information, I made efforts to select appropriate informants, evaluating their background anxiously and cross-checking the collected data with available archival and secondary sources. This thesis was thus developed using archives, oral informants, reports, bulletins, theses, articles, journals and published books.

The distance from Addis Ababa University created a difficulty to contact my advisor frequently and to use properly libraries for the secondary sources. My study area, the Dodola district, is fifty six kilometers from Kofele, the place where I do my regular job. In my fieldwork, selecting informants from different *qäbälès* was a time consuming task. I moved about to find informants to get first hand data to support my thesis. This repeated journey demanded more finance than I expected. Moreover, time constraint due to my teaching work in Kofele was the main challenge in the work of my thesis.

The first chapter gives an overview on the background of the Dodola district. The people, geographical location, imperial incorporation and values and traditional administration are discussed. The second chapter is a historical analysis of the early formation of Dodola. In the third chapter I have attempted to describe the history of the Italian period using informants, published and unpublished sources.

The fourth chapter briefly covers the period from the Ethiopian liberation, 1941, to the end of the monarchical rule in Ethiopia. Problems of land tenure, heavy taxation and the related feudal burdens are discussed in this part. The intensity of the Bale Peasant Rebellion in Dodola is another issue given a due emphasis in this section.

The last chapter deals with the period of the *Därg* rule. This section covers the socio-economic and political transformation in Ethiopia. The new socialist philosophy altered the social, economic and political life of Ethiopians. This period was full of tension caused by the state itself. Thus, dissatisfaction was first provoked by the authorities themselves. Then the military government used harsh compulsion. A forced villagization program was one of the policies that the people intensely disliked in Dodola. The cruel punishments and Red Terror were also among the major sources of dissatisfaction in the district. As a result, when the EPRDF forces occupied Dodola the people welcomed them.

## ***Abstract***

*This thesis reconstructs the administrative and socio-economic history of Dodola wäräda from 1910-1991. The thesis covers the period from the formation of Dodola as small village in 1910 to the downfall of the military government in 1991.*

*The first chapter deals with the background of the Mando Arsi Oromo people, the area and the historical features of the population. The pre-existing egalitarian administration and social values of the people are major components of this section.*

*The second chapter discussed the imperial incorporation a new form of administration which was alien to the Arsi people. But gradually the people adapted themselves to this feudal mode of administration. The formation of Dodola town as the administrative centre brought some important change to the area. Dodola became one of the centers for Government administration in the Gedab area.*

*The third chapter focused on the period of Italian occupation. The Italians occupied Dodola in 1937. They faced a little resistance from the people. Fascist invaders at first exerted harsh treatments but gradually followed a more "liberal" approach in Dodola. Dodola was one of the *rezidenza* (districts) in Goba Commissariato (province). The Fascists were positive to the Oromos but not to the settlers. However, they could not easily win the support of the local people. While they were in Dodola the Italians gave special privileges to Muslims to gain support from them. Finally fascist occupation to Dodola ended in 1941 and their collaborators (*bandas*) were strongly blamed among the people for their betrayal.*

*The fourth chapter mainly discussed the post-liberation period and the status of Dodola that grew as wäräda and then the centre of Gännale awrajja. Hence, Dodola became a center for those wärädas in the Gedab area namely Adaba, Kokkosa, Nansabo and Dodola itself. Although different reforms were issued after 1941, the imperial rule in this period was still unjust to the people. Thus, in Dodola land confiscation, the *qälad* system, the increasing taxation and the external influence from the Somali Republic produced protest against the state in the 1960s. Hence, the Arsi Oromo of Dodola were also active participants in the Bale peasant rebellion.*

*Transition from feudal rule to the Därg regime benefited the local population in socio-economic reforms. However the socialist political economy then systematically oppressed the people. The cooperatives and then the abruptly launched Villagization program were oppressive policies enacted by the Därg. Finally at the end of the last chapter I describe the events in Dodola district and the town which accompanied the fall of the Därg regime and the establishment of EPRDF rule in 1991.*

## Chapter One

### 1. Introduction to Geographical and Historical Background of Dodola District

#### 1.1. Geographical Background

##### 1.1.1 Naming and Location

It is very difficult to get acceptable evidence for the origin of the name Dodola. People have usually associated the name Dodola with Tullu Dodola (Mount Dodola) without any good reason.<sup>1</sup>

Some Arsi elders associate the name Dodola with a religious origin. They argue that there were two mountains named by *Sheik* Hussein on his journey to Bale. These were Dadala and Dodola. Dadala mountain was in Bale near Dire Sheik Hussein whereas Mount Dodola is the present site of Tullu Dodola. But this appears an unreliable mythical explanation especially as *Sheik* Hussein did not ever stay around Dodola mountain and become the statement in the tradition that mountains moved with *Sheik* Hussein. The tradition cannot be regarded as historical<sup>2</sup>

Another explanation about the origin of the name Dodola relates to the sixteenth century Oromo population expansion. There was an anonymous Hadiya man. The man was living around Dodola mountain before the Oromo expanded to the area. According to this tradition, he resisted the newcomer Oromos. At the beginning he effectively resisted the Oromos penetrating to the area. This person had better knowledge of the place, than the Oromos had.<sup>3</sup>

The Oromo people confronted the man in the present area of mount Dodola (Tullu Dodola). When the Oromos approached this place he cut off their hands or at least injured them so that they said *nu doddole* (which means, “He injured us”) and then they immediately retreated. They

---

<sup>1</sup> Dodola *Wäräda* Administration, Office of Communication and Government Affairs, “Profile of Dodola District”(Dodola, 2006),p.3.

<sup>2</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Hussein Jawo.

<sup>3</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Obbo* Hussein Galchu and *Obbo* Kasim Nägash.

frequently attempted to occupy the plains around the mountain. Finally, the Oromos consolidated their power and totally destroyed the man and all his relatives. Thus, the name Dodola for the mountain originated from this event associated with an act of injury, *nu Doddole*. Therefore, the incoming Oromos called this mountain Tullu Dodola (Mount Dodola). Hence, the name Dodola came from this event.<sup>4</sup> Then the Oromo people began to settle in the area around the mountain which later became the origin for the name of the present day Dodola town and the district.<sup>5</sup> This is the main oral tradition concerning the origin of the name Dodola. There is nothing except oral tradition to explain the name and this seems the most acceptable of the two traditions.

The naming for the present Dodola district was adopted from a man whose name was Dodola. He inherited this name from Mount Dodola and lived on the territory where the present Dodola district was founded. The beginning of the present form of settlement began on the land of this man.<sup>6</sup> We should also remember that the name Dodola and Gadeb are interchangeably used for the same area. The name Gadeb comes from a tradition that a man of Hadiya lived there and defended the area from the Oromos, saying “Gadabicho” in the period of their expansion.<sup>7</sup>

Dodola is found in Oromia Regional State, West Arsi Zone, in the Gadeb area (the upper Wabe Shebelle). The district was previously in Bale province from 1960 to 2006. After the administrative rearrangement of 2006, it became part of the present West Arsi Zone. It shares boundaries with Hasasa in the north, Adaba in the east, Nansabo in the south, Kokossa in the

---

<sup>4</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Obbo* Burka Chukuru and *Obbo* Kabe Wayu.

<sup>5</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Jawo and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja.

<sup>6</sup> Lataa Bedhaaso, “Tiinxala Moggasa Maqaa Manneen Daldalaa Magaalaa Dodolaa” (BA Thesis, Department of Afaan Oromo, Addis Ababa University, 2003), p.1.

<sup>7</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Obbo* Mohammed Tenna and *Obbo* Hussein Jawo.

west and Kofele in the north west . Dodola is the name for both the district and its capital.<sup>8</sup> It is located 320 kilometers south east of Addis Ababa and 75 km from the present zonal capital, Shashemene.<sup>9</sup>

The district is connected with Addis Ababa through Assela and Shashemene by an asphalt road. Before 1991 roads connecting places in the district were limited. Most of them served mainly in the dry season. However, at present the district is connected with the neighboring *wärädas* by all weather roads.<sup>10</sup>

Dodola *wäräda* is located at an average altitude of 2400 meters above sea level. It lies between 6° 58` N latitude and 39° 10` E longitude.<sup>11</sup>

### 1.1.2. Landscape and Climate

The topography of the district is characterized by flat plains and small mountains rising from the plains. The most prominent peaks are Mt Ilale (3655m), Mt. Korduro (3625) and Mt. Somkeru (3753m). There are also plateaus stretching out in the parts of the low lying Gedab plains and its land feature is otherwise characterized by gentle slopes.<sup>12</sup>

The district has abundant underground and surface water resources. Seasonal small streams and big rivers are significantly available in the district.<sup>13</sup> Kerensa, Ukuma , Negesso, Meribo and Gude Yerso are among those rivers in the district. They are tributaries of the Wabe Shebelle river

---

<sup>8</sup> Council of Oromia Regional State, Physical Planning and Economic Department, *Physical and Socio-Economic Profiles of 180 Districts of Oromia Region* (Finfinne : Physical Planning and Economic Department, 2000),p.59; Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Jawo and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja

<sup>9</sup> Dodola Municipality, *Maxansa Adda* ( Hawasa: A Bulletin Produced by Sky Printing Press, October 2013),pp.4-5.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*,p.2 ; Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Mohammed and *Obbo* Tufa Galchu.

<sup>11</sup> Ethiopian Meteorological Service, *Meteorological Map of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Meteorological Agency,1979),p.37.

<sup>12</sup> Council of Oromia Regional State,p.59.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*; Dodola Municipality,p.3.

and they supply Melka Wakena Hydroelectric power plant. The cool (alpine) and the temperate climatic zones cover 1% and the 99% of the district respectively. The Wabe Shebelle Basin is part of the intermediate (*Badda-dare* or *Wäyña Däga*) climatic zone that covers about 8% of the district. Thus, the district is in the intermediate climatic zone which is suitable for the production of livestock and cereal crops. The soils are volcanic in origin mainly from basalt and tujjs. There is also a mixture of silt and clay soils.<sup>14</sup>

The average annual rainfall in average amounts to 800-1200mm, which supplies sufficient water for farming. The highest rainfall is recorded between June and September. The temperature becomes high in March, April and May. The average annual temperature in average varies between 14<sup>0</sup>C and 17<sup>0</sup>C and is higher in the southern and eastern parts of the district. The rainy season starts from June and ends in September.<sup>15</sup>

### 1.1.3. Fauna and Flora

The district has a variety of wild life and vegetation. Monkey, warthog, fox, greater kudu, bush duiker and leopard are animal species living in the forest land of the district. However, there is no reserved area for wild life conservation. Natural vegetation and man-made forests exist in the district. The data gained from the Oromia regional state show that 69,676 hectares of land are covered by natural vegetation and 1224 hectares of forests are planted by man.<sup>16</sup> Among plant species, the area is renowned for its montane coniferous forests and juniper trees (*juniperous procera*) which are predominant over other species. The greater area covered by the Dodola-Adaba protected forest also lies in Dodola district. It had been producing a great amount of forest

---

<sup>14</sup> Council of Oromia Regional State, pp.59-60; Dodola *wäräda* Administration, p.3.

<sup>15</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, *Protection and Management of Natural Forest* (Frankfurt: Hartwig Ungethum, 1990), p.3.

<sup>16</sup> Council of Oromia Regional State, p.59.

products since 1962 and later on it was raised to a forest priority area in 1988. Doda, Geneta, Serofta, Leliso, Kora, Comishello and Duja are forested *qäbälés* as part of the protected forest priority areas. This forest area has had great social and economic value as discussed in the fifth chapter of my thesis.<sup>17</sup>

## **1.2. Population Setting**

Bale, which included Dodola, was under the administrative control of Hararge from Menilik's conquest in 1892 to 1960. Thus, its distance from the administrative centre held back economic development. The availability of social services was deficient for many years in the area.<sup>18</sup>

The pattern of population settlement in Bale was largely determined by climatic variations. In the highland areas the population density in the 1994 census reached about 20 persons per square kilometer. Dodola is one of areas where the highest density of population has been registered in Bale. The presence of cultivable land and a conducive climatic condition are among the major factors that attracted permanent agricultural settlement in the district.<sup>19</sup>

The Oromos are the numerically dominant people in Dodola, living together with other ethnic groups. The 1994 census report indicated that about 95% of the population were Oromos and 5% were Amhara, Gurage, Sidama, Walayta, Tigre and other nationalities. In terms of religious composition the majority of the people in Dodola were and are Muslims. Ethiopian Orthodox

---

<sup>17</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE, p.3.

<sup>18</sup> Solomon Korsä, "Rural Land Distribution and Management in the Highland Bale: A Study of Goba, Dodola and Sinana 1975-1991" (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2005), p.5 ; Margery Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1948), pp.288-293.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel Derresa, "Continuity and Change in the Status of Women: the Case of Arsi Oromo Living Adjacent to Upper Wabe Valley, Dodola" (MA Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University, 2002), p.21.

Christians, Protestants, Catholics and followers of traditional religion are also exercised in the district. But, in Dodola more than 96 percent of the Oromos were followers of Islam.<sup>20</sup>

The 1994 House and Population Census of Ethiopia shows that in the district total population reached 126,495 with 61,125 males and 65,370 females. The rural population amounted to 109,519 of whom 52,903 were males and 56,616 females in the thirty-eight peasant associations. The urban population in Dodola town was 16,976 among whom 8,222 were males and 8,754 females.<sup>21</sup>

The 1994 figures available are the population number for the years after my thesis.<sup>22</sup> The population of Dodola must have been not so great between 1910-1991, because population figures have increased all over Ethiopia in the twentieth century except perhaps temporarily in some areas in time of war, famine and probably epidemics. Population number in Dodola in the earlier years of my thesis period was certainly considerably less and has grown to the present figure. However, there are no definite figures available.

According to the 1995 Oromia Region's administrative restructuring, Dodola has a total of 38 *qäbälés*. After the administrative rearrangement of 2006, the district became part of the present West Arsi Zone.<sup>23</sup> Residents of the town comprise merchants, government employees and farmers. The number of newcomers to Dodola is increasing due to the growing trade, production of cereal crops and the good climatic conditions.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE,p.7.

<sup>21</sup> Central Statistical Agency, *House and Population Census of Ethiopia*. Vol. 1, Part I, 1994,p.212 ; Daniel, "Continuity and Change .....",p.22.

<sup>22</sup> Informants: *Ato* Solomon HaileMariam and *Obbo* Kasim Nägash.

<sup>23</sup> Council of Oromia Regional State,p.59.

<sup>24</sup> Bulchiinsa Magaalaa Dodolaa, "Karoora fi Tarsiimoo Bulchiinsa Magaalaa Dodolaa, Bara 1998-2000" (Dodola, 1998 E.C/2006),pp.2-3.

### 1.2.1. Historical Background of the People

The Oromo people are numerous and have lived both in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa for a very long time. They have common ancestry, language and territory.<sup>25</sup> According to Braukamper the original homeland of the Oromo people was located in the highland area between the area occupied by Gedeo to the Upper Dawa in the west and the Gannale valley in the east.<sup>26</sup> Different views have been put forward on the original homeland of the Oromos before their expansion in the sixteenth century. However, many scholars have agreed that the original home of the Oromos was in the cool highlands of Bale specifically MaddaWalaabu.<sup>27</sup>

The Arsi Oromos are the largest among the Barentu confederacy. The territory inhabited by the Arsi Oromo stretches to Tullama and Ania (Harar) in the north, to the Somali inhabited Ogaden areas in the east, to Borena in the South and to Sidama and Gedeo in the West.<sup>28</sup>

According to the Arsi tradition, a man called Arse had begotten two sons; Sikko and Mando. They in turn begot twelve children of whom seven belonged to Mando. These twelve sons are fathers of all Arsi Oromos living in today's Arsi and Bale. When the Sikko lineage group left for the present Arsi territory, the sons of Mando remained in Bale. Hence, the Arsi Oromos living to the south of the Wabe Shebelle river usually distinguished themselves as the Mando cluster (see appendix I) and considered the Wabe Shebelle river as the distinct boundary with the Sikko. Nevertheless, a significant number of Sikko and Mando groups inhabited both sides of the

---

<sup>25</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change..."p.23.

<sup>26</sup> Ulrich Braukamper, "Oromo Country of Origin." *In Proceedings of the Sixth International Conferences of Ethiopian Studies of Ethiopian Studies, Tel Aviv April 14-17* (Boston: A.A Belkema,1986),p.35.

<sup>27</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change..."p.23; Paul B. Henze, *Layers of Time. A History of Ethiopia* (London: Hurst and Company,2000),p.261.

<sup>28</sup> Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau, *Seenaa Oromoo hanga Jaarraa 16<sup>ffa</sup>tti, Seecii Lammaffaa* (Finfinnee: Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau, 2013),p.242.

Wabe River in Bale and the Arsi proper.<sup>29</sup> The cultural setup, religion, socio- economic and political life shared between the Sikko and Mando ascertain that Oromos living in Bale and Arsi have a common ancestry and consider themselves as sons of one father. Thus, all Arsi Oromos are traditionally believed to be the descendents of the two brothers who gave rise to the Oromo people inhabiting the present day Bale, Arsi, parts of Shoa and Sidama.<sup>30</sup>

The upper Wabe Shebelle area shares a boundary with southern Arsi and the Sidama in its south western edge. This area was exclusively the north western Bale. It was named after the Wabe Shebelle river that makes a great basin in the area and its source starts near Dodola. This part of Bale is usually called Gedab.<sup>31</sup> Gedab refers to the area presently covered to the north west of Kato Mountain (Sesibe Washa) to the Wabe River. Adaba and Dodola belong to this specific place but people usually use this name for the Dodola district.<sup>32</sup>

The district is surrounded by mountains on the side of Bale zone. During the medieval period, the area of present Dodola *Wäräda* is believed to have been part of the Hadiya Sultanate. To support this premise, Terje asserted that a Cushitic speaking cluster, the Hadiya-Sidama groups, were occupying the area early before the Arsi Oromos. Therefore, in Gedab area the Hadiya

---

<sup>29</sup>Abdurahaman Kabeto, "Allo Arsi: The Institution of Customary Laws in the Upper WabeShebelle Region" (BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1991),pp.3-5.

<sup>30</sup> Abdurahaman,pp.4-5; Informants: *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro and *Obbo* Kedir Mohammed.

<sup>31</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE,p.3.

<sup>32</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abdurahaman Tufa and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro; Richard Pankhurst, Ahmed Zakaria and Tadesse Beyene, "An Overview of Stone Age Sites of Gadeb, Melka Konture and Beseka: Ethiopia " *Proceedings of the First National Conference of Ethiopian Studies , April 11-12,1990* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1990),p.273.

traits can still be identified among some Oromo clans such as Doda, Chatimana, Adamonye and Woshermina as similar names are found in Hadiya.<sup>33</sup>

It is not necessary to enter into the debate on pre-Oromo settlement for the purpose of my thesis. As stated above, the great majority of the present inhabitants of Dodola are Oromo, who regard themselves as belonging to the following major clans: Rayya, Hawaxu, Kajawa, Wanama, Uta, Wayu, and Biltu (Haroji). These clans are commonly known as the families of Mandoyu (Mando families).<sup>34</sup>

The strong unity and life in a common manner assure inter-clan relationship and cohesion among Arsi Oromos living in Dodola. Moreover, 'Arsoma' (Arsihood) is a welcoming term and a binding force for the existing bond. The Dodola Arsi Oromo kinship structure is analogous to the whole of the Oromo nation, characterized by patrilineal organization. They are organized on the basis of blood relationship. However, the kinship structure does not only depend on blood ties but also incorporates non-kins into their descent line through *guddifacha* (adoption) and *moggaafacha* (assimilation). The Dodola Arsi Oromo organized its kinship structure into five levels: *Mana/ Warra* (Family), *Ardaa* (minor lineage), *balbala* (lineage) and *Gosa* (clan).<sup>35</sup>

### 1.3. Imperial Incorporation in 1892

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a remarkable process of the expansion of the Ethiopian empire. From 1870-1900 larger territories in the southern, south west and south

---

<sup>33</sup> Terje Østebø, *A History of Islam and Inter-Religious Relations in Bale: Ethiopia* (Stockholm: Uppsala University Press, 2005), pp.9-14; J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p.91.

<sup>34</sup> Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau, pp.233-234; Informants: *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro, *Obbo* Gemechu Roba and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

<sup>35</sup> Ayalew Duressa, "Guddifachaa: Adoption Practice in Oromo Society with Particular Reference to the Borana Oromo" (MA Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University, June 2002), p.90; Informants: *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro, *Obbo* Burka Chukuru and *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo.

eastern regions were incorporated into the Ethiopian state. These parts of the country comprised diverse nationalities and a very large number of population living under their traditional administration.<sup>36</sup>

In the period before the imperial conquest, the Bale region was a self-governing entity. The submission of Bale was preceded by the complete imperial control of Arsi region in 1881.<sup>37</sup>

The process of imperial incorporation and the Great Famine were two of the major internal events in Ethiopia in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The Great Famine was a drastic event that caused the death of large numbers of people and cattle.<sup>38</sup> Although the degree of its occurrence was different from one place to another, in Dodola also a severe famine occurred in this period. It was a serious challenge for the people to maintain their former condition of life because death and great loss of property led to a moral crisis. The people of Bale including Dodola encountered another challenge immediately after the Great Famine. This was the problem of an epidemic of smallpox. This disease continued for about one year.<sup>39</sup>

The process of incorporation and inclusion of Bale to the central state first took place from the direction of Arsi, Dida`a. It was started in 1891. The imperial forces could not easily overrun the Bale areas. Lenjiso Diga from the Koloba clan organized the people and resisted the incoming forces of Menilek that entered via Dida`a. The resistance under Lenjiso could not withstand the

---

<sup>36</sup> Donald Crummey, *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: Illinois University Press, 2000), p.223.

<sup>37</sup> Mindaye Abebe, "The Oromo of Bale: A Historical Survey to 1974" (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2005), p.44.

<sup>38</sup> Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution* (London: Merlin Press, 1975), p.102.

<sup>39</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hasen Lencho , *Obbo* Chako Wako and *Obbo* Mekonnen Hasen.

superior arms of the imperial force. Lenjiso was defeated and the people who supported him gave up resistance and the forces of emperor could advance into Bale.<sup>40</sup>

A Wollo *Sheik*, Buśari, who came to Bale was preaching Islam. However, it is also reported that using this mission he gave intelligence to Menilek in Bale. He served in the army of *Ras Darge* as a soldier during the campaign to Arsi and was awarded a title, *Fitawrari*. After the submission of Arsi, *Ras Darge* led his troops, who were mainly of Amhara origin, and mobilized them to Bale in October 1891. Crossing the Wabe River they camped in the south around Malka Querele usually called by the local people Malka Amara (the river of Amhara). Then *Ras Darge* sent an ultimatum and demanded representatives of Mando and Sikko to acknowledge his total control over the area.<sup>41</sup>

Two prominent clan leaders are always remembered in connection with the imperial conquest of Bale. These were Kabir Huba of the Koloba Clan and Watte Debu of the Kadu clan. In 1891 when *Ras Darge* directed his soldiers towards Bale he immediately met these two individuals. As the complete surrender of Arsi was known, Kabir Huba was eager to submit to *Ras Darge*. He assured *Ras Darge* the willingness of all the clans of the Bale Oromo to accept imperial control. This promise eroded people's vigor to resist the incoming imperial forces and has not been forgotten by Bale Oromos.<sup>42</sup>

Incorporation to the Ethiopian state was inevitable. The imperial force headed by *Ras Darge* and his son Asfaw Darge mobilized soldiers to Dodola area from Gata. There was a small scale resistance in Dodola against the imperial incorporation though it ended without success. The people did not firmly resist the imperial force since they were in dilemma whether to wage war

---

<sup>40</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Hussein Jawo.

<sup>41</sup> Mindaye, p.48; Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Galchu and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim.

<sup>42</sup> Terje, p.33; Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro.

or make peaceful submission. Therefore, the forces of *Ras Darge* could easily overrun the area without much resistance from the people.<sup>43</sup>

After imperial incorporation all the Arsi clans of Gedab area accepted the conquerors. In return the conquerors acknowledged Bui Falama, a local notable who had negotiated on behalf of the Dodola people, as administering *balabat* in Gedab (Adaba, Dodola and Hasasa) and Alaba (the present Kokossa and Nansabo) areas. This area covers from the Kato mountain in the east to the border of Sidama in the west. It was demarcated by the Wabe Shebelle river in the north.<sup>44</sup>

The imperial conquest was completed in July 1892. Like most of the Bale areas, incorporation of Dodola to the Ethiopian empire was achieved through diplomatic persuasion and military and political pressure. In general most of the Oromo leaders in Bale also peacefully submitted to the imperial force, to avoid defeat and devastation. A military expedition and diplomatic action under *Ras Darge SehaleSillasie* and his son *Däjjazmač Asfaw Darge* successfully conquered the area.<sup>45</sup>

The Dodola area became the main gate for the *Näftäñña* settlers to occupy the whole Bale area. Therefore, the people of the district faced every imposition of the conquerors and were exposed to the newly introduced socio-economic and political system before any of the other Bale Oromos.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Jawo , *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Gemechu Roba.

<sup>44</sup> Terje ,p.35; Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo.

<sup>45</sup> Mindaye,p.44 ; Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Chako Wako.

<sup>46</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Yaya Kasim, *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Obbo* Gemechu Roba.

#### 1.4. Traditional Administration, Religion and Traditional Social Values and Practices

The *Gada* system is a system of classes based on age, so that power holders succeed each other every eight years. *Gada* principles have some important structures comparable to modern government administrative institutions. The Barentu Oromos practiced the *gada* system in their social, economic and political life.<sup>47</sup> Prior to incorporation by the imperial state, the Arsi people of Dodola were governed by an *Abba Bokku* (holder of the scepter).<sup>48</sup>

Power holders assumed military, economic, political and ritual responsibilities for a limited term of office. The elected individuals served only for eight years and would be replaced by newly elected officials. *Abba Gada* or *Abba Bokku*, *Abba Seera* (head of judiciary) and *Abba Duula* (war leader) were important officials and posts in *gada* administration. Leaders at each level were elected on the basis of their achievements and their contributions in the society.<sup>49</sup>

The *gada* system was suffering from multifaceted factors for change in the late nineteenth century. The problem of the Great Famine (1888-1892) undermined *gada* practices in Dodola. Another scourge besides the Great Famine was the epidemic of smallpox (*gifira*). This disease was spreading throughout Dodola in 1892.<sup>50</sup>

The *gada* system revived after these subsequent events but faced other challenges. The conquest of the Ethiopian imperial state reduced the importance of this egalitarian institution. The Oromo *gada* system and its role become minimal. In addition to the Islamic and Christian pressures, it was downgraded by the new imperial feudal bureaucracy. Nevertheless, the *gada* system did not

---

<sup>47</sup> Asmerom Legesse, *Gada. Three Approaches to the Study of African Societies* (New York: The Free Press, 1973), p.8.

<sup>48</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Gemmechu Roba.

<sup>49</sup> Asmerom, p.8; Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro, *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim.

<sup>50</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

entirely disappear. It continued among the Oromo people of Dodola as a guiding principle in their socio-political, cultural and economic life.<sup>51</sup>

The Arsi Oromo of Dodola are among the few Oromos who still practice *gada* administration. However, after incorporation the traditional leaders became co-opted by the imperial administration, so that *gada* as a governing system dwindled. The Oromo clans in Dodola found themselves taxpaying *gäbbar*, inferior to and dependent on the new rulers. The amount of tributes that the *gäbbar* were paying to landlords depended on their number of livestock. A new economic structure and the centralized system replaced to a large extent the former *gada* institution.<sup>52</sup>

The imperial incorporation not only negatively influenced the political, socio-economic and cultural life of the indigenous people, but was also viewed as an attack against their religion. The people had previously practiced the traditional religion *Waaqeffanna*, and only a few had accepted Islam. As compared to Christianity, Islam had been spreading to a limited extent among the Oromos in Dodola because it could go along with the Oromo religious and cultural practices.<sup>53</sup> The people of Dodola were agro-pastoralists and consumed mainly animal products. The coming of the Amhara conquerors forced them, if they became Christian, to fast from animal products but this was difficult for the people as compared to fasting in Islam.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Abdurhaman, p.1; Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja; Daniel, "Continuity and Change ...", p.32; Trimmingham, p.191.

<sup>52</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change ...", p.36; Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Haji Gobu.

<sup>53</sup> Terje, pp.38-40; Informant: *Obbo* Kedir Mohammed.

<sup>54</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Chako Wako and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

The Dodola Arsi Oromos have a similar world view with other Oromo groups. Hence, the pre-Islamic and pre-Christian religion of the Oromo was *Waaqeffata*. They believe in *Waaq* or the sky God. They neither went to churches nor mosques.<sup>55</sup>

Many Arsi Oromos made annual pilgrimage to the *Abba Muudaa* (father of anointment) of Dallo who was given the name *Waayuu Godaa*. There, they prayed for the prosperity of Oromo land. The *Abba Muudaa* anointed and blessed the *jilas* (pilgrims) and advised them to maintain peace among the Oromos. When they came back to their locality the *jilas* would ask the people to pray for the well-being of the society. The *jilas* gave thanks to *Waaq*, prayed and sanctified the people by the virtue of the blessing they had received from the *Abba Muudaa*. Prayers and blessings were carried out with symbolic use of grass, water and earth.<sup>56</sup>

In Dodola Islam and Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity became widely exercised after the Ethiopian liberation of 1941 and *Waaqeffanna* is limited to only a few people today. The majority of followers of Christianity are found in the town of Dodola and other small towns in the district, in Serofta, Heraro, Qechema, Negelle Meexxama, Edo and other small rural towns. A very small number are also living in the countryside. Thus, the greater number of population in the rural areas of the district are Muslims.<sup>57</sup>

The Oromo people had their own particular methods of administering justice. They deliberated decisions based on the level of complexity of different matters. However, in all cases negotiation

---

<sup>55</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change ....",p.48; Informants : *Obbo Usman Bati, Obbo Gemmechu Roba* and *Obbo Hajaro Lugamo*.

<sup>56</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change ...",pp.48-51; Ayalew, p.34; Informants: *Obbo Gemechu Roba* and *Obbo Hasen Lencho*; Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990),p.8.

<sup>57</sup> Dodola Municipality, p.3.

would be held first to ensure an optimum solution as well as binding agreements.<sup>58</sup> *Gumaa* was an essential element of the *gada* system, functioning to handle fairly and resolve conflicts before they escalated. As part of *gada* principles *gumaa* was serving to ensure justice among the Oromos.<sup>59</sup>

In Dodola also this customary law contributed to resolve controversies, avoiding the breakdown of social values and minimizing socially prohibited acts. This institution enabled correction of wrong deeds mainly murder and commonly called blood reparation. The *gumaa* system was based on mediation by elders and compensation for wrongs, paid in money or in kind.<sup>60</sup>

In Arsi tradition the *Abba Bokku* and other tribal elders were responsible for securing peace in society through mediation and arbitration. Following a wrongdoer confessing his wrongful act, the elders concluded an investigation and came to a decision which the criminal accepted. After sacrificing a heifer, reconciliation of the criminal and the person or family he had victimized would be concluded in the final peace settlement. Thus, it involved cultural and ritual activities.<sup>61</sup>

In *gumaa* tradition women were not liable to punishment under the *gumaa* principles, even though they had committed an offence in the society. The society claimed that “*Dubartiin jilba hin guuttu*”(women are not fit for mediation). The husband would be presented at the trial on behalf of his wife and the husband followed all the *gumaa* process. Thus, no one would take acts of revenge against women because it was believed that a woman lived under the protection of her husband. If a daughter or small son did the wrong deeds, the father would be penalized on behalf

---

<sup>58</sup> Alemayhu Haile and Boshi Gonfa, *The History of Oromo to the Sixteenth Century* (Finfinne : np,1998),p.229.

<sup>59</sup> Abdurhaman,p.2; Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama, *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid and *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed.

<sup>60</sup> Adem Geleto, “ Customary Laws as Conflicts Management Institution. The case of *Gumaa* in the Oromo of Kofele District” (BA Thesis , Department of History, Dire Dawa University, June 2011),pp.9-11; Informant: *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro.

<sup>61</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Ibrahim Tola.

of his children. Physical injuries such as cutting ears, breaking legs and teeth, blows to the eyes and injuries to the skull, destroying properties by fire and stealing horses and oxen was liable to be administered by *Gumaa Fakki* (minor rules than *gumaa*).<sup>62</sup>

Cooperative working was and still is among the values of Oromo society. *Debo* or *Jiga* (traditional cooperation) are common to them.<sup>63</sup> This cooperation created long existing ties among families and in the neighborhood. Male partners in different farming activities and females in domestic work cooperate to make the work easy.<sup>64</sup> Ketebo has asserted that social values like *Debo (Jiga)* maintained physical labor cooperation for difficult work among the Arsi Oromos and they helped each other. Traditional cooperation also took the form of different associations for the betterment of the society.<sup>65</sup>

## Summary and Conclusion

Dodola district and Dodola town are situated in former Bale. They are mostly in the temperate zone with abundant water and good soil. The population has long been predominantly Oromo. Dodola was incorporated in to the Ethiopian empire in 1892 with little resistance. The *gada* system then declined (but survives up to a point in Dodola district) and imperial administration and oppression followed. The traditional *waaqeffanna* also declined as people adopted Islam or some, Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity.

---

<sup>62</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro, *Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro.

<sup>63</sup> *Balamberas Jabesa Ejeta, Yä Oromo Biher Achir Tarik* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1982),p.199. *Debo* is common among the Oromos. It is known by different names to the Oromos living in the west, east, south and north of the region: *Jiga* in Arsi and Bale, *Guza in Harar* all are referring to this traditional cooperation(see *Jebesa*,pp.199-205).

<sup>64</sup> *Jabesa*,p.199.

<sup>65</sup> Ketebo Abdiyo, "A Historical Survey of Arsi-Oromo ca1910-1974" (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1999),p.83. ; Informants : *Obbo* Chako Wako and *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid.

## Chapter Two

### Dodola from 1910-1937

#### 2. Administrative Bureaucracy and Socio-Economic Life

##### 2.1. Imperial Administration

The imperial expansion to Bale was basically motivated by Menilek's desire for political incorporation and controlling the resources of the region.<sup>1</sup> After establishing relative political stability in all conquered lands, four administrative divisions were established under army officers in Bale. Goba, Dello, Dodola and Ginnir were the centers of administration. Thus, Dodola emerged as one of these four administrative divisions. The central government put into effect an indirect rule through appointing the local traditional Oromo leaders (*abba bokkus*) as *balabats*. However, the *gada* system was though less important but could survived and its principles contributed to resolve conflicts and maintained cooperation among the people even after incorporation. In Bale only Bui Falama of Dodola and Chakke Enale of Dello were appointed outside the former *abba bokkus* while other *balabats* were selected from the *abba bokkus*.<sup>2</sup>

The new administration began exercising coercive acts and feudal legal policies in the area.<sup>3</sup> There was political control both by government soldiers and civil officials, known by the name *näftäñña* and *mälkäñña* respectively, to ensure the collection of government tributes (*gibir*).<sup>4</sup> In administrative structure, the *balabats* had a key position through which the central government ensured overall socio-economic and political dominance in the area. They were the most trusted local officials in the feudal Ethiopian state. According to Cohen and Koehn, the central

---

<sup>1</sup> Donald Donham and Wendy James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia, Essays in History and Social Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p.46.

<sup>2</sup> Terje, pp.33-35.

<sup>3</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabe Wayu and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

<sup>4</sup> Solomon, p.6; Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Abdella Ararso.

government used to select *balabats* from the clans with majority people in many areas to secure its political dominance over the local population.<sup>5</sup>

The central government expected the *balabats* to induce the local population to accept the government's policies. When different decrees were proclaimed, they informed the people about the implementation of the new regulations. The *balabats* supervised activities of government in their respective distant area and presented reports to the central government. The issue of security was also among the major tasks assigned to them.<sup>6</sup> This status was certainly inheritable so that the son of the former *balabat* usually succeeded to power without any question. They usually succeeded by inheritance if the government agreed. The *balabats* were government appointees, so the government only wanted loyal and effective men. Usually the government allowed sons to inherit the office but was not obliged to do so.<sup>7</sup>

The Dodola (Gedab) area was wide in its geographical coverage and had a large population. For a long period both people of other Bale areas and the provincial governors usually perceived the Gedab area as a separate administrative zone from Bale.<sup>8</sup>

After the establishment of those four administrative districts in Bale, the central government wanted to ensure political control over this area. The traditional Oromo leaders and elders of the area were then informed to choose three persons for the government administrative work in Dodola. Bui Falama, Qonxari Wajaga and Jarra Felaco were chosen as candidates with the recommendation of the governor of Bale, *Ras LeulSägäd*, and sent to the imperial palace for appointment. The emperor welcomed these men. First they were given a chance to propose

---

<sup>5</sup> John Michael Cohen and Peter H. Koehn, *Ethiopian Provincial and Municipal Government Imperial Patterns and Post-Revolutionary Challenges* (East Lansing: African Studies Center, 1980), p.31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants: *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro and *Obbo* Geribe Wabe.

<sup>7</sup> Informants: *Ato* Näga HaileMariam and *Obbo* Juara Gelgelu.

<sup>8</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kiniso Wabe and *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa.

themselves who among them should hold the posts of *balabat*, *burqa* and *čhiqašum*. Thus, after a discussion they decided to suggest the post of *balabat* to Bui, *burqa* to Qonxari and *čhiqašum* to Jarra. The emperor then accepted their opinion and approved the appointments. Jarra was older than the other two and was *abba bokku* of that time. Nevertheless, he wanted to receive only a minor post because of dissatisfaction with the feudal bureaucracy.<sup>9</sup> After nomination, the emperor asked their willingness to accept Christianity, but only Bui Falama agreed to be baptized while Jarra and Qonxari preferred to remain followers of *Waaqeffata*.<sup>10</sup>

## 2.2. The First Settlement in the Area of the Later Dodola District

The foundation of Dodola town was a few years after the complete control of the Ethiopian state over the entire upper Wabe Shebelle (the Gadeb) areas.<sup>11</sup> The name “Dodola” comes after the small hill “Tullu Dodola” (Mount Dodola) which is found six kilometers from the present site of the Dodola town. The area was inhabited by the Shedema clan. As described in chapter one, the current evidence suggests that Dodola was the name of a person who had lived on the present site of Dodola town.<sup>12</sup> The founders and early settlers of the town mainly belonged to the Shedama, the dominant clan in the area. This clan occupied the area encompassing the town and the present *qäbälés* bordering the town.<sup>13</sup>

The need to establish a market was first raised by the people, requesting a market from their traditional leaders. This was because the people used to buy coffee from Sidamo, grains from Bale and cloth from Wolayta. The Dodola people were not yet well acquainted with production of sufficient grains and chiefly relied on animal products, so that in the first decade of the

---

<sup>9</sup> Dodola Municipality, p.1; Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama, *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo.

<sup>10</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama, *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo.

<sup>11</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Haji Gobu, *Obbo* Garibe Wabe and *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro.

<sup>12</sup> Dodola Municipality, pp.1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

twentieth century the people wanted a local market where merchants would bring coffee, grain and cloth for sale.<sup>14</sup>

The availability of water for their cattle was also another factor that motivated the people to choose the present site. Thus, the town lay between two continuously flowing rivers, the Lensho and the Kora.<sup>15</sup> Another historical event that led to the early settlement in Dodola was associated with the establishment of GäbräKristos church in 1910. The few followers of the Orthodox religion had been unhappy since the early twentieth century because of the absence of a church in the area. Those appointed as administrators and who came as soldiers also had a similar problem. The only place for their religious worship and to bury the dead Christians was Hogiso in Kokkosa. This place was 52 kilometers from the present Dodola town which was too difficult for regular religious practices.<sup>16</sup>

Leaders who were coming from Goba as Menilek's administrators and the local converted Orthodox Christians had to go to Hogiso for any religious matters. Bui Falama and officials assigned from Goba by the imperial government and local Christians were demanding the establishment of a church in Dodola.<sup>17</sup> Bui was an eager and dedicated man to alleviate every problem in the area. He wanted useful changes in so far as he was able to introduce them and he established a small market, as described below. Bui requested the governor of Bale, *Ras* LeulSägäd, through his *Balämawals* (advisors) to establish a church in Dodola. *Ras* LeulSägäd administered Bale ca.1897-1910. Unfortunately he died and *Ras* Nadew succeeded as governor

---

<sup>14</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba FogeTahiro, *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa and *Obbo* Kiniso Wabe.

<sup>15</sup> Dodola Municipality,p.2.

<sup>16</sup> Informants: *Obbo*Yared Wärkinäh, *Mämire* Täklü Wärkinäh and *Ato* Näga HaileMariam.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

of Bale (ca.1910-1917). Still the question of establishing a church in Dodola continued during the time of *Ras Nadew*.<sup>18</sup>

The central government sent two priests and four *deacons* with the GābrāKristos Ark to Dodola in 1910. They proposed to establish the church at Lensho Afaf (near the Lensho river). It was at a distance of one kilometer to the south west of the present Dodola town. The people were not happy with this location since it was not appropriate for later permanent settlement. This place was hilly, indeed they preferred to build the church in a semi-plain area at Deneba.<sup>19</sup>

The new church was established in 1910 at Deneba outside the present town. This place was also called Sāfara Qeesii (village of priests) and was a place where the government tax was collected. The terrain discomforted population settlement and the people moved down to the nearby plain area. A few people and a church were therefore in this area even before there was a market and a small village which preceded Dodola town.<sup>20</sup>

### **2.2.1. Historical Foundation of Dodola Town and District**

The demand of the local people for a market was increasing. In Dodola the local *balabat*, Bui, in support of the public interest decided to establish a market. Qechema was first proposed to be a market place. However, people had already settled on a more plain area about one kilometer to the north of Deneba and this, as explained below is where a market was later established, at the present location of Dodola town. But the church has remained at Deneba until present. The people were well-situated in this new place and started transactions through barter. The medium

---

<sup>18</sup> Informants: *Māmire Tāklū Wārkināh* and *Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro*; Ketema Meskela, “Evolution of Land Ownership and Tenancy in the Highland Bale: A Case Study of Goba, Sinana and Dodola to 1974” (MA Thesis, Department of History, Ababa University, 2001), p.40.

<sup>19</sup> GābrāKristos Church Hundred Years Anniversary Committee, *Ferē Hayimanot (ፍሬ ሀይማኖት)*, No 1 *Ginbot* 14/2010 (Hawasa: A Bulletin Produced by AM Printing PLC, 2010), p.17; Informants: *Ato Nāga HaileMariam* and *Māmire Tāklū Wārkināh*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

of exchange in the market was butter for barley. This new market contributed to the early growth of the Dodola town.<sup>21</sup>

*Fitawrari* ( he was awarded this title, see footnote 30 below) Bui Falama, was thus more inspired to establish the market on this vast plain. Its topography and proximity to water made the new site better than Deneba and Qechema.<sup>22</sup> Bui coordinated the leading clan elders and *gada* leaders. On this occasion they summoned the people together to inaugurate the establishment of the market with a *gada* celebration. The two *abba bokkus* at the time, Jarra Felaco of the Geneta clan and Qonxari Wajaga of the Babbo, were the main actors for this objective. Jarra was the main *abba bokku* and played a coordinating role for this historical event. The date of foundation was with the *gada* ceremony of the people. A special feast of *gada* celebration was conducted, with traditional Oromo food and drinks. Elders gave blessings and prayed for the new village and the whole Oromo Society. Then Dodola as a small village and market place was set up in 1910.<sup>23</sup>

As a recent bulletin prepared by the Dodola town Municipality shows, Dodola was founded on the basis of oath taking. The Arsi Oromos swore as follows, “*Dodola sidhaabannee, Hirphaa ambaan lafatti gadi nu dhaabi*” (Dodola we have set you up to shoulder our life for our eternal well-being). Then the name Dodola later continued as the name for the district and the new town.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the need to establish a market, public interest to find an appropriate place for

---

<sup>21</sup> Informants: *Ato Bäkälä Abaynäh*, *Obbo Robe Mama*, *Obbo Yaya Kasim* and *Ato Yared Wärkinäh*.

<sup>22</sup> Informants: *Obbo Chako Wako*, *Obbo Abba Chabsa Tahiro* and *Obbo Kumbii Ketaro*.

<sup>23</sup> Informants: *Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro*, *Obbo Yaya Kasim* and *Obbo Kabeto Garjaja*; Dodola Municipality, p.2.

<sup>24</sup> Dodola Municipality, p.1-2.

the church and the zeal of the *balabat* coordinated as contributory factors for the birth of the present Dodola town.<sup>25</sup>

Dodola became the name for the town and the district from this time onwards. The town shared a boundary with Alwanso *qäbälé* in the north, Deneba in the south, Qechema in the west and Kora Berisa river in the east.<sup>26</sup> The town is bounded by two rivers. One of these is the Kora at a distance of 1.5 kilometers in the east flowing from the south east to the north east. The other one is the Lensho river about 2 kilometers from the centre of the town which flows from the south west of the town to the north east. The two rivers join the Wabe Shebelle at different places.<sup>27</sup> In the pre-Italian occupation period the residents in Dodola village (not yet a town in size ) did not exceed 800 people.<sup>28</sup>

For the first three decades of the twentieth century Dodola was a centre for the small districts found in the Gedab area. These were Kokkosa, Nensabo, Adaba and Dodola itself. Thus, in the Gedab area administrative orders, financial regulations and issues related to justice were administered from this political centre.<sup>29</sup> In addition to *Fitawrari* Bui, *Qäñazmač* Tahiro Yaya was the most prominent person for his important role in the Dodola area. Tahiro was a famous and able person who had a comparable public acceptance with Bui. He was an orator and had the ability to deal wisely with matters raised among the Arsi people of the area. He knew Oromo

---

<sup>25</sup> Dodola Municipality,p.1; Dodola *Wäräda* Administration, pp.2-3; informants: *Obbo* Burka Chukuru and *Ato* Yared *Wärkinäh*.

<sup>26</sup> Dodola Municipality,pp.2-3; Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

<sup>27</sup> Gizachew Girma, "Water Supply System in the Dodola Town" (BA Thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University, 1993),p.13.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*,pp.7-8.

<sup>29</sup> Informants: *Ato* Yared *Wärkinäh*, *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro and *Obbo* Burka Chukuru.

customs and traditions very well and had a reputation for wise decisions on public matters.<sup>30</sup>

These two figures were chiefly from the dominant Shedama clan of Dodola area. They played a vital role in execution of all orders coming from the centre. The only distinguishing manner that made *Qäñazmač* Tahiro Yaya different from the non-former *abba bokku*, *Fitawrari* Bui, was that Tahiro maintained his power mainly by the virtue of descent from the leading clan. However, Bui had got the appointment by his strong commitment and devotion after the imperial incorporation.<sup>31</sup>

*Qäñazmač* Tahiro followed the style of Abba Jifar of Jimma in giving his sons a name preceded by “*abba*”(father). The reason why he associated them with Abba Jifar by this naming was related to a man who came to worship at the shrine of *Sheik* Hussein from Jimma. This person was *Sheik* Ibrahim. He was among *Sheik* Hussein`s followers whom the Arsi Oromos usually called “*Gariba Sheik* Hussein” (servant of *Sheik* Hussein). *Sheik* Ibrahim was visiting *Qäñazmač* Tahiro`s family every year on his way to and from Bale. This intimacy made Tahiro well known to the Jimma king Abba Jifar II. Then the chain of relationship was more and more enhanced by the exchange of greeting letters between *Qäñazmač* Tahiro and Abba Jifar through *Sheik* Ibrahim. Thus, *Qäñazmač* Tahiro decided to give his sons the appellation *abba* like Abba Jifar. Hence, *abba* Cabsa, *abba* Jifar, *abba* Bulgu, *abba* Diga, *Abba* Duulaa, *abba* Foge and *abba* Jabal were Tahiro`s sons having a first name the same as the Jimma ruler.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>30</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro, *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja. In Arsi Oromo area people usually called the governor a *balabat* even though they had another titles (see Bizuwork ). Bui was in fact at about the same time officially given the title *Fitawrari* but I haven`t been able to find out when it was awarded to him.

<sup>31</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro, *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro and *Obbo* Abdella Ararso.

<sup>32</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Tufa Galchu, *Obbo* Hussein Roba and *Obbo* Kedir Gammada.

Some people have believed that Tahiro was ambitious to assume monarchical status. However, his son Abba Foge, one of my key informants, and other nearest relatives told me that this name *abba* emanated from the mere relationship between the two distant men. Their relation was known to people. Tahiro was a notable person and a religious man so that he had no desire to be a monarch in Gadeb area even if that had been possible to claim for himself which obviously it was not.<sup>33</sup>

Other imperial administrators were also assigned in Gedab (Dodola) area. After the death of *Ras LeulSägäd*, *Ras Nadew* had power in Bale. Then *Grazmač Bahiru Kibre*, *Grazmač Likeleh* and *Däjjazmač Lemesa* were appointed to administer the Dodola area.<sup>34</sup> They governed the area through *balabats* (officials who were also landlords), *burqas* (an intermediary between the *balabat* and the people) and *čhiqasums* (village chiefs).<sup>35</sup>

Qonxari and Jara enforced regulations received from the *balabat*. They collected tributes from the people and made greeting speeches to the crowds on behalf of the *balabat* during his public visits. The people of Gedab strongly opposed the inclusion of the area under Hararge *jäqlay gizat*. This was because the people had to go too far from Dodola to Bale and Hararge for court cases and matters related to administration.<sup>36</sup>

### 2.3. Land Issues and Subsequent Developments

In Bale the period prior to the conquest of Menilek II was characterized by communal ownership of land. Therefore, there was no legal privatization and inheritance of land. But use rights and inheritance obtained by customary agreement in practice existed. Land was regarded as common

---

<sup>33</sup> Informants: *Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro*, *Obbo Abba Chabsa Tahiro* and *Obbo Yaya Kasim*.

<sup>34</sup> Ketema, p.40; Informants: *Obbo Kedir Gemmeda* and *Obbo Hussein Galchu*.

<sup>35</sup> Informants: *Obbo Husein Galchu*, *Obbo Kadir Elemo* and *Obbo Usman Bati*.

<sup>36</sup> Informants: *Ato Yared Wärkinäh* and *Obbo Burka Chukuru*.

property and accessible to all members of the clan. Each clan had a dwelling area and the land was considered to be under the clans' strict control despite there being no fixed boundary clearly demarcating them.<sup>37</sup>

The demarcation was made by the principle commonly known as *Baala Buufachuu* (putting leaves). *Baala buufachu* is the literal translation implying putting leaves on the ground but this does not mean actually demarcating by leaf. The communal land was usually wide. Therefore, the *gosa* leaders would create demarcation using big trees or stones found on the boundary of the clan's land.<sup>38</sup>

The first two decades of the twentieth century were marked by some land alienation in the Bale areas. There was no massive expropriation and complete loss of land use rights at the time of conquest and for some years after. However, land was taken from the local population as a punishment for their resistance to the government, for instance killing the *näftännä*.<sup>39</sup>

There was domination of northern settlers over the land of the conquered areas. The emperor in Ethiopia's past was the central figure to make or remove grants of rights to take tribute from land. Thus, the order to distribute grants was coming from the emperor. The emperor supported provincial governors, the military forces and other civil officials by making these grants in their respective areas. Therefore, receiving these grants gave government functionaries the advantages to collect taxation and tributes for themselves and the status of a privileged class.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>37</sup> Ketema, pp.40-41; Informants: *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro and *Obbo* Geribe Wabe.

<sup>38</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama, *Obbo* Mohammed Tena and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja.

<sup>39</sup> Ketema, p.2.

<sup>40</sup> Eshetu Chole, "Taxation in Ethiopia: Analysis of Structure, Policy and Performance." (MSC in Economics, University of Illinois, 1968), p.23; John W. Harbenson, "State and Social Transformation in Modern Ethiopia." In Marina Ottaway (ed.), *The Political Economy of Ethiopia* (New York and London: Praeger Publisher, 1990), p.73.

Incorporation into the Ethiopian empire led to unequal land distribution between the new *näftäñña* and *melkäñña* settlers and the indigenous Oromo society in the region.<sup>41</sup> A new form of property ownership emerged where land became viewed as the individual's property. A large proportion of land was taken by the new settlers but still most of the land remained in the hands of the indigenous Oromos. Thus, land was possessed by Oromos, settlers and the Ethiopian Orthodox churches. The churches were given land by the government as the Ethiopian empire expanded. All land holders, including those who held land from the churches, were recognized as landholding taxpayers. The new settlers and the churches had their own tenants. In this situation it was the *gäbbar* (tenant farmers) who were victims. Thus, the effect of conquest was not only loss of land but also very heavy taxation and forced labor services.<sup>42</sup>

The allocation of peasantry to northerners as *gäbbar* was to retain control of land by the settlers and to provide support for them. The *näftäññas* made multiple and onerous demands on *gäbbärs* both in kind and labor services in Dodola area. The *gäbbars* were required to pay the state *asrat* (one tenth of their produce) and payment for churches. *Asrat* was not previously known in Dodola but was introduced after the 1892 imperial incorporation.<sup>43</sup>

The *gosa* leaders (clan leaders) could also maintain their position as *balabats* (landlords) and were subordinate to the government. They cooperated with administering officials making sure that the obligations of *gäbbar* were fulfilled.<sup>44</sup> In Dodola the *balabats* were not granted land until the 1960s but they were able to retain the land formerly left to them by their ancestors and were

---

<sup>41</sup> Crummey, p.223.

<sup>42</sup> Terje, p.36; Informants: *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo and *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid.

<sup>43</sup> Ketema, p.5; Informants: *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

<sup>44</sup> Ketema, p.2; Terje, P.36 ; Informants: *Obbo* Haji Gobu, *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo and *Obbo* Burka Chukuru.

given *gäbbar* to serve them. Nevertheless, the right of *gosa* leaders to administer land by the former clan principles dwindled.<sup>45</sup>

The *balabat* was a hereditary holder of *rist*. Since the nineteenth century, this title (*balabat*) has also denoted hereditary chiefs in the south of Ethiopia. Thus all *balabats* were not only the governors but possessed *rist*. Therefore, people usually called the governors and other landlords the *balabat*. The *mälkäññas* enforced orders they received from the *misläné* (governor, the name *misläné* was also sometimes equivalent to district) and supervised tax collection. They acted as disciplinary officials either directly appointed by the emperor or provincial governors and were assigned *gäbbars* as long as they served the state.<sup>46</sup>

The *mälkäññas* (local officials) and the *Šaläqa* (military commanders) required payments in kind (mostly cereals) from the peasantry. They were sent from the centre to all areas in Dodola and were directly accountable to the central government. They had *gäbbar* assigned to them who were forced to pay tributes and give labour services to them. The *mälkäññas* introduced a new system of forced labor so that the *gäbbars* were expected to render services working on the fields and elsewhere. They obliged the people to build houses for them in the villages where they were assigned to execute their duty. This physical and mental burden was very heavy for the Oromos as compared to the former egalitarian *gada* rule.<sup>47</sup>

The role of *mälkäññas* was very harsh to the people of Dodola especially in the pre-Italian occupation period.<sup>48</sup> In addition to the tribute they collected for government, *mälkäññas*

---

<sup>45</sup> Mindaye, p.31.

<sup>46</sup> Bizuwork Zewde, "The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills, with Particular Reference to Arsi" (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1992), p.12.

<sup>47</sup> John Markakis, *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), p.114. Terje, p.35; Ketema, p.2.

<sup>48</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Hussein Roba.

demanded honey, goats, sheep and grain for themselves. The payment of tribute and the labor service were by coercion not by the willingness of the people. Thus, the Dodola people were not happy to accept this heavy burden but were unable to refuse orders of the *mälkäñña*. They were supported by the *näčläbaś* (local militia) who were armed to enforce regulations primarily on matters related to collecting tributes.<sup>49</sup> The *näčläbaś* were rural militias that later became included in the Territorial Army. They also helped to control rebels, criminals and acted in any security matters in rural areas.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, the *näčläbaś* were an army to maintain the *gäbbar* system, whose role was defense for civil matters. They were commanded by local notables and acted as rural auxiliary police force which served to put down disturbances.<sup>51</sup>

Most of the people in Dodola were dissatisfied and worried due the burdens of the *mälkäññas*. One anonymous person appealed to Tahiro as follows “*Kure Dadhabe kute dadhabe ani jalaa goruu kiyyaa.*” ( I am fed up with serving *mälkäñña* every day. I shall leave the area for him). However, Tahiro advised him to live with patience.<sup>52</sup>

In the period of *Lej* Iyasu having lost their previous clan leadership the people developed adaptations to the feudal administration. The structures of government continued as previously set up by his predecessor. In Dodola the people praised the time and the ruler by the following saying, “*Iyaasun Galee Dhugi Daadhii (tej) naasuu malee.*” (Iyasu is enthroned to power let us drink *Daadhii* without worry).<sup>53</sup> The extreme pressure of the *näftäññas* and *mälkäññas* was to

---

<sup>49</sup> Teshale Tibebu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia 1896-1974* (Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press Inc,1995),p.113 ; Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Usman Bati.

<sup>50</sup> Dessalegn Rahmeto, *The Peasant and the State Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950`s - 2000`s* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2009),p.326.

<sup>51</sup> Teshale,p.113.

<sup>52</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Mohammed Tenna.

<sup>53</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* IbrahimTola.

some extent reduced. Taxation in kind was not abandoned but reduced than before. Tributes were collected only on land and their amount was also slightly reduced.<sup>54</sup>

The years 1918-1930 are remembered by continuous attempts at centralizing political power. *Ras* Teferi made all possible efforts to establish a unitary state ruled by the monarch. Thus, he overcame rivals until his coronation and after it. In the process of centralizing political power the emperor used both peaceful means and war. The 1931 written constitution did not reduce the emperor's power but increased it and the provisions of the newly promulgated constitution were mainly only on paper.<sup>55</sup>

The extent of territory that belonged to Bui's administration in the 1920s was estimated to be more than 900 *gaša* of land. The area was encompassing the later territory of Gannale *awrajja*. Bui made an endeavor to push his administration further to the south east to Harena Buluk but his advance was strongly resisted and was unsuccessful.<sup>56</sup> The period of *Fitawrari* Bui, who had been made *balabat* over the Gedab and Alaba area, ended with his death in 1927. Then WäldäMikael came to the political scene being successor of his father and was made governing *balabat* of Dodola (Gadeb) area. He was the godson of the emperor himself and so beloved of the emperor. Nevertheless, public dissatisfaction was growing to the imperial bureaucracy in his period.<sup>57</sup>

In the first decade of the twentieth century, no significant measures were taken to lighten the *naftiännä- gäbbar* system in Bale area. However, in 1921 a little improvement was made to *asrat*

---

<sup>54</sup> Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1991), pp. 121-122; Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Tufa Galchu.

<sup>55</sup> Bahru, pp. 128-136.

<sup>56</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja.

<sup>57</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Getachew WäldäMikael, *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro and *Obbo* Haji Gobu.

payment. This reform reduced the amount of *asrat* payment.<sup>58</sup> Then emperor Haile Sellasie I also made another change after his coronation. Thus, taxation was to be on the basis of the quality of land. However, this was not put in to effect because land measurement was not undertaken before the Italian occupation and the later 1941 liberation.<sup>59</sup>

After his coronation in 1930 emperor Haile Sellasie I appointed *Däjjazmač* Näsibu Zamanuel over Bale in 1932. Näsibu was known for his effort at introducing new administrative and fiscal reforms. The first dry weather road connecting Dodola to Goba and further to Sofumer was constructed during his period of administration (ca.1932-1935). Nevertheless it was constructed by manpower, rough, and did not allow movement by motor vehicles.<sup>60</sup>

Näsibu formed a salaried military service rather than allocating *gäbbar* for each soldier or payment in kind and also attempted to abolish forced labor. Consequently the governor made another and successful regulation that the civil government officials were to be paid in cash not kind. Moreover, an improvement was made after he determined a fixed tribute to be paid in cash to *mälkäññas* and these measures gradually lessened *quter gäbbar* (peasantry who paid tribute and rendered labor services) in the area.<sup>61</sup>

In the pre-Italian conquest period the emperor made an endeavor to improve all security matters and the organizational structures of the government. Regulations were made for tax collection and the national defense force by the central government.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> Ketema, pp.4243.

<sup>59</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Gemmechu Roba and *Obbo* Mohammed Tenna.

<sup>60</sup> Ketema, p.46.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> Bahru, p.217.

## 2.4. Economic Life

### 2.4.1. Agriculture

Daniel argued that the Oromos in general were not exclusively pastoralists. They had a long practice of agro-pastoral economy. The Bale Oromos, like other Oromo groups, were cattle breeders and cultivators of crops. The highland Bale Oromos were pioneers in cultivation of land though it was limited to small homestead farms with a very low amount of production.<sup>63</sup> The development of ox-powered agriculture in Bale areas can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. Particularly plowing by oxen more expanded after the imperial incorporation.<sup>64</sup>

Contrary to what has been claimed above for the Bale highland areas the Dodola people did not have long experience of producing grains but began in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Some farmers started on a very small scale that could not even satisfactorily support their family consumption. The people mainly relied on animal products. They exchanged animal products with grains for food consumption. The coming of new settlers and exchange of ideas inspired the local people to practice agriculture as a base of their livelihood.<sup>65</sup>

The Arsi people of Dodola learned the tradition of ox-powered agriculture from the Śāwan soldier settlers who came to this area following Menilek's incorporation. Other Amharas and Śāwan Oromos later on settled in Dodola among their relatives who had formerly occupied the area. These people had better experience of farming and could accumulate resources within a short period of time. This condition inspired the indigenous Arsi to cultivate land in the first two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change . . . .", p.25.

<sup>64</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Galchu, *Obbo* Mohammed Tenna and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

<sup>65</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abdella Ararso, *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed and *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro.

<sup>66</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro, *Obbo* IbrahimTola and *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo.

Crop production in the district was carried out using seasonal rainfall. There are four main seasons, the summer, winter, autumn and spring. For Dodola the rainy season starts in June and extends to September. The main working season begins in June and ends in July, so that farmers can sow seeds within this period's rainy months.<sup>67</sup>

#### 2.4.2 Pastoralism

The Oromo of Bale, particularly the highlanders, were notable for cattle breeding more than cultivation of crops. Social divisions based on wealth emerged before the conquest of Menilek II. The gap between rich and poor existed on the basis of the number of cattle that individuals owned.<sup>68</sup>

Animal husbandry along with crop production was practiced in Dodola. The *wäräda* was among the richest in south eastern Ethiopia in this regard before the Italian conquest. The most common types of domestic animals were and are horses, sheep, goats and cattle. As with other Oromos, the Dodola people greatly associate their domestic animals with social and economic values. Cattle are highly valued. They are sources of income, prestige and objects of sacrifices during conflict settlement between disputing parties.<sup>69</sup>

Arsi tradition made milk, meat and butter the main food for long years in the past. Therefore, they were dependent on their animal products for food. The people were not only pastoralists but also later became cultivators. Therefore, they moved to arable farming but still until after the Italian occupation, with extensive animal husbandry.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE,p.57.

<sup>68</sup> Abas Haji, "The History of Arsi,1880-1935" (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History,1982),p.52 ; Braukamper,p.35.

<sup>69</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change..."p.21.

<sup>70</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change..."p.26; Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Hussein Jawo.

Animal products were a medium of exchange for grains in Arsi Oromos which is analogous to other ethnic groups in Ethiopia. The skins of cattle were also used to make clothes before they adopted the later cotton clothes. The skin of cattle also served to make bed covers. Among the Arsi Oromos animal skin helped to decorate different cultural materials. For instance the Arsi people of Dodola decorated *Qori* (a traditional porridge bowl made from wood) by well prepared animal skin.<sup>71</sup>

### 2.4.3. Trade

The period after Menilek's incorporation enhanced expansion of markets and towns in Ethiopia. The early market in Dodola area was founded at Serofta. When the army of Menilek was mobilized from one of its camps, Hebano in Kokkosa to Dodola, they first settled in Serofta. Thus, a small market and garrison was established by the incoming *näftäñña* force. Serofta was the focal point for the imperial force in transit to conquer Nansabo and Harena in the south and Dodola and Adaba in the east.<sup>72</sup>

This small market was a strategic place for the people and merchants coming from Kokkosa , Nensabo, Kofele, Gedab Hasasa and Sidamo. Nevertheless, it was difficult to move to Serofta during the summer season due to muddy and unpaved tracks. However, people practiced exchange of commodities even before the creation of a market in Dodola.<sup>73</sup>

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the west-east trade link of the south stretched from Jimma to Ginnir with its route via the emerging town of Dodola. Another route from Gofa through Wolayta to Ginnir, also crossed the town as indicated in an old map of Ethiopia (see

---

<sup>71</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Tufa Galchu, *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo, *Obbo* Ibrahim Seid and *Obbo* Kedir Gemmada.

<sup>72</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Obbo* Kedir Elemo and *Obbo* Tufa Galchu.

<sup>73</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo and *Obbo* Burka Chukuru.

appendix II).<sup>74</sup> In addition to money, barter was used for local transactions at the time. People brought barley for exchange mainly from the neighboring cool areas Kofele, Kore and as far as Duro mountain.<sup>75</sup>

The foundation of Dodola town increased the exchange of commodities in the Gedab areas. The local people had fixed a market day every week. In addition to the local people traders were coming from Sidamo to sell coffee. Grains such as maize, wheat and barley were also brought from Bale. *Abujedi* (cloth made from cotton) was chiefly brought from Wolayta.<sup>76</sup> The town served as a centre for trading activity that was carried out among the incoming merchants from Bale, parts of Arsi, people of the Southern nations and Śāwa. The Dodola area was well known for its cattle population. In addition to the local grains, traders brought cattle from Bale areas to the weekly market of Dodola. A large number of cattle reached Dodola market and were also sent to Shashemene, Yirgalem, Hawasa, Batu (Ziway), Modjo, Sagure, Assela and Adama.<sup>77</sup>

The frequently coming merchants contributed to the establishment of some small businesses in the town. Three small kiosks (small shops) in the town were opened by Fikadu Barge, Boru Gari and Bākälä Urga for the sale of salt, soap, food oil and matches before the Italian period for the first time in the town. A small café (*shay bet*) was also opened by Fikadu Barge. These new local business owners were among the incomers with the imperial forces from other areas. *Grazmač*

---

<sup>74</sup> Benti Getahun, "A History of Shashemene from Its Foundation to 1974" (MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1988), p.25.

<sup>75</sup> P.T.W. Baxter, "Butter for Barley and Barley for Cash: Petty Transaction and Small Transformation. In Arsi Market" In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Lund: Berlings Arnolv, 1984), p.464.

<sup>76</sup> Arnold Hodson Weinholt, *Seven Years In Southern Abyssinia* (London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1927), pp.89-91; Informants: Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro and Obbo Hussein Roba.

<sup>77</sup> Dodola Municipality, pp.8-10; Informants: Obbo Woliyi Kayo and Obbo Abdurhaman Tufa.

Likeläh, *Grazmač* Täsäma Ayidängitu and others were also outsiders who then came to live and resided in Dodola town. They were given land and then led their life in Dodola.<sup>78</sup>

#### 2.4.4. Craftsmen

Craftsmanship is said to have been less practiced by the Arsi people in the first half of twentieth century. They perceived crafts as occupations of non-Arsi or the low castes.<sup>79</sup> The Arsi Oromo people in Dodola district also labeled those people who engaged in craft work with different names to undermine their status in the local perception. *Tumtu* (blacksmith), *Buda murtu* (spoon maker from the horn of cattle) and *Fuga or Cawwa* (tanner) were among the names given to them. These people were well acquainted with metal work, and also made tools from horn and worked as tanners.<sup>80</sup> In Dodola for many years the Arsi Oromos also neglected artisan work as an occupation of the low caste *Wotile* (potters), who did not descend from Arsi lineage but lived in cooperation with them exercising most of the Arsi cultures and values.<sup>81</sup>

### Summary and Conclusion

The new imperial administration in Bale appointed *balabats* as the key local officials. They were appointed from the loyal leading men of the local clans who were usually former *abba bokku*. Bui Falama was not an *abba bokku* but was appointed *balabat* in Dodola. Those people of the district who were Ethiopian Orthodox Christians (mainly soldiers, settlers and *mälkäñña* officials) needed a church and the Gäbräkristos church was established at Deneba in 1910. The people also wanted a market and a market was established by Bui on a level (plain) site which

---

<sup>78</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro, *Obbo* Ibrahim Seid and *Obbo* Usman Bati.

<sup>79</sup> Abas,p.6.

<sup>80</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Roba and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim ; Jebesa,p.57.

<sup>81</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kasim Nägash, *Obbo* Chako Wako and *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed.

became first the village, later town, of Dodola. Dodola became in the first decades of the twentieth century the administrative centre for Dodola district and other neighboring districts.

Land in Dodola district was allocated to the *näfäñña* with *gäbbar* tenants, and also to *mälkäñña*. Some land was retained by *balabats*. The traditional Oromo communal ownership of land was being superseded by the individual ownership. Pastoralism was being supplemented by arable agriculture, under the influence of incoming settlers.

Two trade routes passed through Dodola, which was growing from a little village towards a town. Dodola's market flourished with sale of coffee, grains, cattle, cloth and other commodities. The first little shops were opened in Dodola village /town in the 1930s. There were some crafts but at the time the Arsi Oromos of Dodola left these because aside they considered crafts as an occupation for the outcaste or low caste people.

In Bale the term *rist* was used for clan land. Later, after the imperial occupation, the term *rist* in Bale acquired the meaning of privately owned land by individual and could be transferred from father to son.

## Chapter Three

### 3. Dodola in the Italian period 1937-1941

#### 3.1. The Italian Occupation in Dodola

The Fascist war of aggression in south Ethiopia was opened on two major fronts in October 1935. The northern front started earlier than the south. The Italian forces on the southern front were led by General Rudolfo Graziani. The Italians advanced northward to Harar, Bale and Sidamo from their southern base, Italian Somaliland. The fascist forces came via Elkere, advancing to the whole of Bale.<sup>1</sup>

The southern front covered the vast territory of Ogaden, Bale and Sidamo. The Ethiopian forces in the south under *Ras* Dästa Damtāw were composed of peasants and ill-equipped soldiers as compared with the Italians.<sup>2</sup>

The Italian occupation was not effected in all regions of Ethiopia at the same time. In some areas they set up their occupation in 1936 and in other area later in 1937. Among those areas where the Italian occupation was delayed was the Bale area.<sup>3</sup>

*Däjjazmač* Bāyānā Märīd was the governor of Bale at the time of the Italian invasion. The Emperor ordered *Däjjazmač* Bāyānā to join the southern Ethiopian forces defending the country on the southern front. In October 1935, the forces under *Däjjazmač* Bāyānā Märīd soon left the Bale capital, Goba and joined the southern front. When he left Bale, Bāyānā gave responsibility

---

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Mockler, *Haile Sellassie's War. The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign 1935-1941* (New York: Random House Inc, 1984), pp.90-91.

<sup>2</sup> Mockler, p.90; Mindaye, p.71; A.J. Barker, *The Civilizing Mission: A History of the Italo-Ethiopian War 1935-1936* (New York: The Dial Press, 1968), p.10.

<sup>3</sup> Mindaye, p.71.

for defending the town and the surroundings to one of his senior officers, *Balambäras* Imiru Gizaw.<sup>4</sup>

On the southern front the Ethiopian forces got initial success and attacked some of the Fascist forces but *Däjjazmač* Bāyānä was seriously wounded and unable to continue the offensive. This incident adversely affected the efforts of the Ethiopian forces in the south. The Ethiopian offensive under *Däjjazmač* Bāyānä Märīd in the Wabe Shebelle area was then defeated by the Fascists.<sup>5</sup>

Finally a small numbers of soldiers from Sidamo under *Ras* Dästa joined the remainder of *Däjjazmač* Bāyānä's forces. However, they could not withstand the outnumbering and better armed Italian forces advancing from the south. The Italians also persuaded the notable *balabat*, *Fitawrari* Nohu Dadhi of Raytu, to submit and won submission of *Qāñazmač* Mohammed Yube of Goro through him. They could then easily control Goba early in 1937. The Italians successfully controlled all the Bale region after *Däjjazmač* Bāyānä Märīd, the governor of Bale, was completely defeated in 1937. Then the force of *Ras* Dästa Damtäw and *Däjjazmač* Bāyānä Märīd soon retreated. Finally these two persons were captured and killed by the Fascists in 1937.<sup>6</sup>

After their successful invasion the Fascists divided Bale into two *Commissariati* (Provinces) and six *Residenzi* (Districts). The *Commissariati* of Goba included Dodola, Dallo (Sacchegillo) and

---

<sup>4</sup> Mockler,p.91; Mindaye,p.72.

<sup>5</sup> Bahru,p.158; Mindaye,p.71.

<sup>6</sup> Mindaye,p.71;Mockler,pp.171-172; Henze ,p.225; Informants: *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo and *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed.

Goba itself and the *Commissariati* of Ginnir contained Ginnir, Magalo and Sheik Hussein. Thus, Dodola was one of the *Residenzi* (Districts) in the *Commissariato* (Province) of Goba.<sup>7</sup>

The Fascist invaders came to Dodola from the southern direction when they firmly controlled northern Bale area and stationed troops at the present Malka Wakena. Then, they moved their camp and settled their forces around Kora Mando, the small hill in the east near to Dodola town. The Italian invaders treated the people very harshly to avoid any further resistance against their occupation.<sup>8</sup>

After the Italians controlled the area many people from Dodola town and its surrounding *qäbälés* fled to the hilly forest areas, mainly to Deneba. The imperial officials and settlers together with the indigenous people in Dodola area did not welcome the Italian conquest. The governor of Dodola, *Fitawrari* WäldäMikael Bui, *Qäñazmač* Tahiro and other *balabats* were striving against the Italian invasion. They attempted to resist Fascist occupation in the area.<sup>9</sup> Initially there was small scale and unorganized resistance to the Italians. The imperial officials, the *näftäñña* landowners and some local Oromos made an effort of resistance. The Italians responded very harshly to this resistance. They enforced severe measures against the people including detention by which the Italians forced prisoners to dig a pit and then put the people in these pits as prisoners. *Qäñazmač* Tahiro and *Grazmač* Täsäma Aydängitu were among the detainees for their opposition against Fascist occupation.<sup>10</sup>

The Fascists negotiated for peaceful submission of the local people and leaders. After initial harshness, they hoped that kindly measures might be able to gain support or at least passive

---

<sup>7</sup> Terje, pp.38-39; Ketema, p.49.

<sup>8</sup> Informants: *Ato* Yared Wärkinäh, *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro and *Obbo* Chako Wako.

<sup>9</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro, *Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro.

<sup>10</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama, *Ato* Näga HaileMariam and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

acceptance of their rule.<sup>11</sup> They communicated with the elders of the area and discussed the problem of rebels. To avoid further political deterioration, the Italians demanded peaceful submission of the rebel governor *Fitawrari WäldäMikael* and other individuals. The Arsi elders then persuaded the rebel *balabat* and other dissatisfied people to submit to the Fascists to save their people from further cruel treatment.<sup>12</sup> Then, on the basis of the elders' opinion, *WäldäMikael* and other rebels gave up their resistance and submitted to the Italians. After submission and a peaceful agreement with the former rebels, the Italians once again recognized *Fitawrari WäldäMikael* to continue as a *balabat*. *Qäñazmač Tahiro* was also released from detention and made *Qadi* (Islamic religious leader).<sup>13</sup>

The Italian occupation in Ethiopia was not secure due to the continuously erupting resistance in the countryside.<sup>14</sup> In the Dodola area also, despite the submission of “rebels”, the presence of Italian officials and their direct administration were mainly observed in the town of Dodola.<sup>15</sup>

The Italians then camped at Deneba to the south of Dodola town. This place was convenient for the Italians to control the entire areas and to check insurgents who might come from the forest land of the district. Until the final date of their withdrawal, the Fascist invaders stayed mainly in the town of Dodola and its immediate surroundings.<sup>16</sup> Muse Arnis, Mushlam, Golback and Domenico Alvaro were the Italian commanders in the Dodola *residenza* (district).<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Alessandro Triulzi, “Italian Colonialism and Ethiopia” *Journal of African History*, Vol.23, No 2 (London,1982),p.243.

<sup>12</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro, *Ato* Bäkälä Abaynäḥ and *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo.

<sup>13</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama, *Ato* Yared Wäркиnäḥ and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

<sup>14</sup> Bahru,p.163.

<sup>15</sup> Informants: *Ato* Yared Wäркиnäḥ, *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Mämire* Täklü Wäркиnäḥ.

<sup>16</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro, *Ato* Yared Wäркиnäḥ and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim.

<sup>17</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Mämire* Täklü Wäркиnäḥ. The names of the Italians are as my informants pronounced them; I have no record of the correct Italian spelling of these names.

At the beginning of their conquest the Italians ordered the local people to prepare food every night for their soldiers. This obligation was not continued throughout the period of their occupation. Thus, at the night time, they used to eat food and enjoy themselves listening to traditional Ethiopian songs after the dinner.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, some local people showed their enmity through different proverbs after serving the dinner. One of those remembered proverbs was; “ድመትና ዶሮ በአንድ ጋር ሰፈሩ ቢቸግር ነፃ እንጂ መች ጓድ ነበሩ።”<sup>19</sup> (The cat and the hen reside together, not for being partners but due to unavoidable necessity). Another saying of the local community after dinner was, “የድመቷን ግልገል አይጥ ነከሰቻት እም ብላ ቀረች ስፍራ ባይመቻት።”<sup>20</sup> (The rat has bitten the cat but the cat remains silent despite its suffering).

The above two proverbs were said at night after dinner. Those Italians who were present at the dinner were laughing without the knowledge of what was being said and why it was said by the people. Although public resistance was now hardly possible the people still showed resentment to the invaders.<sup>21</sup>

In all these circumstances there was one undeniable fact about Italian rule. They were later kindly disposed to the Oromos and were sympathetic to them. They promised the Oromos to eliminate the past injustice that had existed under the imperial regime. Some Arsi people viewed the Italians as liberators from the old *näftäñña-gäbbar* system. Nevertheless, this sympathy was not real for the past wrong deeds but to make the Oromos more friendly and to remove motives for public resistance.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Informants: *Ato* Yared Wärrkinäh, *Mämir*e Täklü Wärrkinäh and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

<sup>19</sup> Informant: *Ato* Yared Wärrkinäh.

<sup>20</sup> Informants: *Ato* Bäkälä Wäldäyäs, *Ato* Yared Wärrkinäh and *Mämir*e Täklü Wärrkinäh.

<sup>21</sup> Informants: *Ato* Yared Wärrkinäh and *Obbo* Juara Gelgelu.

<sup>22</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Gemmechu Roba and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim; Triuzi, p.243.

### 3.2. Socio-Economic Conditions

The Oromo people benefited a little in the socio-cultural and economic spheres from the Italians. The justice system during the Italian period was characterized by harsh punishments. A person who was convicted an offence would be penalized by being made to dig a deep toilet, forced to work on road construction and work on the colonial prison farms for long hours a day. Nevertheless, in the later years after conquest they did not violate traditional Oromo administration, the *gada* system in Dodola. The people could celebrate *gada* rituals and related practices. When controversies were raised among the people they were settled by means of *gumaa* reconciliation. Thus, the Italians did not prohibit the traditional methods for conflict resolution.<sup>23</sup>

As part of their colonial policies, the Fascist aggressors constructed different infrastructures in Ethiopia. Thus, they constructed roads, water supply, bridges and other services during their presence in Ethiopia.<sup>24</sup> In Dodola also they built the Dodola- Adaba road to facilitate their administration in the area. Most of the work of this road was carried out using manpower not machinery. The road was not properly hard surfaced to serve both in winter and summer seasons.<sup>25</sup>

In comparison with other areas, the Fascists made few infrastructural developments in Dodola district. They rather expanded more social services in the neighbor Adaba *wäräda*. The Italian dug some water wells in the town of Dodola. They also installed one wood processing workshop

---

<sup>23</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid, *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Mämire* Täklü Wäarkinäh.

<sup>24</sup> Barker, p.286.

<sup>25</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Kiniso Wabe.

with a machine for sawing wood to use the available forest resources of the area. To transport wood they constructed a short metal track with a narrow gauge from Deneba to Dodola.<sup>26</sup>

The Italians kept unoccupied and uncultivated land under the public domain. They also utilized such unoccupied and uncultivated land for expanded farming to provide food supplies for their soldiers.<sup>27</sup> The Fascist invaders had the vast communal land in the present Qechema *qäbèlè* cultivated by the Ethiopian peasants to produce wheat for their consumption. They also produced grain and vegetables on prison farms. In all cases the cultivation of land was carried out by means of the local peasants. The Italians also considered introducing colonial farms in the area but these were not actually established in Dodola. The problem of transportation to take the product was an obstacle to achieve this goal.<sup>28</sup>

### 3.3. Fascist Administration in Dodola

The Italian administration in some parts of southern Ethiopia seems to have been a continuation of the pre-1935 regime, because not much change in administration was effected. The Italian use of the pre-1935 administrative structure made only a little difference in the conquered territories.<sup>29</sup> In Dodola also the Italians recognized traditional rulers as *balabats* and *čhiqasums* in their former positions.<sup>30</sup>

The Fascist invaders also recruited *bandas* (collaborators) for fighting and intelligence work as an auxiliary force for the success of their control. They were working for the Fascist invaders at the expense of their fellow Oromos. On the contrary, the *fanos* (patriots) objected to and had

---

<sup>26</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama, *Ato* Näga Hailemariam, *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja.

<sup>27</sup> Ketema, p.52; Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia Under Mussolini Fascism and The Colonial Experience* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1985), p.9.

<sup>28</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo, *Ato* Yared Wärrinäh and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim.

<sup>29</sup> P. Newman, *Italy's Conquest of Abyssinia* (London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd, 1937), p.244; Barker, p.10.

<sup>30</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Burka Chukuru and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

done their utmost to resist the incoming enemy force.<sup>31</sup> The Fascist invaders were not directly administrating countryside. Thus, the local appointees executed their orders in the rural areas.<sup>32</sup>

After they secured their control the Italians did something to help peasants in the Bale areas. They promised to restore the formerly lost *gäbbar* lands under their new administration. On the basis of their promises in Goba they restored some land. Nevertheless, the regained land was not given to individuals but allowed to *gosa* (clan) or *balbala* (lineages). The Italians' promise to restore land was not put into practice however in Dodola.<sup>33</sup>

The Italians also made laws to abolish the *gäbbar* system, which gave relief for the peasants. The Italians thus abolished the *gäbbar* system in the area. Moreover, they ended payments of tribute. Hence, peasants became free from forced labor and burdens of tributes. These policies were vital for the Italians to get public acceptance in the period of their occupation. The people therefore regained some rights previously lost to the feudal oppression. Nevertheless, many people still distrusted and doubted the Italians.<sup>34</sup>

The Italians also terminated payment of *asrat*. However, this did not continue in their later administration. Then after a short time they carried out the collection of *asrat* through *balabats* and selected tax collectors who were appointed as *capos* (bosses or heads).<sup>35</sup> The Italians were friendly to the Arsi people of Dodola and they saw northerners or Amhara settlers as enemies. A positive attitude of people towards the Italians in the district dramatically changed when they introduced labor services. The Italian officers forced people to construct roads, offices and

---

<sup>31</sup> Mindaye ,p.71; Informants: *Ato* Yared Wäркиnäh and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

<sup>32</sup> Barker,p.286.

<sup>33</sup> Ketema, pp.50-51; Informants: *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed and *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro.

<sup>34</sup> Ketema,pp.50-51.

<sup>35</sup> Informants: *Ato* Näga HaileMariam ,*Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo. 'Capo' refers to an official in the Italian period and even at present people usually call the manager of a particular project 'Cabbo' (informant: *Ato* Yared Wäркиnäh).

residence buildings but except a road others were not put into effect in Dodola. Moreover, at the time of their conquest the Italians took serious measures such as arrests and deportations in Dodola.<sup>36</sup>

### **3.4. Fascist Invasion as a Factor for the Expansion of Islam**

Fascist administration in the area followed the divide and rule policy, sympathizing with the predominantly Muslim population, hoping to gain its support and the Italians as a whole hoped to appeal externally of the Arab world. It was believed that the Fascists encouraged Islam in the area to counter the former expansion of Christianity by the imperial rule. The Italians formulated this measure not truly to benefit the Muslim population but it was for the success of their divide and rule policy in the area. They also made a nominal attempt to associate their rule with a Muslim type of administration.<sup>37</sup> In this way the Italians appointed many Islamic leaders, *Qadis*, to the secular administration in different parts of Dodola. However, the Italian encouragement of Islam did not affect the indigenous religion and thus *Waaqeffanna* could exist and was even more acceptable to the people than Islam.<sup>38</sup>

Islamization in the Gadeb area is related to the cult of *Haji Shale* who came from Bale with his wife Hamila. He was from the Bamuda clan. In relation to this fact, there was a considerable communication between the Bale regions with Jimma, Gurage, and Arsi even before twentieth century.<sup>39</sup> In Dodola the spread of Islam was associated with famous personalities *Haji Qadir* and *Haji Qasim* of Shedama and the Adamonye clan respectively. They were pioneers in

---

<sup>36</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro, *Obbo* Yaya Kasim and *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo.

<sup>37</sup> Donham and James, p.46.

<sup>38</sup> Terje, pp.38-39 ; Informants: *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Ato* Yared Wärrkinäh.

<sup>39</sup> Terje, p.37 ; Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid and *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa.

embracing Islam before the Italian occupation.<sup>40</sup> The Italians encouraged Islamic practices in contrast to the imperial attempt to expand Christianity. They gave political support for Muslims in Dodola town and its surrounding areas.<sup>41</sup>

In the end the complete defeat of the Italians in Ethiopia led to their immediate withdrawal from Dodola. When the Italian soldiers left the area, the local people expressed their feeling in the following proverb. “*Yaa baanda ya jara mata guduruu lammata as deebi`uun hinjiru Janoon gale Zabanyaan gibbitti galee sollatton [Italians] rakkate malee*” (*Bandas*, your Italian partners have been irrevocably defeated and will not come again. The emperor has come back to his throne and you will be questioned for betrayal of your motherland). This taunt was recited to announce the end of the Italian rule in the area and to create fear in the mind of the *bandas* for their disloyalty.<sup>42</sup>

## Summary and Conclusion

The Italians took control of Bale in 1937. They divided Bale into two *Commissariati* and six *Residenzi*. The Goba *Commissariati* included Dodola, as one of the *Residenzi*. There was some resistance from the *näftäñña*, officials and some Oromos to the Italian occupation in the Dodola area but it ended when elders persuaded *Fitawrari* WäldäMikael to submit. The Italians behaved harshly at first to discourage resistance but later adopted a friendly attitude to the Oromo to induce acceptance of Italian rule. Nevertheless, harsh punishment was imposed on those who committed offences. The Italians administered Dodola indirectly through local *balabats* and *čhiqašums* and in fact there was little change from the pre-1935 methods of administration. The

---

<sup>40</sup> Terje, pp.37-39; Teshome Amenu, “The Rise and Expansion of Islam in Bale of Ethiopia: Socio-Cultural and Political Factors and Inter- Religious Relations” (MA Thesis, Department of Philosophy of Religious Education, the Norwegian Teacher Academy, May 2008), p.12.

<sup>41</sup> Terje, p.39; Informants : *Obbo* Yaya Kasim and *Obbo* Aabba Chabsa Tahiro.

<sup>42</sup> Informants: *Ato* Yared Wäarkinäh, *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid and *Obbo* Hussein Galchu.

Italians themselves remained in Dodola and other small towns and controlled the countryside through collaborators, local officials and the *bandas*.

The Italians built a road from Dodola to Adaba but there were few other Italian infrastructures in the area. They tried to expand grain production and exploited forest timber. The Italians in a divide and rule policy favored the Oromos against the Amhara and opposed some of the feudal burdens of the imperial regime. However, the taxation which they at first abolished was later re-introduced and the Italians imposed severe labour services, though not as much in Dodola as in some other areas. The Italians, also for divide and rule reasons, encouraged Islam in Dodola, but did not discourage *waaqeffanna*.

The Oromo of Dodola gained some advantages from the Italian rule but suffered from the Italian harshness at the beginning, taxation and forced labour. Resentment and suspicion of the Italians continued and the local people expressed satisfaction when the Italians were expelled and that the *bandas*, as they expected, would be punished. In general the Italian presence in Dodola was fairly light, compared with other parts of the country, and they did only a little for new infrastructure in Dodola district and the town.

## Chapter Four

### 4. Dodola District In the Post-Liberation Period (1941-1974)

#### 4.1. Post-Liberation Administrative Developments In Dodola

In the post-liberation period the socio-economic and political system in Ethiopia was influenced by international circumstances, but the emperor continued consolidating his centralized autocratic power. Issues related to internal political threats, maintaining the imperial land tenure systems and administering tax collection were major tasks for the restored government. The imperial regime after restoration set up efficient organization and control over the national military forces. Moreover, the central government intended to put into effect ways of effective financial control in the country.<sup>1</sup>

The restored monarch placed heavy restrictions on the provincial governors. The extent of their power was limited and defined by the 1942 proclamation that the emperor could appoint or dismiss governors.<sup>2</sup> The central government shaped the government structure at the centre, in the provinces and at the local level. The Ministry of Interior controlled the activities of government through the appointed government officials and governors in the country.<sup>3</sup>

The government appointed a few officials from the local population in their respective regions. The *balabats* and *chiqasums* were appointed from the local people. They functioned as the bridge between the people and the government. The *balabats* had less decision making power than before 1935. Hence, those officials appointed by the central government held power in different areas. Decision making in this period resided in the central government. Moreover, the

---

<sup>1</sup>Bahru ,pp.201-202 ; Markakis, *Ethiopia :Anatomy of A traditional Polity...*,p.290.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Gemmechu, " A Nation in Perpetual Transition: The Politics of Changes in Administrative Divisions and Sub-divisions in Ethiopia." In the papers of 12<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Ethiopian Studies. *New Trends in Ethiopia, Vol.2* ( Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press, 1994),p.98.

<sup>3</sup> Perham,p.346; Markakis, *Anatomy of A Traditional Polity...* ,p.290; Informants: *Obbo Abdella Ararso* and *Obbo Mohammed Tenna*.

government maintained the loyalty of local governors by providing advantages for them. In Dodola in the 1960s the *balabats* received land. These land grants did much to confirm their loyalty to the regime.<sup>4</sup>

Most of government structures were occupied by officials more used to traditional politics than the new bureaucracies. Many government officials were not professionals and had no knowledge of modern administration. Thus, the absence of modern skills adversely affected good and uniform leadership in all the regions of the country. Governors' decisions ignored the rights of the ruled. Inefficiency of government officials paved the way for corruption, injustice and social evils.<sup>5</sup> The former discriminatory pattern between privileged and the ordinary people (unprivileged) continued. The idea continued that the *gäbbars* had an inherent obligation to serve their masters.<sup>6</sup>

Under the 1942 proclamation Bale was given the status of *Wäräda Gizat* (District Governorate) with its political centre at Goba. Dodola was then made a *Misläné* (sub-district) under Bale *wärädagizat*. *Fitawrari Wäldä Mikael* governed Dodola together with the appointed officials. Bale *Wäräda Gizat* was governed by the *Indärasé* (the representatives of the central government), *Däjjazmac Mekuriya Bantirgu* (1941-1944). The governor exerted his control through his officials. *Šambäl Dämissie Ambäbir* was also appointed as the director of the province.<sup>7</sup>

After the expulsion of the Italians, *Fitawrari Wäldä Mikael* continued his office as *Balabat* in Dodola. For a few years after the restoration *Wäldä Mikael* less cooperated with other appointed

---

<sup>4</sup> Cohen and Koehn.....,p.8; Informants: *Obbo Kiniso Wabe* and *Obbo Kedir Elemo*.

<sup>5</sup> Markakis, *Ethiopia : Anatomy of A traditional Polity*....., pp.290 ; Informants: *Obbo Chako Wako* and *Obbo Woliyi Kayo*.

<sup>6</sup> Informants: *Ato Yared Wärdäkinäh* and *Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro*.

<sup>7</sup> Mindaye, p.84; Informants: *Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro* and *Obbo Kedir Gammada*.

officials though his administration itself imposed severe feudal oppression over the people. WäldäMikael attempted to coordinate the people through elders and his subordinates. However, some provincial officials saw his effort as a deliberate orientation against the new centralized political order. This was because the central government was uncertain of the complete subordination of people in far remote *wärädas*. Nevertheless, he was not much criticized by the higher officials and governors.<sup>8</sup>

Another proclamation issued in 1946 made changes to the nomenclature and order of the administrative regions. Bale became an *awrajjagizat* (sub-province) and Dodola was raised to *awärädagizat* (district governorate). Both as *wäräda* and *awraja*, Bale was part of the Governorate General of Hararge.<sup>9</sup>

*Fitawrari* WäldäMikael Bui was still the governor of Dodola. The district then served as a center of the neighboring sub-districts: Hasasa, Nansabo, Kokkosa and Dodola itself.<sup>10</sup> The *wäräda* political administration included *wäräda* governors, secretaries, treasurers, judges, *burqas*, a police force and the *äcläbaś* (local militia). However, these government structures were not filled by educated personnel.<sup>11</sup> The governor often gave different gifts, usually sheep, goats, honey and cultural food, *miccirraa* (traditional food made from butter and barley) to the emperor in an intent to demonstrate his status, having the emperor as his godfather through baptism.<sup>12</sup>

In 1960 Bale *äqalaygizat* (Bale Provincial Governorate) was independently formed from the former Hararge province. Five *awrajjagizats* were established in the newly created province. These

---

<sup>8</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Usman Bati, *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo and *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa.

<sup>9</sup> Daniel, "A Nation in Perpetual Transition...", pp.99-100; Solomon, p.5.

<sup>10</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Ato* Yared Wärrinäh.

<sup>11</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro, *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

<sup>12</sup> Informants: *Ato* Näga Haile Mariam and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

were Wabe, Dello, Fasil(Mandoyu),Gannaleand Elkereawrajjas. Then Dodola became the centre of Gannaleawrajjagizat(Gannale sub-province) after this administrative arrangement.<sup>13</sup>

In the post-liberation period of Ethiopia five elections were held for the Chamber of Deputies in the national parliament. The *awraja* and *wäräd* governors were responsible for conducting the elections. In all these elections Dodola was a centre for the surrounding *wärädas*. The elections were conducted in 1955, 1961, 1965, 1969 and 1973. These elections were carried out in all *awrajjagizats* of the Bale province. In Gannaleawrajjaa also in all of the five round election campaigns there were candidates for the seat as a member of parliament in Addis Ababa and the process of election was undertaken in Dodola town.<sup>14</sup> In the first and second round election, the son of *Fitawrari* Wäldä Mikael, Getachew Wäldä Mikael, won the election. *Haji* Abdurkadir Ganamo, Alemu Balcha and Asäfa Bädhaso were elected in the third, fourth and fifth round elections respectively. All these four persons were residents of the Dodola district.<sup>15</sup>

In all the above mentioned elections, registration of voters was carried out by compulsion and was carried in the three months before the election. The candidates who won the election were mainly from the families of the local notables. What the people knew about election was to give their vote for the local notable and there were no real contests in Dodola.<sup>16</sup> These elections did not emanate from any real motive of the emperor for democracy. Thus, elections under the new

---

<sup>13</sup>Lapiso G. Delebo. *Yältiyopiya Sirätina Jimir Kapitalism 1900-1966, Second Edition* (Addis Ababa: *Nigid Matämiya Bêt*, 1983), p.183; Henze, p.238.

<sup>14</sup>Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, Report from Bale *Täqalay Gizat* to *Yähig Mämriya Mikir Bêt Amakariwoch Mircha Asfetsami Bord*, Folder No. 5.12.15, File No. 3091/73, Date *Tir* 15, 1965 E.C.

<sup>15</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Getachew Wäldä Mikael.

<sup>16</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Elemo and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja.

1955 constitution were the result of changes in international political circumstances that put pressure on the domestic politics of Ethiopia in the post-liberation period.<sup>17</sup>

The presence of a judiciary plays a pivotal role in society. The people were introduced to the contemporary court system in the post-liberation period. Courts were formed at the central government level, provincial courts and local ones. Administering justice in the post-1941 period at the local level was carried out by *YatibiyaDaññas* (local judges). *YatibiyaDañña* was a title given for the post of the local jurisdiction and the judge himself. These local judges administered the justice system at the grass root level when certain minor controversies arose between people in the neighborhood, cases related to conflicts about property, civil and minor criminal matters. These local judges were elected by the people to serve them in maintaining justice and then appointed by the government. The local judges enforced government laws in the area they were assigned and took decisions on different cases for punishment.<sup>18</sup>

In Dodola there were two *YatibiyaDaññas*. These were set up in Qechema and Serofta. The appointed persons were also known by the title *YatibiyaDañña*. Chukuru Tekesa and Balambäras Simbiru Kisi were assigned to the post of *YatibiyaDañña* in Qechema and Serofta respectively.<sup>19</sup>

The *gada* system was functioning in Dodola side by side with the official administration in the post-liberation period. However, *gada* faced some challenges from the expansion of Islam and Christianity. Internally, the elected *abbagadas* did not have willingness to transfer power (*baallee*) to their successors. They extended the periodic transition of power, violating the

---

<sup>17</sup>Markakis, *Ethiopia : Anatomy of A Traditional Polity*...., p.290; Informants: Mämire Täklü Wärkinäh and Obbo Kabe Wayu.

<sup>18</sup>Teshale .p.125; Informants: Obbo Haji Gobu, Obbo Hussein Roba and Obbo Juara Gelgelu.

<sup>19</sup> Informants: Obbo Kabeto Garjaja and Obbo Hussein Galchu.

The *gada* system was functioning in Dodola side by side with the official administration in the post-liberation period. However, *gada* faced some challenges from the expansion of Islam and Christianity. Internally, the elected *abba gadas* did not have willingness to transfer power (*baallee*) to their successors. They extended the periodic transition of power, violating the fundamental *gada* regulations. The *gada* system was also misperceived as a contradictory institution to the modern administration even by some Oromos who had been familiar with its practices.<sup>20</sup>

In December 1954 the governor of Bale *awrajja gizat*, *Fitawrari* Taddässä Nägaś, tried to make Adaba the administrative centre of the Gedab *Wäräda gizat*. Nevertheless, in 1955 the people of Dodola appealed to the Ministry of Interior opposing the change of the administrative centre from Dodola to Adaba. The people expressed their opinion as follows,

“ለህዝብዎ ብርሃን የሆኑ ክቡርነቶ ጃነሆይ የባሉ አወራጃ ገዢ የሆነው ፊታወራሪ ታደሰ ነጋሽ ለስልሳ አመት ከኖርንባት ዶዶላ ከተማ ቤታችን የወረዳ ግዛቱን ወደ አዳባ ሊያዘዋወር ስለሆነ የሀገር ገዢ ሚኒስትር መፍትሔ እንዲሰጠን እንጠይቃለን።”<sup>21</sup>

(Your Majesty Emperor Haile Sellasie, the governor of Bale *awrajja gizat* *Fitawrari* Taddässä Nägaś has unilaterally decided to move the administrative centre of Gadeb *wäräda gizat*. The Gedab *wäräda gizat* administration was to be transferred from our home the Dodola town to Adaba. Should our appeal receive your favorable consideration we want an immediate solution from the Ministry of Interior).

In their appeal the people also exposed the real reasons for Taddässä’s decision to set up the *wäräda gizat* centre in Adaba town. This was because of the presence of his own *rist* holding and

<sup>20</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo, *Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Hussein Galchu.

<sup>21</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, *Yä Dodola Hizboch Abétota* to Ministry of Interior: Addis Ababa, Folder. 6307, File No. No.1.1.13.31, Date *Mägabit* 6, 1947 E.C; Informant: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid.

of Covenant of five churches were all in Dodola not in Adaba. They also noted that Dodola possessed thirty-two *burqas* whereas Adaba only had six *burqas* and three *tabots*.<sup>22</sup>

Then the Ministry of Interior ordered the administrators of Bale to evaluate the two towns and choose the appropriate one. *Däjjazmac* Mekuriya Bantirgu, Colonel Käbädä Gäbrè and *Däjjazmac* Lätibälu visited both Adaba and Dodola town. Thus, Wäldä Mikael could persuade the delegates of Bale and the central Government. Finally, in February 1955 the central government decided that the *wärädagizat* administrative office should stay in its former seat in Dodola.<sup>23</sup>

In 1960 again the people of Gedabwäradä (Dodola) appealed to His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellasie against the transfer of the *awrajjagimjabèt* usually called *Yämargotära* (Honey Store). It had already been shifted from Dodola to Dello wäradä in 1959. This measure was taken to develop Dello and Harena Buluk. *Grazmac* Waqo Shaqe, the head of this *gimjabèt* in Dodola was also transferred to Dello. Wako energetically presented his appeal to Bale *awrajjagizat* and to the Ministry of Interior. However, he unfortunately died in 1960.<sup>24</sup>

The *awrajjagizat* indärase also proposed to change the Gadeb (Dodola) *wärädagizat* centre to Dello. The people of Dodola now heard that the *wärädagizat* centre would be transferred to Dello. Then they appealed as follows; The Gedabwäradä *gizat* was larger than all other *wärädagizats* in Bale. The previously measured and the unmeasured land was able to form even one *awrajjagizat* and Dodola was bordered with Sidamo and Arsi but Dello was not.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A Letter of appeal “*YäDodola Hizboch Abètota*” to Ministry of Interior: Addis Ababa, Folder No. 1.1.13.31, File No. 6307, Date *Mägabit* 6, 1947 E.C.

<sup>23</sup>Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A Letter from Ministry of Interior to Ministry of Pen: Addis Ababa, *YäDodola Hizboch Abètota*, Folder No. 1.1.13.31, File No. 18538/5, Date *Mägabit* 27, 1947 E.C.

<sup>24</sup>Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A Letter from Dodola *Wäräda* People to His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellasie, Folder No. 1.1.13.31, File No. 354/02/1, Date 20/12/1952 E.C. (see appendix xvii)

<sup>25</sup>Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A Letter from Dodola *Wäräda* People to His Majesty Emperor Haile Sellasie, Folder No. 1.1.13.31, File No. 354/02/1, Date 20/12/1952 E.C. (see appendix xvii)

The people further expressed that Dello was a lowland, there were malaria epidemics and it was far from Dodola. It took five days to go there through Harena and ten days through Adaba. Their pack animals were dying due to the long distance to Dello, the topography of Dello was barren, arid, terrain and had shortage of water. Moreover, Dodola was nearer to Sidamo and Arsi than Dello and the highland people could not survive moving long distances and the lowland temperature. Then the central government considered their argument and made the final decision to return the *gimjabèt* to Dodola in 1960 and the *wärädagizat* centre remained at Dodola.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4.2. Land Tenure

The history of land tenure in Ethiopia is too wide and complicated to be reconstructed in a limited thesis topic, but it is clear that the Ethiopian imperial state, in the period after the liberation was characterized by increasing land expropriation.<sup>27</sup>

Measuring and identifying land were among the main tasks of the imperial government in the post-liberation period. *Gäbbarland* (tenant land), *samonland* (church land), *madäria* (temporary holdings), *yämängistMäret* (government land) and *gebrätäl* (land taken due to non-payment of tax) land were forms of land classification at the level of the country as a whole. In Dodola there were also about four hundred *gaša* of land classified as unproductive, as reported after the *qäläd* (land measurement) had been completed. This land was in the coldest part adjacent to the mountainous area in the south of the district. The land was a habitat of wildlife and very small scale production.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*; Informants: Ato Yared Wärrinäh, Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro and Ato Bäkälä Abaynäh.

<sup>27</sup> Bizuwork, p.1.

<sup>28</sup> Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Land Administration. The Department of Land Tenure. Report on "Land Tenure Survey of Bale province" (Addis Ababa: Imperial Ethiopian Government, December 1969), p.25.

The 1941 proclamation brought new tax laws, whereby individuals were supposed to pay half the pre-Italian amount and were relieved from the additional labor services to landlords. In fact this relief in the proclamation did not turn out to be relief at all. The 1942 proclamation declared payment of taxation to be based on the quality of the land: fifteen *birr* for *läm* (fertile), ten *birr* for *lämṭäf* (semi-fertile) and five *birr* for *ṭäf* (infertile land). In Dodola also the same land classification was undertaken with corresponding taxation.<sup>29</sup>

In Dodola some *burqas* and the *čhiqasums* pressurized peasants to declare their land as *ṭäfso* that the government could take two-thirds of the land with only one third remaining for the peasant. It was under this pretext that the government took land and distributed it to its loyal servants. The *lämṭäf* land was not taken from the people but subjected to additional taxation over the previous amount. If the land was *läm* it would also be retained to the owners but with more added taxation.<sup>30</sup>

The first *qäläd* land measurement in Dodola was carried out in 1944/45. This *qäläd* system was visually undertaken by *burqas*, *mislänes* and *balabats*. There was no difference in tax for both the measured and unmeasured lands.<sup>31</sup> In 1951 the central government sent three groups of surveyors to Bale for measuring land. The first group moved to Dello and Goba while the second group was directed to Dodola (Gadeb) and the third one to Ginnir. They were supported by *balabats* and *burqas*. Those surveyors who were sent to Dodola carried out the task of measuring land from 1951 and completed the measurement in 1953. It was for the first time in the area that land was

---

<sup>29</sup> Ketema, p.56.

<sup>30</sup> Informants: Ato Yared Wäarkinäh, Obbo Mohammed Tenna and Obbo Kiniso Wabe.

<sup>31</sup> Perham, p.355; Mähtämä Sellase Wäldämäsqäl. *Zikrä Nägär* (Addis Ababa: Nätsanät Printing Press, 1942 E.C (1949/50), pp.140-141.

measured by experts. Thus, *Fitawrari* Taddässä Nägäś the *Indärase* of Bale *awrajjagizat* supervised the work of measuring land in all Bale region.<sup>32</sup>

In this survey period the Dodola peasants refused to disclose their holdings to the surveyors and even broke the surveyors' surveying instruments because peasants suspected that if their land was measured, they might lose part of it. Thus, surveyors' then sought the protection of the police force while measuring land. Therefore, the *awrajja* authorities in support of their appeal ensured the security of the surveyors and warned the people to stop violence. The officials strictly announced that the people might lose their land if the date of measurement expired and the survey had not been completed.<sup>33</sup> However, the people still preferred the old visual measurement rather than measurement by instrument.<sup>34</sup>

The measured lands were classified as *gäbbar* (tenant land or sometimes private land) and *samon* land (church land). There were also *madäria* (temporary holdings) granted temporarily to people loyal to the government, *yämängistmäret* (government land), that is unoccupied land under government control and *gebrätäl*.<sup>35</sup> The intentions of the government to measure land were to identify taxable lands and in order to get additional taxpayers in the area. Therefore, the *qälad* system made it possible to increase the state revenue.<sup>36</sup> Then the completion of land measurement led to the increase of taxation and revenue: forty-five *birr*, forty *birr* and fifteen *birr* per *gasä* were to be paid for *läm*, *lämṭäf* and *ṭäfl* land respectively.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>32</sup> Ketema, p.62.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Tufa Galchu, Ato Yared Wärrinäh and *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro.

<sup>35</sup> Ketema, pp.62-63.

<sup>36</sup> Lاپiso, p.83; Informants: *Obbo* Burka Chukuru and *Obbo* Haji Gobu.

<sup>37</sup> Ketema, p.66.

Churches and the clergy were beneficiaries from the newly introduced land system. Both land and *gäbbars* were granted to churches in Dodola area.<sup>38</sup> There had been landholding of the Church even before the penetration of the Italians to Dodola area. In 1935 about five churches in Gedabarea possessed ninety-seven *gasä* of land. Among those churches GäbräKristos church of Dodola had twenty *gasä* of *gult* land while the remained *gasäs* were shared among the others.<sup>39</sup>

After the liberation the already granted land to the Church continued under a different name. *Yäqesmärèt* (priestly land), *Yädäbtäramärèt* (land for *däbtära* service), *Yädaqonmärèt* (land for deacon service), *yä-gäbäzmärèt* (land for the church officials) became known by the common name *samon* land.<sup>40</sup>

The extra land was identified by the survey. The government granted this land as *madäria tonäčläbaś*, soldiers and loyal people from 1954 onwards. Thus, *Fitawrari Taddässa Negaś* requested the central government for land to be granted to *näčläbaś* in different *wärädas*. In Dodola also land grants were allowed to these people on the basis of their rank. The temporarily (*madäria*) granted land was later recognized as in permanent ownership in 1967.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the economic difficulty and the increasing amount of taxation peasants were nevertheless constrained to pay the required government taxation and therefore tax defaulters became increasing in number in Dodola district. Then the provincial governors took harsh measures against those who had not paid tax. Large numbers of peasants were punished and their land was

---

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p.43.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*; Informant: *Obbo* Mohammed Tenna.

<sup>40</sup> Informants: *Ato* Näga Haile Mariam, *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo and *Obbo* Usman Bati; Ketema, pp.36-43.

<sup>41</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, Letter from *Yämärèt Yizotana Astädadär Minister to Gannale Awrajja Gibrina Tsifät Bät*, Folder No.19569, File No.822/17/3/30, Date 12/01/1962 E.C.

confiscated. The *wäräda* officials were also punished and dismissed due to their failure to collect tributes in the fixed time. The treasurer of Dodola, Godana Shagge, was dismissed.<sup>42</sup>

The inability to pay taxation increased *gebrätel* land for which government tax had not been paid. In 1963 about 1061 *gasas* of *gebrätel* land were registered in Gannaleawrajja.<sup>43</sup> The regime gave little emphasis to agricultural development and this was a major reason for stagnation of production. In Dodola land measurement by instruments was uniformly undertaken in the same year as other Bale areas. Then land was categorized as developed, partly developed and undeveloped respectively. As new land was available after survey, the government could thus identify unoccupied land and gave categories to all the measured lands. The land classified as undeveloped was confiscated and granted to others.<sup>44</sup>

### **4.3. Maladministration, Burdens of Taxations and the Resulting Peasant**

#### **Protest and Rebellion in Dodola**

The imperial government considered Bale as a remote and inaccessible area. This neglect and little attention led to poor administration in the area. From the 1940s peasants in Bale resorted to appeals to the government against land confiscation and the burdensome government taxation. The people collected petitions against the arbitrary execution of government policies in general.<sup>45</sup>

In Bale including Dodola the major causes for the peasant rising were land measurement or *qäläd*, land grants, increasing taxation and ill-treatment of the people by government

---

<sup>42</sup> Ketema, p.68.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68; Informants: *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo and *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro.

<sup>45</sup> Crummey, p.242 ; Mindaye, pp.86.

officials.<sup>46</sup> Dodola district held the highest percentages of land confiscation due to tax default and the presence of cultivable land.<sup>47</sup>

Governors and even minor local officials were guilty of maladministration. The provincial Governor did not strictly supervise his subordinates even when they appropriated government property for their private gain.<sup>48</sup> In Dodola *Fitawrari Wäldä Mikael* secretly used the Imperial *maderia* land for his private benefit throughout the 1940s. This land was reserved for people loyal to the government, usually in local sources called the land of *śaläqas*. It was found in *Gefersaqäbälé* bordered with Harena.<sup>49</sup>

Acts of corruption also led to deficits in the government finances in Dodola. Officials embezzled money collected from the people for different purposes. For instance, the money collected for the reception of the emperor's visit in 1970 was partly embezzled by officials. Hence, all the collected money was not really spent for the welcoming feast.<sup>50</sup>

The *Indärase* of Bale *ṭäkläy Gizat, Fitawrari Abäbä Gäbrä* (1960-1963), treated the people and the government officials very harshly. The governor dismissed *wäräda* officials and other staff including the Vice President of the provincial court in 1961. Thus, they were appealing to the emperor saying that he was inefficient and greedy.<sup>51</sup> For instance *Alämu Gälätu*, who was the government officer and the storekeeper of the Dodola district, was dismissed for unknown

---

<sup>46</sup> Informants: *Obbo Ibrahim Tola* and *Obbo Getahew Wäldä Mikael*.

<sup>47</sup> Mindaye, p.89; Informant: *Obbo Kabeto Garjaja* and *Ato Yared Wärdinäh*.

<sup>48</sup> John Markakis, *Ethiopia, the Last Two Frontiers* (New York : Boydell and Brewer, 2011), p.150; Shiferaw Bekele (ed). *An Economic History of Ethiopia. The Imperial Era 1941-1974. CODESRIA, Vol. I* (Dakar : Antony Rowe Ltd, 1995), p.121.

<sup>49</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, Private Case file , An appeal from *Täka Bädaso* against *Fitawrari Wäldä Mikael* to *Yällfiñ Askälkay Tsifët Bét*. Addis Ababa , Folder No.1.1.14.08 File No. 1830, Date 19 ,7,1947 E.C.(see appendix x)

<sup>50</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A letter from *Gannaleawrajja* Administration to Bale *ṭäkläy Gizat* , Folder No. 17.1.5.12.09, File No. 3366/961, Date *Hamlé* 13, 1963 E.C. (see appendix xxiv)

<sup>51</sup> National Archive and Library Agency, An appeal from the people of Dodola to Bale *ṭäkläy Gizat Tsifët Bét* , Folder No. 6307, File No.1.1.14.09, Date *Ginbot* 9, 1961 E.C

reasons. Moreover, *Fitawrari Abäbä* was not actively taking serious measures against criminals who troubled public security and thus he governed the people in a way that undermined the long existing values shared between Christians and Muslims. This was regarded by the people as part of the unjust and arbitrary administration.<sup>52</sup>

Throughout the 1950s peasants in Dodola were demanding government reconsideration regarding the large scale land confiscation and the excessive taxation. The authorities gave no attention to the appeal of the peasants and forceful confiscation of land in succeeding years continued. Coercive collection of taxation further intensified the protest in the 1950s and later on led to rebellion. Confiscation of land and other injustices climaxed peasant protest in Dodola. Thus, in Bale peasants lost about 2000 hectares of land and the Dodola district peasants lost part of this amount.<sup>53</sup> The establishment of the Ministry of Land Reform and Administration was among those measures taken to minimize public dissatisfaction. In fact the newly founded Ministry, the Emperor and the parliament were not really working to ameliorate tenancy or carry out land reform.<sup>54</sup>

In 1960 the people of Gedabawrajjagizat appealed to the Ministry of Finance. They presented that it had been decided to pay taxation demanded each year before the end of June. However, many people did not pay before the completion of this deadline. The revenue officers refused to receive the payment when taxpayers came after the completion of the fixed date and ordered them to pay twofold, both land and health taxation. The people appealed to the ministerial office not to demand the twofold tax, because this amount would require them to sell either all their

---

<sup>52</sup> National Archive and Library Agency, An appeal from the people of Dodola to Bale *Täklay Gizat Tsifäbät*, Folder No. 6307, File No. 1.1.14.09, Date *Ginbot* 9, 1961 E.C (see appendix xix); Informants: *Obbo Kedir Gammada* and *Obbo Juara Gelgelu*.

<sup>53</sup> Ketema, p. 68; Informants: *Obbo Burka Chukuru*, *Obbo Kiniso Wabe* and *Obbo Yaya Kasim*.

<sup>54</sup> John Michael Cohen, "Effects of Green Revolution and Small Scale Land Owners in Chilalo Region Ethiopia." *Journal of Developing Press*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1975), pp. 136-138.

cattle or land. Thus, the ministry accepted their demand and they were allowed to pay only the assessed tax.<sup>55</sup>

In 1966 the new tax reform act abolished the intermediary role of *ristägults* and required the direct payment of land tax to the state. This was justifiable to increase government revenue yet relatively minimize injustice in tax collection. There was still land grant in the form of reward and commercialization of agriculture was also growing. The economic hardship due to the low level of production reduced the capacity to pay the required taxation within the predetermined time.<sup>56</sup>

Peasants were subjected to pay all forms of exaction. Land tax, education tax, health taxation and debts to moneylenders incurred by borrowing money at high interest rate to pay taxes, rents and for other problems were among burdens to peasants.<sup>57</sup> Failure to pay expected taxation usually led to loss of land and even to other severe punishment. Thus, in Dodola many peasants were victims of detention and unjust treatment.<sup>58</sup>

The 1967 amendment of taxation ended payment of tithe (*asrat*) but introduced a new tax to be exacted from agricultural earnings.<sup>59</sup> This reform ended the criteria of identifying land as measured or unmeasured land to pay taxation. Thus land taxation was to be determined based on the agricultural yield from the land. A new committee was also formed to avoid the former unjust assessment and to implement properly the reviewed tax regulation. The amount of taxation would depend on the assessment of agricultural yields. The committee comparatively minimized

---

<sup>55</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A Letter from *Yällfign Askälkay Tsifët Bét* to the Ministry of Pen. A Response to the Appeal of the Gedab *Wäräda Gizat* People, Folder No. 1.1.14.08, File No. 4950/31/60, Date *Nähase* 27, 1952 E.C. (see appendix viii)

<sup>56</sup> Bahru, p.193; Saheed A. Adejumboi, *The History of Ethiopia* (London: Greenwood Press, 2007), p.104.

<sup>57</sup> Adejumboi, p.100.

<sup>58</sup> Informants: *Obbo Hajaro Lugamo, Obbo Getahew Wädlä Mikael* and *Obbo Robe Mama*.

<sup>59</sup> Adejumboi, p.100.

the former injustice in taxation but its members were not fully trusted because they were receiving bribes from peasants. Thus, the revised tax law brought insignificant improvements and injustices in taxation continued.<sup>60</sup>

Dodola peasants continued appealing to the provincial authorities in order to regain their land and re-assessment of its quality because the former assessors had not genuinely categorized their land. The assessors had categorized land as *läm* if the owner did not give them bribes. Therefore, the assessors' bias in turn led to high taxation.<sup>61</sup> These situations led to land alienation and in the long run the rebellion that occurred from 1963-1970.<sup>62</sup>

After the Ethiopian liberation the British government was interested to include Ogaden to its administration in British Somaliland. Although the British government could not achieve this plan it roused national ambition in the Somali people, particularly the youth. Thus, when the Bale Oromos protested against imperial rule the Somali Republic politically and ideologically assisted the Oromos, to attain the Somali wish to take large parts of Ethiopia, the Ogaden, into the Somali Republic.<sup>63</sup>

Opposition to the new land and taxation laws was very great and became a cause of the Bale peasant rebellion. The rebel groups in eastern Bale were headed by a distinguished person, Mohammed Ali Robe. Participants of the rebel groups in this area were coordinated not by orders and compulsion but by the voluntary efforts of individuals. In Dodola the revolt commenced in the form of a traditional *shifto* (bandit) type led by Bäkälä Dewano and

---

<sup>60</sup> Bahru, p.194; Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo.

<sup>61</sup> Ketema, pp.80-81.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p.78.

<sup>63</sup> The *Därg* Central Committee, *Mäskäräm*. No. 2 ( Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1974 E.C /1981), p.43; Informants: *Obbo* Tufa Galchu and *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo.

GeletoDekema. These individuals took the initiative in collaboration with Wayu Ware from Nansabo.<sup>64</sup>

Rebellion openly broke out mainly in areas adjacent to HarenaBulluk. One of the seven major clans in Dodola, the Biltu, were the initiators of the revolt. This clan lived close to Harena in the south of the district. Many people also joined the rebellion from the neighboring Hodituclan. The revolt in Dodola was spearheaded by UmerKabeto and BäkäläDewano.<sup>65</sup>

In March 1964 emperor HaileSellasie made his first historic visit to Bale. The emperor considered peasants' complaints and promised them, unrealistically, the chance of reclaiming former confiscated land, if still unoccupied, by paying the former tax arrears or purchasing the measured government land.<sup>66</sup> To win their support the emperor also allowed a *siso*(1/3) land to be granted to *balabats*.<sup>67</sup>

The emperor then conducted discussion with the provincial *awraja* governors and Muslim religious leaders in Goba. Deciding ways how to stop the rebellion in Bale was the major issue of discussion. Many questions regarding the absence of infrastructure in Bale were also raised by the participants. Then the emperor responded to questions raised from different participants. Hence, schools, roads and clinics were to be built in Bale. Moreover, the emperor advised both the governors and Islamic religious leaders to stop the rebellion.<sup>68</sup>

The *Indärase* of Bale province, WäruInqusellasie(1964-1970), was reluctant to respond immediately to the appeal of the peasants. He rather enforced officials to collect accumulated

---

<sup>64</sup> Informant: *ObboKabetoGarjaja* and *AtoYaredWärkinäh*; GebruTareke, *Power and Protest. Peasant Revolt In The Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1991),p.150; Lapiso,p.188.

<sup>65</sup> Informants: *ObboKabetoGarjaja* and *AtoYaredWärkinäh*; Lapiso, p.188; Gebru, *Power and Protest*....,p.150.

<sup>66</sup> Ketema,pp.80-81.

<sup>67</sup> Bahru,p.216; Informants: *ObboKabeWayu* and *Obbo Abba FogeTahiro*.

<sup>68</sup> Mindaye,p.89; Informants: *ObboKabeWayu* and *ObboKabetoGarjaja*.

taxation arrears right from 1953 onwards. Then the Dodola peasants once again collected petitions and appealed to the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Interior through their representatives Fato Ayane, Mohammed Dekama, Ibrahim Nure and *Haji Hebo Guye* to present the case. After a series of discussions the ministers advised Wärru to review the situation and allow the petitioners to regain their land following payment of the new registration fees.<sup>69</sup>

In late 1966 Wärru changed his former decision to collect tax arrears with penalty for non-payment. Then he wrote a letter to the Gannaleawrajjagovernor, *Fitawrari Wäldä Mikael Bui*. In his letter, Wärru criticized the governor and officials for accumulated unpaid tax arrears. However, he then ordered the governor to collect registration fees from the complainants and return land back to the former owners. This was only allowed to the specific petitioners not others and therefore the discontent continued.<sup>70</sup>

The government took a liberal approach towards the local people of Dodola to obtain their support against the rebels, promising to return the confiscated land if it had not already been granted to other individuals. Nevertheless, the rebels kept up their violence, cooperating with the neighboring rebels in Adaba. The protest climaxed both in Dodola and Adaba districts. They killed Bäkälä Haragu, the governor of Adaba, in 1965.<sup>71</sup>

This situation went for the government from bad to worse. Then in addition to the local Militia, the Territorial military force from Goba was sent to the Gedab area to pacify the existing turmoil. Wäldä Mikael was under pressure, being blamed for the failure to prevent this revolt. The provincial governor ordered Wäldä Mikael to lead the forces which were mobilized to Biltu, a

---

<sup>69</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A letter from the People of Dodola to Ministry of Interior, Folder No. 19569, File No. 3957, Date 5/9/1958 E. C.; Ketema, pp. 81-82.

<sup>70</sup> Ketema, pp. 81-82.

<sup>71</sup> Mindaye, p. 89; Gebru, *Power and Protest*....., pp. 144-145; Bahru, p. 145.

place where there was a heavy conflict, to suppress the rebellion. However, the government forces led by *Fitawrari* Wäldä Mikael Bui collapsed and Wäldä Mikael himself was killed by a rebel bullet in 1966. Police forces and many territorial soldiers were also killed together with the governor in this anti-rebel offensive.<sup>72</sup> The protests were further escalating after the two governors were killed by the rebels. The revolt further expanded in Dodola and other parts of Gannale *awrajja* because the imperial order to receive appeals for reclaiming land was ignored after 1967.<sup>73</sup>

The rebels controlled the town of Dodola for some short time. This action greatly worsened the situation for the government. Moreover, they cut the main road connecting Goba and Addis Ababa. Then by sending more soldiers and winning over some of the rebels the central government opened the road for the supplies of food and ammunitions to its troops. This effort enabled the government to avoid immediate loss of political dominance over the area. Gradually the government was able to contain the uprising in Dodola but it was not totally terminated until 1970.<sup>74</sup>

The prolonged peasant uprising did not end soon though measures were taken by the government to end the revolt. Hence, in 1967 all the Bale *awrajjas* including Gannale were put under martial law.<sup>75</sup> Then Colonel Belew was made the Governor General of Gannale *awrajja* and

---

<sup>72</sup>Gebru, *Power and Protest*.....,pp.144-145; Bahru ,p.216; Mindaye, p.89; Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Obbo* Chako Wako and *Obbo* Kabe Wayu.

<sup>73</sup>Gebru, *Power and Protest*.....,p.216; Ketema,p.82; Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Galchu and *Obbo* Abdella Ararso.

<sup>74</sup> Mindaye,p.89; Gebru, *Power and Protest*.....,p.145; Informants: *Ato* Bäkälä Abaynäḥ and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

<sup>75</sup>Gebru, *Power And Protest*.....,p.145.

*Qäñazmac* Tibäbu Wäldä Mikael succeeded his father. Dawano Hebano was appointed as the head of the *burqas* to carry out government affairs.<sup>76</sup>

In 1970 the emperor paid an official visit to Bale *ṭäqlaygizat* for the second time and Gannale *awrajja* the first time. On this occasion the officials and the people of Bale demonstrated great hospitality to the guests and visiting authorities. The people provided a ceremony by compulsion at Goba and Dodola for the emperor's historic visit. Colonel Mängäsha Wäldä Kidan, the governor of Gannale *awrajja*, coordinated all the *balabats* and the people for the honor of the emperor. Major General Jagama Kello, the *Indärasé* of Bale *ṭäqlaygizat*, also came to Dodola with emperor Haile Sellasie I. There was a warm public reception in Dodola; women came into the street with their traditional celebration or *Siqqee* and priests with their ark to welcome the emperor.<sup>77</sup> In his visit to Dodola the emperor granted different titles for those loyal to the government for instance *Grazmac* Täsäma Ayidengitugot the title of *Fitawrari*. Then the emperor moved to Nansabo and visit the coffee production zone.<sup>78</sup> After completion of his visit in Dodola the emperor recognized all the progress of the district and the *awrajja gizat* in general.<sup>79</sup>

Like other Bale areas the peasant revolt in Dodola could not bring desirable changes to the deep rooted problems of the people. However, it maintained public security and government strict control for a time after the rebellion. A very bad dry weather road was constructed from Dodola to Nansabo as a means of government control but was not useable by vehicles. A telecommunication office was set up in the town of Dodola in 1973.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>76</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Kabe Wayu.

<sup>77</sup> Bale Province Administration, A letter from Imperial Government of Ethiopian Ministry of Interior to Bale *ṭäqlaygizat*, Folder No. 810/63, File No. 13906/45, Date *Sënë* 21, 1963 E.C. (see appendix xxv)

<sup>78</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabe Wayu and *Obbo* Tufa Galchu.

<sup>79</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Gemmechu Roba and *Obbo* Hussein Galchu.

<sup>80</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Ato* Näga Haile Mariam and *Mämire* Täklü Workinäh.

The absence of justice and inefficient policies of the country negatively influenced the peasant economy. Thus, in Ethiopia peasants were striving for their priority demands, land and socio-political freedom to improve their life.<sup>81</sup> The backward agricultural production and poor economic condition of the peasants steadily worsened their life. Limited technological growth, an unfair landholding system and insufficient government budget for agricultural development led to decline in the subsistence agricultural sector.<sup>82</sup>

#### 4.4. Policy Direction and Agricultural Growth in Dodola

In the period after the liberation of Ethiopia crop production in Dodola outweighed animal rearing. Arable agriculture became the major economic activity in Dodola. Land grants and sale were also expanded. This circumstance resulted in reduction of communal grazing land.<sup>83</sup>

The post-liberation period saw a great range of land grants in Bale highland areas. There was a large proportion of vacant land in northern Bale that attracted the imperial land grant policy. Reduction in landownership of the Bale peasants was a result of land grants to retired soldiers, exiles of 1935-41, to patriots who had fought against the Fascist invaders and prominent men. In Goba and Dodola the people opposed this government action. The increasing values of land also hastened the transfer of land by selling to others under legal agreements. Moreover, land grants and failure to pay taxation led peasants to lose their lands and become tenants.<sup>84</sup>

In 1950s, there were large scale land grants to members of the royal family in Dodola and other Bale areas. Thus, a large tract of cultivable and fertile land was taken in the district and given as

---

<sup>81</sup> Addis Hiwet, p.102.

<sup>82</sup> Gebru Tareke, *The Ethiopian Revolution* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), p.17.

<sup>83</sup> *Yä Dodola Käfiteñña Hulätäñña Därajä Timihirit Bêt, Yä Dodola Käfiteñña Hulätäñña Därajä Timihirit Bêt Amäsärarät Ačhir Tarik* (Addis Ababa: Birhanena Selam Printing Press, 1984), p.13.

<sup>84</sup> Ketema, pp.4-9; Henze, p.262.

a royal *rist* to the *LeulMäridAzmachAsfawäsän HaileSillasié*, the heir to throne. *Abägaz Hussein Chako* was assigned to administer of the royal *rist* land in Bale area.<sup>85</sup>

According to the 1952 Land Proclamation, land grants were promised to the unemployed, loyal government servants and landless Ethiopians. The state also distributed *gult* right to extract tributes in the form of goods and services from the peasantry for its military and civil personnel.<sup>86</sup>

The imperial regime gave less emphasis to the growth of peasant agriculture. Mechanized and commercialized agriculture were thought to be the best measures for agricultural growth.<sup>87</sup> Hence, private commercial farms were encouraged instead of production for subsistence. Marketable crops, especially wheat production, dominated other agricultural products in the district.<sup>88</sup> Land grants for government functionaries were widely carried out in Dodola throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The government offered large tracts of land to the landless, police, soldiers and civil officers in the district.<sup>89</sup>

In Dodola the plain area that covered a large proportion of land was set aside as a *Yäsindé* zone (wheat production zone). This area covered the present Heraro, Hunte, HaraDakiye, Qachema and other areas in the eastern and northern parts of the district. A semi-plain area Nansabowa was on the other hand proposed to be a *Yäbuna* zone (zone of coffee production).<sup>90</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup>Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A letter of Appeal from the Bale People to Bale *TäqalayGizat* Rist land Administration. *YäBale Märét*, 1942-1955, Folder No. 2.1.18.02, File No. 1238/44, Date *Megabit* 16, 1944 E.C; Informant: *Obbo Abba FogeTahiro* and *ObboChako Wako*.

<sup>86</sup>Bizuwork, p.74; John Michael Cohen and DovWeintraub, *Land and Peasant in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to Revolution*, (Assen: Vangorcum, 1975), pp.60-61.

<sup>87</sup>*Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>88</sup>Informants: *ObboWoliyi Kayo* and *ObboKumbiKetaro*.

<sup>89</sup>WäldäMäskäl Tariku Memorial and Research Center, A letter from Ministry of Land Administration to Bale *TäqalayGizat*. Folder No. 29/08, File No. 1/18579, Date *Hamlé* 29, 1952 E.C.

<sup>90</sup>Informants: *ObboMekonnenHasen*, *Obbo Burka Chukuru* and *ObboWoliyi Kayo*.

The plain and fertile land attracted commercial farming in the district. The government rented out the land previously reserved for public utility. Thus, some private commercial farmers from the local area and outside concluded an agreement for land renting with the government. A man who came from Šäwa, *Fitawrari* Ashagari, took the land for commercial farming to produce coffee in the southern part of Dodola district. However, he died in an accident on his way back from visiting the farmland. Thus, the attempted coffee production was not successful in Dodola.<sup>91</sup>

Local wealthy men were also involved in commercial farming especially in the production of wheat. These private commercial farmers included Boruu Gaarii, Asäfa Bädhaso, Egi Cuqala and Ayälä Täklä Tsion. Other *balabats* who were able to do so, *Fitawrari* Wäldä Mikael and *Grazmac* Täsäma Aydängitu, were also undertaking a large scale wheat production.<sup>92</sup>

Commercialization of agriculture paved the way for the beginning of tractorization in the 1960s. Tractorization increased efficiency of production but consequently contributed to the growing price of land. Landlords and commercial farmers began to lease land at a higher price and use it with security for only a fixed period.<sup>93</sup> Government officials and landowners ventured into the expanding sector of commercial farming using tractors. In 1963 in Dodola about 30 tractors were operating on private and commercial farms. These factors led to land alienation, eviction and displacement.<sup>94</sup> Commercialization was not only limited to the government receiving land rent from individual holdings but also the government sold parts of the reserved land for private commercial farms. Local farm owners were the main actors of this commercial farming.<sup>95</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hajarö Lugamo, *Obbo* Kabe Wayu and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

<sup>92</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid, *Obbo* Ibrahim Tola and *Obbo* Burka Chukuru.

<sup>93</sup> Ketema, pp. 104-105.

<sup>94</sup> Solomon, pp. 9-12; Informant: *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo.

<sup>95</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Yaya Kasim, *Obbo* Kadir Elemo and *Obbo* Burka Chukuru.

The inflow of people from Šāwain search of cultivable land on the other hand also increased the land rent for non-residents. Eventually the plots of land and the yields of production of the Šāwan settlers were greater than those of the indigenous people, because incomers were hard workers and had long experience of crop production.<sup>96</sup>

Land confiscation was also carried out for expanding towns, particularly on fertile lands near to the highway from Goba to Shashemene. Thus, land in Gennaleawrajjawas vulnerable to this urban expansion. To this end, peasants living near to the town of Dodola were vulnerable to land expropriation.<sup>97</sup>

In Dodola some landless people got half a *gaša* of land by the terms of the 1952 proclamation which offered land to landless people. However, its implementation was very late due to the extended government bureaucracy. Therefore, unfair land tenure created land inaccessibility that largely benefited the few at the expense of the majority of the population. The agricultural land policy itself also did not sufficiently support improved production. Moreover, discontent was provoked both from those who were holding land, complaining of the increased alienation, and from those who were supposed to gain it owing to the bureaucratic delays. Also as already noted, tax default resulted from a low level of production which was not fairly related to the amount of taxation.<sup>98</sup>

The formerly promised half *gaša* of land to all landless peasants was followed by a prolonged procedure to obtain it. There was a government extended system from the district to the *ṭāklaygizat*. The land that was supposed to be granted in most cases was far from people's residences and peasants faced problems of being separated from their relatives. Therefore, many

---

<sup>96</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Haji Gobu, *Obbo* Hussein Roba and *Obbo* Geribe Wabe.

<sup>97</sup> Gebru, *Power and Protest*.....p.132; Informants: *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo.

<sup>98</sup> Informant: *Obbo* Getachew Wäldä Mikael and *Obbo* Kabe Wayu.

of the peasants were not interested to use this opportunity. In Dodola from 1968 to 1971 out of 379 peasants who applied only 88 got the offered land.<sup>99</sup>

The Second Five Year Plan (1962-1968) aimed to achieve increasing productivity in the country. It was designed to transform agriculture and to diversify and modernize agricultural production. However, the land tenure system went from bad to worse. Peasants fell into insecurity of life and land rent and tax were not comparable with the amount they gained from their agricultural production. Government and bank loan services were limited to commercial farmers. Thus, the majority of peasants who were engaged in subsistence production did not benefit from the policy.<sup>100</sup>

Before the Italian occupation many people in Dodola did not engage in crop production as a base of their life. However, crop production significantly expanded after the Fascist Italian occupation. Dodola was and is among the richest agricultural areas in Bale. The main economic activity has become now mixed farming. The people substantially rely on production of barley, wheat, linseed, peas, beans and leguminous crops. These important crops are both sources of household income and items of consumption. Butter mixed with barley makes the most delicious food of the Arsi Oromo named *Micciirra*. Hence, barley is essential in the life of Oromo people still today and is therefore, regarded as the holiest crop. The large scale production of grains in the area changed the way of life of the society from reliance on animal products to cereal crops. Wheat was the dominant commercial crop in Dodola.<sup>101</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Ketema, p.106; WäldäMäskäl Tariku Memorial and Research Center, Land Administration Department, "Rist Land Registration", Folder No. 00/02, File No. 41/00/73, Date 12/03/1960 E.C.

<sup>100</sup> Cohen, "Effects of Green Revolution...", pp.136-138; Adejumboi, p.100.

<sup>101</sup> Daniel, "Continuity and Change...", p.25.

Another subsistence product, *ensèt*, was significantly cultivated in a few *qäbälès* of Dodola adjacent to Kokkosa and the Sidama region in Negelle Meexama, Edo and Serofta. This was due to the age-old socio-economic and cultural interactions between the people in the neighboring areas.<sup>102</sup>

#### 4.5 Dodola as District and Administrative Centre of Gannale *Awrajja*

For some years after liberation, Dodola continued with its former status as *amisläné* under Bale *wärädagizat* (District Governorate). In 1946 when Bale was made an *awrajja gizat* (Bale sub-province) Dodola was nominated as a *wärädagizat* (district-governorate).<sup>103</sup> In 1960 the vast province of Hararge was split and Bale *täqalay gizat* (governorate-general) was formed.<sup>104</sup> Dodola then became an *awrajja gizat* in the north west of Bale by the name Gannale *awrajja* as discussed in the first section of this chapter.<sup>105</sup>

While Dodola was chosen as the centre of Gannale *awrajja* there was a long competition between Adaba and Dodola. This debate was carried out between the representatives of Adaba and Dodola for being centre of Gannale *awrajja*. The situation brought the two sides to seek the emperor's final decision where to establish the centre of the Gannale *awrajja*. *Grazmač* Burqa Batiro of Adaba requested the establishment of the *awrajja* center at Adaba town. He and the residents of Adaba tried to justify their appeal by the fact that Adaba had good resources and was nearer to Goba than Dodola. On the contrary, the Dodola *balabat* tried to use influence by virtue of claiming himself as being of descent from the royal family and he emphasized extent of the people's pressure in the Dodola area. The Dodola *balabat* also used the appropriate location, fertile plain

---

<sup>102</sup> Informant s: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa, *Obbo* Hussein Roba and *Obbo* Kiniso Wabe; Mindaye, p.17.

<sup>103</sup> Solomon, p.5; Sintayehu Kassaye, "Goba: Foundation, Growth and Development to 1974" (BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1985), p.16.

<sup>104</sup> Markakis, *Anatomy of A Traditional Polity...*, p.293.

<sup>105</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Ato* Yared Wärrkinäh.

land and proximity of Dodola for the central government as arguments justifying the selection of Dodola.<sup>106</sup>

This strong debate to be the seat of Gannaleawrajjja was ended with the decision of the central government in favor of Dodola. Then Dodola town became administrative centre of the Gannaleawrajjja after Bale *ṭäqalayGizat* was formed in 1960 and continued up until 1991. The area comprised Adaba, Kokkossa, Nansabo and the Dodola district itself.<sup>107</sup>

Ganaleawrajjja got this name from the Gannale river that reaches the Indian Ocean after joining the Dawa and Weyb rivers. The *awrajjja* was the smallest of all in Bale province and covered about 8100 square kilometers. It bordered Chilaloawrajjja (Arsi) in the north, Sidama (Sidamo) in the west, JemJem (Sidamo) to the south west, Dello(Bale) to the south and Mandoyu (Bale) in the south east. It was bordered by one major river, the WabeShebelle.<sup>108</sup>

#### 4.5.1. Justice and Police

Gannaleawrajjja was set up under the government proclamation in 1960. This proclamation made the former *mislänès* into *wärädagizats*, the *wärädagizats* into *awrajas* and the *awrajjagizats* became *ṭäqalaygizats*. As a result Bale became a province and Dodola got the status of *awrajjagizat*.<sup>109</sup> Fitawarari Wäldä Mikeal Bui became governor of Gannaleawrajjja and Colonel Mengesha Wäldä Kidanwas was officially appointed administrator of the *awrajjja*. Gannaleawrajjja court was established in 1961.<sup>110</sup> Haji Abba Jabal Tahiro, was appointed as the first president of the *awrajjja* court. His brother, Abba Duula Tahiro was a counselor in the *awrajjja* court. An archival

---

<sup>106</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo.

<sup>107</sup>Dodola Municipality, p.1.

<sup>108</sup>Yä Dodola Käfiteñña Hulätäñña Därajä Timihirit Bêt, pp.13-15.

<sup>109</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Abdella Ararso, *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro and *Obbo* Haji Gobu .

<sup>110</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Ibrahim Tola, *Obbo* Kabe Wayu and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

source indicates that Gannale*awrajja* police office was established in 1961. *Śambäl*AsäfaTäsäma was the commander of the *awrajja* police force.<sup>111</sup>

Dodola district also separately formed its administration and *wäräda* court. Thus, *Grazmač*AbbaJifarTahiro was *wäräda* administrator, Kassa Haile was appointed judge in the district court and *Baśa*(commander)HailuBashe was commander of the *wäräda* police.<sup>112</sup>

The people had access to the court system and could transfer their cases to Goba for further appeal if they were not satisfied with a court decision at the *awrajja* level. The newly established offices were constructed from wood and thick mud because quick construction with these materials could address the problem of security that had priority in the area.<sup>113</sup>

In principle courts were claimed to be independent. But under the imperial post-liberation regime there was a maximum interference of government organs in the working of the court system. Certainly at the district level courts, the administration of justice was severely threatened. Justice was not real and with fair decisions but was influenced by bribery and favoritism. Courts were corrupt and their conduct of cases was unjust.<sup>114</sup>

The shortage of judges was another obstacle that hampered the administration of justice at the *wäräda* and *awraja* level. The justice system in Dodola *wäräda* became full of delay and intimidation. Judges and other judicial staff made justice an instrument for seeking benefits for themselves rather than working a genuine system.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup>Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency. A letter From Gannale*Awrajja* to Bale *TäklayGizat* vice *Indärsase*BäkureWäldäGiorgis, Folder No. 5.12.15, File No. 2768/38, Date 5/7/1953 E.C.

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup>Informants: *Obbo*KedirGammada, *Obbo*Abdurhaman Tufa and *Obbo*KedirElemo.

<sup>114</sup>Informants: *Obbo*KabetoGarjaja and *Obbo* AbbaFogeTahiro.

<sup>115</sup>Informants: *Obbo*Chako Wako and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

Besides conventional courts, people largely exercised traditional administration of justice through elders. Elders of the Arsi Oromo of Dodola were usually trusted and were believed to investigate cases properly. Offenders in most cases never hesitated to disclose their mistakes and to ask pardon. Hence, social bonds and values would not be violated by the decision of elders. In mediation (*Jaarsunmaa*) the conflicting parties were encouraged to state the facts about the existing controversies. Therefore, traditional procedures could verify cases and give final decisions for the Arsi Oromo of the district. First the disputants would be asked to clarify the causes of their disagreement. After a further investigation by the elders if any one of the two sides did not accept his/her mistakes and denied everything, then there would be swearing and he would be cursed up to his seventh generation if he lied about the facts of the case. This would affect the one who committed the unjust act but still denied it. It was to avoid this curse that most cases heard by elders in Arsi Oromo ended with peaceful agreements.<sup>116</sup>

The frequent instability in Bale including Dodola from 1963 imposed immeasurable pressure on the life of the people.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, the police force working in the district was increased in number despite the fact that no particular offices were reserved for them and their commanders. They received their orders from Goba. This situation created a gap between the administrative bodies and the policemen. Moreover, forceful and harsh treatment by the policemen developed a bad perception in the people towards them and brought disobedience.<sup>118</sup> The *wäräda* police was headed by *Šambäl/Wäldäyäs*.<sup>119</sup> *Näčläbaś* were also selected and working to maintain security in all areas. A letter from Dodola *wäräda* to Bale *čäklaygizat* demands additional police support to

---

<sup>116</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Roba, *Obbo* Kedir Gammada and *Obbo* Tufa Galchu.

<sup>117</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo and *Obbo* Geribe Wabe.

<sup>118</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A letter From Gannale *Awrajja* Court to the General Command Police Office Addis Ababa, Folder No. 130/5, File No. 85/2, Date *Tahisas* 16, 1957 E.C; Informant: *Obbo* Burka Cukuru.

<sup>119</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Gerjaja, *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Obbo* Ibrahim Seid.

ensure security because the people now live in an individual way, less controlled by the traditional administration, and therefore security was more dependent on government resources which the letter says were insufficient in Dodola.<sup>120</sup>

The Gannaleprison were opened in 1970. This prison was initially serving only as temporary detention of offenders whose cases would be decided by the *awrajja* and the *wärädä* courts. The name of this prison has remained Gannaleup to the present. Cases that required trial at provincial court were taken to Goba for further investigation. For short term detention, the neighboring *wärädas* sent prisoners to Gannale prison. Particularly the districts of Dodola, Adaba, Kokossa, Nansabo and Hasasa commonly used this prison.<sup>121</sup> The insufficient capacity of Gannale prison was another problem for the government and the people. Unlike minor prisons found at *wärädalevel* this prison house received a budget for food from the central government. Among prisons founded in Bale province Gannale was the second largest prison house next to Goba. The other two prisons, Dello and Ginnir, were located in the hottest area. The location of Gannaleprison was better for government control as compared to other two prisons. Therefore, many prisoners were not taken to Goba.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>120</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A letter from Dodolawäräda to Bale *ṬäqalayGizat* Folder No.19569, File No. 1142/545/60, Date 25/04/1964 E.C.

<sup>121</sup> Informants: Ato Yared Wäarkinäh and Obbo Hajaro Lugamo.

<sup>122</sup> Informants: Obbo Kumbi Ketaro, Obbo Abba Chabsa Tahiro and Obbo Yaya Kasim.

### 3.4. Provision of Education and Other Services in Dodola District and the Town

The essential provision of schools, health services and water supply were not available in the district in the immediate years after the liberation. Lack of hard surface roads in the district was also among the challenges that adversely affected the movement of people in the district.<sup>123</sup>

In the period after the restoration, Emperor Haile Sellasie was working for the expansion of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and education. There had already been Church education in Dodola district from the 1940s. Priests and deacons were assigned to different *burqas*. The *burqas* were responsible to coordinate the task of religious teaching in the quarters and villages in the town and countryside respectively.<sup>124</sup> The teaching was carried out through small groups of children whose families were willing and allowed them to attend in their locality. Thus, after learning *abugida* (Ge'ez alphabet) and moral education, there was a sort of graduation with a little ceremony prepared by the church. Gäbrä Kristos church was the centre for preparing this ceremony in Dodola. At this stage both the learner and his/her family were required to express their interest. If they agreed to accept Christianity their son/daughter took baptism and converted to Christianity. In this process, baptism was not by compulsion and those who were not interested to accept Christianity could continue following Islam or *waaqeffanna*.<sup>125</sup>

Besides moral education, Amharic alphabet teaching was later on inclusively given in the church school. Teachers who accomplished this task had both clerical work and duties of teaching the

---

<sup>123</sup> Informants: *Obbo Juara Gelgelu* and *Obbo Yaya Kasim*.

<sup>124</sup> Informants: *Obbo Kabeto Garjaja*, *Obbo Juara Gelgelu* and *Obbo Hussein Jawo*.

<sup>125</sup> Informants: *Obbo Kabeto Garjaja*, *Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro*, *Mämirä Täklü Wärdinäh*; Daniel, *Continuity and Change*.....p.90.

alphabet. They were commonly called *Yänétas* (church-appointed teachers). The church school continued even after government education was introduced.<sup>126</sup>

In 1949 a group of Danish Lutheran missionaries arrived in Dodola. The mission included a school and a clinic. However, due to a funding problem their mission school was not started until 1952. The school did not at first deliver good services to the people. Over the following years it had a constant problem to retain staff, but by 1971 it had secured support from the Lutheran World Federation.<sup>127</sup>

In the late 1960s the imperial administration was more concerned with the increasing expansion of education and other services in all parts of the country. There was also an aim to avoid extreme reliance on foreigners. Nevertheless, the availability of these facilities was restricted to the main towns in the country. The population living in the countryside was suffering from poverty, illiteracy, poor health and absence of improved services including education.<sup>128</sup>

In 1963/64 there was a school built at Qechema (a place near Dodola town) to deliver pre-regular education. This school was built as part of *Yähizibawi Nuromashashayaguday* (the government public life improvement program). In this school secular teachers were assigned to give secular education. The religious teachers were also chosen from the local churches to teach moral education. The school was not continuously functioning due to financial difficulty, inadequate facilities and lack of coordination. The society also perceived that learning in the

---

<sup>126</sup>Informants: *Ato* Bäkälä Abaynäh, *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

<sup>127</sup>Tamirat Tadälä, "The Biography of Ato Tadälä Debesa," A Term Paper Presented to The Ethiopian Graduate School of Theology for the Course, "Evangelical Movement in Ethiopia" (Addis Ababa, 2004), p.3.

<sup>128</sup>Adejumboi, p.101; Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa, *Obbo* Yaya Kasim and *Obbo* Hussein Roba.

school would be Amharizing oneself. These underlying factors caused the school to be temporary and it was unable to continue.<sup>129</sup>

The government then launched *HulunYimar* (everyone must learn) as the slogan to expand education all over the country. In 1965/66 *YäfidelSärawit* (the alphabet army) was established to achieve this objective but it was limited to towns. Thus it could not address the problem of illiteracy in the countryside.<sup>130</sup>

Then, the *awrajja* governor ordered the reopening of the previous pre-regular school in the town. Public discussion was conducted by residents of the town to generate income and instead build a regular school. Finally, besides the government effort the people agreed to contribute money to build a school.<sup>131</sup> Thus, Dodola primary school was established in 1970. Serofta primary school were also opened after a few months. Dodola was among those towns which benefited from this government strategy.<sup>132</sup>

The construction of a hard surface road to Sofumer cave in 1960s increased the movement of people through the district. Dodola became a strategic location and provided administration service for the Gannale *awrajja*.<sup>133</sup> The road connecting Shashemene to Adaba and then Goba was completed in 1961. This road greatly alleviated the problem of administration and movement of

---

<sup>129</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Mohammed Tenna, *Obbo* Yaya Kasim and *Obbo* Kedir Gammada.

<sup>130</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja and *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro.

<sup>131</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency, A Letter from Gannale *Awrajja* Gizat to Dodola Municipality, Folder No. 436, File No. 4646/26, Date 6/8/59 E.C. (see appendix xxi)

<sup>132</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Obbo* Tufa Galchu and *Obbo* Chako Wako.

<sup>133</sup> *Yä* Dodola Käfiteñña *Hulätäñña Därajä Timihirit Bät*, p. 15; Herbert Mooney *et al*, "An Account of Two Journeys to Arenna Mountain in Bale Province (South-East Ethiopia) 1958 and 1959-60." *In Proceedings of Linnean Society of London, 1961-1962* (London: np, 1963), p. 144.

the people to the provincial capital, Goba. Moreover, the foundation of Bale Mountain National Park in 1971 contributed to the growth of Dodola town.<sup>134</sup>

In Dodola most public institutions were established after 1960, mainly after the formation of Gannaleawrajj centered in Dodola. Therefore, public services then became more available to serve the people.<sup>135</sup>

Before the establishment of the Dodola Municipality the town was administered by different military men and civilian officials. Representatives of the central government from Bale and some trusted elders took the administrative posts of the town.<sup>136</sup>

The town got a municipal administration in 1954. Two small urban districts (*säfärs*) were formed in the town: Gäbräkristos and Hamus Gäbäyasäfär. There was a council formed for the purpose of separately administering the town. This council would assign minor chairpersons locally known as *Yäsäfär Sum* (head of neighborhood) to carry out the administrative work in each small *säfär*. The head of the municipality was at the same time the head of the council.<sup>137</sup>

As the centre of the *awrajj* Dodola town possessed different facilities from 1961. It also benefited from some social services. The town telecommunication was installed in 1965, which was known as *mazoriya silk* (hand moveable telephone). The place where the telecommunication centre was established was later known as *Yäsilk Amba Säfär*. A town electric power supply was attempted during the imperial regime using a diesel generator. However, the generator shortly broke down due to a technical problem and was not replaced by another.<sup>138</sup>

---

<sup>134</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro, *Obbo* Kedir Elemo and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim.

<sup>135</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Elemo, *Obbo* Juara Gelgelu and *Obbo* Hussein Galchu.

<sup>136</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid and *Obbo* Kasim Nägash.

<sup>137</sup> Dodola Municipality, p.1; Informant: *Ato* Bäkälä Abaynääh.

<sup>138</sup> Gizachew, p.8; Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Elemo and *Mämire* Täklü Wäarkinäh.

In 1967 KābādāWāldāMariam was made head of the council of Dodola municipality and the head (*śum*) of the town. BākālāLāmēsa was appointed as the YāsilkAmbaSāfārŚum until he retired in 1973. The HamusGābāyasāfār was headed by GābrāwāldBeriso. These *śums* were responsible to the *śum* (head) of the municipality.<sup>139</sup>

Public institutions and private businesses in Dodola town were near the main road connecting Shashemenne to Goba that separated the town into two parts.<sup>140</sup> The establishment of Bale Mountain National Park in 1971 gave prominence to the town of Dodola. Tourists and travelers often made Dodola their first destination as they moved to the Bale massifs. Therefore, the town could accommodate tourists travelling in the park.<sup>141</sup>

The modern type of water supply for the town began in 1972. It was Italian cooperation which financed and embarked on the project. The Dodola people also played a decisive role, raising funds and giving free labor service for the success of this project. The people were highly interested in getting clean water service because previously they had used unprotected stream water and were exposed to different health problems. Then the piped water was constructed by systematically turning a stream into an underground pipe near to Dodola town.<sup>142</sup> The Italian cooperation and the local people made an underground pipeline which gave protected water and increased the yielding capacity of this stream because the ground was excavated to get more ground water for the piped stream. Then people of the town and its surroundings benefited from this piped water project after its completion in 1973.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>139</sup>Dodola Municipality ,p.1.

<sup>140</sup>Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE,p.57.

<sup>141</sup>Wondifraw Tolosa , “Community Based Ecotourism Impacts: The Case of Adaba- Dodola Protected Forest Bale Zone, Oromia” (MA Thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University, 2007),p.36.

<sup>142</sup>Gizachew,p.14.

<sup>143</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Kasim Nāgash , *Ato* Solomon Haile Mariam and *Obbo* Getahew Wāldā Mikael.

The establishment of different offices in Dodola and travelers necessitated the beginning of small restaurants. These small restaurants were established by Asäfa Bädhaso and Bäkälä Urgaa. Government workers who came from different areas and manual workers from Šawa, Arsi and Sidamo increased the demand for the service sector in the town. Moreover, the expansion of commercial farming in the district by far increased the number of clients for the newly established businesses. Two butcheries were opened in Dodola in the early 1960s. They belonged to Duressa Godana and Molla Mälaku. These owners were not born in Dodola. They came from the Gurage area after the imperial incorporation. Small retail shops, bakeries and little cafes (*shay bêt*) were established in 1964 and expanded more in the 1970s.<sup>144</sup>

The Arsi people were not well versed in trade and still in the 1960s considered trade as an activity for Sidamas. To Dodola Arsi Oromo the term Sidama applied to any aliens who came outside the Arsi proper and those who spoke Amharic.<sup>145</sup> The newcomers and the local people were in need of sawn timber. The first sawmill was established in 1958 by Bäkälä Urga, a man from Gurage who came to Dodola in the 1940s.<sup>146</sup>

In Dodola the first medical care service was started by the Lutheran Church missionaries in the late 1960s. However, owing to lack of funds the missionary clinic in Dodola gave service only in a satellite clinic from the main clinic at Lensho and the services in Dodola were only intermittent. In addition to its missionary work the Lutheran Church was operating social services, like free medical care and relief aid for rehabilitation in time of famine and other difficulties.<sup>147</sup> Therefore in the 1941-1974 period in Dodola district and the town despite the oppressive imperial rule and feudal exploitation of the peasants there had been some

---

<sup>144</sup> Informants: Ato Solomon Haile Mariam, Ato Yared Wärrkinäh and Obbo Abba Foge Tahiro.

<sup>145</sup> Informants: Obbo Hajaro Lugamo, Obbo Tufa Galchu and Obbo Usman Bati.

<sup>146</sup> Informants: Obbo Mekonnen Hasen and Ato Bäkälä Wäldäyäs.

<sup>147</sup> Tamirat, p.34-37; Informants: Ato Näga Haile mariam, Obbo Robe Mama and Mämirē Täklü Wärrkinäh.

changes since the pre-Italian period. However, discontent was growing which led towards the 1974 revolution.

## **Summary and Conclusion**

In post-liberation period, Haile Sellasie was building up a centralized, autocratic administration, completing the work begun before 1935. This resulted in a number of administrative changes, as described in the above chapter. Dodola held the status of the administrative centre of *Gedabwäradagizat* and centre of the *gimjabèt* and after 1960 the administrative centre of *Gannaleawrajja*.

Feudal oppression returned to Dodola after 1941 and peasant tenants (*gäbbars*) suffered from burdensome rents, increasing taxation and loss of land or increased tax following *qälad* measurement. Moreover, default in tax payment resulted in loss of land. Land lost by peasants, or unclaimed lands was given out by the emperor in land grants to churches and to loyal or favored persons, including members of the royal family. Peasant financial burdens were not proportional to the income they could derive from the land they held.

These various forms of oppression, and injustice by the courts and officials, climaxed in the Bale Rebellion, which affected Dodola. The Somali government, with its own agenda of detaching Ethiopian territory, fished in these troubled waters. The Bale peasant rebellion caused the imperial government great difficulties but imperial government control was finally restored by a combination of limited concessions, promises and military pressure. But oppression continued and with it the discontent which was to climax in 1974.

There were agricultural changes in Bale and Dodola 1941-1974. Pastoralism gave way to crop production especially wheat, for which the climate, altitude and soil were very appropriate.

Commercial farming developed and the beginning of mechanized farming with tractors. Some local people and incomers gained wealth. But commercial farming increased land alienation and led to an increase in tenant rents. According to the 1952 proclamation, land was offered to landless peasants. However, owing to bureaucratic delays and other problems mentioned in the chapter, only a few Dodola peasants were able, or willing, to take advantage of the opportunity to get land.

Justice at the local level in Dodola was corrupt and not impartial. The Oromo preferred and used the traditional system of decisions and reconciliation supplied by elders.

The town of Dodola got some services in the imperial period, particularly a school and a better water supply and telecommunications but not electricity except for a brief period. The road through Dodola to Goba improved communication after 1961 and people passed through or stayed in Dodola on their way to the Bale Mountain National Park, opened in 1971. Dodola became a municipality in 1954, with division into *säfärs* with heads and officials. Some shops opened but the Arsi Oromo were still not very accustomed to these occupations. Commerce and businesses in the town were owned by non-Arsi incomers.

## Chapter Five

### 5. Dodola 1974-1991

#### 5.1 The Ethiopian Revolution and Its Effects in Dodola

The autocratic and feudal administration in Ethiopia was challenged by consecutive mass protests. In 1950s and 1960s the imperial regime issued some reforms. However, its rule advantaged the feudal ruling class at the expense of the majority of the population.<sup>1</sup>

The educated Ethiopians was aware of the deep rooted socio-economic and political problems that adversely affected the life of society.<sup>2</sup> Thus, students continued boycotts opposing the severe feudal exploitation against the peasants. This movement also motivated other sections of the society who were victims of the inefficient and unjust administration. Civil servants and soldiers began protest to end unfair distribution of benefits and burdens. Peasants were demanding the radical improvement of their life and needed transformation of land policies.<sup>3</sup>

The Ethiopian Revolutionbroke out in 1974. Mass opposition to the imperial government was carried out in different corners of the country. Teachers, taxi drivers, urban dwellers, factory workers and soldiers were on strike against the regime and its administration.<sup>4</sup> This mass protest was raised against specific grievances but also the long existing absolutist autocracy. Therefore, the wide public discontent finally led to the army turning against the regime and then the collapse of monarchial rule in the September,1974 popular revolution.<sup>5</sup> At this time most of the people in Dodola did not properly understand the motives of the revolution but what everyone

---

<sup>1</sup>Addis Hiwet,p.88; Alem Asres, *History of Ethiopian Student Movement (In Ethiopia and North America),Its Impact on Internal Social Change,1960-1974* (Maryland: A Bell and Howell Company ,1990),p.38.

<sup>2</sup>Shiferaw,p.123.

<sup>3</sup>Bahru,p.215.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*,pp.229.

<sup>5</sup>Addis Hiwet,p.88.

knew was *AbiyotFänäda* (the revolution had erupted).The people gradually became aware of the end of the feudal regime and an opportunity to possess land under the new government.<sup>6</sup>

The power and authority of the hereditary monarchy were ended by the revolution. The military group formed by the members of armed forces and police force increased pressure and deposed emperor Haile Selassie I on September 12, 1974. The military junta then had no single leadership and assumed power naming itself a coordinating committee, the *Därg*.<sup>7</sup>

The newly established military dictatorship removed different *wäräda* and *awrajja* governors from their position. Representatives of the military government were then assigned to all administrative posts in this administrative area. This measure greatly dismayed the former administrators. In Dodola the former administering *balabat*, *Qäñazmač* Tibebe WäldäMikael, refused to give up his position to the *Därg* appointee, Godana Tune. The former landlords were reluctant to accept the new political ideology and the 1975 land reform when it was announced in the district.<sup>8</sup>

The military committee, popularly known as the *Därg*, took power and proclaimed the new principles of *ItiyopiaTiqdäm* (Ethiopia First). This slogan was intended to build the spirit of national sentiment and serve as a unifying force, rejecting the previous regime. The new government advanced from *ItiyopiaTiqdäm* to Ethiopian Socialism by the name *hibräsebawinät* (Ethiopian Socialism). This ideological change, *hibrätsäbawinät*, was aimed at achieving equality, self-reliance, dignity of labor, commitment to the mass and priority to the common good (*YähizibTiqimMasqädem*). *Hibrätsäbawinät* was also supposed to counter the previous social

---

<sup>6</sup> The *Därg* Central Committee, p.36; Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid, *Obbo* Mohammed Tenna and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja.

<sup>7</sup> Bahru, p.234.

<sup>8</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Gammada, *Obbo* Juara Gelgelu and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim.

injustices that had caused hunger, economic dependence and political problems. This period was a turning point in Ethiopian history and seemed a relief from the evils of feudal autocracy.<sup>9</sup>In Dodola also people who could write and read accepted this political philosophy as a rescue from the former oppressive rule.<sup>10</sup>

The *Därg* intensified calls for the formation of a new republic of Ethiopia in which the rights and equality of citizens would be respected.<sup>11</sup> *Hibrätsebawinät* more importantly served as a base of all policy direction as the *Därg* became officially named the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC). The pattern of new policy precluded administration by the former bureaucracy. Thus, the urban proletariat, urban poor and the majority of peasants benefited while the previously privileged groups were put down. Although this policy gained support the government did not in the end put it into effect. From *Hibrätsebawinät* the *Därg* then moved to Marxism-Leninism in 1975.<sup>12</sup>

Following the 1974 revolution, the *Därg* formed *Yä Bale Keflähagär* (Bale province). Dodola continued with its former status as a district and the seat of Gannale *awrajja* until 1991.<sup>13</sup> At the beginning of the *Därg* period Gäzahägn Wärqe was the administrator of Bale province. In his period there was a relative stability in Bale region. In 1977 Hailmariam Lencho was selected as administrator of Bale province. This time Gäzahägn Warqe was the head of *Esapaco* (the political organization of *Därg* before the formation of the Ethiopian Workers' Party) provincial office. Ali Musa, assumed power over Bale province in 1980 and held his position until the end of the *Därg* period. He visited the Dodolawäräda in May 1982. The aim of his official visit was to evaluate

---

<sup>9</sup> Adejumboi, p.121; Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo; Dawit Wolde Giorgis, *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia* (New Jersey: Red Sea Press Inc, 1989), pp.14-15.

<sup>10</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Ibrahim Tola and *Obbo* Kabe Wayu.

<sup>11</sup> Bahru, p.240.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.243-244.

<sup>13</sup> Sintayehu, p.16; Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Galchu and *Obbo* Kasim Nägash.

the socio-economic and political progress in the district. The Bale Arsi Oromo including Dodola under his administration was harshly treated. The *Därg* military government explicitly exercised its unlimited power in Bale during his rule.<sup>14</sup>

## 5.2. Land Reform and Agricultural Activities

The 1975 government proclamation on land reform changed the history of the country with regard to land. This proclamation brought an end to the pre-existing land tenure system. This radical land reform proclamation benefited the formerly disadvantaged people and ended landlordism.<sup>15</sup> The proclamation nationalized land, ending private ownership, and abolished the practice of tenancy and corvee labor. The new proclamation strongly denounced the old feudal government administration and economy.<sup>16</sup>

The *Därg* proclaimed “Land to the Tiller” that benefited landless peasants and those peasants who were previously tenants. Thus, the majority of peasants in all parts of Ethiopia were pleased by the new policy. Nationalization of rural land and extra houses in the towns was carried out in an intent to ensure the end of exploitation and poverty among citizens in the country. The deep rooted problem of tenancy and feudal exploitation was abolished.<sup>17</sup>

The 1975 proclamation also declared redistribution of rural lands. It also prohibited land sale and lease in rural areas. Unpaid and compulsory labor service were also forbidden. The proclamation promised ten hectares of land for each landless peasant. Thus, this land policy seemed to benefit

---

<sup>14</sup> Dodola *wäräda* Agricultural Office, A Letter from Gannale *Awrajja* Yëgibrina Ministër Täjäri Tsifät Bèt to Yädodola *Wäräda* Yëgibrina Ministër Täjäri Tsihifät Bèt, Folder No. 851/08/74, File No. 1688/74, Date 21/09/1974 E.C; Informants: *Obbo* Kumbi Ketaro and *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja.

<sup>15</sup> Nugusie Ayele, “Ethiopian Revolution: Political Aspect of the Transition from PMAC to PDRE” in Marina Ottaway (ed). Introduction. *The Political Economy of Ethiopia* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1990), p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Eshetu, pp. 172-173.

<sup>17</sup> Nugusie, p. 18.

the peasants, allocating them land or making them secure on the land, and it ensured support for the new regime.<sup>18</sup>

The land reform proclamation ensured the right to land to the former tenants (*čisāña*) while the landlords inevitably lost their land. However, the former landlords were discomfited at the new rights of the ex-tenants. They even wanted to kill them but did not dare. The former governor, *Qāñazmač* Tibābu WāldāMikael, was one of those who opposed the new land reform. Thus, the *balabat* strictly warned the beneficiaries of the Land Reform to abandon any claim to land in the area. Then resistance arose from the dissatisfied landlords, *burqas* and the former governor *Qāñazmač* Tibebu.<sup>19</sup>

These rebel groups included Woliyi Jilo, Guye Gelgelu, Guye Chiqaqo, Ganado Baku, Gelgelu Dale, Shube Waqayo, Ganamo Hiyicho, Balawo Dewano, Haji Nure, Waritu Korroso, Shanqulle Gameda, Woshe Jilo and Waqute Shubulo. They openly rebelled against the new government. After some time the rebels were summoned by the government to make peaceful submission. Nevertheless, they did not accept the demand. However, when *Qāñazmač* Tibebu was killed by police in an armed confrontation in June 1975 other rebels immediately submitted to the government.<sup>20</sup>

The landlord resistance brought loss of confidence among the peasants and thus it was not easy to take the lands of rebel landlords.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, the land proclamation ended landlordism and

---

<sup>18</sup> Nugusie, p.18; Informants: *Ato Yared Wärkinäh*, *Obbo Chako Wako* and *Obbo Usman Bati*.

<sup>19</sup> Informants: *Obbo Kabeto Garjaja* and *Obbo Kasim Nāgash*.

<sup>20</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency. A report from Dodola *wärāda* Administration to Bale Province. Folder No.12.1.19, File No.4382/2498, Date 7/12/1967 E.C; Informants: *Obbo Woliyi Kayo* and *Ato Yared Wärkinäh*.

<sup>21</sup> Solomon, pp.32-33.

created an opportunity for poor landless peasants to benefit from land distribution.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, as like some areas in Ethiopia, land distribution aroused a partial opposition in Gannale *awrajja* including the Dodola district. This opposition did not continue and was later on terminated by the *Därg*.<sup>23</sup>

In January 1975 the newly formed government mobilized university and high school students in all parts of the country. This campaign was commonly known as the Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work campaign (*Idigät BähibrätYäiwikät EnaYäsiraZämäčä*). The campaign was officially inaugurated on December 20, 1974.<sup>24</sup> This government mobilization was made to eradicate illiteracy and initiate progress in the countryside and started in Dodola sooner than other districts of the Bale region.<sup>25</sup> In February 1975 fifty-two *Zämäč* Students (Student Campaigners) reached Dodola. The campaigners got a warm reception from the local government officials, elders and the people. For this government program in Dodola centers were prepared in Dodola town, Deneba and Serofta.<sup>26</sup> The campaign was intended to create awareness among the people. The *Zämäč* students informed the people about benefits of constructing roads, latrines, sanitation, cleaning streams for drinking water, eradicating illiteracy and the advantages of health services.<sup>27</sup>

The campaigners also worked at encouraging peasants telling about the formation of future peasant associations, farmers cooperatives, youth and women associations to eradicate poverty. The students were also working to establish peasant associations in the countryside and

---

<sup>22</sup> Solomon, pp. 32-33.

<sup>23</sup> Dessalegn, p. 147; Informants: *Obbo* GetahewWäldäMikael and *Obbo* Geribe Wabe.

<sup>24</sup> Balsvik Randi Rønning, *The Quest for Expression* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2007), p. 52; Tefera Haile Sellase, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1991* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1997), p. 150.

<sup>25</sup> Solomon, p. 18.

<sup>26</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

<sup>27</sup> Informants: *Ato* Yared Wäркиnäh and *Ato* Näga HaileMariam.

*qäbälésin* urban areas. The students significantly helped the society in the countryside but this progress could not continue after the students left the area. The *Zämač* students also contributed to shape the later administrative framework of the new government.<sup>28</sup> At night time the students discussed the new socialist ideology and could attract some of the local people to the new thought. Government power was at first weak in the countryside. Its policies were not fully and clearly understood by the people. Thus, some *zämač* students went beyond the government intention, agitating peasants for violent seizure of the land without any of the proper procedures laid down in the proclamation and wrongful seizure of other landlord property.<sup>29</sup> After accomplishing their mission, the campaigners were called to return to their universities and schools in the autumn of 1976.<sup>30</sup>

### **5.3. Peasant Associations, Peasant Cooperatives and State Farms**

One of the objectives of the *Därg* was to remove the feudal administration through peasant associations (PAs). The beginning of peasant associations was a primary step towards the implementation of agricultural socialism.<sup>31</sup> On average each peasant association comprised 200 households and every block of 800 hectares (20 *gaśa*) of land was to be organized into one peasant association.<sup>32</sup>

Peasant associations were important components below the *wäräda*. They could form their own local administration having different structures and functions. Tax collection, maintaining law and order, public security and administration of justice were among those government activities

---

<sup>28</sup> Balsvik, pp.58.

<sup>29</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed; Solomon, pp.23-24.

<sup>30</sup> Balsvik, p.58.

<sup>31</sup> James McCann, "The Myth and Reality of Agricultural Crisis in Ethiopia: Empirical Lessons from History, 1900-1987." In Marina Ottaway (ed), *The Political Economy of Ethiopia* (New York and London: Praeger, 1990), p.189 ; Informant: Robe Mama.

<sup>32</sup> Andargachew Tirunch, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987. A Transformation from an Aristocratic to Totalitarian Autocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.100.

undertaken by them. Thus peasant associations were self-governing units within the *wärädas* and were important in rural governance.<sup>33</sup>

In Dodola seventeen peasant associations were founded in the years 1978-79. Berisa, Burachale, Kata, Baqa and Burqitu Wabe, Carre, Hara Dakiye, Biqqa, Aluma Shifa, Osse Birile, Geneta, and Garba Tarura were among those founded in the district. Each of these peasant associations was administered by officials at first elected by the people but in fact later appointed by the government in different structures.<sup>34</sup>

However, there was disparity of land holding in Dodola among members in different peasant associations. The amount of land allocated was determined arbitrarily based on previous economic status of the members in peasant associations and favoritism. Possession of oxen was also among the major criteria to get land and those who had no oxen could not have a chance to get land, though this was not a principle of the land reform proclamation.<sup>35</sup>

Cooperatives were part of the socialist (ie. Marxist- Leninist developments in Ethiopia after 1978. They were categorized into two, the service and producers' cooperatives. The service cooperatives provided sale of fertilizers and seeds and consumer items such as soap, sugar, salt and other things. The producers' cooperatives were engaged in agricultural production and purchased agricultural produce from farmers.<sup>36</sup>

In Dodola the Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives (APCs) were formed in five peasant associations in 1981. They were formed with the support of the Dodola district Agricultural

---

<sup>33</sup> Desalegn, pp.328-329.

<sup>34</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE, p.56; Informants: *Obbo* Tufa Galchu and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

<sup>35</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kasim Nägash and *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid.

<sup>36</sup> Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.170.

Development Office. These included Berisa, Burachale, Kata, Baqa and Burqitu Wabe peasant cooperatives. The official report indicates that some APCs had better performance though they were formed in 1985/86. The Qechema producers' cooperative had good achievement in this regard. This cooperative was claimed to be successful in cattle rearing, distributing selected types of cows to the surrounding people and selecting the best varieties of cows.<sup>37</sup>

At the district level there was no separate office to support the activities of peasant cooperatives. An archival source indicates that in Dodola a separate board in the *wäräda* agricultural office was formed in 1982 to control and support the activities of cooperatives.<sup>38</sup> One of the objectives of this office was providing training for the boards of cooperatives and their members. Most training was focused on financial issues, human resource management and proper utilization of instruments of labor. The official letter claimed that cooperatives then increased efficiency to use agricultural inputs and production.<sup>39</sup> In fact the cooperatives did not increase agricultural efficiency as will be shown below.

Agricultural producers' cooperatives were greatly expanded in Dodola from 1981 to 1989. In principle an individual's interest was the major criterion to join these agricultural producers' cooperatives. However, there was pressure and some peasants who refused to join this collective farming were forced to lose a part of their land. The government encouraged ex-tenants and landless peasants to be members of Agricultural Producer's Cooperatives (APCs). Therefore

---

<sup>37</sup> Dodola *wäräda* Agricultural Office, Report from Dodola *wäräda* Agricultural Development Office to Gannale *Awrajja* Yämäreтина Plan Gubaä , Yägibrina Ministär Tätäri Tsihifät Bèt, Folder No. 24 , File No. 895/06, Date *Nähase* 7, 1973 E. C.

<sup>38</sup> Dodola *wäräda* Administration, A Letter from Gannale *Awrajja* Yägèbrina Ministär Tätäri Tsihifät Bèt to Yädodola Wäräda Yägèbrina Ministär Tätäri Tsihifät Bèt , Folder No. 817/08/74, File No. 1618/1/3/74, Date *Yäkatit* 24, 1974 E.C.

<sup>39</sup> Dodola *wäräda* Administration. A Letter from Gannale *Awrajja* Yägèbrina Ministär Tätäri Tsihifät Bèt to Yädodola Wäräda Yägèbrina Ministär Tätäri Tsihifät Bèt. Folder No. 562/ 08/74, File No. 1961/1/3/1/74; Date *Megabit* 17, 1974 E.C.

being landless was another decisive factor to be a member of these cooperatives. In 1981, of 1984 members of APCs in Dodola, 851 were ex-tenants, 80 former hired laborers and 53 were other peasants.<sup>40</sup> The expansion of peasant cooperatives and collectivization of agriculture reduced the land of non-member peasants. These peasants were pushed to the less fertile soil in place of their lost land and became vulnerable to food shortage and unable to support themselves.<sup>41</sup>

Although APCs were implemented in Dodola from 1981 onward, only a few improvements were achieved in growth of productivity. Thus, most of the cooperatives could not bring desirable change.<sup>42</sup> Financial constraints were the main cause for their failure. To alleviate this problem the government provided loans free from interest and lent different equipment to enhance productivity. The Gannale *awrajja* rural development project also contributed fertilizers and seeds to sustain these cooperatives.<sup>43</sup>

In 1982/83 some APCs failed to pay back their loans because of their minimum crop yields. Then the government warned these cooperatives to submit their reports on time. Moreover, cooperatives were pressurized to share the debt among all the cooperatives and to pay back the loans with a financial penalty.<sup>44</sup>

In Dodola the Deneba artisan cooperative was noted for its relatively better achievements and was exemplary in the district. This artisan cooperative was engaged in cloth production from woolen and Woldeyes cotton threads. The Deneba producers' cooperative faced a problem

---

<sup>40</sup> Solomon, p.49; Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Galchu, *Obbo* Yaya Kasim and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

<sup>41</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Kasim Năgash; Solomon, p.38.

<sup>42</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE, p.56.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*; Dodola *wărăda* Agricultural Office, Report from Dodola *wărăda* Agricultural Development Office to Gannale *Awrajja* Yămărătina Plan Gubaë, Yăgibrina Ministër Tătäri Tsihifăt Bêt, Folder No. 24, File No.895/06, Date *Năhase* 7, 1973 E. C. (see appendix Ixxx)

<sup>44</sup> Dodola *wărăda* Administration, A Letter from Gannale *Awrajja* Yăgibrina Ministër Tătäri Tsihifăt Bêt to Dodola *wărăda* Yăgibrina Tătäri Tsihifăt Bêt, Folder No. 890/0/8/75, File No.4000/ħ/1/2/75, Date *Măgabit* 22, 1975 E.C.

being landless was another decisive factor to be a member of these cooperatives. In 1981, of 1984 members of APCs in Dodola, 851 were ex-tenants, 80 former hired laborers and 53 were other peasants.<sup>40</sup> The expansion of peasant cooperatives and collectivization of agriculture reduced the land of non-member peasants. These peasants were pushed to the less fertile soil in place of their lost land and became vulnerable to food shortage and unable to support themselves.<sup>41</sup>

Although APCs were implemented in Dodola from 1981 onward, only a few improvements were achieved in growth of productivity. Thus, most of the cooperatives could not bring desirable change.<sup>42</sup> Financial constraints were the main cause for their failure. To alleviate this problem the government provided loans free from interest and lent different equipment to enhance productivity. The Gannale *awrajjja* rural development project also contributed fertilizers and seeds to sustain these cooperatives.<sup>43</sup>

In 1982/83 some APCs failed to pay back their loans because of their minimum crop yields. Then the government warned these cooperatives to submit their reports on time. Moreover, cooperatives were pressurized to share the debt among all the cooperatives and to pay back the loans with a financial penalty.<sup>44</sup>

In Dodola the Deneba artisan cooperative was noted for its relatively better achievements and was exemplary in the district. This artisan cooperative was engaged in cloth production from woolen and Woldeyes cotton threads. The Deneba producers' cooperative faced a problem

---

<sup>40</sup> Solomon, p.49; Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Galchu , *Obbo* Yaya Kasim and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

<sup>41</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama and *Obbo* Kasim Nāgash ; Solomon , p.38.

<sup>42</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE, p.56.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*; Dodola *wärāda* Agricultural Office, Report from Dodola *wärāda* Agricultural Development Office to Gannale *Awrajjja* Yāmārētina Plan Gubaä , Yägibrina Ministēr Tātāri Tsihifāt Bēt, Folder No. 24 , File No.895/06, Date *Nähase* 7, 1973 E. C. (see appendix Ixxx)

<sup>44</sup> Dodola *wärāda* Administration, A Letter from Gannale *Awrajjja* Yägēbrina Ministēr Tātāri Tsihifāt Bēt to Dodola *wärāda* Yägibrina Tātāri Tsihifāt Bēt, Folder No. 890/0/8/75, File No.4000/1/1/2/75, Date *Mägabit* 22, 1975 E.C.

of supply of these threads for the production of cloth. However, by the effort of the municipality they formed a trade partnership with Shashemne town wholesalers after 1985.<sup>45</sup>

There was interference of government bodies in the activities of APCs. They later became agents for enforcing the *Därg* policies rather than maintaining their real economic cooperation and the interests of their members.<sup>46</sup>

In its agricultural policy the *Därg* attempted to ensure food security in the country. This government program was aimed at controlling the escalating cost of grains in the market and at increasing agricultural production in the country. The government also wanted to provide food supply for the urban population and the army. Therefore, the *Därg* established state farms in different areas of the country.<sup>47</sup>

The military socialist government established Bale Agricultural Development Enterprise (BADE) in 1979 and 1980. Then five state farms were established in Bale province, of which two were set up in Dodola, the Heraro-Hunte in 1979/80 and Serofta State Farm in 1982/83.<sup>48</sup> These large state farms caused loss of peasant farming and grazing land. Then peasants were pushed to new and less fertile land.<sup>49</sup>

According to a Bulletin *Yäkatit*, state farms opened an opportunity for peasants to earn income on their off-farm periods (outside their working season on their farms). The nearby peasants also

---

<sup>45</sup>Informants: Ato Solomon HaileMariam and Obbo Abdella Ararso; Dodola Municipality, A letter from Gannale Awrajja Yägibrina Ministär Täjäri Tsifät Bèt to Shashemene wholesalers, Folder No. 4.16, File No. 2300/4-16/77, Date *Mägabit* 9, 1977 E.C. (see appendix XXXI)

<sup>46</sup>Kebebew Daka, "The Cooperative Movement" (Addis Ababa University, Department of Sociology, 1978), p.81.

<sup>47</sup>John M. Cohen and Nils-Ivar Isaksson, "Villagization in Ethiopia's Arsi Region", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.444.

<sup>48</sup>Yämirtina Märhabihèr Ministär, *Yäkatit*, Ninth edition, No 617-1986 (Addis Ababa: Birhanina Selam Printing Press, 1986), pp.13-14; Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia with FDRE, pp.58-59.

<sup>49</sup>Yämirtina Märhabihèr Ministär, pp.13-14.

learned how to produce oil seeds, which was a new experience in the area.<sup>50</sup> This was what the report from Dodola *wäräda* Agricultural Development Office claimed but officials in the *Därg* period would not be likely to report what the people really felt and experienced but only what the government wanted them to say, and believed or wanted to believe. This is of course what we should expect such a report to say. The truth may have been different. Thus, my informants gave little support to this officially presented report. They said the contribution of the state farms was insignificant and the society largely relied on traditional farming.<sup>51</sup>

In some situations when cooperatives faced difficulty to collect their harvest, the state farms occasionally lent machinery to assist them. Particularly those peasant cooperatives in peasant associations near to the Heraro state farm received this service.<sup>52</sup>

These state farms were also helping government offices at times by giving maintenance services for machinery and cars for any public offices in the Gannale *awrajjä* and the Dodola district. To get this service they must present the required official letter to the state farms.<sup>53</sup>

Peasants who lost land to the state farms and some other neighboring disappointed farmers caused damage to the state farms. The people stole tools, burnt crops and drove their cattle on to the Serofta state farm. The administration of the farm then appealed to Gannale *awrajjä* to stop the damage. Thus, a neutral committee was set up from the office of agriculture, the *wäräda* court, the police and the *awrajjä* administration to investigate the problem.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Yämirtina Märhabihër Ministër, pp.13-14.

<sup>51</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hasen Lencho and *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo.

<sup>52</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa and *Ato* Bäkälä Wäldäyäs.

<sup>53</sup> Dodola *wäräda* Administration, A letter from Dodola Bale Agricultural Development Enterprise to Dodola *wäräda* Administration, Folder No.178/U/12/82, File No. 0089/82, Date 02-02- 1982 E.C.(see appendix XXXIII)

<sup>54</sup> Yämastawäqiyana Märhabihër Ministër, pp.13-14; Dodola *wäräda* Administration, A letter from Gannale *awrajjä* Administration Office to Dodola *wäräda* Agricultural Development Office, Folder No. 00-30, File No. c2/1330/85, Date 8/5/1982 E.C.

After a series of investigations, discussion was conducted between the delegates and the surrounding community. Then the people disclosed the source of the problem. Finally the team persuaded the people to stop the attacks on the state farms and warned them of the risk to themselves if there were continued security threats or looting involving the state farms.<sup>55</sup>

#### **5.4. Heavy Exactions on Peasant**

After 1978 quotas of grain had been imposed to secure food supply to the Urban population and the armed forces in times of difficulties. Peasants had to sell their produce at a minimum price to cooperatives. This duty in principle was assigned according to the yield peasants gained in the given production years. Each *wäräda* made assessment of grain quotas for the different peasant associations. The assessors were a committee of the *Därg* officials including the *wäräda* administrator. In each peasant association the quota was distributed among peasant members by an assessment committee made up of the *Därg* officials and the peasant association's chairman. To gain benefits for themselves the assessors in each peasant association unfairly imposed the quotas of grain on peasants without consideration of the size and fertility of land and production and were seeking bribes to lighten the amount.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, peasants who gave bribes would be assigned a low amount of grain to handover and others were ordered beyond their capacity. Hence, many peasants developed a negative feeling towards the regime due to this injustice and corruption.<sup>57</sup> The Dodola district was known for the production of wheat and peasants were severely forced to fulfill quotas levied on the district's wheat production.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Informants: *Ato Bäkälä Wäldäyäsand* and *Ato Solomon HaileMariam*.

<sup>56</sup> Informants: *Obbo Ibrahim Seid*, *Obbo Ibrahim Tola* and *Obbo Burka Cukuru*.

<sup>57</sup> Informants: *Ato Bäkälä Abaynäh*, *Obbo Woliyi Kayo* and *Obbo Kedir Gammada*.

<sup>58</sup> Informants: *Obbo Abdella Ararso* and *Obbo Haji Gobu*.

The *Därg* enforced a campaign of cooperative harvesting (*Yäsäbil mäsäbsäb Zämaâca*) from the mid-1980s. This was to save the harvest from bad weather conditions and avoidable damage.<sup>59</sup> In Dodola when peasants were mobilized to collect the harvest working in groups from one farm to the other, peasants disliked this mobilization because, unlike the traditional cooperation, it was compulsory not organized by the peasant themselves voluntarily. Also peasants felt it was unfair because of the different sizes of peasant land and peasant crop to be collected.<sup>60</sup>

The 1978 the land tax proclamation was heavier; it increased the rural land use fee and agricultural income tax. This tax proclamation did not consider the agricultural yields of the peasants. Thus, the land use tax increased to ten *birr* for individual peasants and five *birr* per hectare for members of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives. This taxation of course did not consider the quality of peasants' farmland.<sup>61</sup>

For the time of drought and other problems the *Därg* collected *mäwačo* (a compulsory money contribution) from peasants. The government intention was to ensure the rehabilitation program for the victims of drought and famine. This money contribution was another burden on the peasants. Reports indicate that in Dodola in 1979 people fully contributed this required amount of money as confirmed by the general auditor of the central government.<sup>62</sup>

Another form of peasant burden was compulsory working on construction of rural roads, bridges and afforestation. In peasant associations there was a division to support developmental activities, known as *lematbudin* (Groups for Development). Each *lematBudin* comprised 30-50

---

<sup>59</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Haji Gobu, *Obbo* Hussein Roba and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

<sup>60</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Elemo and *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro.

<sup>61</sup> Solomon, p.58

<sup>62</sup> Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency. Report of the General Auditor to Bale province *Yäirdatana Maqaqumiyaliyu Mäwačo*, Folder No. ፬፬፮43/5/2, File No.16.1.103.2, Date *Nähase* 9/1980 E.C.

households. They were formed to encourage cooperation among farmers and to maintain peace and stability in a specific places.<sup>63</sup>

In 1984a bad weather condition created crop failure in Gannale *awrajja*. Thus, the yield could not satisfactorily support family needs in some areas of the *awrajja*. A few peasant associations in Dodola became victims of famine. A separate team of experts had already been formed by the Agricultural Development Office at the *awrajja* level in 1982. This section had responsibility to investigate the environmental problems in the area. Realizing this problem, the team moved to some of the most affected peasant associations of Dodola and Adaba district. *Guwad* (Comrade) Aschalew Wäyesa, the governor of Gännale *awrajja*, was coordinating the group.<sup>64</sup>

The drought greatly endangered the life the people. Many cows, oxen, sheep and goats died. There was insufficient production as a result of the drought. This hardship brought shortage of food in some peasant associations in the Gännale *awrajja*. Edo, Cherre and Baqa in Dodola and Washa Tullubiya, Furana Melka and Chamulo in Adaba district were the most affected by the drought. The investigation team came up with a recommendation that the government must provide food aid and seeds for the next season for the people who were threatened by the famine. In Dodola, using the money donated by the World Lutheran Federation, 1000 quintals of wheat seed were bought from Hasasa to be distributed as relief assistance for the drought for the coming season. The Lutheran Church had been also supporting those people who were dislocated from lowland Bale due to the Ethio-Somali war of 1977-78.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup>Dessalegn, p.331.

<sup>64</sup>Dodola *wäräda* Administration, A Report Presented by the Investigating Team to Gannale *Awrajja* Yêgêbrina Minister Tâtäri Tsihifät Bêt. Total number of pages 8, Folder No. 00-28, File No. 562/14/76, Date *Hamle* 4, 1976 E.C. (see appendix XXX)

<sup>65</sup>Dodola *wäräda* Administration, A Report Presented by the Investigating Team to Gannale *Awrajja* Yêgêbrina Minister Tâtäri Tsihifät Bêt. Total number of pages 8, Folder No. 00-28, File No. 562/14/76, Date *Hamle* 4, 1976 E.C. (see appendix XXX)

Contrary to the above conditions, in 1990 there was heavy rain that flooded the Babisa and Golba peasant associations. The people reported to the *wäräda* administration and to the *awrajja* office of agriculture about the situation. Then a committee and experts were sent by the *awrajja* governor, Hashim Seid, to investigate the extent of the problem. It was a relatively less serious problem and shortly the danger ended.<sup>66</sup>

Adequate varieties and improved types of seeds were not available to peasants. Moreover, the absence of good policies of agricultural marketing created low production below the optimum growth.<sup>67</sup> Agricultural outputs were less because of lack of appropriate agricultural inputs. Fertilizers, pesticides and insecticides were not properly available at reasonable cost. Thus, on the basis of the above reality McCann generalized that the policies of the regime negatively affected peasant agriculture and productivity.<sup>68</sup>

### 5.5. Villagization

To promote economic growth through agricultural modernization, the *Därg* embarked on a villagization program and moved peasants from their homes to centralized settlements. The *Därg* began a nationwide campaign of villagization in late 1985.<sup>69</sup> This program had been started in Bale and Hararge regions from 1978-1984. According to Cohen and Nils-Ivar villagization in this part of the country did not really aim at promoting agrarian socialism but aimed to control and suppress the activities of secessionists in the area by bringing peasants under strict control.<sup>70</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Dodola *wäräda* Administration, A letter from Gannale *Awrajja* Administration to the *Awrajja* Agricultural Development Office, Folder No. 20, File No. c2/495/82, Date 03/01/1982 E.C; Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Elemo and *Obbo* Yaya Kasim.

<sup>67</sup> Kurte Janson, Michael Harris and Angela Penrose, *The Ethiopian Famine :The Emergence of Relief Operation* ( London : Zed Books Ltd,1990),p.120.

<sup>68</sup> McCann,p.189; Informant: *Obbo* Robe Mama.

<sup>69</sup> Cohen and Nils-Ivar,p.435.

<sup>70</sup> Cohen and Nils-Ivar,p.445.

Cohen and Nils-Ivar further assert that the *Därg* established state farms without clear explanation to the peasants but in fact to guarantee foodstuffs for urban areas and the armed forces. The establishment of state farms in the Wabe Shebelle valley brought eviction of peasants from their land. When the government began to establish Wabe Villages (peasant cooperative based villages). This eviction therefore contradicted the 1975 land proclamation which was against the former oppressive land tenure system and for a time gave security of land to peasants.<sup>71</sup>

In most of the Bale areas including Dodola villagization was announced in 1978 and was expanded from 1979-1986.<sup>72</sup> Villagization resulted in discontent of the people due to fear of land confiscation. The new settlements were also inconvenient because they increased distance from peasants' farmland.<sup>73</sup>

The process of settlement also negatively influenced the life of the peasantry in Dodola district. This situation created a psychological dissatisfaction and led to loss of a huge amount of property. Some people in Edo, Baqa and Hara Dakiye strongly refused to be transferred from their farmland. Their disobedience led to detention and their previous homes were also burnt. Fano Bulli, a farmer in Negelle Mexama, was among the victims whose homes were burnt when he refused to resettle in a new village.<sup>74</sup>

In Dodola the early built villages were planned to settle the evicted peasants while creating the state farms. However, these villages had rather better facilities. Their roofs were constructed from metal sheets and their walls from wood and mud. One of the factors for making a metal sheet roof was the strong wind pressure that repeatedly destroyed newly built homes on plain

---

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE, p.57.

<sup>73</sup> Solomon, pp.43-44.

<sup>74</sup> Informants: Ato Bäkälä Wäldäyäs, Obbo Getachew Wäldä Mikael and Obbo Kedir Elemo.

areas devoid of vegetation cover. The government also promised facilities such as schools, electric light from diesel generators, clinics, recreation centers, halls for the meeting of peasant associations, grain mills and hand pump water for them. These promised facilities were not fully available to them but they could benefit from the government strategy as compared to the later villages because they at least got houses with proper roofs prepared for them.<sup>75</sup>

### **5.6. Conscription of Youngsters for Compulsory Military Service**

There was forceful recruitment of youngsters for military service in the ongoing civil war in the north and against Somalia in 1977-78. This situation worsened the security of life for the youth and contributed to a low level of production.<sup>76</sup>

In its early period the *Därg* had public acceptance mainly after the land reform and abolition of feudalism. However, public dissatisfaction developed because of the forceful recruitment of youth for military service. This was arbitrarily applied so that more than one young boy from the same family was sometimes recruited. In Dodola young boys from poor families were victims of recruitment while relatives of the officials and others who were giving bribes suffered much less.<sup>77</sup>

The prolonged civil war in the northern part of the country necessitated forced conscription during the 1970s and 1980s. This recruitment became more difficult when most of the youngsters escaped from their area. There was a quota system whereby each village was

---

<sup>75</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Obbo* Burka Chukuru and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

<sup>76</sup>Informants: *Ato Ato* Bäkälä Wäldäyäs and *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed ;McCann,p.189.

<sup>77</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kasim Nägash and *Obbo* Burka Chukuru.

expected to supply youngsters in every round of recruitment.<sup>78</sup> The morale of the people eroded and people's attitude to the military government became one of hatred.<sup>79</sup>

### 5.7. Local Administration During the *Därg* Rule

The coming of the *Därg* did not revive the *gada* system. Moreover, the *Därg* denounced traditional institutions as backward, harmful practices (*huwalaqärbahiloč*). The *gada* system was also put into the category of backward cultures and there was an attack on *gada* practices. Oral information from Dodola elders indicate that the military government used to give training to *abbagada* and elders on socialist ideology which condemned *gada* principles and practices. Thus, the *Därg* attempted to alter the mentality of the people to denounce the authority of the *gada* system and imposed pressure to abandon their cultural practices. Some people agreed to discontinue *gada* practices though the majority did not. Then *gada* as instrument of administration continued with a minimum scope so that *abba bakkus* were given little status by the government bodies.<sup>80</sup>

The formerly established Gännale *awrajja* continued within the same territorial extent and comprised Dodola, Nansabo, Kokkossa and Adaba districts. Dodola then continued with the status of the seat for both the district administration and Gännale *awrajja* throughout the *Därg* rule.<sup>81</sup>

The new government was not confident of the security of the area. Investigating and identifying the problem of security, manpower, budget and administration throughout the country were priority tasks for the new government. Then the *Därg* clearly marked the extent of power of the province, *awrajja* and the *wärädas*. The government laid down the framework of power from the

---

<sup>78</sup> Informants: Ato Yared Wäkinäh and Obbo Robe Mama.

<sup>79</sup> Informants: Ato Ato Bäkälä Wäldäyäs, Obbo Burka Chukuru and Obbo Mohammed Tenna.

<sup>80</sup> Informants: Obbo Kabeto Garjaja, Obbo Chako Wako and Obbo Kadir Mohammed.

<sup>81</sup> Informants: Obbo Chako Wako and Obbo Hussein Jawo.

central government to the *wäräda* level. The main government authorities at the *wäräda* level were the offices of *wäräda* Administrator, Deputy Administrator and Financial Administrator. Different additional offices were also formed for the purpose of coordinating government activities. The administration and development committee, office of public administration, police and office of prison administration were among those offices established in Dodola district. The *wäräda* posts had a similar structure with those of *awrajjas* regardless of the difference in status and manpower.<sup>82</sup>

The new political ideology of Marxism-Leninism aimed to transform Ethiopia from the era of feudalism to a Marxian socialist regime. The *Därg* tried gradually to sow the communist socio-political philosophy among the people through *yäwiyiyit Kibäb* (discussion groups). These clubs did not in fact discuss but simply had to listen to officials' speeches or reading from *Därg* documents. To ensure security the *Därg* chose informers for internal security (*Yäwist Dähininät*). These functionaries were assigned to report every circumstances relating to security in the locality.<sup>83</sup>

The *Därg* established peasant associations having local administrative structures. This was mainly because the military government attempted to create stability in such small administrative units. Thus, the *wäräda* and the local leaders could administer the people through these concentrated peasant associations. The *Därg* combined two peasant associations into a single peasant association in an intent to control a larger population under fewer administrators. Moreover, another primary objective was to expand access to social services to the people though the services were

---

<sup>82</sup>Provisional Military Administrative Government, Institute of Human Resource Administration, *The Central and Southern Provinces; Shoa, Arsi, Sidamo, Kaffa, Ilubabor, Gamo Gofa and Bale* (Addis Ababa: Provisional Military Administrative Government, 1977), p.130.

<sup>83</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Abba Chabsa and *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed.

inadequately distributed.<sup>84</sup> At *qäbälé* level in the towns and peasant associations in the countryside there was a Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Secretary, the Security and Control Committee and the *qäbälé* court. All of the members were nominated by the *wäräda* officials.<sup>85</sup> Cohen and Koehn commented that among those government structures the local administration of the *Därg* lacked clear supervision among various government organs.<sup>86</sup>

Dodola was the centre for *wäräda* and Gannale *awrajja*. Separate leaders were assigned to execute the role of administration with their defined powers. Thus, among the Gannale *awrajja* administrators the first one was Godana Tune who came from Borana and held power from 1975- 1979. Then Sileshi, Aschalew Woyesa, Hashim Seid and Kedir Mohammed were consecutively appointed as Gannale *awrajja* administrators during the *Därg* period.<sup>87</sup>

The early days of the *Därg* and indeed later years were characterized by brutal measures to impose its political system. People who were opposing the new policy were detained without being presented to any legal procedural justice and severely punished. Although different social, political and economic rights were included in the administrative framework of the government there was very low implementation of rights.<sup>88</sup>

The *Därg* began killing in 1974 when the notable ex-officials and ministers were killed in Addis Ababa but many killings to terrorize opposition were carried out later under the Red Terror.<sup>89</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Cohen and Nils-Ivar, p.463.

<sup>85</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Usman Bati, *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro and *Ato* Näga Haile Mariam.

<sup>86</sup> Cohen and Koehn, p.280.

<sup>87</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Husen Jawo and *Obbo* Hussein Roba.

<sup>88</sup> Marina Ottaway (ed), *The Political Economy of Ethiopia* (New York: Praeger Publisher, 1990), p.189; Informant: Hajaro Lugamo.

<sup>89</sup> Gebru, *Ethiopian Revolution*...., pp.40-42.

The Red Terror was among the severe measures that the *Därg* took against the people. In Dodola also eighteen people were killed by the Red Terror. These people had showed opposition to the *Därg* rule by going to the forest and even some of them were suspected for being supporters of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP). In the district there were people who opposed administration and supported EPRP though they did not strongly challenge the military government.<sup>90</sup> EPRP supporters were given the chance of peaceful submission and then to receive pardon from the government. This offer persuaded them to surrender. The *Därg* security force kept them isolated near Dodola town under the pretext of reeducation and pardon from the government. Then the government decided the final punishment, i.e. Execution, and this sentence was openly carried out at a place presently called Hamus Gäbäya or Ayär Meda in Dodola town. Dewano Hebrano, Tägänè, Abba Nesha Tahiro, Mohammed Lugamo, Hebrano Seido and Ayälä TäkläTsiyon were among those then murdered in the Red Terror. This action of mass killing shocked the Dodola people and created fear even to speak in public meetings.<sup>91</sup>

Mohammed Abdellah had power in Dodola from 1974-1979. He was the one whose tenure was challenged internally from the former *balabats*. The event of mass killing in the Red Terror also took place during his period. Hussein Mohammed, Amin Abdi and Adugna Lema were also successively appointed in Dodola district during the *Därg* rule. These men were exercising their political power over all the peasant associations in the district.<sup>92</sup>

The 1975 agrarian reform of the *Därg* included regulations for and protection of state forests and attempted to implement environmental conservation measures in the country. Then

---

<sup>90</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabeto Garjaja, *Ato* Solomon HaileMariam, and *Mämire* TäkläWärkinäh

<sup>91</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Burka Chukuru, *Ato* Bäkälä Abaynäh and *Obbo* Kedir Gammada.

<sup>92</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Woliyi Kayo, *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro and *Obbo* Juara Gelgelu.

the government formed the State Forest Development Department. This team was formed at the *awrajja* and the *wäräda* levels within the Agricultural Development Office.<sup>93</sup>

The *Därg* made a significant attempt to implement the environmental protection policies in Dodola as compared to the former regime. The district had varieties of natural vegetation and wild animals in its hilly south eastern areas.<sup>94</sup> In 1980 the Dodola *wäräda* Agricultural Development Office took the initiative to prepare T-shirts to advertise the wild animals and vegetation in the district. This attempt was made in hope of attracting tourists to the district. Thus, the office prepared many T-shirts illustrating the varieties of vegetation and wild life that existed in the district. An opportunity for tourism was that Dodola was on the route that connected Bale to the center of the country. Hence, for the success of this objective the office sold T-shirts in Dodola, other districts of Gannale *awrajja* and in Wabe *awrajja*.<sup>95</sup>

In 1988 a forest priority area was established to protect the natural forest and a large number of different varieties of trees were planted on the hilly areas to the south east of the district. However, the work of planting trees was carried out coercively by the government and absence from the campaign of afforestation was punishable by money fines and having to work at planting additional trees.<sup>96</sup> The numbers of tourists coming to Ethiopia were very limited in the *Därg* period. Hence, this protected forest could attract few tourists who moved to visit Bale Mountain National Park. Different scholarly research work was conducted on the species of plants and animals in this reserved forest. The German Agency of Technical Cooperation (GTZ)

---

<sup>93</sup> Alemneh Dejene, *Environment, Famine and Politics in Ethiopia. A View from the Village* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1990), p.37.

<sup>94</sup> Alemneh, p.37.

<sup>95</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Abdella Ararso and *Obbo* Chako Wako; Dodola *wäräda* Administration, A Letter from Bale *Taklay Gizat* Yègèbrina Ministèr Tātāri Tsihifāt Bèt to Gannale *Awrajja* Yègèbrina Ministèr Tātāri Tsihifāt Bèt, Folder No. 0054, File No. 1828/225/72, Date 7/4/1972 E.C.

<sup>96</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Kabe Wayu, *Obbo* Kadir Mohammed and *Obbo* Usman Bati.

forest protection program Ethiopian chapter began operating the work of sustainable forest protection and utility in Dodola from 1990. Then this organization implemented a community inclusive forest protection programme in the district which has continued until the present.<sup>97</sup>

Ways of rendering justice were conducted according to the principles and practices of the socialist regime. There were courts at central, at province and *wäräda* level. A minor tribunal system known as *Fird Shāngo* was also established in Dodol district in the *twoqäbälés* of the town and peasant associations. These courts deal with minor crimes and controversies. The extent of punishment reached detention for three months.<sup>98</sup>

### 5.8. Dodola Town in the *Därg* Regime

The town of Dodola was divided into districts known by different names before the 1981 structural arrangement. These names were associated with the developments that had been made in the town. The names included Yäsilk Amba, Hamus Gäbäya and Mänäharia Säfar which were the main locations identified by the existing developments.<sup>99</sup>

In 1975 the *Därg* launched a proclamation to nationalize land and extra houses in urban areas. The *Därg* also ended capitalist investment and accumulation of housing in the towns.<sup>100</sup> The extra houses in the town of Dodola were nationalized and put under state control. House rents were reduced from fifteen to fifty percent.<sup>101</sup> The former house owners kept one house for

---

<sup>97</sup> Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE, p.3.

<sup>98</sup> Informants: Ato Bäkälä Abaynäḥ, Ato Solomon Haile Mariam and Obbo Chako Wako.

<sup>99</sup> Informants: Obbo Abba Chabsa Tahiro, Obbo Abdella Ararso and Obbo Haji Gobu.

<sup>100</sup> Clapham, p.50; Henze, p.290.

<sup>101</sup> Informants: Obbo Hajaro Lugamo and Obbo Tufa Galchu; Yämastawäqiyana Propaganda Committee, Itiyopiya. *Yäkätäma Botana Tüf Bät Tinantina Zare* (Addis Ababa, 1981), p.9.

their personal use and other extra houses were nationalized to be transferred to the state. Rent control and collection for smaller townslike Dodola became under *qäbälé* administration.<sup>102</sup>

The town of Dodola continued as the centre for Gannale *awrajja* and the district of Dodola. Dodola town showed progress in administration and provisions of social services better than in the times of the previous regime. Different government offices and social services were opened in Dodola. Dodola had a public telephone and a gravel road in the town.<sup>103</sup>

There is only very fragmentary evidence about the administrators in succeeding years after the coming to power of the military government. Gäbrewäld Beriso was the first person who was appointed to power in Dodola in 1975 and administered the town for three years. Although the terms of office are not clearly known the written and oral sources reveal that from 1980 onwards different persons assumed the office of administering the town. These were: Solomon HaileMariam, Gäbäyāhu Tasāw, Gäbrägiorgis Yimannāh, Solamo Ligabo and Indāshaw Abäbä, who respectively held office until the end of the *Därgrule*.<sup>104</sup>

There was a considerable progress in expansion of facilities in the 1970s and 1980s. Dodola secondary school was opened in 1980. The establishment of Melka Wakena Hydro- electric power plant in 1980 gave electric light to Dodola and a prospect of having power operated enterprises.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>102</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Abba Chabsa Tahiro and *Obbo* Abba Foge Tahiro.

<sup>103</sup>Informants: *Ato* Näga HaileMariam, *Obbo* Usman Bati and *Ato* Solomon HaileMariam.

<sup>104</sup>Dodola Miunicipality, p.1; Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Gammada and *Obbo* Robe Mama.

<sup>105</sup>*Yä Dodola Käfiteñña Hulätäñña Däräja Timihirit Bät*, pp.13-15; Informants: *Obbo* Kedir Gammada and *Obbo* Kiniso Wabe.

The town municipality constructed an abattoir in 1980. This facility enabled the government to maintain control of the quantity and quality of meat. Then, the *awrajja* tax and revenue office could collect dues from butchers. Skins and hides were also sold from the district.<sup>106</sup>

A new form of arrangement was enacted in 1981. The town was arranged into two *Qäbälés* and one *Käfitägna* (higher *Qäbälé*).<sup>107</sup> Solomon Haile Mariam was appointed as head (*shum*) of the municipality from 1978-1981. In his period the town showed improvement in social services and security. Gäbrägiorgis Yimanneh was *shum* of the town from 1982. The number of population living in the town in 1982 was 6997, 3352 males and 3645 females.<sup>108</sup>

A motel having bedrooms, parking for cars, drinks and food services was built in 1984. Tourists were guaranteed security for their property for all the time they stayed in the motel.<sup>109</sup>

The town water supply project office began construction of another modern clean water supply around Tullu Alwanso. This water supply project took one year to complete and was completed in 1986. Until 1987 the town's water supply was under the municipality. However in this year the Dodola town water supply authority was formed to function separately under its own administrative board.<sup>110</sup> The town got different public services: Dodola clinic in 1978, Dodola Commercial Bank established in 1983, electricity in 1981 and Dodola Post Office in 1982. Many of these public services were linked with and close to the main road connecting Shashemene to Goba.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>106</sup> Dodola Municipality, A letter from Gannale *Awrajja* Yägëbrina Ministër Tätäri Tsihifät Bèt to Gannale *Awrajja* Tax and Revenue Office, Folder No. 152. File No. 2186/h13/80, Date 6/08/1974 E.C.

<sup>107</sup> Gizachew, pp. 7-8.

<sup>108</sup> Dodola Municipality, A Report from Dodola Municipality to Gannale *Awrajja* Administration Security Affairs, Folder No. 2-16, File No. 426/v-10/75, Date 11/04/75.

<sup>109</sup> Wondifraw, p. 36; Informants: *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa and *Obbo* Abdella Ararso.

<sup>110</sup> Gizachew, pp. 14-15.

<sup>111</sup> Dodola *Wäräda* Administration, pp. 3-4; Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE, p. 57.

The *Därg* rule was characterized by the principles of command economy where every economic policy was determined by the state. However, private trade activities were possible and the district attracted local people and merchants of different ethnic background, the Gurage, Silte and the Sidamas. The town accommodated newcomers who conducted their businesses and increased population and commercial activities of Dodola town.<sup>112</sup> Thus, in 1985 population had grown to 9872 people of whom 5181 were males and 4691 females.<sup>113</sup>

### 5.9. The Downfall of the *Därg* and Its Results in Dodola

Before the collapse of the regime, the *Därg* made political and economic reforms. On March 5, 1990 Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam made a speech to the National *Shengo* (assembly). This session focused on the formation of an all-inclusive party in place of the former Ethiopian Workers Party (WPE). The new party included all elements from the population by the name Democratic Unity Party of Ethiopia (DUPE). An economic reform, Mixed Economy, was declared to replace the socialist command economy principles. By this economic policy compulsory sale of grain was abolished, private ownership of industries introduced and instead of small cooperatives, Agricultural Marketing Corporations (AMC) were formed to buy grain from peasants. However, all these reforms could not stop opposition against the *Därg* rule.<sup>114</sup> A series of attempts were made to save the government from political and military disintegration. However, on May 21, 1991 the *Därg* government fell.<sup>115</sup>

The decline of the military regime was followed by instability and disorder that occurred throughout the country. In Dodola, the end of the *Därg* rule was actually observed one week

---

<sup>112</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hajaro Lugamo and *Obbo* Abdurhaman Seid.

<sup>113</sup> Dodola Municipality, A letter from Dodola Town Administration to Gannale *Awrajjja* Administration, Folder No. 063, File No. 89/02/78, Date *Hidar* 16, 1978 E. C. (see appendix XXXII)

<sup>114</sup> Henze, pp. 316-317.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

after the announcement of the fall of *Därg* political power at the national level. The people refused orders of the *Därg* local leaders. Then the former officials were pressurized to give up their administration. Disorder and lawlessness prevailed in Dodola town and in the whole of the district. Looting of public and private properties was common in the town and the district.<sup>116</sup>

The *Därg* soldiers arrived from different military camps back to their homes with rifles and bullets. The stores of ammunition in Dodola were broken into and any person could take rifles and bullets. Different equipment from the government stores and office furniture was looted. A huge number of files from different government offices were destroyed by fire. Many prisoners from Gannale prison were released without warranty.<sup>117</sup>

There was immense destruction to the state farms. Heraro and Serofta state farms were looted. Grain, fertilizers and other equipment for production were stolen from the stores. The property of farm workers was also looted. All staff living in the camps of these state farms fled to Dodola town and Shashemenne. Then land of the state farms was left unploughed and left without production for the next season.<sup>118</sup>

APCs in Dodola crumbled, their members became unwilling to continue in them and they rather competed to take the commonly owned property of the cooperatives for their personal use. The leaders of the committees also embezzled the accumulated budget of their cooperatives.<sup>119</sup>

The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) appeared in the area from the direction of Harennä Bulluk but did not succeed in controlling the district. It rather raided and looted the area, tortured and

---

<sup>116</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Hussein Jawo, *Obbo* Kasim Nägash and *Obbo* Kedir Gammada.

<sup>117</sup> Informants: *Obbo* Mekonnen Hasen and *Ato* Solomon HaileMariam.

<sup>118</sup> John Osborne, "Conservation Education Service: A Report on a Brief Working Trip to Bale Mountain National Park and the Surrounding Towns, October 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup>" (EWCO, Dinsho, 1991), p.3.

<sup>119</sup> Informants: *Ato* Yared Wärrkinäh and *Ato* Näga Hailemariam.

killed former officials and often forced the people to contribute money and grain to feed its soldiers.<sup>120</sup>

The people were confused and uncertain who would become the governing body. Some of the former officials and the *Därg* cadres fled to nearby towns and other big towns like Adama, Goba, Assella to save their life.<sup>121</sup>

The arrival of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) forces to the areas immediately began to restore peace and stability in Dodola. *Yäsälaminna Märägagat* Committee (the Committee of Peace and Stability) was formed in each peasant association from elders and the non-WPE members. The committee maintained stability in collaboration with the EPRDF forces within the district and served as a bridge to the later Transitional Government.<sup>122</sup>

## Summary and Conclusion

The Ethiopian revolution of 1974 resulted in the military government of the *Därg*, which moved fairly soon to a Marxist-Leninist regime and socialist policies with a command economy. Dodola continued to be the district centre and the administrative centre of Gannale *awrajja*.

In 1975 a radical land reform was proclaimed. There was some resistance to this in Dodola from former landlords but their resistance was crushed. Peasant associations, peasant cooperatives and state farms were established, and pressure was used to induce peasants to join the cooperatives. Later there was also compulsory villagization. These new rural institutions did not in fact increase production or benefit the people. Peasants lost land to the new state farms. This provoked some attacks on the state farms. Exactions on the peasants increased and because of the *Därg's* wars,

---

<sup>120</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Gemmechu Roba, *Obbo* Abdurhaman Tufa and *Obbo* Husien Jawo; Henze, p.318.

<sup>121</sup>Informants: *Obbo* Robe Mama, *Obbo* Kiniso Wabe and *Obbo* Tufa Galchu.

<sup>122</sup>Informants: *Ato* Bäkälä Wäldäyäs *Obbo* Gemmechu Roba and *Obbo* Kedir Elemo.

there was compulsory recruitment of youth, unfairly conducted, for military service. The *Därg* which had at first enjoyed popularity because of deposition of the discredited imperial regime and land reform, became itself very unpopular, but also feared. The Red Terror in Dodola mercilessly suppressed opposition.

However, Dodola town get some development under the *Därg*. The town was divided into two *qäbälès*. Electricity arrived, water supply was improved and a secondary school was opened. Despite the *Därg's* command economy, some private business was possible and Dodola town attracted merchants and other businesses. The town population grew.

The *Därg* regime fell to the EPRDF in 1991. The fall of the *Därg* in Dodola was accompanied by disorder, insecurity and looting. The OLF entered the area but could only make raids for looting. Finally EPRDF forces established order and security.

## Conclusion

The Oromo people living in Bale belong to the Mando cluster. The WabeShebelle river served as a boundary for the early settlement of the Sikko and Mando clusters of the Barentu Confederacy. These Arsi Oromos were ruled by the *gada* system and all their socio-economic and political issues were determined by its principles. The rise of modern centralized government on the other hand reduced the role of *gada*. Incorporation to the Ethiopian state was through military campaigns and intelligence activities. There was no strong resistance against the imperial incorporation in Dodola. Thus it came under full control of the Ethiopian state in 1892.

The present Dodola district emerged because of the wish of the people to establish a market centre. Before the establishment of Dodola as a market place people had to go far to buy basic materials. They bought grains from markets in Bale and cloth from Wolayta and the Sidamo markets. The new trend of modernization in the early twentieth century also encouraged the establishment of markets as a base of urban centers and the later administrative divisions. Therefore Dodola as small village market was founded in 1910. The role of *Fitawrari* Bui Falama was very great in the formation of Dodola.

Inclusion in the Ethiopian state was followed by unjust policies. Thus the incoming settlers could possess a relatively large proportion of land. The communal land administration gradually changed to individual property.

The autocratic feudal rule in the area was very harsh to maintain effective control over the people and resources. Therefore the activities of *mälkäñña* and *näftäñña* were very stressful to the indigenous Oromo society. Then people became subordinate to the central state.

After the incorporation, new economic activity in the cultivation of crops began to be widely practiced in Dodola. The Arsi Oromo of Dodola were not only pastoralists, since they had

already experienced agriculture on small plots of land, though this was insignificant. The new settlers in Dodola introduced extensive production of crops which the Arsi then practiced more widely than before.

A new administration was set up in the area. Land was systematically taken from the indigenous Oromo society. The tithes or *asrat* were introduced whereby the peasants paid one tenth of their produce. In the period of *Lij Iyasu* there was a relative adaptation to the feudal bureaucracy because of improvements in payment of tributes. The period of *Ras Teferi* and *Zewditu* continued similar patterns of feudal administration. Except some nominal changes the period up to the Italian occupation was characterized by the increasing feudal burdens.

Italian occupation brought a short term relief for the people of Dodola. The Italians abolished the *gäbbar* system. Although not out of real concern for the people, the Italians showed better attitudes towards the Oromo people than the settlers in Dodola. They did that to obtain local support.

In the post-Italian occupation periods in Dodola feudal administration greatly oppressed the mass of the people. The local people were more and more affected by the feudal exploitation. The landholding system was legally laid down to maximize the benefits of the few not the mass. Dodola as an agriculturally productive area was susceptible to land confiscation. After the 1951-53 land measurement Dodola became a centre for the imperial policies of land grants. Commercialization also took place largely by both the local private farmers and the incoming commercial farmers. Land rent was increasing as a result of this new development. Taxation on land increased as state policy to maximize the government revenue. This was very heavy for the local people. There was a systematic eviction. When many peasants failed to pay taxation, the *gebrätäl* land was more increased. The *qälad* system also identified the uncultivated land for

later government use. After the land measurement taxation increased proportionally with the quality of land.

Then in the 1960s peasant grievances steadily increased to actual rebellion in Bale including Dodola. This was at its peak in Dodola when the rebels killed *Fitawrari Wäldä Mikael* in 1966 but was finally suppressed. However, the increasing public discontent ended HaileSellasié's regime in the 1974 Ethiopian revolution.

The new *Därg* government denounced the former discriminatory distribution of rights and national property in Ethiopia. Land was nationalized in rural areas ending landlordism, and land was distributed to landless peasants. Peasant associations were formed. Urban land and extra houses were also nationalized. Thus, the new government policy also affected the life of urban residents. The new political and social consciousness through *Idigët Bähibrèt* began in the district in the early years of the *Därgrule*.

Another development in the *Därg* period was the beginning of cooperatives in peasant associations. In rural areas landless peasants were encouraged to form cooperatives. In fact these cooperatives were organized by the will of the government not the wish of the peasants. They began with only a meager budget and had no administrative skills. These problems limited their progress so that they could not be effective.

A Villagization program started in Dodola in 1978/9 when the *Därg* attempted to provide concentrated villages to centralize administration and social services for the people but also to exert political control. However, it was hated for being by force and the government's failure to provide the promised facilities for the new villages.

The town of Dodola enjoyed some real progress from its formation till the end of the *Därg* rule. It got municipal administration in 1954. When Bale *ṭäqalaygizat* was formed in 1960 the town

became the political seat of both the *awraja* and *wäräda* administration. In the 1970s and 1980s a considerable progress was seen after different facilities were established in the town. The town of Dodola continued as political centre of Gannale *awraja* and Dodola *wäräda* administration until the end of the *Därg* rule in 1991.

My objective in this thesis has been to present a picture of the history and development of Dodola district and the town in the period 1910-1991. It was a period of critically important for the area, and for Ethiopia, in the emergence from a feudal state and society with a lagging economy, via imperial autocracy, Italian occupation, and the *Därg* dictatorship to the present EPRDF regime. I have tried to be comprehensive but have concentrated on political administration and social aspects and have noted the agricultural development of Dodola from a mainly pastoral area to completely arable farming, on account of the nature of the land itself and the climate I have also discussed settlement and population growth.

## Glossary

Aanaa -relative, close kin

Abägaz - a military title during the imperial regime

Abba Duula- war leader

Abba Gada /Abba Bokku- holder of scepter and president in Gada..

Abba Muudaa- father of anointment, an Oromo title.

Abba Seera- head of judiciary

Abugida- ge'ez alphabet

Abujedi- cloth made from cotton by weavers.

Akäbabi Astädadär- Regional Administration.

Arsoma- Arsihood.

Asrat- one tenth of harvest paid to the state.

Ato - a civil term to address an adult male which is equivalent to “Mr”

Awraja gizat- sub- province (an administrative unit below the level of province).

Baala buufachu- putting leaves for demarcating farmland in Arsi Oromo.

Baallee- a ceremony of power transfer in Oromo *gada* system

Bädda-dare- an intermediate zone between highland and the lowland.

Balabat - landlord or local hereditary chief.

Balämawals - advisors of the higher imperial officials.

Balambaras- administrative title below *Grazmač* (head of *amba* ).

Balbala- lineage

Bandas – collaborators

Baša - a low level military title for war leader.

Buda murtu- spoon maker from the horn of cattle.

Burqa- an intermediate power holder next to *balabat*.

Čhiqašum- village chief empowered to collect tax during the imperial regime.

Čisāña – tenant.

Daadhii - a traditional drink made from honey and *Gesho*

Däbtära- church below to priests.

Däjjazmač- “commander of the gate”, a politico-military title below *Ras* .

Därg- literally “committee” the military government of Ethiopia after the imperial government.

Debo - traditional cooperation among Arsi Oromos.

Ensët- a plant that serves for food consumption in parts of west Arsi and widely in the southern region.

Esapa - Ethiopian Socialist Party (the political organization before the formation of WPE)

Fanos – patriots.

Fird Shāngo- local court during the *Därg* in Ethiopia.

Fitawrari- Commander of the Vanguard, a military title below *Däjjazmač*.

Fuga /*Cawwa* - tanner

Gäbäya - market place.

Gäbbar - taxpayer ( also land on which tax was paid to the state in labour and later in money).

Gada - socio-political system of the Oromo.

Gaša - shield or unit of land measurement usually about 40 hectares of land.

Gebrätäl- land taken over by the state for failure to pay tax.

Gerazmač - Commander of the left flank , a politico- military title.

Gesho- a plant that helps to produce local alcoholic drinks.

Gibir- land tax.

Gifira- measles, the Oromo name for this disease.

Gimja Bét-Treasury.

Gizat - an administrative unit.

Gosa- clan.

Gotära - storage.

Guddifachaa - adoption, to bring up, rear, foster.

Gumma- a reconciliation among the Oromo to resolve controversies among individuals.

Gumaa Faki- minor rules than *gumaa*

Guwad (Comrade)- a title for the WPE members who were also the power holders.

Hibrätsebawinät - Ethiopian Socialism.

Huwalaqär bahiloç- backward cultural practices

Indärase- in my behalf, Viceroy or representative of the emperor.

Itiyopia Tiqdäm - Ethiopia First.

Jaarsummaa- mediation.

Jila- Pilgrims.

Läm - fertile.

Lam Ƨäf – semi-fertile or partially developed.

Lemat budin - groups for development.

Madäriya land - temporary landholdings given by the government to the soldiers and officials. as remuneration for their services.

Mälkäñña - an official appointed by the provincial governors or the central government.

Mana- family.

Mätséhét- Bulletin.

Mäwaçö - a compulsory money contribution during the *Därg* period for victims of famine and other purposes.

Micciirraa- traditional food made from butter and barley

Muuda/muudu - anoint.

Näčläbaš- “those who wear white uniform” local militia, rural auxiliary police force,

Näft- rifle

Näftäñña- a name given to Menilek`s warriors of northern origin.

Negus- king.

Qäbälé - a local area within a town or district.

Qadi - Islamic religious leader.

Qälad- land measurement.

Qäñazmač - “Commander of the Right,” a politico-military title above *Grazmač* .

Qori - a traditional porridge utensil made from wood.

Quter Gäbbar- peasantry who provided labor services and paid tribute to the individual soldiers, priests or officials rather than directly to the state.

Ras - “head”, greatest politico-military title next to *negus*.

Rist- a permanently held land, heritable property, land belonging to a lineage.

Ristägułts- hereditary *gult* .

Sä fär - neighborhood.

Šaläqqa - an appointee superior over 1000 soldiers.

Šambäl- a title for the commander of one division in the police force or army.

Samon land- a land under the control of a church and the church had taxation right.

shay bet- “teahouse” a small Cafe.

Sheik- a title given to a religious leader among Muslims.

Shifta- bandit.

Siqqee- traditional celebration in Oromo women.

Siso-literally one third land left to the *balabat* by the state upon measurement of land.

Šum- head.

Tabot- ark.

Ṭäf - undeveloped, uncultivated poor land (infertile).

Ṭäqelay- Gizat- province (administrative unit during the imperial period equivalent to province).

Tej- a traditional drink made from honey and *Gesho*

Tsefät Bét - office.

Tumtu- blacksmith.

Waaqeffanna - indigenous Oromo religion, believing in or revering one God.

Waayuu Godaa- a name given by Arsi Oromos for the honor *abba Muudaa*

Wäddo zämačoó - voluntary campaigners.

Wäräda Gizat - administrative unit below *awraja*.

Warra- family.

Yäbalabat siso- a sharecropping in which the landowner obtains a third of the harvest.

Yädaqon märèt- land for deacon service.

Yäfidel Särawit- the alphabet army.

Yä-gäbäz märèt- land for the church officer.

Yänétas- church appointed teachers.

Yäqes märèt- priestly land.

Yäsäbil mäsäbsäb zämača - cooperative harvesting campaign.

Yäsäfar Šum- head of small area in the town.

Yatibiya Daññas- locally elected judges in the imperial period.

Yäwist Dähininät- internal security.

Yäwiyiyit Kibäb - discussion group.

Zämač- Campaigner.

Zämäča- campaign.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Unpublished Sources

### I. Archives

#### Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency

Folder No. 5.12.15, File No. 3091/73.

Folder No.1.1.13.31, File No. 6307.

Folder No. 1.1.13.31, File No. 354/02/1.

Folder No 1.1.13.31, File No. 18538/5.

Folder No.19569, File No.822/17/3/30.

Folder No.1.1.14.08, File No. 1830.

Folder No. 17.1.5.12.09, File No. 3366/961.

Folder No. 6307, File No.1.1.14.08.

Folder No. 1.1.14.08 , File No. 4950/31/60.

Folder No. 19569 , File No 3957.

Folder No. 2.1.18.02 File No.1238/44.

Folder No. 5.12.15, File No. 2768/38.

Folder No. 130/5, File No.85/2.

Folder No.19569, File No1142/545/60.

Folder No. አ436, File No. 4646/26.

Folder No. መአ43/5/2, File No.16.1.103.2.

Folder No.12.1.19, File No.4382/2498.

## **WäldäMäskäl Tariku Memorial and Research Center**

Folder No.29/08, File No. 1/18579.

Folder No. መ/02, File No. 41/መ/73.

### **Bale Province Administration**

Folder No. 810/63 , File No. 13906/45.

Folder No. 810/63, File No. 2850/961.

### **Dodola Wäradä Administration**

Folder No. 851/ወ8/74, File No.1688/74.

Folder No. 24 , File No. 895/06.

Folder 817/ወ8/74, File No. 1618/አ1/3/74.

Folder No. 562/ ወ8/74, File No.1961/ሂ/1/3/1/74.

Folder No. 890/ወ8/75, File No.4000/አ/1/2/75.

Folder No 178/ሀ/12/82, File No. 0089/82.

Folder No.መ-28, File No. 562/14/76 .

Folder No. 20 File No. c2/495/82.

Folder No. 0054 , File No.1828/225/72.

Folder No. 063, File No. 89/02/78.

Folder No. መ-30, File No. c2/1330/85.

### **Dodola Wäradä Municipality**

Folder No. ዳ.16 ,File No. 2300/ዳ-16/77.

Folder No. 152. File No.2186/አ13/80.

Folder No. ደ-16 File No. 426/v-10/75.

## II. Reports

Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Administration Report. The Department of Land Tenure. Report on "Land Tenure Survey of Bale Province". Addis Ababa, December, 1969.

Osborne, John. "Conservation Education Service: A Report on a Brief Working Trip to Bale Mountain National Park and the Surrounding Towns, October 8<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup>". EWCO, Dinsho, 1991.

## Theses, Dissertations and Other Unpublished Papers

Taji. "The History of Arsi 1880-1935." BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1982.

Shaman Kabeto. "Allo Arsi: The Institution of Customary Laws in the Upper Wabe Shebelle Region." BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1991.

Geleto. "Customary Laws as Conflicts Management Institution. The case of Gumma Among the Oromo of Kofele District." BA Thesis, Department of History, Dire Dawa University, June 2011.

Duressa. "Guddifachaa: Adoption Practice in Oromo Society with Particular Reference to the Borana Oromo." MA Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University, June 2002.

Metahun. "A History of Shashemene from its Foundation to 1974." MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1988.

Mark Zewde. "The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills, with Particular Reference to Arsi." MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1992.

Ansaa Magaalaa Dodolaa. "Karoora fi Tarsiimoo Bulchiinsa Magaalaa Dodolaa, Bara 1998-2000". Dodola, 1998 E.C/2006.

Derresa. "Continuity and Change in the Status of Women: the Case of Arsi Oromo Living Adjacent to Upper Wabe Valley, Dodola." MA Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, Addis Ababa University, 2002.

Wäräda Administration. Office of Communication and Government Affairs. "A Profile of Dodola District." Dodola, 2006.

Chole. "Taxation in Ethiopia: Analysis of Structure, Policy and performance". MSC in Economics, University of Illinois, 1968.

Aw Girma. "Water Supply System in the Dodola Town." B.A Thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University, 1993.

Aw Daka. "The Cooperative Movement." Addis Ababa University, Department of Sociology, 1978

- Ketema Meskela. "Evolution of Land Ownership and Tenancy in the Highland Bale: A Case Study of Goba, Sinana and Dodola to 1974" MA Thesis, Department of History, Ababa University, 2001.
- Lataa Bedaso. "Tiinxala Moggasa Maqaa Manneen Daldalaa Magaalaa Dodolaa." BA Thesis, Department of Afaan Oromo, Addis Ababa University, 2003.
- Mindaye Abebe. "The Oromo of Bale: A Historical Survey to 1974". MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2005.
- Sintayehu Kassaye. "Goba: Foundation, Growth and Development to 1974." BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1985.
- Solomon Korsä. "Rural Land Distribution and Management in the Highland Bale: A Study of Goba, Dodola and Sinana 1975-1991." MA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2005.
- Tamirat Tadälä. "The Biography of *Ato* Tadälä Debessa." A Term Paper Presented to The Ethiopian Graduate School of Theology for the Course, Evangelical Movement in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, 2004.
- Teshome Amenu. "The Rise and Expansion of Islam in Bale of Ethiopia: Socio-Cultural and Political Factors and Inter-Religious Relations." MA Thesis, Department of Philosophy of Religious Education, the Norwegian Teacher Academy, 2008.
- Wondifraw Tolossa. "Community Based Ecotourism Impacts: the Case of Adaba-Dodola Protected Forest Bale Zone, Oromia." MA Thesis, Department of Geography, Addis Ababa University, 2007.

## Published Sources

### I. Books

- Adejumboi, A .Saheed . *The History of Ethiopia*. London : Greenwood Press, 2007.
- Addis Hiwet. *Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution* . London: Merlin Press, 1975.
- Alem Asres. *History of Ethiopian Student Movement (In Ethiopia and North America). Its Impact on Internal Social Change, 1960-1974*. Maryland: A Bell and Howell Company, 1990.
- Alemayhu Haile and Boshi Gonfa. *The History of Oromo to the Sixteenth Century*. Finfinne :np, 1998.
- Alemneh Dejene. *Environment ,Famine and Politics in Ethiopia. A View from the Village*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 1990.
- Andargachew Tiruneh. *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987. A Transformation from an Aristocratic to Totalitarian Autocracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- Asmerom Legesse . *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Societies*. New York: The Free Press, 1973.
- Bahru Zewde. *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 1991.
- Balsvik, Randi Rønning. *The Quest for Expression*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University press, 2007.
- Barker, A.J. *The Civilizing Mission: A History of the Italo-Ethiopian War 1935-1936*. New York: The Dial Press, 1968.
- Clapham, Christopher. *Transformation and Continuity in Revolutionary Ethiopia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Cohen, John Michael and Peter H. Koehn. *Ethiopian Provincial and Municipal Government Imperial Patterns and Post-revolutionary Challenges*. East Lansing: African Studies Center ,1980.
- Cohen, John Michael and Dov Weintraub. *Land and Peasant in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to Revolution* . Assen : Van Gorcum and comp.B.V, 1975.
- Council of Oromia Regional State. *Physical and Socio-Economic Profiles of 180 Districts of Oromia Region*. Finfinne: Council of Oromia Regional State, 2000.

- Crummey, Donald. *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000.
- Dawit Wolde Giorgis. *Red Tears: War, Famine and Revolution in Ethiopia*. New Jersey: Red Sea Press Inc, 1989.
- Dessalegn Rahmeto. *The Peasant and the State Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950`s - 2000`s*. Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2009.
- Donham, Donald L and James Wendy. eds. *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia. Essays in History and Social Anthropology*. Cambridge :Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Federal Democratic Republic of Germany with FDRE. *Protection and Management of Natural Forest, Report of Identification Mission*. Frankfurt: Hartwig Ungethum, 1990.
- Gebru Tareke. *Power And Protest : Peasant Revolt In The Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Ethiopian Revolution*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Harbenson, John W. "State and Social Transformation in Modern Ethiopia". In Marina (ed). *The Political Economy of Ethiopia*. New York and London: Praeger Publisher, 1990.
- Henze, B. Paul. *Layers of Time. A History of Ethiopia*. London: Hurst and Company, 2000.
- Hodson, Arnold Weinhold. *Seven Years in Southern Abyssinia*. London: T. Fisher Unwin Ltd, 1927.
- Jebesa Ejeta. *Yä Oromo Bihër Bahilinna Achir Tarik*. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1978.
- Janson, Kurte, Michael Harris and Angela Penrose. *The Ethiopian Famine: The Emergence of Relief Operation*. London: Zed Books Ltd, 1990.
- Lapiso G. Delebo. *Yä Itiyopiya Sirätina Jimir Kapitalism 1900-1966, Second Edition*. Addis Ababa: Nigid Matemiyä Bet, 1983.
- Mähtäma Sellase Wäldämasqal. *Zikre Nägär*. Addis Ababa: Nätsanät Printing Press, 1942 E.C(1949/50).
- Markakis, John. *Ethiopia Anatomy of a Traditional Polity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ethiopia, The Last Two Frontiers*. New York: Boydell and Brewer: James Currey Ltd, 2011.

- McCann , James. “ The Myth and Reality of Agricultural Crisis in Ethiopia: Empirical Lessons from History, 1900-1987.” In Marina Ottaway (ed). *The Political Economy of Ethiopia*. London: Praeger Publisher,1990.
- Mockler , Anthony. *Haile Selassie 's War. The Italian-Ethiopian Campaign 1935-1941*. New York: Random House Inc, 1984.
- Mohammed Hassen. *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Newman, P. *Italy's Conquest of Abyssinia*. London: Thornton Butterworth Ltd, 1937.
- Nugusie Ayele.“Ethiopian Revolution :Political Aspect of The Transition from PMAC to PDRE” in Marina Ottaway (ed), *Introduction. The Political Economy of Ethiopia*. New York: Praeger publisher,1990.
- Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau. *Seenaa Oromoo hanga Jaarraa 16<sup>ffa</sup>tti, Seecii lammaffaa*. Finfinnee: Oromia Cultural and Tourism Bureau, 2013.
- Østebø, Terje. *A History of Islam and Inter-Religious Relations in Bale: Ethiopia*. Stockholm: Uppsala University Press, 2005.
- Ottaway, Marina. “Introduction” (ed). *The Political Economy of Ethiopia*. New York: Praeger Publisher, 1990.
- Perham, Margery. *The Government of Ethiopia*. London: Faber and Faber limited,1948.
- Provisional Military Administrative Government, Institute of Human Resource Administration, *the Central and Southern Provinces; Shoa, Arsi, Sidamo, Kaffa, Ilubabor ,Gamo Gofa and Bale*. Addis Ababa: Provisional Military Administrative Government, September 1977.
- Sbacchi, Alberto. *Ethiopia Under Mussolini Fascism and the Colonial Experience*. London: Zed Books Ltd, 1985.
- Shiferaw Bekele (ed). “The evolution of land tenure in the Imperial Era 1941-1974.” *An Economic History of Ethiopia” CODESRIA , Vol. I*. Dakar: Antony Rowe Ltd,1995.
- Tefera HaileSellase. *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1991*.London: Kegan Paul International, 1997.
- Teshale Tibebu. *The Making of Modern Ethiopia 1896-1974*.Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press Inc,1995.
- Trimingham, J. Spencer. *Islam in Ethiopia*. London: Oxford University Press,1952.

## II. Journals and Other Published Materials

- Central Statistical Agency, *House and Population Census of Ethiopia*. Vol. 1, Part I, Addis Ababa: CSA, 1994.
- Cohen, John Michael. "Effects of Green Revolution and Small Scale Land Owners in Chilalo Region Ethiopia." *Journal of Developing Press*, Vol. 9, No.3, 1975.
- Cohen, John M. and Nils-Ivar Isaksson. "Villagization in Ethiopia's Arsi Region". *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Ethiopian Meteorological Service. *Meteorological Maps of Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: Ethiopian Meteorological Agency, 1979.
- Triulzi, Alessandro. "Italian colonialism and Ethiopia". *Journal of African History*, Vol.23, No 2. London, 1982.

## III. Proceedings

- Braukamper, Ulrich. "Oromo Country of Origin" *Proceedings of The Sixth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Tel Aviv April 14-17*. Boston, A.A Belkema, 1986.
- Daniel Gemmechu. " A Nation in Perpetual Transition the Politics of Changes in Administrative Divisions and Sub-divisions in Ethiopia." In the papers of 12<sup>th</sup> *International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, New Trend in Ethiopia*, Vol. 2. Lawrenceville: The Red Sea Press, 1994.
- Mooney, Herbert *et al.* "An Account of Two Journeys to Arrenna Mountain in Bale Province 1962 and 1963." *Proceedings of Linnean Society of London*. London: Linnean Society, 1963.

## IV. Bulletins

- Dodola Town Municipality. *Maxxansaa Addaa* . Hawasa: A Bulletin Produced by Sky Printing Press, October 2013.
- Yä Dodola Käfitegna Hulätägna Däräja Tämihirit Bèt. *Yä Dodola Käfitägna Hulätägna Timihirit Bèt Amäsärarät Achir Tarik*. Addis Ababa: Birhanena Selam Printing Press, 1984.
- Yämäretina Märhabiher Minister. *Yäkatit Mätsihèt, Ninth edition, No 617-1986*. Addis Ababa: Birhanina Selam Printing Press, 1986.

## V. Magazines and an Anniversary Single Issue

Gäbrä Kiristos Church Hundred Years Anniversary Committee, *Fere Hayimanot* (ፍሪ ዘይማናት), No 1 Ginbot 14/2010. Hawasa: A Bulletin Produced by AM Printing PLC, 2010.

The Därg Central Committee, *Meskerem*. No. 2, (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1974 E.C /1981.

Yämastawäqiyañña Propaganda Committee. Itiyopia. *Yäkätäma Botaña Tirf Bèt Tinatñaña Zare*. Addis Ababa, 1981.

## List of Informants

S. No	Full Name and Title	Sex	Age	Date of Interview	Place of interview	Remark
1	Abba Foge Tahiro ( <i>Obbo</i> )	Male	88	12/03/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He is from the Shedema clan and has knowledge of the area. He was the son of <i>Qañazmač</i> Tahiro Yaya, one the local chiefs during the imperial rule.
2	Abba Chabsa Tahiro ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	71	14/03/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He is an elder of the area and has a knowledge of the period of emperor Haile Selassie I
3	Abdella Ararso ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	53	24/05/2007	Berisa	He is an educated man, elder and had a knowledge of socio-economic life. He was also working as local judge in the <i>Därg</i> regime.
4	Abdurhaman Seid ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	78	16/04/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He had his own land worked by tenants. He was also a lawyer in 1969E.C.
5	Abdurhaman Tufa ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	68	12/03/2007 E.C	Qacama	He worked in Dodola <i>wärärda</i> administrative office and in Bale provincial administration. He has a good knowledge of land holding patterns in Bale areas
6	Bäkälä Abaynäh ( <i>Ato</i> )	”	54		Dodola Town	He was a lawyer and an educated man in Dodola district during the <i>Därg</i> regime.
7	Bäkälä Wäldäyäs ( <i>Ato</i> )	”	73	04/04/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He has been living in Dodola town for a long time and he served as member of the school board. He knows the growth of social services in Dodola.
8	Burka Chukuru ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	60	16/03/2007 E.C	Deneba	He is an elder and the son of one of the local judges in the imperial period, <i>Yatibiya Daäñña</i> .

9	Chako Wako ( <i>Obbo</i> )	Male	74	19/03/2007 E.C	Carre	An elder of the area has good knowledge of the imperial and the <i>Därg</i> periods.
10	Gemmechu Roba ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	61	11/06/2007 E.C	Berisa	He is a notable person in Berisa <i>qäbäle</i> , an elder and has good knowledge about the revolt in Dodola .
11	Geribe Wabe ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	71	10/04/2007 E.C	Dodola town	He was among those petitioners opposing the change of the political centre of Gännle <i>awraja</i> and who strongly appealed to Emperor.
12	Getahew WäldäMikael ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	77	10/04/2007 E.C	Deneba	He is the son of the former ruling <i>Balabat</i> of Dodola, and Gannale <i>awrajja</i> . He is a grandson of WäldäMikael. He was also a Deputy in the old imperial parliament for eight years.
13	Hajaro Lugamo ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	89	04/04/2007 E.C	Heraro	An elder and a man having better information on all aspects of the district
14	Hasen Lencho( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	62	16/03/2007 E.C	Serofta	He is a resident of the town of Serofta and he has more knowledge about the town and the state farm.
15	Haji Gobu ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	76	15/03/2007 E.C	Eddo	He was an elder and had knowledge of people during the imperial and the <i>Därg</i> period
16	Hussein Galchu ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”		16/03/2007 E.C	Deneba	He was one of those whose land was taken due to failure to pay taxation. He had a good knowledge about the imperial and the <i>Därg</i> administration.
17	Hussein Jawo ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	58	13/04/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	An expert in Dodola district Culture and Tourism Bureau.

18	Hussein Roba ( <i>Obbo</i> )	Male	54	12/03/2007 E.C	Heraro	He is an elder in Heraro area and had good knowledge on the mobilization of Development through Cooperation, Enlightenment and Work campaign.
19	Ibrahim Seid ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”		10/07/2007 E.C	Baka	Was among the former tenants who lost land for expanded commercial farming.
20	Ibrahim Tola Galchu ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	76	16/02/2007 E.C	Negelle Mexxama	He was partly a tenant and had land. He has good knowledge about the tenure system and the challenges coming in the 1960s.
21	Juara Gelgelu ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	62	09/03/2007 E.C	Baka	He was an official during the imperial period and had good knowledge about the imperial land policy. Now he is retired.
22	Kabe Wayu ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	70	24/05/2007 E.C	Qacama	An elder and knowledgeable man from Qacama <i>qäbäle</i> . The son of one of the former <i>burqa</i> .
23	Kabeto Garjaja ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	56	17/08/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He is a history teacher in Dodola Secondary school and the present <i>abba gada</i> . He has knowledge about the Imperial and the <i>Därg</i> rule.
24	Kasim Nägash ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	57	02/05/2007 E.C	Eddo	He worked in the Agricultural Development Office in the land administration department.
25	Kedir Elemo ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	55	04/04/2007 E.C	Geneta	Is a knowledgeable person and was one of the coordinators in the campaign of the villagization program.
26	Kedir Gammada ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	59	23/03/2007 E.C	Negelle Mexama	Is among the former landless peasants and lived as a tenant during the imperial regime and benefited from the land policy in the <i>Därg</i> period.

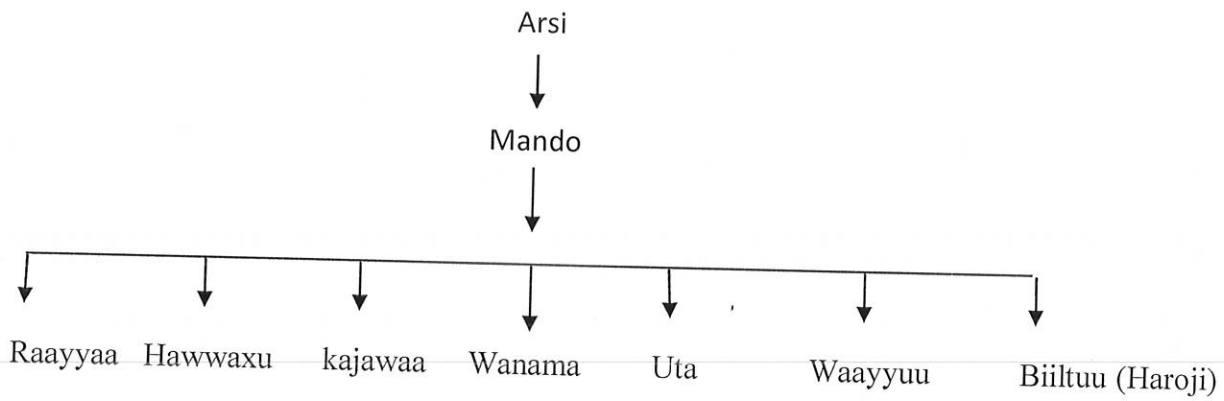
27	Kedir Mohammed ( <i>Obbo</i> )	Male	79	29/04/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	An elder and knowledgeable person with good information about the district.
28	Kiniso Wabe ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	59	20/03/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He is now an elder. He was one of those people who engaged in agricultural producers cooperatives.
29	Kumbi Ketaro ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	85	19/04/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	An elder and participated as a member of the Dodola Municipal council in the late 1960s.
30	Mekonnen Hasen ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	76	14/03/2007 E.C	Serofta	He worked as a secretary in different <i>wärärdas</i> during the imperial era and had land granted to him.
31	Mohammed Tenna ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	65	16/02/2007 E.C	Deneba	One of the former tenants and then merchant and is now retired.
32	Näga HaileMariam ( <i>Ato</i> )	”	71	27/02/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	Served as principal of Dodola primary school and head of Education Bureau during the <i>Därg</i> period.
33	Robe Mama ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	69	11/03/2007 E.C	Geneta	An elder and popular person among the Geneta clan.
34	Solomon HaileMariam ( <i>Ato</i> )	”	72	06/03/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He was the head of Gannale <i>awrajja</i> office of the Agricultural Development office, the <i>sum</i> of Dodola town and he is now retired.
35	Täklü Wärkinäh ( <i>Mämire</i> )	”	92	24/03/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	A priest and he had good information about the formation of Dodola, Haile Sellasie’s and the <i>Därg</i> administration.
36	Tufa Galchu ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	72	21/04/2007 E.C	Serofta	Knowledgeable person and was the chairperson of Serofta in the <i>Därg</i> regime.

37	Usman Batio ( <i>Obbo</i> )	Male	76	18/03/2007 E.C	Alumma Shifa	He born from the Kajawa clan and was a known mediator during conflicts.
38	Woliyi Kayo ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	76	01/03/2007 E.C	Garba Tarura	He is an elder, a knowledgeable person and known for conducting the <i>gumma</i> reconciliation.
39	Yared Wärkinäh ( <i>Ato</i> )	”	86	30/03/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He born in Dodola town and an educated person. During the imperial regime worked in a government <i>wärärda</i> office and had land granted to him.
40	Yaya Kasim ( <i>Obbo</i> )	”	71	10/04/2007 E.C	Dodola Town	He is an elder and has better knowledge about the imperial rule and the <i>Därg</i> period.

## APPENDICES

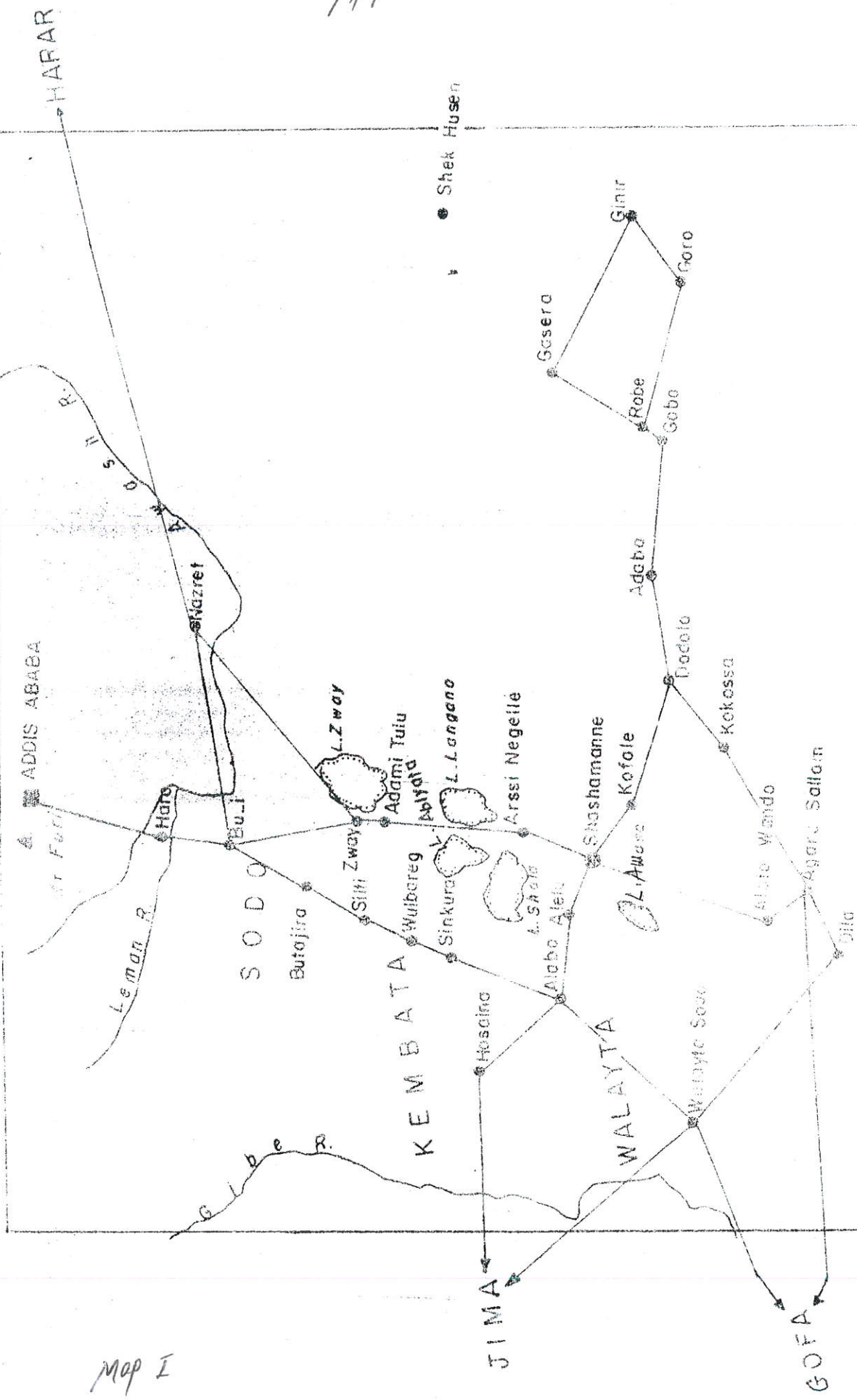
### Appendix I

Fig. The Mando Arsi Cluster



Source: Council of Oromia Regional State. *Physical and Socio-Economic Profiles of 180 Districts of Oromia Region*. Finfinne: Council of Oromia Regional State. Finfinne : Physical Planning and Economic Department, 2000.

Appendix II



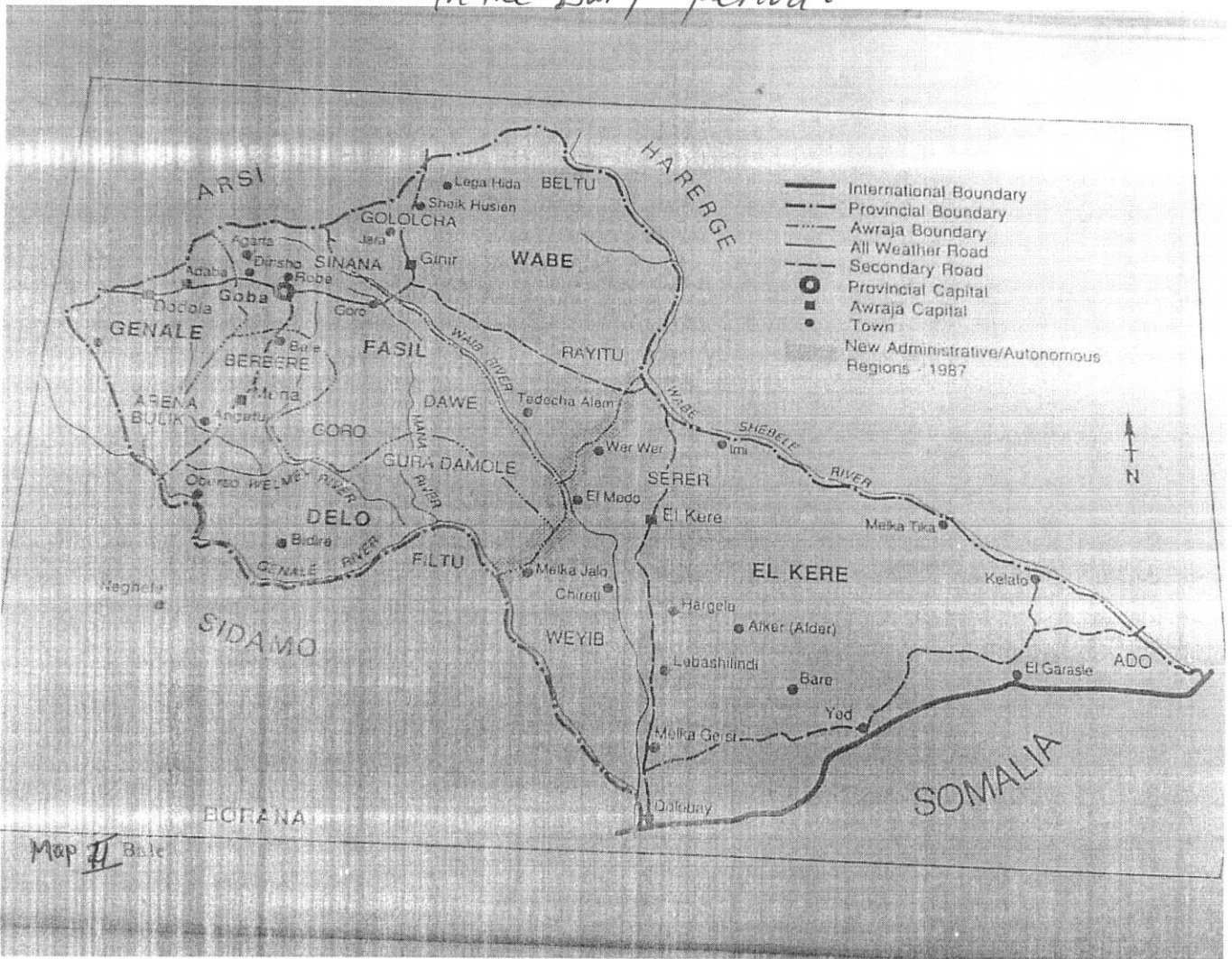
Map I

A map showing the Trade Routes of Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century in the south crossing the Dodola district and the town to Ginnit.

Source: Adapted from Map of Ethiopia prepared and printed by Ethiopian Mapping Agency (n.d)

# Appendix III

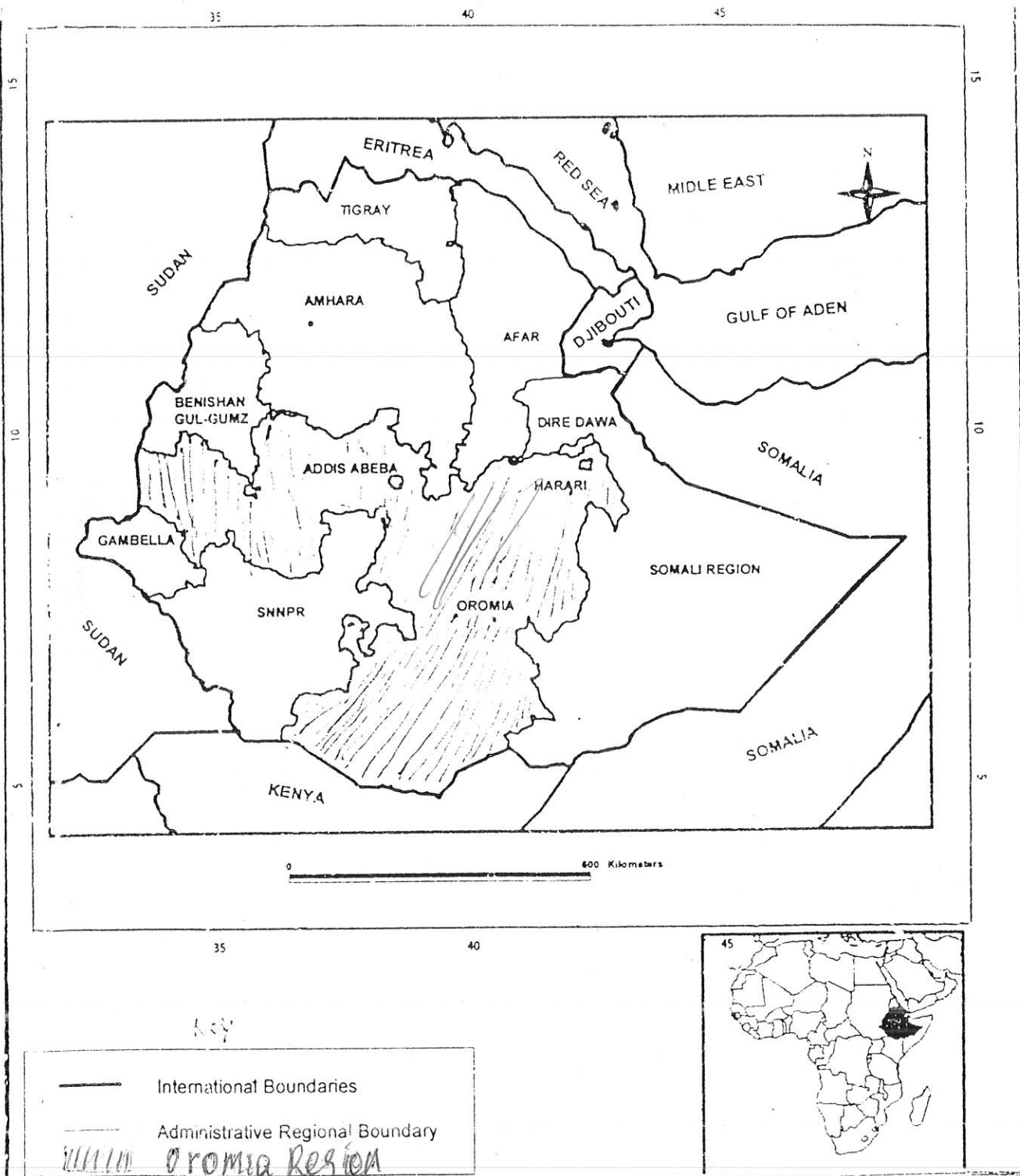
A Map Showing Awrajjias of Bale Province  
in the Darg period.



Source: Bale province Agricultural Development  
Office, 1987

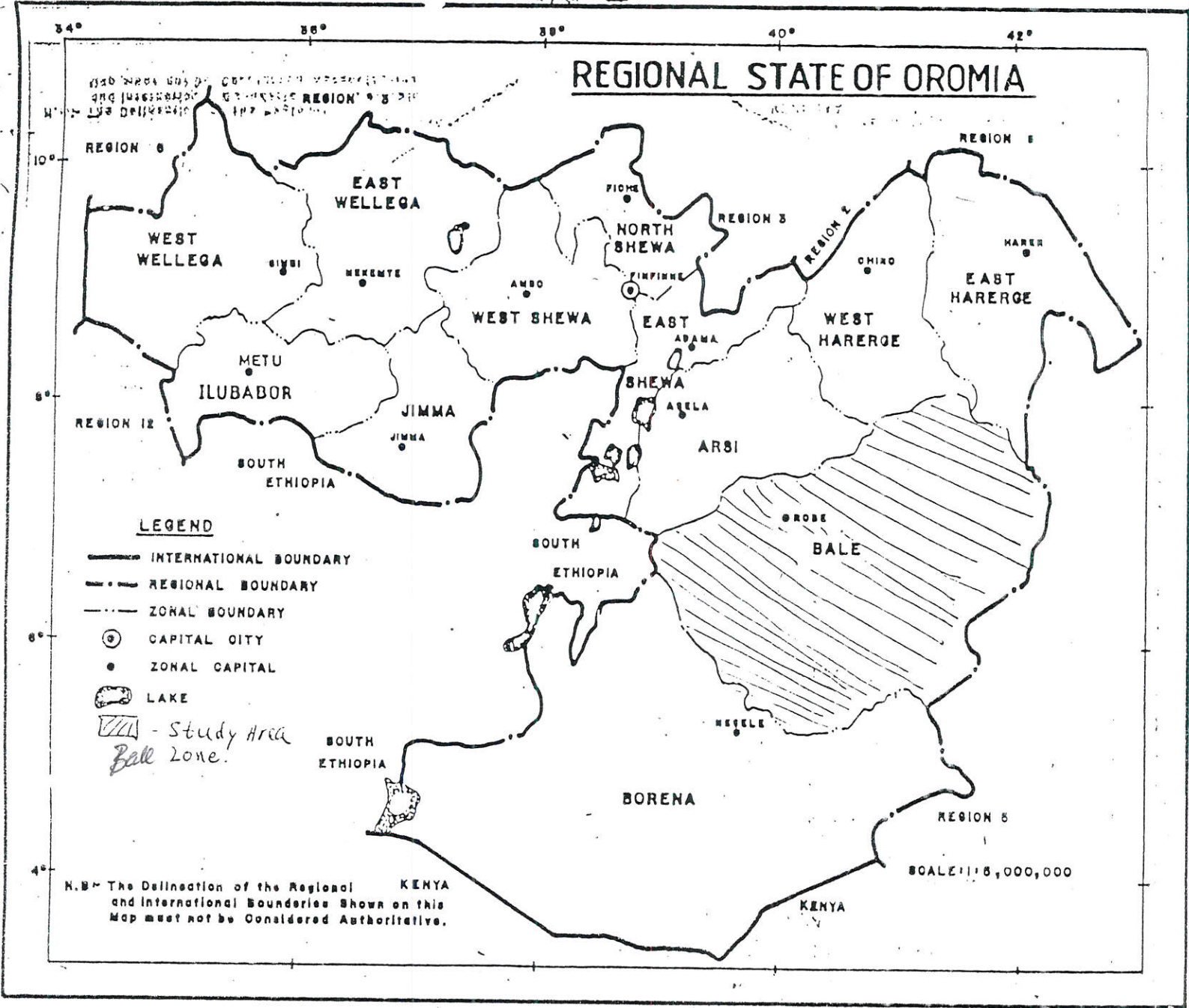
Appendix IV

Map III A Map Showing Regional States of Ethiopia



Department of Geography  
Addis Ababa University

December 2001



Appendix IV  
 Showing Zonal Division of  
 Regional State of  
 Oromia

Map IV

# BALE ZONE

WEST HARERGE

EAST HARERGE



ARSI

Legehidha

8°

-1407-

7°

Aqarfro

G/Galolcha

Sawena

S/Dinsho

Robe

Ginir

Kokob

Dadola

Adaba

Goba

Berbera

Goro

Rayitu

REGIONAL STATE OF NATIONS NATIONALITIES & PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA

Nansebo

Mena Angetu

SOMALI REGIONAL STATE

G/dhamole

### LEGEND

--- Wereda Boundary

--- Zonal "

--- Regional "

■ Zonal Capital

○ Wereda "

▨ Dadola

6°

SCALE: 1:2000 000

M/Walabu

BORENA

SOURCE Bale zone planning and Economic Development office 1998

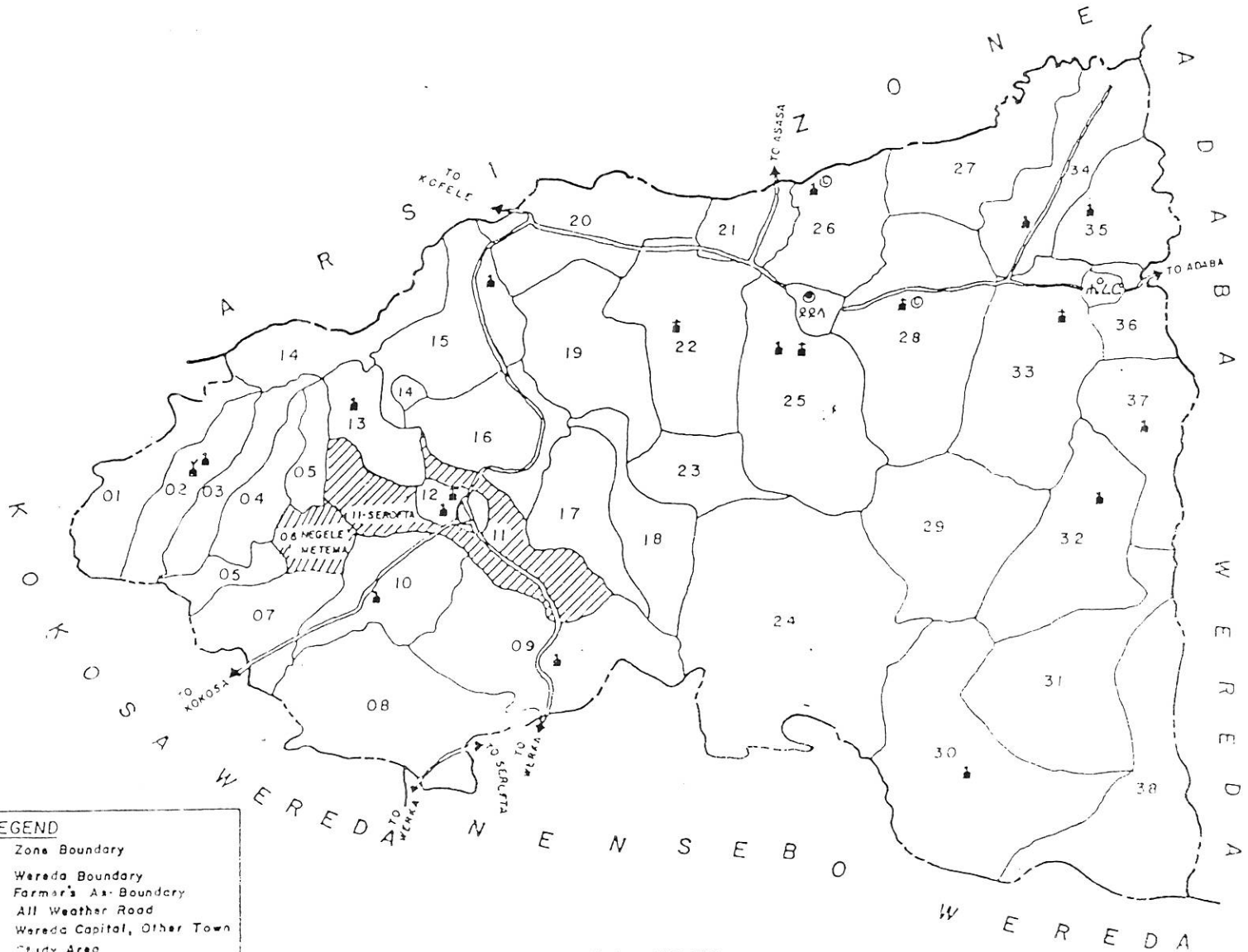
NOTE The delination of Zonal and Regional Boundaries shown on this Map must not be considered Authoritative.

MAP IV

Map of The present Bale Wārädas

Appendix III

# MAP OF DODOLA WEREDA



LEGEND	
	Zone Boundary
	Wereda Boundary
	Farmer's As-Boundary
	All Weather Road
	Wereda Capital, Other Town
	Study Area
	School, Clinic
	Church, Mosque
	Farmer's As-Code

Scale: 1:200,000

Source: CSA

Map of the present Dodola Wereda with 75 kebeles.

-148-

Appendix VIII

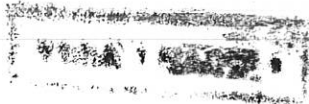






Appendix XI

4



ቁጥር: 18538/5

አ-አ: መጋቢት: ፳፯/፳፯: 1942-ዓ.ም.

አክብሮ: ደግሞ: ሚኒስቴር:

ኔብሥ: አብዮ:

አክብሮ: ሆይ:

በከፍተኛ: ወረዳ: ግዛት: መዛወር: ጉዳይ: መጋቢት: ፳/፳፯-ዓ.ም: በቁጥር:

47: የጸሐፊ: ደብዳቤ: ገንዘብ: ልሳን: ተመክንተን ሞት: =

አዲህ: ሰው: ተከፍ: ጥቅም: ጉዳት: ተመርምር: አገልግሎት: መሥሪያ: ስታፊ:

ቀጥታ: ገንዘብ: ልሳን: ካይ: አንጻር: ልማት: አገልግሎት: አዲስ: ግዛት: ችግር: አካላት: መሆኑን: በማክበር: አዲስ: ተመርምር: =

በማክበር: ገንዘብ: ስታፊ: ጋር:

ማህተም:

ፊርማ: ለአዲስ: ገንዘብ: ስታፊ: - ቀን: ግዛት:

ግዛት: ሚኒስቴር:

ደብዳቤ: ልሳን: ልማት:

በከፍተኛ:

አገልግሎት: አዲስ: ግዛት: ደ/ጋ:

ጋ:

አክሲ: ጠቅላይ: ግዛት: ደ/ጋ:

አክሲ:

*Handwritten signature*  
ጠቅላይ ልማት ጋር  
ጠቅላይ ልማት ጋር

Appendix XII

ገምግም 4435-8-47

ጥዲላ 55



አዲስ አበባ፣ 02/09/85 ቀን፣ ገምግም 2 ዓ.ም. 5

የኢትዮጵያ፣ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ መንግሥት ፡  
የጽሕፈት ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡ ።

ጉዳይ ፡

ከፊርቻ፣ ከስጋራ ጋር ፡ ጽሕፈት ፡ ቤት ፡

ከደብዳቤ ፡

በባህ ፡ ከጠቅላይ ፡ ገደብ ፡ ወረዳ ፡ ስኮሎሎ ፡ ሕዝቦች ፡ ጉዳይ ፡

የገቢ ፡ ፊርማ ፡ ለ/ሠጊ ፡ 9.90 ፡ በቀን ፡ 1056 ፡ በተዳረገ ፡ ደብዳቤ ፡ መ

ሠራት ፡ ማረጋገጥ ፡ ግዛት ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡ ተከላኮ ፡ ከነበረው ፡ ስኮሎሎ ፡ መጋቢት ፡

ፊርማ ፡ ለ/ሠጊ ፡ 9.90 ፡ በቀን ፡ 18538 ፡ ተክሎ ፡ የመጠጠን ፡ ፊርማ ፡ ግልጽ ፡

ገደብ ፡ ጋር ፡ ከያደገው ፡ ስኮሎሎ ፡

ገደብ ፡ ጋር ፡

ገ.ሰ.ሰ.ሰ.

*[Signature]*

የጽሕፈት ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡



የገደብ ፡ ጋር ፡
የገደብ ፡ ጋር ፡
የገደብ ፡ ጋር ፡
የገደብ ፡ ጋር ፡
የገደብ ፡ ጋር ፡
የገደብ ፡ ጋር ፡

*[Handwritten notes and signatures]*

ራ. 3 ክፍል

A.A.B.S.P.P. of H.I.M. Halle-Schlesien. 12-4-47. No. 711.



Appendix XIV

የ ኢ ት ቶ ስ ያ በ ር ሃ ገ ገ ር ጫ ዊ ቸ ገ ሀ ይ:

ገ ር ጫ ዊ ሀ ይ

እኛ የባሌ ሕዝቦች በሕገ ፊት ተረሰተን የገርጫዊነትን ረድኦችና ቸርነት ተነፍገን ስንገባ አገዱ ሞት በሰይ አሳልፏል ፡፡

ቸገህይ:

ይህን ለመናገር የተገደባው ፊታዊ አበበ ገበሬ የተባሉት የባሌ ጠቅላይ ገዛጥ አገደራሴ በጫደርጉ ሕገ ወጥ ሃገርና በጫደርሰገገን ገፍ ዳኝነት የጫሰከጥ ባለሥልጣን በጫደቻን ነው፡፡

ፊታዊ አበበ ገበሬ የመንገድ አገደራሴነታቸውን ሥልጣናቸውን ወክቷል በጫደረገ የጫደረገ ገፍ ዘርዘረገ ከ1 / አስከ 7 / ጊዛ ለገርጫዊነት አመልክተናል፡፡

ጓኛ:- የገርጫዊነትን መንገድ በመቃወም ተነስተው የነበሩትን አመጫች በመደገፍ በታላቅ የባሌ ሕዝቦች ውስጥ የአመጫቸውን ግብር አገደታቸው ለጫደረገው በባሌ ተወላጅ በቻ ሰይህን አገደክገጫ በሥልጣናት ልዩ ጉዳይ ባሌ ሄደው በነበሩ ታላላቅ ሰዎችና ክርስቲያኖች ተወስኖባቸዋል፡፡

ደ ሩ ገ ገ በልዩ ልዩ ባለሥልጣናት ተሰጥቶ አስከህን ተሸፍኖ በፍርድ ቀጣታቸውን ሰይተው ይገኛሉ፡፡

ጊኛ:- አበዲ ጉደል የተባለ ነፍሰ ገዳይ ሁለት በው ያቀበለ ወገጸለኛ የወረደ ገዢ አደገው ስለሆነው በደው የግብተሎ ወገኖች 0 / 0

✓  
6/3/08





# Appendix XVI

ቁ.ጥር : 4950/31/52 <sup>35</sup>

አዲስ አበባ : ነሐሴ ፳፯ ቀን ፲፱፻፶፬ ዓ.ም.

የግርማዊ : ጌ.ነ. ቀዳማዊ : ኃይለ : ሥላሴ :  
የ/ : አስከሳካይ : ጽሕፈት : ቤት :

## ለከብር የጽሕፈት ጧረክ

### አዲስ አበባ

የባሌ ጠቀላይ ገዛት የገደብ ወረዳ ሕዝቦች በ51 ዓ ም የተለወጠውን የመገንዘብ ገብር በመክፈል ላይ አያለን የገንዘብ ጧረክ ሠፈተኛ ሰኒ 30 ቀን ጽጾ ካለፈ ያለአጠፊ አንቀሳቸው በጣላት የወረዳው ገዳ ቤት የ52 ዓ ም ገብር ከነጤና ተበቃ ታክሱ ጋር አንድገብና አስገዳጅ ስለዚህ በየዘመኑ የአጠፊው አከፋፈል በመፈረሩ የተነሳ አንዱን የተገደ ከብቶችን ተርቶ አስከክርሰታችን ጣሻ ያደረሰን ስለሆነ የገርጣዊነት ግልጽ ፈቃድ ሆኖ አጠፊው ገብር ምህረት ተደርጎልን ፍረ ገብረን ብቻ አንድገብና ብለው ይገመው ሰላጠላቱ፡፡

ስለዚህ ጉዳይ ከዚህ በፊት ሕግ 13/50 ዓ ም በቀጥር 676/31/50 በተላለፈው ትዕዛዝ መሠረት አንዲፈጸሙባቸው፡፡ ምክንያት ቢኖረው ገን ላቤት ባዶ ግልጽ ለመሰጠት አንዲጠኙ አንዲከሰታውቱ በጣከበር አሳሰባለሁ፡፡

ከጣከበር ሰላጠታ ጋር

*5/12/52*  
*27*

ጌ.ሥ.ሥ. ጌ.ሥ.ሥ. ጌ.ሥ.ሥ.  
ጊ.ሥ.ሥ. አስከሳካይ :

ከገንዘብ ስርዓት ጋር የተያያዘው ደንብ

የሥራ ስርዓት

የሥራ ስርዓት ሆኖ

ግንባታው ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል

ይህ ስርዓት ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

በሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል። ለሥራ ስርዓት ይደረጋል።

Appendix

4 p go m3 n f ab. p go 3 ab b ab. l l n f ab. 43 ab b l a. 4 h k 3. p o e  
go k n 3. n o o p k go. n b l. h o b l o f f 3 go. p o b h ab. n e f. p o e g n 3;  
y ab = 11

2. p o e 3 3 go. h o b h 7 p f b 3 ab: n k 3 ab. p o e 5 4 7 ab n n f 4.  
n o n r. n b h o f go. p o b h. n e f 4 7: m 3 7 f f ab 3. 4 g m f: s b 2 k  
f ab go. p o e k w h 7. n o n f. o o p r f ab 3. p + o o h n 7 7 ab f. p o o 3 7 ab  
b p 3. 4 h f o y. p d i 7 4. b go k. 9 k h 3. n g f. p k 3. s u b. h b i  
4 3 ab o e s 7 5 3. n 2 b y. p o e f l. 7 7 c. 7 ab.

o p / n b b h. b h o. p o o 3 7 a. c d f 7. e / d p 3. <sup>n o e 2 h.</sup> s d 7 b 3

n h h 4 go = 4 o h b. 7 h o o p 4: l u a f. n e f. n a y. n o e d o b ab. d h 2  
n g. n e. h c d n 7. n g k. f o c f. 7 b 7 3. p o e b 4 c n 7. h o o k.  
h o f. p o e s d + ab h ab. p o e o y e 3 7 g. l d e f. d h k f. n 2 b y  
p o e l b ab. 4 ab = 11

o p / p o o 3 7 a go. c d f 7. e d p 3. s d 7 b 3 b. p + 7 h a  
n 3 7 l go 7. o b 7. d e l 7 f. p o 9 s n + b b g. p 7 ab. n o o 3 7 a  
go. o o d. n 4 7 f. n 7 b b. 7 b b 7 f. go 3 3 s 7 7 ab. ab u. n b h.  
7 h c: h o o d o b. p e d p 3. 2 u. e m e f b.

e p / b b h o. n e b. s 7 c. b o y 7 f. o y f 7. n f a n. 4 3 4  
n h f b n s ab. s h 7. p 7 o c f. p 7 o. o l b. o y f f. 4 s h. n b b g  
o d 3 f. n h 4 u. o o b 3. o b b h o. p + o o b n ab. n e k. 2 9 7 3. s d n 7 b n

o c o y e. p e.

s d p l n 7 ab 3. " h b k f f 3 3 g. 7 7 b f 3 3. + o o b n

b p / n n n f 7 3. 20620

e p / n m b f 7 3. 261152

o p / n o b l o f f 3. n o e b c d n 3. n b 2 8.

o f go. n o o 3 7 a. o o 2 4 4 7. n o e h c d n 3. o e f.

p o e s b 7 3. o c f. 7 3 4 n g 3. n g p s ab. h b 3 4. 8 b. o.  
o b d p 3. 4 3 h go 9 h 3.

n b 7. 7 e. p 7 b n. o l b. o y f d h n n f

h 2 4 8 6 1 1

Vertical text on the left side, possibly a list or index, including words like "n b h", "p o e", "n o o", "n b b", "n e b", "s 7 c", "b o y", "7 f", "o y f", "n f a n", "4 3 4", "n h f", "b n s", "s h 7", "p 7 o", "o l b", "o y f", "4 s h", "n b b", "g", "o d 3", "n h 4", "u", "o o b", "3", "o b b", "h o", "p + o o", "b n", "a b", "n e k", "2 9 7", "3", "s d n", "7 b", "n".

Handwritten initials or marks.

Handwritten initials or marks.



Handwritten text: "29 1105 2"



Handwritten signature or mark.



Handwritten text: "3 4 7 11 8 4 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100"

Handwritten text: "P..."



የባለ፣ ጠቅላይ፣ ግዛት ።

ገብ: 00324:87 ቀን: 1955 ዓ.ም:

ጉዳይ:

ለኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት የባለ ጠ/ግዛት ፍ/ቤት

ጉባ

- ለፋቦል ኦሮራ ግዛት ጸ/ቤት
- ለገናሌ " " "
- ለዋቤ " " "
- ለደሉ " " "

39

በያሉበት

በግዛታዎች ቤት ሥር የሚተካደሩ የሠፈር ሸቆች ግዛታዎች ቤትን በሚመሰል ዩ ሥፈ ጉዳይ ከአገር አገዛዝና ከፍርድ ቤት በተጥታ ትክክዝ አዳደረባቸው ስለሚፈ ጸው ግዛታዎች ቤት ለሥፈ ጉዳይ በፈለጋቸው ጊዜ በዚህ ዎስገያት የተገኘ መሆኑን የገባ ግዛታዎች ቤት የካቲት 6/1955 ዓ.ም. በተጥር 846/55 በሰፈው ደብዳ ቤ መነሻ ሊታወቅ ተችሏል።-

ስለዚህ በውስጡ የሚገኙትን ሠፈተኞች ሊቀጣጠርና ሊያሠፈ የሚችለው የከፍ ሉ ግዛታዎች ቤት በቻ ስለሆነ ግና ቸው መሥሪያ ቤትና ፍርድ ቤት ግዛታዎች ቤትን ነክ በሆነ ጉዳይ ከሠፈር ሸቆች ጋር በተጥታ የሚያደርገው መጻጻፍ ቢኖር አጥፍ ከሉግዛታዎች ቤቶች ጋር አገዳጻፍ ያደርገዝገድ አስታውታለሁ።

ገልባፍ: 1955/4/9/82

ለግዛታዎች ቤት



ከሰላምታ ጋር

የባለ፣ ጠቅላይ፣ ግዛት

የሥራ ገዢ ግዛት ጸ/ቤት

አ/ጋ







በተላቅ በተለካው ራሳት በኮሌት ራሳት አየተገጠተ ከተገጠተበት ጊዜ ሟሮ ገብረን አገደከናል ለላው በተላቅ ያልተለካው ራሳት የገብረ ኦባባባን አገዳዳዪነትና ውዝናም አገዳዳሪነት ገብረ በተደምጭ ገጦት ሠረት አየተከረለ የራሳት ደባና የተላቅ ሙሉ ሥራ በተረጋገጠ አርጦኝ አገዳ ተጥል ለጠቅላይ ገዛት በ569.ሥ. በገዳር ወር ትክክዝ አስተላልፈን በዚህ ሁኔታ በሠራት ላይ ይገኛል::

የአሁኑ አባታት ገን ገርግዩነትና የባሉን ጠቅላይ ገዛት በገብኙ ጊዜ ሠራታችሁ በተላቅ ሲ ሠራ ትርፍም ቢገኝ ከሠራታችሁ የወጣውን ትርፍ ካሁን ተደም ባወጣው ደገብ ሠረት ትርፍን አገ ዱትገዙ አናደርጋለን ተብሎ ታወጧልን ነበር፤ አሁን ገን ከሠራታችን የወጣውን ትርፍ ሠራት ለናን ተ አይረዳቸው የሚገጥሙት ገብረት ይረከብ ተብሎ ሠራታችን በመወሰድ ላይ ነው፤

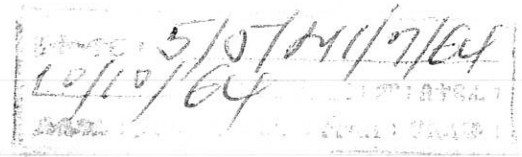
2ኛ / በ55 9.ሥ. በወጣው የሠራት ምደባ አየኛ ሠረት ሠራታችን የተገጠተው አሁን በ57 9.ሥ. ሲሆን ወደገባ ተልሰን በኮሌት ገጦት ሠረት በ55 9.ሥ. ሟሮ ያለውን አገዳገከናል ስለተገደዱን ፣ ከይዘታችን በትርፍነት በተገኘው ሠራት አገደብዛት ማዘታችን ተርቶ ገብር ብቻ አገዳገከናልበት የሠራተንም ገብር ገጦት ከታወቀበት ጊዜ ሟሮ ያለውን አገዳገከናል የሚል ነው::

በበኩላችንም የገዳና ሁኔታ አገደተረዳነው ነኝ. ከሠራታችው የወጣውን ትርፍ ማዘታችን ተርቶ አገደሁ ገብረን ብቻ አገተጥል ለሚሉት በ1923 9.ሥ. ስለትርፍ ሠራት ከወጣው አየኛ ያል ወጭ ስለሆነ አልተቀበልነውም ፣ በአዎኛ ሠረት ትርፍ ሠራት የተከናወነ አየከረሉ ገብረን ቢተጥሉ በት አዎኛን የተከተለ በሆኑ ቅር የሚል አረጋገጥ አይሆንም::

2ኛ. ስለገብረ አከረረል ምንም የሠራት ገጦት አየኛ የሚያዘው በ55 9.ሥ. ሟሮ በኮሌት ገጦት አገደከረል ሲሆንም ከላይ አገደተገለጸው የገጦት ሥራ ያዘገገው ረታዕሪቅ አበበ ገብረ በቶሎ አሰረጽጻለሁ በግለት አስጀምረውት የነበረው የተላቅ ሥራ አርጠው አዚህ በ-የየታችው ምስ ገያት አገደታበበው ባይረገጥም በ-የየታ ስለሆነና ፣ አሁንም የጠቅላይ ገዛትም አገደረሁ አገዳሰረ ቶን የተላቅ ሥራ ወደፊት አስከ 10 ዓመት ጊዜ ይጠይቃል በ-ባሉ ዛሬ በተደምጭ ገጦት ሠረት ሲከናወን የየየውን ሕዝብ ወደገባ አየተላሰ በኮሌት ገጦት ሠረት ውዝረን ይከረል ግለት በኮስተ ዓደረ በኩል ቀርሶላሚያስገና ሕዝቡንም አገኘር ላይ የሚተለው ስለሚሆን የተላቅ ውጤት የታወቀበት ከናል አየተገጠተ ከተገጠተበት ዛሬ ሟሮ ያለውን በኮሌት ገጦት አገደከናል ፣ የተላቅ ሥራ ያ ልደረሰበት ከናል ገን በተደምጭ ሠረት አየከረረል የሠራተ ምደባና የተላቅ ሥራ በተረጋገጠ አርጦኝ አገደተጥል ቢደረገ የተሻለ ስለሰጠን የገርግዩነትና ትክክዝ ለተቀበል ይህን ግስታወሻ በታላቅ ትሕትና አቀርባለሁ::

ፊርማ  
ደግዘግኝ ከናል ዕርገተ  
የሚገጥሙት ሠራተኛ ማዘገብና  
የርስት ጉዳይ ጸ/ቤት ዲረክተር ::

ሕወ /ተ.









Appendix XXXIII

ቀን 3/15/97

ጉባ: 30/10/63 ዓ. ም.

ባሌ: ጠቅላይ ግዛት: ጽ/ቤት

ለፊትወራሪ ቅጽ 177 ወልደ ኪሳራ  
የገናሌ አውራጃ ገዢ  
ይይላ

በሰኞል ወር 1962 ዓ.ም ገርጫዊ ገጽ 177 ቅጽ 177 ስር / ገዛት በገንቦት ወቅት በተለይም የገናሌ አውራጃ ገዛት ለመዝገብ ገደብ በገንቦት ዕለት ለገብር ወጪ ሆኗል ስለተባለው ገንዘብ አከፋፈል ጉዳይ ገንቦት 19/63 ዓ.ም በተኖር 2850/961 ለከብር ቢታወቅ ዘውዳ ገብረ ሕይወት ያገር ገዛት ሚኒስትር ቤቱ ያደረጉት ገልግጫ ደርቦ ጠልከተዋል::

ስለገርጫዊ ገጽ 177 ዓ.ም ዝግግር የተከፈተው ግዴታ አቀርቦ ለገደብ ስር በጠቅላላው በጠ / ገዛት በገንቦት ሰኞል በገደብ ከተጻፉ ለሚደረጉት ገብር የተፈተኑ ገንዘብ \$24,000 / 49 ኦሪት ሆኖ ሆኖ ከዚህ ወስን በጠ / ገዛት በሌላ ተወስኖ ለከፍል ዓውራጃ ገዛት ደገስ አገልግሎት የተፈተኑ \$3000 / ጠባት ሆኖ ሆኖ ከገደብ ከዚህ በላይ በሆነ ገንዘብ አገልግሎት የተሰጠ ፕሮግራም ያለም::

ስለዚህ ተወስኖ ከተሰጠው \$3000 / ጠባት ሆኖ ሆኖ ለገደብ በብድር በብልጣት ወጥተዋል ለተባለው \$6522 ጠ / ገዛት የግዴታው ሆኖ ከሌላ አስተዳደር አስተዳደሩ::

*Handwritten signature and notes*



*Handwritten signature and notes*

ገልግጫ:

ለኢትዮጵያ ገጽ 177 ቅጽ 177  
ያገር ገዛት ሚኒስትር  
አዲስ አበባ

*Handwritten notes and signatures*

16370

5/11/63  
6  
148/100

አክሱድ ገንባር  
የገንባር ገንባር ገንባር  
ገንባር ገንባር





Appendix XXV

13906/45  
No.

ሰኞ፡ 21. 1963  
አ.አ.አ.አ.አ.አ. አ.አ.አ.አ.አ.አ. አ.አ.አ.አ.አ.አ.  
Addis Ababa 19

ያ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ መንግሥት ፡  
ያገር ፡ ግዛት ፡ ሚኒስቴር ።

of Ethiopian Government  
Ministry of Interior

ፖስታ ፡ ሣ ፡ ቀ ፡ | 125  
P. O Box No.

33

ለከብር ጫጃ ጁኔራ ማገጃ ኪሉ  
የባሌ ጠቀላይ ገዛት አገረጌ  
ፕ ባ ፩

ከብር ሆይ ፡ -

ገርጫዬ ገጽ ገገሥት ጠልባዎ ፈታኛው ሆኖ በሰጠሉ ወር  
1962 ዓ.ም. ጠቀላይ ገዛትንና የገናሌ አውራጃ ገዛት ለመዝገብ ጭ  
ተው በነበረ ጊዜ ለዚህ አቀባባይ ዝግጅት ለጸደቀ ገብር ጠይቅ የሚ  
ወል ገንዘብ በባይር ከጸደቀ ወዲህ ሆኖ አገደገሰና በጋላ ሂሳብ አገ  
ዲቱን ይደረጋል በለው በጊዜው የነበሩት የጠ/ገዛት አገረጌ በሰጡት  
ትክክል መሠረት ዝግጅት ተፈጻሚ ይህ ከሆነ በጋላ ከጸደቀ የተጻፈው  
ገንዘብ አሰባሳቢ ይረስ ሊቱን ባለጠቅሙ በጸደቀ ላይ ቀረታን ያስከተሉ  
መሆኑን በመገለጽ የገናሌ አውራጃ ገዛት ፈታኛው ጠይቅ ወልደ ኪዳን  
ገንቦት 19/1963 ዓ.ም. በጥር 2850/1961 ሲጻፈልን በገለጻው  
ለጠቀላይ ገዛት የተገለጸ ስለሆነ ለዚህ ጉዳይ የተሰጠው ውሳኔ አገደ  
ገለጸልን በግክብር አባሰባለሁ።

9-10-63  
9/10/63  
ከጫጃ ጁኔራ ፡  
የሂሳብ ፡ ጠቀላይ ፡ ገዛት ፡ ጠይቅ ።

ከጫጃ ጁኔራ ፡ ፡  
*[Signature]*  
ከጫጃ ፡ ጠቀላይ ፡ ገዛት ፡ ጠይቅ ።

ቁጥር 895/06  
ጥቅምት 1973 ዓ. ም

ለገናሌ አጭጭ የምርት ዘመቻና ፕላን ጉባኤ  
... .. የገብርና ሚ/ር ተጠሪ ጸ/ቤት

ደደላ፣

ጉዳዩ፣ = ስለ አምስት የገብራገጥ ሠፈራ መገደር የገ/አም/ሕ/ሥ/ጣህበር ሪፖርት ማቀረብ፣

አጭጭ ታሪክ ስራ የሆነው ስራ ሕዝብ ዘላቂ ድልን ለመገናጸፍ በፖለቲካ፣ በኢኮኖሚና በ  
ሶሻል ረገድ ያሳሰለሰ ጥረት ያደርጋል። በዘጠዛና ምዝገባ ጤርሶው ለወገኑ የሚቻሉት የማምረቻ  
ግንባታና መሣሪያ ገንባታ በላቀ ተጠቃሚነት በጋራ ቁጥጥር ስር ሲሆኑ የጋራ የሆነ አድገትና ብልፅ  
ገና ሲሰፍን ነው። ለዚህም የየባዕቱ 66 የኢትዮጵያ አብዮት መፈንዳት የማይናቀ ድሎችን ለሰፊው  
ሕዝብ አገልግሎት። በብዙ መስፍኔት ነት ያገኘና ተቆጣጥሮ ድሎች የምንከራባቸው ቢሆንም ገና ርቀን እን  
ደምንጋዝና አድርጎት ሃይላትን ለገብጻት መሬታቸው ለማብቃት ጥምዘምዘ ተገል እንደሚጠበቅን ለአንደኛው  
የምንዘነጋው አይሆንም። ይህን ስናደርግ ስቫሊዝምን በጠንካራ የኢኮኖሚ መሠረት እንገነባለን።  
ከኋላ ቀርና ደባጭ ኢኮኖሚ ተላቅቀን ነፃና ጠንካራ ኢኮኖሚን ለመገንባት ንቁ የላቀ ተጠቃሚ ምርታማ  
ሰት እንዲጻገርና በገጠርም ሆነ በከተማ የላቀ ስራ ማህበራት እንዲያጠብቁ ያልተቆጠበ የጋራ ተገ  
ል ማካሄድ ወሳኝ የገንባታው ሂደት ነው።

የላቀ ስራ ማህበራት የፖለቲካ መሣሪያ ገንባታ በመሆናቸው ላቀ ተጠቃሚነትን ለማስፋፋት  
ከማስቻላቸው በላይ የኢኮኖሚ ምሰሶ በመሆን የሃገርን አጠቃላይ አድገት ያፋጥናሉ። የሶሻሊስት ኢ  
ኮኖሚን ለመገንባት ቀደምት የእርሻና የኢንጻስትሪ የምርት መሣሪያ ገንባታ ማህበራት ማድረግ በመሆኑ  
አላቀ ተጠቃሚ ገላቂ የኢኮኖሚ አቋም ያላቸውን ገለሰቦቹ በዘጠና ደረጃ እንዲያመርቱ አብዮታዊ መንገ  
ሥት አባይ የሆኑ አገገኞችና መሪዎችን በማጠቃለል ያህል በአብዮታዊት ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ተገባራዊ በ  
መሆን ላይ ናቸው። በዚህ ውስጥም በ1971 ዓ. ም በሰነድ ወር የወጣው የገብራገጥ አም/የሕ/ሥ/  
ጣህበር መሪዎች አርሶ አደራን ከተባታተነና ከገል የአመራረት ሰልጣን አያላቀቀው ነው። የሃገራችን  
ኢኮኖሚ የተመሰረተው በገብርና ላይ ለመሆኑ ማንም ከሌላው የሚናቀው አይሆንም። ስለሆነም ያህል  
አብዮታዊ ግንባታ ሁሉ የአምራቾችን የላቀ ስራ ማህበራትን በማቋቋም ገጠራ ተገ ኢትዮጵያ በአምራቾች  
ዜጋ ለመሸፈን የቱክ ነክ የቀላቀና የዋራል ድጋፍ በማድረግ የአመራር የሥራ ይዘታቸውና ሕዝባዊ  
አንደኛዎች የበለጠ ርብርብ የሚያደርጉበት ወቅት ነው። በመጀመሪያ ደረጃ ላይ የሚገኙትን የገብራ  
ገጥ አም/የሕ/ሥ/ጣህበራት ማጠናከር ንቃት ሕሊና ተቆ እንዲገለጹና የገል ፍላጎት አዘግጧል  
ከውስጣቸው እንዲጠፋ ማድረግ ለሌሎች አርሶ አደሮች በአርአያነት መቀረብ ይሆናል። ይህ አጭ  
ሥጥን የሚቻሉት አንዳንዳችን የምንፈክረውን ሣንዘነጋ በአካባቢያችን የተቋቋሙትን የገ/የአም/የ  
ሕ/ሥ/ጣህበራት ይህ የአገሉ ድረሻ ነው ስንል ባለቤት ሃላፊነትና በተሰጠን የሕዝብ አደራ ተረፎ





Appendix XVIII

የገቢት 539/...  
ጋረጋ 24/1974

ለአገባ ወረዳ አባ ጸ ጸት	አገባ
ለደደላ " " "	ደደላ
ለደደላ ከተማ " "	"
ለአገባ " " "	አገባ

የሂረድ ሁገጤ የመገገሥት አርባ ልግት ከ1974 ዓ.ም የመሮት ዘመን በ1973 ዓ.ም 882 ሂረታር የቀባት አህሉት የዘረ መሆኑን ገልጾ ይህንን የቀባት አህል ገሥጽ ነር ስለገጸጸቱ ከ6000 ኩንታል በላይ የመሮት ወጤት ያስገኛል የተባለው ሱፍ ለበላሽ መሆኑን አመልክተው ሕዝቡ አርጎታና ነጠብ አገላግሎት ሥራ አስኪያጁ ወይተዋል፡፡

ለመገገሥት አርባ ሕዝቡ ዲጋፍ መስጠት ስለሚገባው ፕሮግራም በግዕዝ ትክክል ል ርጅተን በግሰተባብር የመገገሥት የቀባት አህል ከተረፉ በሬት አገላለጽ አገላግሎት ገ አናሰባሰብ፡፡

Handwritten notes: 583, 24/1974



የሥራ ገቢት ተሰጦት ይህንን አናሰባሰብ !!

Handwritten signature

የውረዳው አስተዳዳሪ

ገልጻል

ለሂረድ ሁገጤ የመገገሥት አርባ ልግት

ሂረድ

Handwritten: 10/107

Handwritten notes: አሁን ቀሪው 2837, ገቢት 300909, ገቢት 240000, ከ.ባ ስራ ገቢት 240000, ደረጃ: ደግሞ

Handwritten: 10/107

Handwritten notes: ገቢት 240000, ደረጃ: ደግሞ

Handwritten signature and notes

Handwritten signature and notes: 21/74

Handwritten: 10/107

Handwritten notes: ገቢት 240000, ደረጃ: ደግሞ

Handwritten notes: 24/74, 25



የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር  
የግንባታ ሚኒስቴር

Appendix XVIII

ቁጥር 426/ሀ-ገ/ገ/ገ

ቀን: 11. 1975

ግንባታ: አውራጃ: ዳኃንገን: ንግብ: ዓዛፍ: ኃላፊ: ጸ/ቦገን:

ደግሞ:-

ፖሊስ: በግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: 1- የህዝብ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ:

- 2- የአገልግሎት: የህ/ሠ/ሰ/ሰ ግንባታ 3- የዕድል ንግብ: ግንባታ 4- የዘመናዊ:
- ግንባታ: ግንባታ: የተደረገ ነው: ህንጻ ግንባታ: ህንጻ: የዘመናዊ: ግንባታ:
- አሁን: አገር: ንግብ: የዕድል: ግንባታ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ: የተጠየቀ:

አሁን:-

በአሁን: መሆኑ: በግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ:

የህዝብ: ግንባታ: 1- የዕድል: ግንባታ: 3352

2- የህንጻ: ግንባታ: 3645

ግንባታ: ግንባታ: = 6997 ህንጻ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ:

2- የአገልግሎት: የህ/ሠ/ሰ/ሰ: ግንባታ 2 (ህንጻ)

3- የዕድል ንግብ: ግንባታ: (2) ህንጻ:

4- የዘመናዊ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ:

1- ግንባታ: ግንባታ: 19

2- ግንባታ " " 34

ግንባታ: 53 ህንጻ: ህንጻ: ግንባታ: የዕድል ንግብ: የዕድል ንግብ:

ህንጻ: የዕድል ንግብ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ:

በዕድል: የዕድል ንግብ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ:

የህዝብ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ: ግንባታ:

ግንባታ: ህንጻ: ህንጻ:

9/11/75



Appendix IXXX

በገብረተሰብአዊት አብዮታዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግሥት ገንዘብና የጥቅም ጥቅም አገልግሎት ሚኒስቴር ቤት

ቁጥር 4000/የ/12/75

መጋቢት 22 ቀን 1975 ዓ.ም

ለ ይሁዳ ወረዳ የገብርና ሚ/ር ተጠሪ ጽ/ቤት

ዱባን

ጉዳዩ := የአም/ሐ/ሥ/ሣ. አባሳት ያሰባቸውን  
ብድር ስለ ማስከፈል

አያገገገግ የአም/ሐ/ሥ/ሣ. አባሳት በየጊዜው ለገንጠቶች ማቃሰም ይሆናቸው ዘንድ ከሚሰጡት የገንዘብና የአህል ብድር በነጥባቸው ከሚያገኙት ድርጅት ላይ ቀንሰው ለማስከፈል መወሰዳቸው ይታወቃል፡፡

ዳረ ገንዘብ የተበደረትን ገንዘብም ሆነ አህል በወቅቱ መመለስ ሲገባቸው በደመቱ በብድር ላይ ብድር በመጠመር ራሳቸውንም ከመገዳታቸው በላይ በሚሰጡት ላይ ከፍተኛ የኢኮኖሚ ድክመት በማስከፈል ላይ መሆኑን ገልጽዎታል፡፡

ስለዚህ ከድርጅታቸው ሆነ ከአባሳት ላይ ድክመቱ መወገድ ስለሚኖርበት ይኸው ታወቀ

1ኛ / ለአባሳት የ1974/75 ዓ.ም የመርት ከፍጭክ ከመደረጉ በፊት አያገገገግ የአም/ሐ/ሥ/ሣ. አባሳት ተባብሮ የነበረውን ገንዘብም ሆነ አህል ከነጥቡ ከሚያገኙት ተቀንሶ ለሚሰጡ ረ አገዳክፈል፡፡

2ኛ / በሚሰጡት ውሳኔ መሠረት መግቢያ ያልከፈሉ የአም/ሐ/ሥ/ሣ. አባሳት አገዳክፍሎ አገዳደረገ አያስገንዘቡን በአደራጃቸው የቀርቡ ክትትል ማነስ የተነሳ ይህ ሣይደረገ ቀርቶ ሚሰጡት ሲዳከሙ ተጠያቂነቱ የጽ/ቤቱ መሆኑን አናሣሟለን፡፡

" ሲትዳጅ ይቀይሩ "

በሰዎን ገ/ሐ/ሰ/ቀ

የገብርና ሚ/ር / የልማት ቤ. አስተባባሪ



52/810/068  
22/8/75  
አገልግሎት ሚኒስቴር  
የገብርና ሚኒስቴር  
ዱባን

# Appendix XXX

## በገናሌ አጭራጃ በሰደረሰጡ የሰብተ ልሳላትና

## የሰብተ ልሳላት በተደረገው ፊርማ ላይ ለማሳሰብ

## የተሰማራው ቡድን አጠቃላይ የግንባታ ፊርማ፤

በገናሌ አጭራጃ በ1-76 ዓ. . በደረሰው የአሃር ሰጪ ምክንያት በበጋው ጠራት መሪዎች/ደብዳቤና በሌላ/የተገኘ/ አጠቃላይ በአንባቢነትና በአገርዕቅ አንዲሁም በደን ላይ የደረሰውን ጉዳት በማስመልከት በአጭራጃው የግንባታና ሚ/ር ተቆይ ጽ/ቤትና በአጭራጃው አሰባሰብ ጽ/ቤት የተጻፉትን ደብዳቤዎች ለናስታወሳለን ።

በፊርማ ተጠቃሚነት ለሚያስፈልገው የተገለጹት ቁጥሮች የተጋነኑ በመሆናቸው ተጠርቶ ለአሃርዕቅ አንድ ቡድን በ11/076 የፊርማ ተጠቃሚነት/የግንባታና ሚ/ርና በዕማማኝ ተጠቃሚነት ወይ ገናሌ አጭራጃ መንቀሳቀሱን ለናስታወሳለን የቡድኑም ስባሳት

1. ጊዜ ታሪክ ተጠቃሚነት ስባሳት/የቡድኑ ጠራት
2. ለአጭራ ሰብተ ገደብ
3. ሲኔዳር አሸቆ የግንባታና ሚ/ር
3. ለተገኘ ታደሰ የግንባታና ሚ/ር

ይህ ቡድን በ12/10/76 ተንቀሳቀሰ በ13/10/76 በአጭራጃው የአጠቃላይ ስሜት ጽ/ቤት በጠቅላላ ለጊዜ አሰቃሰው ወደሞ በሰብተ ገደብ ገለጻ በግንባታ ስራውን ጀምሯል ።

ጊዜ አሰቃሰው ወደሞ አላገናኘው ሰብተ ገደብ ሲጀምር በጠርጫ ምክንያት በተለይ በደ ደባና አዳባ ወረዳ ላይ በመመታቱ በሰብተ ገደብ በተማሪዎች የዘንድሮው ጭነት የአሃር ሰጪ ያሰባተጠጠ ሰርቆ ለአንባቢ ተን በጣም ጉዳት ተቀላ ። በተለይም የግንባታ ስራዎች በጣም በመስባ ሆነው በሰርቆ ለርሻውን ማረጋገጥ ለሰጠው የሰርሻውን ጊዜ ሊተሰላፍ ችሏል ።

የአንባቢነትን ጉዳት በማስመልከት በአጭራ ጭምር ፊርማ ለአሃርዕቅ በ11/076 ተጠቃሚነት የራሳቸው መጠይቅና መመዘኛዎችን ለአሃርዕቅ/የግንባታና ሰጪዎች/ ተደርጎ ስላይ በተጠቀሱት ደብ ዳቤዎች የተገለጹ ፊርማ ተደረገ ። ቡድኑም ወደ ሃያ ቀናት ቀይቶ በተረጋገጠው ፊርማ በሰብተ ገደብ ላይ የራቱ በሰፊው ለተለያዩን በኋላ ለአንባቢ ሲተሰላፍ ችሏል ። በተማሪዎች በመመረብ በሰጠው ሰርቆ ለሰጠው በዚህ ፊርማ ላይ ለመተማመን ለሰጠው ጥናት ያዘረዘረ ቡድንም በሰጠ ለአሃርዕቅ ለሚያስፈልገው መሰክራ ሂደት መረዳት ለሰጠው ።



Appendix XXXII



የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ጽ/ቤት  
የሥነ ምግባርና ህይወት ጥናት ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

ቁጥር 459/15/78  
ቀን

ለገና ለይዘት ስብሰባ ጽ/ቤት  
የሥነ ምግባርና ህይወት ጥናት ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት

ገጽ ቁጥር = በደብዳቤ ቁጥር U28/448/78 ጥቅምት 21 ቀን  
1978 ዓ.ም. ለተፀረሰን ደብዳቤ ምላሽ መሰከር፡፡

በገጽ ስለተጠቀሱት

- 15/ የከተማ ገንዘብ ስብሰባ ጽ/ቤት  
ጽ/ቤት 5181 ስት 4691 ጽ/ቤት 9872
- 25/ የከተማ ገንዘብ ስብሰባ ጽ/ቤት ገንዘብ ጽ/ቤት
- 35/ ከተማ ገንዘብ ስብሰባ ህገጅ 125 ኪ/ግር በስተቀር  
ርዕስ ላይ ተገልጿል፡፡
- 45/ የጠባብ ጽ/ቤት የቴሌፎን ስብሰባ ጽ/ቤት መሆኑን  
አረጋግጧል፡፡


ስብሰባው የግብረሰብ ጽ/ቤት ስብሰባ  
ሲታወቅ ለገጽ ቁጥር 459/15/78

*(Handwritten signature)*  
ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ጽ/ቤት  
የሥነ ምግባርና ህይወት ጥናት ሚኒስቴር ጽ/ቤት



**Declaration**

I the underdesigned declare that this thesis is my own work and that all sources of the materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name Petros Arzani  
Signature   
Date of submission 12/11/2015