

ETHNIC RELATIONS AND SOCIO-CULTURAL
CHANGE AMONG THE DANT'A (DUBAMMO) OF
SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA

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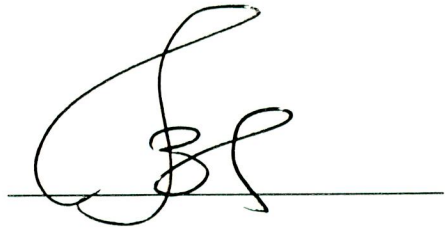
**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATES**

Ethnic Relations and Social Change among the Dant'a in Southern Ethiopia

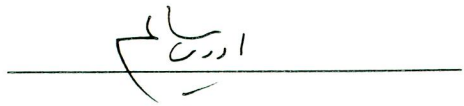
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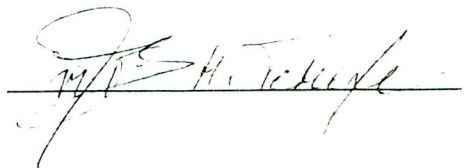


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ACRONYMS

<i>DPDO</i>	<i>Dant'a Peoples Democratic Organizations.</i>
<i>EPRDF</i>	<i>Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front</i>
<i>HNDO</i>	<i>Hadiya Nation Democratic Organization.</i>
<i>HPDO</i>	<i>Hadiya Peoples Democratic Organization.</i>
<i>KAT</i>	<i>Kambatta, Alaba and T'ambaro</i>
<i>PA</i>	<i>Peasant Association</i>
<i>SEPDC</i>	<i>Southern Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Coalition.</i>
<i>SNNPNS</i>	<i>Southern Nation Nationalities and Peoples National State</i>

Glossary

A. Amharic

<i>Awraja</i>	<i>Province</i>
<i>Balabat</i>	<i>Amharic title given to local notable who is assigned to facilitate the indirect rule of government.</i>
<i>č'ik'ašum</i>	<i>Lower ranking headman</i>
<i>Enset</i>	<i>False banana, which is staple food for many people in Ethiopia, especially in the south.</i>
<i>Equib</i>	<i>A form of rotating savings association.</i>
<i>Gabbar</i>	<i>Tribute payer</i>
<i>Iddir</i>	<i>Self-help association.</i>
<i>Mahibar</i>	<i>Religious (Orthodox) association.</i>
<i>Naft'eñña:</i>	<i>Northern Ethiopian Soldier who settled in the South and became landlord.</i>
<i>Rist</i>	<i>Land owned through hereditary rights.</i>
<i>Sanbate</i>	<i>Sabbath association.</i>
<i>T'ek'lay Gizat</i>	<i>Region</i>
<i>Woreda</i>	<i>District (the lowest government Administrative unit)</i>

B. Kambatssa

<i>Ambaričo Lamalla</i>	<i>The first settlers in Kambatta who were migrated from Sidama</i>
<i>Ahwaču</i>	<i>Tanner</i>
<i>Ayanna</i>	<i>Spirit, good luck (fortune)</i>
<i>Böku</i>	<i>Clan</i>
<i>Dant'ču Fašü</i>	<i>Horse with good galloping skill.</i>
<i>Dinna</i>	<i>Enemy</i>
<i>Dubü</i>	<i>Enset seedlings</i>
<i>Faašu</i>	<i>Horse</i>
<i>Fugiču</i>	<i>Potter (pottery worker)</i>
<i>Gadda</i>	<i>Blessing, grace (source of good feelings)</i>
<i>Gazeanna</i>	<i>Commander of war, leader of hunting band.</i>
<i>Gejja</i>	<i>Individuals united to accomplish certain activities.</i>
<i>Jalla</i>	<i>Friend</i>
<i>Hansawaa</i>	<i>Highland (cold climatic zone)</i>
<i>Hauzula</i>	<i>Spirit of the Dant'as traditional religion.</i>
<i>Hauzulmančo</i>	<i>Prophet (religious leader of Dant'a) possessed by a spirit.</i>
<i>Heera</i>	<i>The basic territorial organization of Kambatta.</i>
<i>Ilammo</i>	<i>Blood relatives.</i>
<i>K'aalaä</i>	<i>Lowland (hot climatic zone)</i>
<i>Kokata</i>	<i>Overall cultural, economic and political institution of Kambatta.</i>
<i>Magano</i>	<i>God</i>

<i>Massalla</i>	<i>Mask'al (Holiday celebrated commemorating the founding of the true cross).</i>
<i>Minni</i>	<i>Lineage or house</i>
<i>Minne-manna</i>	<i>Household</i>
<i>Olö</i>	<i>Neighbourhood</i>
<i>Wassa</i>	<i>Prepared enset, ready to be served as food.</i>
<i>Wessie</i>	<i>False banana, which is staple food for many people in Ethiopia.</i>
<i>Woma</i>	<i>King</i>
<i>Zararut</i>	<i>Mask'el flower</i>

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PREFACE

This is the study of ethnic relations and socio-cultural change among the Dant'a of southern Ethiopia in relation to the neighbouring communities. It tries to analyse change among the Dant'a mainly in terms of their kinship, marriage, and administrative and religious systems as well as a change in their way of life.

The thesis is organized into five chapters. The first chapter is an introductory part, which describes the geographical location, environment, economic activities and agro-climatic zones of Dant'a and the neighbouring communities such as the Kambatta and the Hadiya. It also briefly provides the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the significance of the study, the methods of data collection and limitations of the study.

The second chapter deals with the literature review. In this chapter, the term ethnicity, ethnic group, ethnic identity, nation and nationality are defined and discussed from the viewpoints of various scholars and historical over time. It also discusses various theories and models of ethnicity, ethnic relations and conflicts.

Chapter three deals with the scio-cultural changes that have taken place among the Dant'a in relation to the neighbouring communities. It also addresses factors that contributed to a change in their kinship, marriage, administrative and religious systems, and way of life.

Chapter four discussed the ethnic relations of Dant'a with the neighbouring communities during the Haile Selasse, the Derg and the EPRDF regimes in the relation to the national politics and policies imposed on them by the central governments.

Chapter five summarizes the points discussed in the former chapters and provides concluding remarks.

Abstract

This thesis describes the ethnic relations and socio-cultural change among the Dant'a of southern Ethiopia. The major objectives of the study are to explore the ethnic relations and socio-cultural change in terms of marriage practice, kinship ties, administrative and religious systems, political power and economic relations, and interdependence in relations to the neighboring communities such as Kambatta, Hadiya, Donga, T'ambaro and others. It also examines to identify the impact of government policies imposed on them and their role in changing the nature of the ethnic relations with the neighboring communities during the Haile Sellasse, the Derg and the EPRDF regimes.

The conquest of Dant'as and their neighboring communities by Menelik's troops in 1892 and the establishment of the *Naftañña Gabbar* system had resulted in the eviction of many Hadiyas and their settlement in the territory of Dant'a. In turn, this resulted in shortage of cultivable land in the territory of Dant'a and led some of their community members to move to Gibe (Omo) valley where they could subsist on pastoral way of life. The Dant'as conversion from their previous traditional religion and Orthodox Christianity to Protestant Christianity is resulted from the activities of missionaries who thought the Bible in local languages and who constructed schools, clinics, health centers, roads and other infrastructures in their locality.

Moreover, their long established marriage relationship with the neighboring Hadiya resulted in shift of many of their younger generation from their ancestral language of Kambatssa to Hadiyissa.

The government policies of designing the administrative map of the country and naming the administrative units of Awraja (province) and 'Woredas' (districts) without taking a local condition of settlement patterns and population distribution of various ethnic groups into consideration during Menelik and the Haile Sellasse regimes have been the main cause for the escalation of conflicts and emergence of competition over the political power and economic opportunities in subsequent periods of the Derge and the EPRDF regimes. In this regard, the Haile Sellasse's regime was not able to resolve the conflict among the Dant'a and the neighboring communities which was associated with an issue of renaming the Kambatta 'Awraja' and T'ambaro 'Woreda' into names which could represent all community groups who live in these administrative divisions. However, the Derg regime made an effort to resolve the conflict among these communities by naming the "Kambatta Awraja" into "Kambatta and Hidiya Awraja" in May 1976. Nevertheless,

both the Derg and the EPRDF governments could not able to resolve the conflict associated with 'Woreda' name inhabited by the Dant'as, the two groups of Hadiya (Agar and Sooro) and others.

Subsequently, the change in national politics of the country and the EPRDF policy of designing the administrative map of the country along ethnic and/or linguistic lines further aggravated the conflict between the Dant'as and the neighboring communities, and resulted in competition over political power and economic opportunities at the zone and 'Woreda' levels. In addition, the social relationships of Dant'a with the neighboring Hadiya at the local level has been adversely affected and changed as a result of political change. Moreover, the existing national political climate led the Dant'as to demand for power sharing at the zone level and recently for their own specific 'Woreda' administration by claiming distinct identity.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the environments, economic activities and agro-climatic zones of Dant'a and the neighbouring communities such as Kambatta and Hadiya. It also provides the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, significance of the study, methods of the data collection, fieldwork circumstances and limitations of the study.

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF DANT'A AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

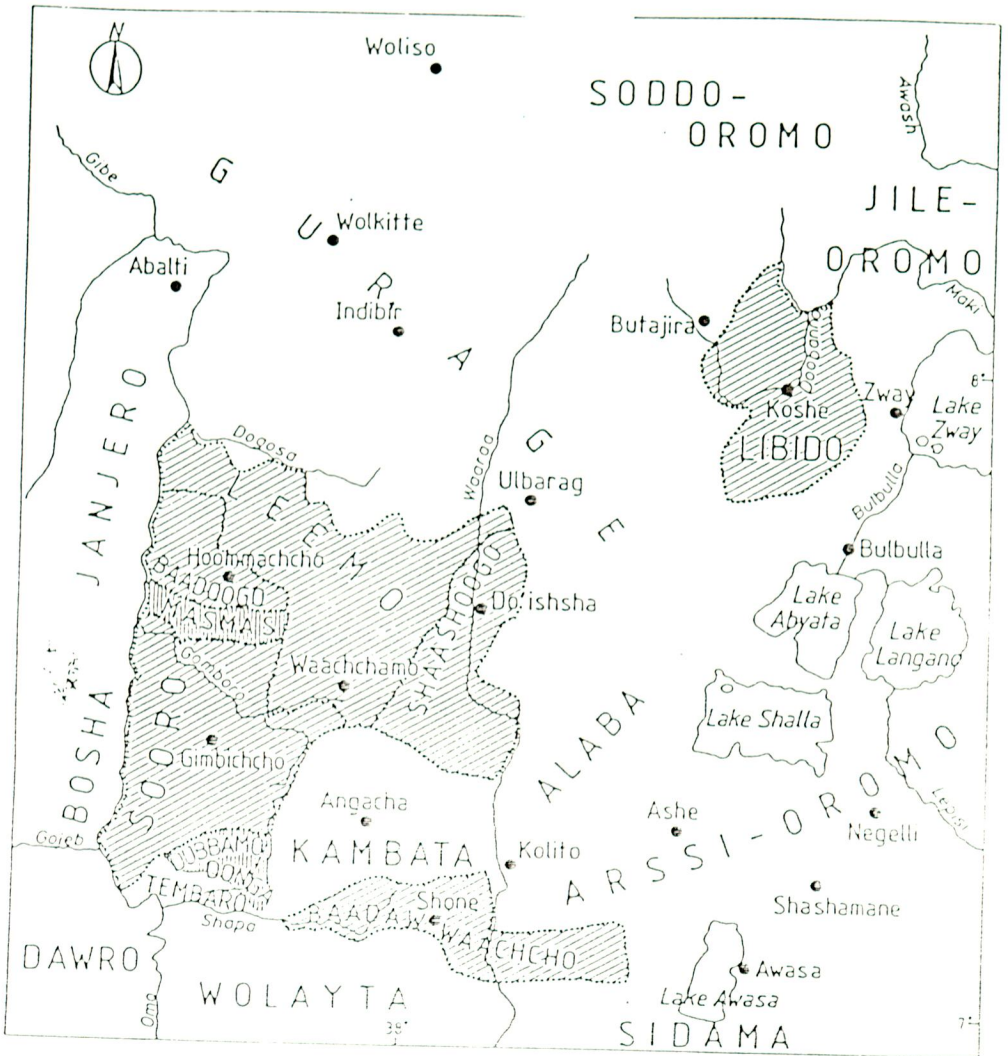
1.1.1 THE DANT'A

The Dant'a or Dubammo have been mentioned in the written documents of Ethiopia since the 16th century. Their territory was explicitly delineated by some travellers such as Borilli (1890:445-448) and recently by Ulrich Braukämper in 1973. The two names (i.e., Dant'a and Dubammo) are often used interchangeably by members of the Dant'a themselves and the neighbouring communities at large. However, the local community mostly prefer to use the term Dant'a more than the term Dubammo because it is a more inclusive term for all clan groups.





According to my informants, the name "Dant'a" is derived from the apical ancestor named "Woma (King) Damt'e" who settled in the present territory of Dant'aland some fifteen generations ago. He is believed to be the apical ancestor for twenty-two clan members living in different areas. Likewise, the name "Dubammo" is derived from his elder son "woma Dubammo" who was famous for ruling the area for about fifty years.

Currently, the Dant'a are bounded with the communities of Donga and T'ambaro to the south, the Kambatta to the east and the Hadiya to the north and west. The majority of the Dant'a live in highland (Hansawwa) in Sooro 'Woreda' (district) of the Hadiya zone of

MAP 1. THE HADIYA & KAMBATTA PEOPLES



HADIYYA IN SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA

-  Hadiyya-speaking groups (acc. to new system of transcription)
-  Groups linguistically assimilated by Hadiyya
-  Boundaries of Hadiyya subgroups
-  Other ethnic groups



ADOPTED FROM BRAUKAMFER, PRAISE AND TEASING IN HADIYYA 1999 BY PERMISSION.

Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples National State (SNNPNS). The rest live in groups in the borderlands of Kambatta and Hadiya, Kambatta and Woleyeta, Hadiya and Selt'e without including those scattered into various areas within the entire Region.

Mulugeta (1998:5) mentioned that the total population of Dant'a in Hadiya zone is estimated to be more than 102,000. Because of the high population growth and average family size of eight people, the average land holding of per person in Dant'aland has become 0.7 hectare. The population density per square km is assumed to be one of the highest in the region. They are sedentary farmers practising an intensive farming of enset (false banana), wheat, barely, oats and other crops for many centuries.

The total area inhabited by the Dant'a in Sooro Woreda is estimated to be 71km² and its topography is predominantly mountainous and sloppy ranging from 2300 to 2997 metres above sea level. The average minimum and maximum yearly temperature is 7^o and 26^o centigrade respectively. The rainfall of the area is divided into two seasons. The longer rainy season is from June to September, whereas the shorter rainy season is from mid February to April.

Linguistically, the Dant'as share the same language with communities of Kambatta, Donga, T'ambaro, K'abena and Alaba, and belong to the Highland East Cushatic Cluster, which comprises communities speaking kindred languages such as Sidama, Gedeo, Burji, Hadiya and others. However, the Dant'as give their language different names such as "Kizissa" the same as K'abena and Alaba who developed their own dialects, and call their languages by their own terms as "Womba" and "Halabissa" respectively.

1.1.2 THE KAMBATTA

Kambata is located in Southern Ethiopia and occupies an area of about 1200 square kilometers between the Gibe (Omo) and the Bilate rivers (Braukämper, 1973:294).

Currently, Kambatta Comprises three main Woredas named Angača, Kedida Gamella and Kača-Biira in which the vast majority of their population belongs to protestant Christianity (Cohen: 1995). According to the 1994 Population and Housing Census Report of Ethiopia, a population of Kambatta is about half a million without including other Kambatssa speaking community groups such as Alaba, Donga, T'ambaro, Dant'a and K'abena. Kambatta is also known to be one of the most densely populated areas in Ethiopia with an average of 300 to 500 people per square kilometre (Grenstedt, 2000: 48). The scarcity of arable land and excessive use of natural resources have contributed to reduce agricultural productivity of local people, and forced a considerable number of Kambattas to resettle and live in resettlement and agro-industrial areas such as Assossa, Metekel, Gambella, Kaffa, Wolket'e as well as Wonjji and Methara areas.

According to oral tradition, the term "Kambatta" is originally derived from local expression in kambatssa language known as "Kambat", which means, "this is the place"- the "idle site to live" where the first seven households (Ahmbaričo Lamalla) who migrated from the current Sidama were settled. However, it is still unknown how and when this expression was transformed to the term "Kambatta." Yacob (2000: 2) argues that the suffix "a" might have been added to form the noun Kambatta because most singular names in Kambatssa language end with an "a" like Boora, Bulla, Lagga, Manna, Hobičakk'a Garanba, Doyogana, Fulassa, or with an "o" like, Ambaričo, Digibamo, Dato and so on.

The original settlers of early seven households who became the apical ancestors of the current seven clans known as Bazo, Ebejena, Efegena, Fuga, Hessesse, Hiniera and T'azo were believed to have lived around the Amboričo mountain in the heartland of Kambatta. The descendants of these seven clans locally known as "Ambaričo Lamella" formed a council led by a king who involves all clan members known as "Kokata" to protect themselves from the attack of outsiders (Yacob, 2000:2).

Latter on, the descendants of Fuga clan were ostracized and settled in a far distance from the rest six clan members because of eating the meat of dead animals. Gradually, the Fugas adopted the work of pottery, tannery and ironwork, while the rest adopted hoe cultivation and livestock raising. Since then, an individual from Fuga clan is often called by the terms like "Tumanču" (iron worker) or "Ahawču" (tanner) or "Fugiču" (potter) according to his specialization. Accordingly, the Kambattas have been sedentary farmers since early time, and their economy is mainly based on enset farming, and supplemented by varieties of cereals, legumes, root crops, coffee and livestock which is carried out on small scale.

Braukämper (1973:1947-96) and Grenstedt (200:40-420) argue and the local people confirmed that the ancestors of the seven clan members of Ambaričo Lamella were the first settlers in the current area of Kambatta and Hadiya, and followed by Dant'a, Donga, T'ambaro and Alaba community groups who settled in the region between 1550 and 1570.

However, there are about one hundred thirty clans in Kambatta who were originally immigrant settlers at different times, and who constitute the integral system of the current Kambatta community. Many of these clans migrated from the neighbouring communities such as the Sidama, K'abena and Arsi, Guji, Borena and Kaffa Oromos as well as Selt'i, Woleyeta, Alaba, Dawro, Janjero, Endegañne, Gedeo and Gamo in different periods. According to my informants and confirmed by Yacob (2000:2-4), Kambatta receives

immigrants from Bale, Hararghe, Bonga, Gadab, Raya, Agaw, Enariya, Gondar, Gayint, Bulga, Menz, Tigray, Jirru, Angot, Yifat, Gafat, Bete Amhara, Gojjam and others. From these different clans some of them still kept their place of origin as reference of their clan names such as Gafat, Agaw, Dawaro, Endegañne, Selt'e, Angot, Damot and many others.

1.1.3 THE HADIYA

Hadiyas trace their origin to immigrants of Muslim Arabs from Arabian Peninsula who were mixed with indigenous ethnic groups like the Somali during their stay in eastern part of Ethiopia (Braukämper, 1999:16). According to Braukämper (1973:34), the original home of Hadiya ancestors is said to have been some where in Asia near a large body of water. "Hadiya (a "man who carries all"), the ancestor after whom the people derive their names, was the first to leave the Arabian peninsula crossing the Red sea in an attempt to search for a new home in the Habasha land." Subsequently, at the beginning of the 13th century, they occupy the western part of Harar plateau, and became one of the strong political entities in Eastern Africa until the 16th century. Then, they moved to the region of Gadab in the West of Bale Mountains, which was the major territorial centre of Hadiya in the 14th century and combined in federation with the capital of Zayla on the Somalia coast (Braukämper, 1999:16-17).

According to the 1994 population census, the population of Hadiya is about 1.5 million. (Braukämper (1999:15). Linguistically, they belong to the same Highland East Cushatic Group as Dant'a, Kambatta, Sidama, Gedeo, Burji and others. The written documents of their history dates back to Ethiopian and Arabic Chronicles of the 13th century.

They engaged in war at different times with the Christian Empire of Ethiopia during the reign of Amda S'eyon (1314-1344), Dawit (1382-1413), Yishak (1414-1429) and Zara

Yacob (1434-1468). As a result, they were characterized as hereditary enemies of Christian Empire for many centuries (Braukämper, 1999:16-17).

Beginning from the 15th century, certain groups of Hadiyas advanced to occupy the Rift Valley area around Lake Ziway and started to occupy the northern part of their present territory in the 16th century (Grenstedt, 2000:45). The local informants confirm that the Hadiyas in this category were the descendants of seven brothers named Badaggo, Hank'alla, Hayibba, Hojje, Soleččo, Wayabbo and Dodda who is presently known by the clans named Haballo and Bargagea of his descendants. The Hadiyas in this category call themselves and are referred to by the neighbouring communities by a collective term know as "Agar Hadiya" which means early settlers of the Hadiyas.

After the movement of the Oromo in the 16th century, most of the territory of Hadiyas was shattered, and many were assimilated into Oromo and other ethnic groups. Since the Mid of the 16th century, another group of Hadiya who were the descendants of Boyammo left their territory of Gadeb in Bale because of the pressure from the Oromo and started to live in Rift Valley area. Gradually, this group of Hadiya were also advanced to west and started to settle in the present Hadiya territory from 1780 to 1815 (Grenstedt, 2000: 45). As a result of time difference in occupying the current territory and difference in tracing their genealogy, Hadiyas are broadly divided into two categories named "Agar Hadiyas" and "Boyamme Hadiya" (Sooro) under which many clan groups are found.

According to Braukämper (1999:15), Grenstedt (2000:45), and as confirmed by local people, Hadiyas are agro-pastoralists who adopted farming very recently from the neighbouring communities such as Kambatta, Dant'a, Donga, T'ambaro, Endegañne and Masmās who have be known by their enset cultivation. Therefore, the term community is

used to refer to each community speaking the same language and others with different languages in this study.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There are differences among scholars in describing and analysing ethnic groups either in terms of cultural marks or in terms of interactional approach. Those who consider cultural marks to describe ethnic groups, usually emphasize the importance of culturally distinctive aspects (contents) such as myth of origin, ritual, religion, language, customs, laws, tradition, or genealogical descent in distinguishing groups and peoples from one another. Others strongly suggest the relevance of conceptualising and focusing on ethnic boundary rather than studying the cultural content of every community independently.

The Dant'as are community in which the change in their socio-cultural aspects such as religion, language, kinship, marriage and occupation is not yet studied in relation to the neighbouring communities since they have been incorporated into the central government of Ethiopia in 1892. Moreover, the role and impact of national politics in changing their relations with the neighbouring communities is not adequately addressed by many scholars.

This study will, therefore document the change that has been taking place among the Dant'a since their incorporation into the central government of Ethiopia. It will also explores their relations and interactions with the neighbouring communities in terms of social, political, and economic aspects in relation to changes through time. In general, the study has the following general and specific objectives.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

A. General Objectives

1. To explore the ethnic relations and the socio-cultural changes among the Dant'a in terms of marriage practices, kinship ties, religious and administrative systems, political power and economic relations and interdependence in relation to the neighbouring communities such as Kambatta, Hadiya, T'ambaro, Donga and others.
2. To document the role and impact of government policies in changing the nature of ethnic relations of Dant'a with the neighbouring communities.

B. Specific Objectives

1. To explore the causes for changes in Dant'a religion, occupation, marriage practices, self-perception and perceived by others in relation to the neighbouring communities.
2. To find out the major driving force affecting the ethnic relations of Dant'a with the neighbouring communities during the Haile Sellasse, the Derg and the EPRDF regimes.
3. To explore the socio-cultural practices that have been maintained among the Dant'a after many years of their interaction with the neighbouring communities and the extent of change these practices have undergone through time.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The findings of this study will increase our understanding of inter-ethnic relations, which is not yet addressed adequately by many anthropological writings in Ethiopia. Besides, the findings will indicate the underpinning factors that have caused change of socio-cultural aspects in Dant'a and would serve as a mirror to see the change that have been taking place among the other ethnic groups in the region and within the entire nation. Moreover, the

findings will assist in yielding some information for research beginners in undergraduate and graduate level, as well as for policy makers to design their administrative policy in line with the interest and benefit of the communities under this study. Finally, the findings will assist the local communities at large by indicating the positive and negative relationships among the Dant'a and its neighbours in the last few decades and the impact of the administrative policies of the central governments since 1890s.

1.5 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

This study was carried out through the use of both secondary source and fieldwork. In the former part, information from relevant literature was sought to construct a theoretical framework for the study. In addition, letters of appeal written by members of the Dant'a and Agar Hadiya, and reports, minutes and letters of order and response written by the SNNPNS council and other concerned governmental organizations were collected from the archives of the Hadiya zone and regional council as an additional secondary sources. In collecting these secondary materials, special attention was given to letters written by the Regional Council and reports of the studying team because they could substantiate the information gathered from informants through interviews, and to identify the main cause of conflicts and their effects on subsequent social, political and economic interactions and interdependence of the Dant'as and the neighbouring communities.

In the second part, a fieldwork was conducted in three phases. During the first phase, of the fieldwork from August 10,2000 to August 27, 2000 a field site was surveyed after the permission letter had been obtained from the regional council and councils of Kambatta and Hadiya zones. Then, effort was made to familiarize himself with different community members in the field site and identify key informants. During the second and third phases of

field work, from October 5, 2000 to November 6, 2000, and from November 16, 2000 to December 8, 2000 the researcher stayed mostly in two villages named Dant'a and Arara where he could find informants from Dant'a and Hadiya.

The researcher stayed fifteen days in villages in the borderland between Kambatta and Hadiya, and consulted informants from Dant'a, Kambatta and Hadiya. During the three phases of the fieldwork, data were collected through the techniques of semi-structured interviews, direct observation and informal inquiry. Moreover, attempts have also been made to collect reliable information on conflict issues, which were initially induced by policies of the Ethiopian governments, including Haile Sellasse, the Derg and the EPRDF. From the research methods, semi-structured interview was the major technique employed to collect information during the fieldwork. Informants of different age and sex from various communities such as traditional and religious leaders, local elders, civil servants, politicians, women and youth as well as ordinary people were intensively interviewed to obtain information on matters of ethnic origin, settlement pattern, kinship and marriage ties, causes of conflicts, the perception they have and how they are perceived by others as well as changes that have been taking place in inter-ethnic relations and interactions of social, economic and political aspects.

Direct observation was employed to collect data in connection with ritual ceremony, market places, meetings of Peasant Associations (PAs) ceremonies of church recreational centres and political demonstrations.

Informal inquiry was mainly used in discussing sensitive issues related to ethnic perception and government policies in different periods.

1.6 FIELDWORK CIRCUMSTANCES

During the first trip to the research site, some people saw the presence of a researcher in rural villages as if a ruling party assigned him with a mission of observing the attitude of local people towards the policy and governance of the EPRDF. However, by presenting the official letter obtained from Addis Ababa University to informants and making the letter to be read publicly in meetings as well as discussing the objective of the research with informants, a trusting relationships and inter-subjective understanding was established before the beginning of the second and third phases of the fieldwork.

Apart from this, the researcher also encountered certain problems due to his identity as a member of the society. For instance, some informants tended to be brief and selective in answering the interviews assuming that he knows the details of everything. Even there were some people who thought that the researcher has the power to bring their political problems into an end. In addition, getting permission to receive certain reports and minutes from the archive of the zone council became possible only after the researcher made three round travels to Hossana town where the office of the zone council is found. One of the other challenges faced during the first week after the researcher arrival was getting independent shelter for staying until he was able to choose his particular research village. However, after a few days, Ato Lombammo Shomore allowed one of his small shelters to be used independently by the researcher until the end of his fieldwork.

In spite of all these difficulties, the research was carried out successfully. This is because of the researcher's knowledge of the people and the culture of both Kambatssa and Hadiyissa speaking communities. Moreover, his fluency in both Kambatsata and Hadiyissa

languages has contributed a lot to his familiarity with many of the informants in a short period of time, and to collect relevant information sooner than an outsider could have done.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

As this study is mainly focused on socio-cultural aspects of the Dant'a that have undergone change and their ethnic relations with the neighbouring communities, many of their cultural aspects were not studied in detail and not included in this study. This study, because of time limitations covers the Dant'as only in their ancestral territory in Sooro 'Woreda' and in the borderlands of Kambatta and Hadiya. Besides, even though most of the minutes in the Appendix of this paper are translated into English, they are not translated word for word due to their big volume.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Conceptualising and Defining Ethnicity and Ethnic Group

This chapter defines the term ethnicity, ethnic group, ethnic identity, nation and nationality from viewpoints of various scholars and historical overtime. It also discusses various ethnic theories including primordialism and instrumentalism as well as certain inter-ethnic conflict and inter-elite competition models.

Terms like ethnicity, ethnic group, race; nation and nationality are very complex, elusive and controversial (Rex and Guibernau, 1997: 27-33; Poula, in Markakis and Salih, 1998:32). They are also voluminous, contradictory and not precise (Spickard, 1989:12). Moreover, their meaning seem to be ambiguous and vague (Erikson, 1993:1).

The term "Ethnicity" was derived from a Greek word Ethnos (which in turn is derived from its adjective Ethnikos) and used by Greeks in a variety of ways such as a band of friends, a multitude of worriers, a swarm of bees, birds, flies and the like. The adjective ethnikos, which was originally, began to refer to heathen or pagan was very nearly synonymous with barbaras, with all its moral, social and linguistic content. The barbarians are those who spoke unintelligible languages, and wanted for civilization by Greeks, who are beyond the bounds of meaning, order and decency. In its later uses, in New Testament Greek, the term "ethnos" comes to be used to mean "non Christian" and "non- Jewish" in an attempt to render the Hebrew Goyim. The immediate successor to terms related to ethnos since the early Byzantine Empire up to the medieval period was "gentiles" or a grouping of religious "otherness" (Chapman, 1993: 15-20).

However, the term "ethnos" which has no equivalent noun term in English has existed in modern English as an adjective "ethnic" to be used as an unusual intellectual synonym for "gentile" denoting "pagan" or "non-Christian" from the fourteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century. Gradually, the suffix has been added to give the term "ethnicity", and in the same way a variety of derived and compound terms, which are now in common academic use, have come to exist. This includes terms like ethnography, ethnocentric, ethnic group and the like (Ibid). Moreover, many definitions and theories have been advanced in relation to the term "Ethnicity" in the last few decades to construct concepts and to find out its concrete manifestations, but it is still difficult to be conceptualised in a short and definite terms (Ibid: 20- 23). For Cohen (1974:9) this difficulty is due to the nature of the term itself, which involves a variety of forms, scope, intensity and having psychic, historical, social, economic and political variables. Ahmed (1990) took this notion for granted and underlines the impossibility of having a clear definition at a higher level of generality to be analytically useful and applicable in various situations.

Similarly, the term "ethnic group" has also various definitions, as that of "ethnicity" and many scholars tend to use these two concepts interchangeably. Smith defined an ethnic group as a population having a belief in a common ancestry, with attachment to a specific territory, with shared historical memories of myth or legends pass from generation to generation, with a shared culture based on a combination of language, religion, laws, customs, institutions, dress, music, crafts, or architecture and even food (Smith, in Brown, 1975: 28). Allen defined an ethnic group in a bit different way, as any racial, religious, language, national origin or regional category or sub-culturally distinct persons regardless of the group's size (minority or majority), power (subordinate or dominant), or generational status (immigrant or native born/indigenous) (Allen, cited in Habtamu, 1998: 21).

On the other hand, one of the problems of the term "Ethnicity" is linguistic or terminological. According to Glazer and Moynihan (1975:1), ethnicity is a new term, and it is still on the move. Du Toit's (1978:1-4) brief discussion on various usages of the word "Ethnic" and its derivative forms, demonstrate quite how far it has moved. Since the establishment of the French, British and American Ethnological Societies in the middle of nineteenth century, he traces five meanings which have been assigned to the term "ethnic" or "ethnic group " equating it with: race; specific major races; a socio-cultural group; a sub-group living among other in a foreign country; and finally a group of people who "contrast themselves or contrasted by others, primarily on the basis of sharing certain cultural criteria such as language, beliefs and values, religion or history" who may or may not share "geographical contiguity" and "racial characteristics" (Du Toit, quoted in Saara, 1994:1).

"Ethnicity" which according to Du Tout "does not appear in the standard dictionaries before the 1960s has soaked up all of these ambiguities in gaining recognition as a neutral referent to those characteristics and qualities that mark an ethnic group, irrespective of whether the group is defined basically on socio-cultural or on phenotypic grounds." As a result, the effort of scholars since then to capture its meaning in a short and precise definition have not yielded any great success, and no one is nearer to a standard definition than in the 1960s.

Subsequently, there have been different senses in which ethnicity or ethnic groups has been conceptualised and defined. For some, ethnicity is considered as an identity seeking-instrument by the peoples of multi-racial and multicultural societies, or conceptualised as a device through which people seek a profound psychological unity based on common origin by sharing common blood either actual or fictitious. For others, an ethnic group is viewed as a

relatively small one, or a self-defined group based on subjective factors which are chosen by members from their past history or present existing conditions (Oommen, 1997: 36-37).

For many others like Kellas (1991:4) ethnic groups are usually perceived as based on a common ancestry; more pervasive in human history, and essentially exclusive or ascriptive meaning, that membership in such groups is confined to those who share certain inborn attributes as opposed to nations which are specific to time and place as well as more inclusive, and culturally or politically defined.

2.2. Theoretical Debates

There are essentially two major schools of thought on the meaning and nature of ethnicity known as the "primordialist" and the situationalist or "instrumentalist". The basic idea of primordialists has emanated from the importance of primordial ties and their emphasis to an awareness of common identity, which is based on language, religion, race, territory and others. Moreover, these primordial ties have been used to divide the human species as naturally determined features like sex and geography. They also claim that ethnic communities are the natural units of history and integral element of the human experience (Shiles, in Smith, 1986:12). For primordialists, ethnicity is an immutable set of emotionally charged biological, cultural, linguistic, and religious givens that are the primary sources of identity.

Consequently, Smith (1986:12-13) argues that "primordialism" makes two distinct claims. Firstly, ethnicity and ethnic attachment is natural and innate which would never change over time. Secondly, it is ancient and perennial. Primordialists have also been divided into the advocates of the "socio-biology school" who consider ethnicity as naturally primordial ties, and the "sociological school" who regard ethnicity as culturally and historically primordial ties.

The socio-biological school asserts that ethnicity is the extension of kinship, and the normal vehicle for the pursuit of collective goals in the struggle for survival. Whereas, the sociological school regards language, religion, race, territory and others as the basic organizing principles and bonds of human association, throughout history (Ibid). In addition, the socio- biological version of the same argument considers ethnicity as "primordial sentiment in a sense that leads one to search for a natural, genetically based origin for ethnic group sentiments." While the cultural and historical version of the same viewpoint "implies a theoretical basis for ethnic sentiments that is located in the dialectical interplay between deeply rooted historical ties based on assumed kinship, custom, language and race" (Geertz and Vanden, as quoted in Thompson, 1989:54).

Currently, due to the widely accepted dynamic nature of ethnicity and ethnic identity by many scholars, full-blown primordialism is not common, but what remains is a strong consensus that there is something innate, irreducible, something racially or biologically ascribed, within the concept of ethnicity.

For situationalists (instrumentalists), ethnicity is subjective and unstable depending on the situation (cultural exposure, perceived status, political strategy, policies as well as perceived advantages and objectives). It is also selectively retained, transformed, reconstructed or disappeared (Mason, 1995; Cohen quoted in Banks, 1996:33). Moreover, ethnicity is not a historical given at all, but a highly adaptive and malleable phenomenon. In response to changing conditions the boundaries of an ethnic group can expand or contract, individuals move in and out, and even share membership in more than one community. For them, ethnicity is almost totally flexible set of identities that varies from situation to situation depending on rational calculations of advantage and stimulated by political mobilization under the leadership of actors, whose primary identities and motives are non ethnic (Esman,

1994:9-15). Similarly, the boundaries of ethnicity are permeable and osmotic to some extent where the flow of individuals from one ethnic group to another is possible and the interaction across one's own ethnic members is common (Jenkins, 1997; 53). For most extreme instrumentalists "ethnicity" is nothing more than a myth "Constructed", and manipulated cynically or opportunistically in pursuit of advantages mostly material, by individual promoters and activists" (Ibid: 241). It is also valuable only when it benefits individuals with more security, prestige, or material returns than available alternatives (Ibid: 242- 243).

The main theoretical departure has taken place as a result of Fredrick Barth's breakthrough in developing a boundary metaphor, which diverted the attention of scholars from the focus of internal constitution and history of separate groups to ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance. For him, the old bio-cultural or territorial isolate frame of reference could not account for the persistence of viable ethnic collectivities, despite, continuing contact across ethnic boundaries (1969: 4). According to Barth, in order to explain ethnic group persistence in the face of the loss of territorial distinctiveness through cultural contact, and loss of physical distinctiveness through changes in ethnic strain, we must shift our attention from the morphological characteristics of the internal cultures of ethnic groups to the dynamics of inter-ethnic relations and of ethnic boundary maintenance.

In this regard, Barth does not imply that the cultural differences are irrelevant. The point he consistently emphasized is that we can not assume a simple, one-to-one correspondence between ethnic collectivities and cultural marks such as religion, language, decorations, songs, names, style of beard and the like singled out by in group members as paramount symbols of ethnicity (Ibid: 1-20).

Barth further stresses that the cultures, which boundaries enclose, may change since all groups are dynamic, but the continuation of boundaries themselves is more longstanding.

He also perceives ethnic identity as a feature of social organization, rather than a nebulous expression of culture and calls for focusing on the boundary and the process of recruitment. His great attention to these processes of boundary maintenance showed that ethnic groups and their features are produced under particular interactional, political and economic circumstances, and they are highly situational, not primordial (Ibid).

Similarly, ethnicity is started to be seen by many of the recent scholars as a dynamic, not a fixed, and immutable element of social, economic, and political relationships. Building up on this notion, social scientists have increasingly come to conceptualise ethnicity as a symbolic system, which can be manipulated situationally (instrumentally) by members. For those who take this point into consideration, it is easy to see that ethnic groups never exist in isolation. They always arise in interactions, in relation to other groups. Whatever primordial qualities exist, they are irrelevant unless someone else is present with whom they can be distinguished. In other words, there must be a "significant other" since ethnic groups are always relational. There is always a "we" and "us" in relation to a "you" and "them". Furthermore, a relationship between "us" and "them" is usually in a continuous change rather than being a stagnant (Poula, 1998:33). Likewise, ethnic identity must be looked in terms of both a subjective and objective phenomenon, "one that is shaped through the constantly reoccurring subjective questions ego as to "who am I" and within the collective as to "who are We" and inevitable corollary, the objective question of the significant others as to who is he, she or they?" (Young in Toland, 1993:7). In this way, recently many scholars like Poula (1998) perceive ethnicity and ethnic identity as "socially constructed" depending on the "situation and context". By taking the situational nature of ethnicity and ethnic identity, young (1986) argues that those who attempt to develop a rigorous set of criteria for these concepts build their arguments upon sand.

2.3 Inter- Ethnic Conflict Model

The study of inter- ethnic relations have recently attracted many scholars from various disciplines such as anthropology, history, political science and other researchers in development studies. The relations among different ethnic groups can be either peaceful or non- peaceful. Such non-peaceful relationships are often considered as ethnic conflicts, and they can be further divided into violent and non-violent.

According to some scholars like Ake (2000:96), ethnic groups do not necessarily embroiled in conflict just because they are different. However, they get into conflict when they have been in specific historical situations, which aggravates their differences, and because of how the differences are understood, interpreted and represented in particular circumstances.

On the other hand, many assumptions are proposed to explain the origins/couses of conflict among different ethnic groups. The first theoretical assumption underlines that ethnic conflict can emerge because of the lack of integrity and deeper relationships among the different ethnic groups living side by side within the same political entity. From this point of view, the ethnic groups in such situations are notoriously unstable and turbulent because the extensive contact, mutual influence and common social will among these groups is very low (Brown, 1997:83; Young, 1986:445). In this connection, Kuper (1997:222) further argues that such ethnic groups may have an interaction in only market centres because each ethnic group is confined in its own cultural features like religion, custom, language and others. Under such conditions, there may be possibilities of conflicts in sharing and competing for resources.

The second assumption tries to explain the inter-ethnic conflicts in terms of innate (biological) view. According to this view, some ethnic groups are "aggressive", while others

are not. In fact, this difference could be a fertile ground for the emergence of inter-ethnic conflicts; however, this view does not fully explain why some ethnic groups are aggressive and others are not in the first place (Bascom and Herskovist, in Young, 1986:447).

The third theoretical assumption of psychological view suggests that inter-ethnic conflict can be emerged from the frustration caused by the imbalance in living conditions. In other words, conflict would emerge when people feel that they are deprived from the opportunities, which have been expected to be used by members of their ethnic group (Bertsch, in Brass, 1991: 42).

According to Fukui (1994:33 - 38) and Knutsson (1962:92), the root cause for this kind of inter-ethnic conflicts is the desire among the ethnic groups to have access to natural resources, to control market centres and trade routes to overcome the economic, territorial and strategic imbalances which were resulted from the pressure one against the other. For them, and many others like Markakis (1993:13), this kind of conflicts are common among the pastoralists and semi-pastoralists over the shrinking resource base such as grazing lands and water sources around springs, ponds and wells.

The fourth assumption stresses that the basic cause for inter-ethnic conflicts is uneven regional economic development. In other words, if members of a given ethnic groups are aware of their economic development which is lower than their neighbours, they would be discontented, frustrated and started to involve in political movements which will reverse the situation (Young, 1986: 444).

2.4 Inter-Elite and Inter-Ethnic Competition Models.

According to inter-elite competition theory, ethnic conflict is the result of competition for state power because the state controlled the production and distribution of resources at

national and local levels. In addition, this theory divides the societies into two on the basis of the patterns of conflict known as pre- industrial and modernizing societies. In pre-industrial societies conflicts are evident among sub- groups of an ethnic group, and between an ethnic group and external forces, including other ethnic groups and the state. Whereas, the conflicts in modernizing societies are the result of the competition among the elites of different groups to control the allocation of the state power and resources.

The emergence of conflicts in modernizing societies is also highly related to the creation of new elites by modernization process through urbanization, industrialization, education, infrastructural facilities, employment opportunities emerged by government and other organizations. Moreover, these new elites are the main actors in development of ethnic consciousness among the ethnic groups (Brass, 1991:26-28). Brass further elaborates the situation as follows:

The ethnic conflict arises because of two processes often precipitated by state action. One is almost invariably uneven spread of education, industrialization, and employment opportunities across regions, communities, castes, and classes. The second is the creation of new elite groups out of processes of social change, particularly educated elites in search of government employment and professional groups in private practice operating in relative freedom from old forms of social control and creating new types of community networks through their own professional activities. The spread of non religious education, including exposure to Marxist, nationalist, and other contemporary political ideologies also promote tendencies toward secular elites, oriented toward achieving political power in institutions and arenas created by modern state (1985:38).

According to Brass (1985), Kasfir (1976) and Osaghae (1991), the theoretical argument of the inter- ethnic competition comprises the following assumptions:

- ◆ The cultural values and practices of the ethnic groups are the political resources for the elites to gain political power and economic advantage in competition as well as to create a

political identity of an ethnic group through symbols that can be shifted and adjusted according to the circumstances.

- ◆ During the process of transforming cultural values and practices into political symbols, the competition of elites with each other to control the territory and power may lead to the break down of the ethnic group's solidarity.
- ◆ During the reign of some states, elites with no popular base may represent their groups in state authorities, especially when the states wish to recognize them for their own purpose.
- ◆ Skilful elites who lack 'objective' basis of mobilization will often create images or perceptions of their own by magnifying minor cases of discrimination or specific instances of regional inequality.
- ◆ Elites involved in competition interpret and reinterpret the symbols of their group for political mobilization by using factors like the existence of historical or contemporary grievances and hostilities as well as regional economic inequalities in relation to other groups or to the state.
- ◆ Elites mostly get support from their group because of marked inequalities, which exists between the groups in terms of development opportunities and access to social services. This makes the competition easier, and paves the way to recruit and involve the wider mass in the competition process.

On the contrary, the inter-ethnic relations and competitions were analysed by Fredrick Barth in 1969. In his inter-ethnic relations and competition model, economy and ecology have been taken as the central variables to analyse inter-ethnic relations by giving high emphasis to how the resources are distributed among ethnic groups. However, he pays little attention to

the influence and impact of the state in controlling the resource allocation and affecting the relationship of groups.

The other model was developed by Jiobu (1990: 180-186), and he examines various theories of inter- ethnic relations in terms of competition around scarce resources. According to him, there is always a competition around the distribution of resources, and the scarcity which is always inevitable would further result differences in economic, social, cultural, political and psychological inequalities among the ethnic groups. Moreover, he explains how the competition for scarce resources gradually leads to ethnicity; ethnicity again leads to inequality, and inequality leads to different socio-economic status. However, he underlines as if the majority groups would always gain at the expense of the minority, and his framework does not explain how the past relationship between competing groups would affect the current relationships. Moreover, there are many cases in which the minority groups have controlled political power and enjoy the lion's share of available resources.

Apart from this, recent scholars of different background like Markakis, Doornbos, Salih, O'Brien and many others in their discussion on ethnicity and ethnic groups relations and conflicts reject the inclusive theoretical debate on the nature of ethnicity and much-used distinction between primordialists and instrumentalists. Instead, they focus on the relationships of the ethnic groups in relation to the state since colonialism in which African peoples were obliged to react and adapt to radically changed circumstances up to the current change in state nature (Salih and Markakis: 1998).

For Doornbos, ethnicity, inter-ethnic relations and conflicts throughout Africa make sense, and can only be studied contextually in relation to the state in which different groups have been competing for power. He further argues that ethnicity which is elusive and having a feature of chameleon is re-emerging with new colours and different guise. It also provokes

new questions and debates as its true nature and proper conceptualisation. Therefore, ethnicity has been in the making following the drastically changing political conditions within and around African states. As a result of declining centralized states and the pressures of going into multi-party system of adopting new forms of decentralization in various countries, questions are being raised with increasing frequency as to how ethnicity will evolve and manifest itself within these changing parameters. Accordingly, ethnicity is the most potent force to be mobilized and the most common way of organizing people to compete for power and scarce resource in the state structures particularly at the local level (Doornbos, in Salih and Markakis: 1998: 17-18).

As a matter of fact, ethnicity can never be eradicated because it constitutes the psychological boundaries that are necessary to structure cultural interaction, and its boundaries are maintained according to the historically generated symbols that give meaning to each group (De Vos and Barth cited in Toland, 1993:4). “Historically, the state has been a system of ordering that has depended on the symbols of its dominant culture to represent what is desirable, good, and true against the backdrop of subordinate cultures whose symbols have often come to stand for the very opposite of what has been deemed acceptable” (Ibid).

Accordingly, the ethnic relations and the socio-cultural changes that have been taking place among the Dant'a are treated in terms of various theoretical perspectives. However, the model developed by Fredrick Barth and the contemporary approach that look inter-ethnic relations and conflicts in relation to competition over the state power by political elites, and how the ethnic groups are mobilized in such process have great relevance for this study, and directly fit to the existing condition of Dant'a and its neighbouring communities.

CHAPTER THREE

ASPECTS OF CULTURE AND CHANGE AMONG THE DANT'A

This chapter deals with the ethnography and the socio-cultural changes that have been taking place among the Dant'a in relation to the neighbouring communities. It also addresses what factors have contributed to a change in their kinship, marriage, way of life, and administrative and religious systems since the last century.

3.1 Origin, Kinship and Marriage

The social structure of the Dant'a is based on a patrilineal descent in which descent is reckoned through a male line. They have also maintained the culture of tracing their genealogy up to the founder of their community group known as Damt'e, and his father named "AK'e" (AK'ama). According to the Dant'a tradition, AK'ama married a wife and became a father of nine sons, namely, Damt'e, Danga, Lauka, Boša, Wešeša, Masmās, Endenna, Goere (Goereak'amo) and Omošogora. The name Dant'a is derived from the elder son "Damt'e" who later became a Woma (king) and ruled the area for some years. In his turn, Woma Damt'e got married and became a father of two sons known as "Woma Dubammo (the elder) and KinčiČilla (the younger)" who together became the ancestors of twenty-two clan groups with a common belief of claiming descent from the same apical ancestor. These are: Wosanosso, Dubbo, Gojenna, Katamosso, Bonosso, Taleosso, KinčiČilla, Yangaro, Gorenosso, Fajae, Wobazo, Tawulosso, Wongello, GolonjeČo, Lalebbo, Damosso, Gujiyya, Dabonna, Hatafura, Dolla, Gaburoosso and Zuwra. As a result, the Dant'as perceive only those whose agnatic line is traced to a common ancestor as a true member of their community. In other words, in the Dant'as view mainly those who are born of the Dant'a fathers can only be assumed as Dant'a genetically.

On the other hand, there is an agreement among most of the informants regarding the origin of Woma Damt'e, and the genealogy traced beyond AK'ama except for a few informants. According to a myth told by a few informants, Woma Damt'e migrated from Gondar to the South together with his relative named Hamalmal of Oyeta clan because of frequent war in the northern part of Ethiopia. In his way to the South, he stayed in Raya of Tigray and later in Wolk'ete until he moved to the current territory known as Dant'aland (Dubammoland), which is believed to be their homeland by all descendants of Woma Damt'e including those who live in different areas.

However, most of my informants from Dant'a completely reject the myth of claiming Gondar as the origin of Woma Damt'e and his relative. According to these informants, the origin of Woma Damt'e was Sidama, and he migrated together with his eight brothers named Donga, Lauka, Boša, Goere, Wešeša Omošogora, Masmās and Endenna who descended from the same father named "AK'e." According to their further explanation, Woma Damt'e moved from the highland of the current Sidama, which was predominantly occupied by Yemerera and K'abena clans to Wolk'ete area together with his eight brothers, and his relatives who have been the ancestors of the current K'abenas. After staying for a few years with ancestors of the K'abenas in the village of "Boesse", Woma Damt'e and his brothers moved Southwest, and temporarily settled in a place called "Dunna" which is presently inhabited by a "Wosanosso" clan of Dant'a in the borderland of Hadiya and Selt'i. From there, they moved Southwest and Settled in the current territory independently in close proximity with each other during the Ahmad Graň's expansion except Boša who settled far away from all others.

On the contrary, some of the informants argue that the arrival of Woma Damt'e could be even prior to the time of Ahmed Graň, which was in the late 15th century. However, none of these informants were able to give precise information for the exact time of his arrival. In

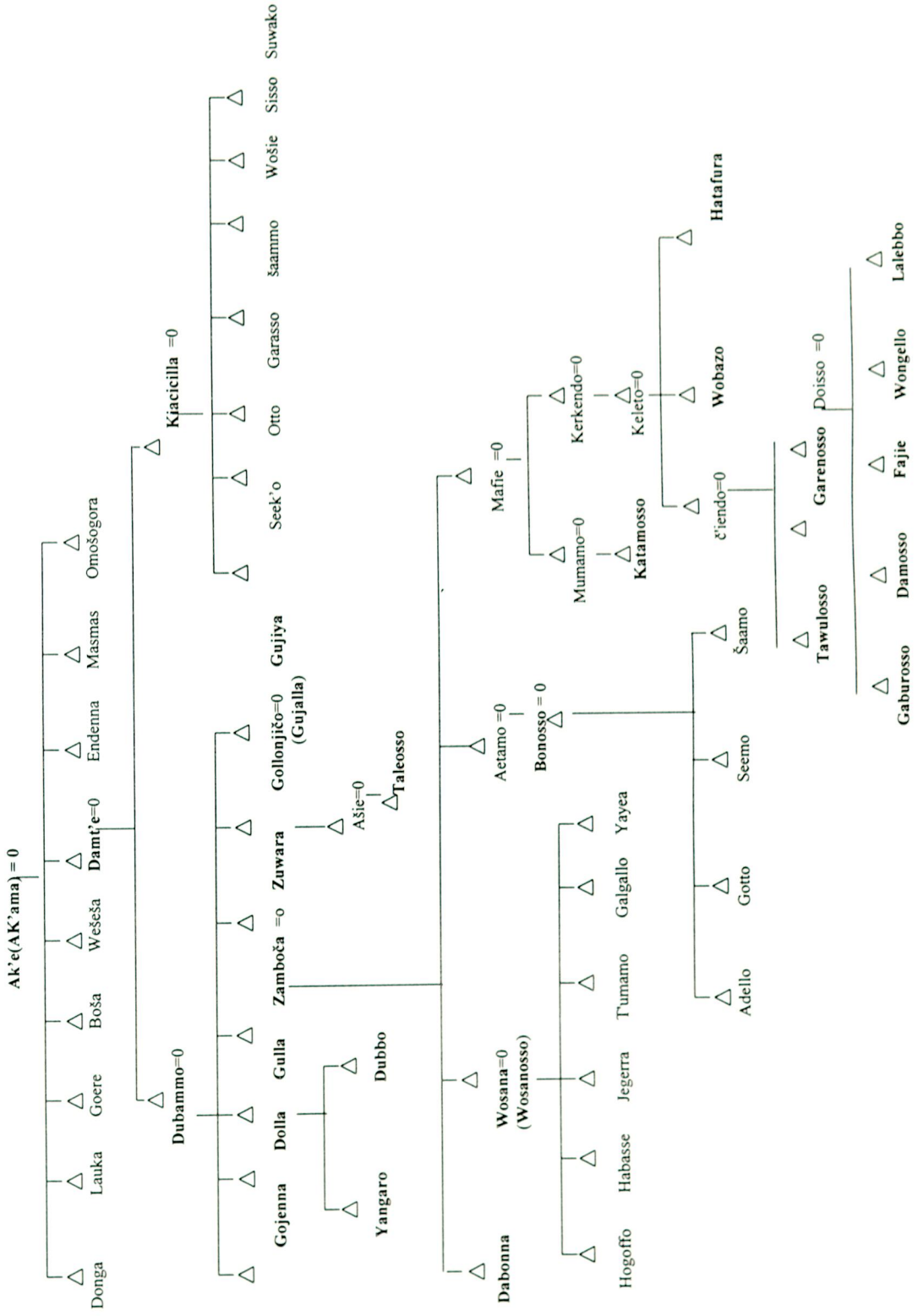
this connection, most of these informants add that the tracing of origin to Gondar started among the Dant'a after the Orthodox Christianity was introduced by priests of Abyssinia, and the conquest of Dant'a and their neighbors in 1892. Moreover, this claim is still common among the followers of Orthodox Christianity who have a close contact with Orthodox priests, and people of northern origin as opposed to other religious groups of Dant'a. Some educated informants of Dant'a argue that Mulugeta's (1998) position of taking a few informants tracing the origin of Dam'te to Godar in his writings, and over-looking the other widely accepted claim of Dam'te's origin from Sidama might be due to the influence of these informants who have close association with priests, or his limitations in not being familiar with the local languages either Kambatssa or Hadiyissa.

As these informants further argue, these people who claim of Dam'te's origin to Gondar have also influenced many scholars to take an ambiguous position in elaborating the origin of Dant'as and Oyetas of Kambatta in their writings. However, Braukämper was at least able to underline that both the Dant'as and Oyetas of Kambatta have no cultural mark of evidence, which could substantiate their claim to Gondar. Finally, he was also able to conclude that the desire to enlarge their prestige and to legitimize their power might be the major reasons which led the early kings of Dant'a and Oyeta of Kambatta to attach themselves with the noble group of Gondar (1973: 35-36; 1983: 295-296).

What is interesting is also that no informant had an explanation of how Woma Dam'te of Dant'a and Woma Hamalmal of Kambatta could not be able to transmit the language of their mother tongue to their descendants if they had been migrated from Gondar, and they were speaking any of the Semitic languages as far as they became kings as soon as they had settled in the current Dant'aland and Kambatta territory. Moreover, their descendants had never been conquered and ruled under the administration of the neighbouring communities

until Menelik's conquest in the 1890s. Even the ascription of those who claim of Damt'e's origin from Gondar, and the ascription of certain community groups who have descended from Damt'e's brothers like Donga, Lauka and others who claim as they have a genealogical linkage at a remote ancestral level of "AK'e" do not coincide with each other. Instead, the informants from these community groups unanimously underline that the origin of Damt'e and his brothers must have been the current Sidamaland. In addition, there is no single indicator in the phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary of the Dant'as and Oyetas ancestral language known as "Kambatssa" which has been adopted from Semitic languages. Furthermore, there is no similarity between the kinship terms of Dant'a and the Kinship terms of various communities who speak Semitic languages in this country. Even most of the names of every clan group of Dant'a and their kinsmen after their fifth generations have no similarity with names of Amaharic language, but they are rather similar with the names of the present Sidamas and to some extent with the names of the neighbouring Kaffa Oromos.

The Genealogical Relation of Dant'a Clans and Their Kinsmen



As the Dantas believe to have a genealogical linkage with only certain community groups like Donga and others who might have been descended from the same ancestral stock in one way or another, they do not perceive all Kambatssa speaking communities in the same way as those who claim to be from the same origin. Nevertheless, the Dant's often perceive Kambatssa as an ancestral language of their own which was previously shared by people of early settlers who migrated from Sidama, such as the descendants of Ak'e, T'ambaro, Alaba, K'abena and early seven clans (Ahmbaričo Lamalla) of Kambatta, and gradually adopted by many other clan groups who settled in the area of kambatssa speakers in a later period. In addition, the Dant'as never identify themselves with Hadiya because of adopting Hadiyissa language but they claim as they have similar culture, language, and common beliefs and values as well as common sense of feeling with Kambatta. However, none of them perceives the other as "Dinna" (enemy). After ethnicity has been highly politicised by the EPRDF, the Dant'as started to emphasize their difference even from the neighbouring Kambatssa speaking communities using certain cultural features like their territory, which is known to be "Dant'e badu/ Zubamu or Dant'e-Ulla/ Dubame (Dant'aland or Dubammoland) mainly by the neighbouring Kambatssa and Hadiyissa speakers. They also presently emphasise their independent Kingdom maintained for more than sixteen generations since the Damt'e's settlement in the area as an additional feature, which differentiates them from the other Kambatssa speaking communities.

Description of Kings and prophetic/Religious Leaders or Hauzulmančo/ K'aribia of Dant'a Since Damte's Settlement in the Current Dant'aland (Dubammoland).

Names of Kings (Womata)

1. Woma Damt'e
2. Woma Dubammo
3. Woma Zamboča
4. Woma Mafie
5. Woma Keleto
6. Woma Č'iindo
7. Woma Sibato
8. Woma Sisgaye
9. Woma Bidik'o
10. Woma Silt'ano
11. Woma Jiigisso
12. WomaYanosse
13. Woma Fantizo
14. Woma Gemero
15. Woma Malsabbo
16. Woma Dilabba
17. Woma Wariyo
18. Woma Doisso
19. Woma Fajie
20. Woma Uyea
21. Woma Dik'asso
22. Woma Dojammo
23. Woma Gaeribo
24. Woma Hanfuč'o
25. Woma Kassa
26. Woma Getachew

Propretic /Religious Leaders (Hauzulmančo or K'ariba) of Dant'a

1. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Zamboča
2. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Aetamo
3. Hauzulmančo/ K'aiba Bonosso
4. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Tofik'o
5. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Sadik'o
6. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Wozeero
7. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Dik'asso
8. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Dayasso
9. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Gonisso
10. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Songaye
11. Hauzulmančo/ K'ariba Kebede Jefaro

- The number of kings who led the Dant'as is greater than the number of religious leaders (Hauzulmančos) because worshipping a Hauzula spirit have started lately during Zamboča who became a Woma and served as a Hauzulmančo simultaneously. Moreover, the kings were highly exposed to Sudden death resulted from frequent war before the 1890s as compared to the religious leaders.

Moreover, they even started to claim having different senses of identity in terms of their traditional administrative system which is led by a Woma, and having nine hierarchical levels as opposed to the traditional institutions of others like Kambatta known as "Kokata" and "Heera" which are territorially structured. As my informants argue and as Yacob (2000:2) elaborates, the administrative institutions of the Dant'a and Kambatta vary in many aspects, but their similarity is only by the existence of a Woma in both institutions who is the highest decision maker in social and political affairs. Accordingly, the assertion of a distinctive Dant'a identity is mainly grounded on their separate genealogical descent, traditional governing system, a tradition of political independence and to some extent, on their territory.

However, the Dant'as traditional religion of worshipping a Hauzuala spirit and Orthodox Christianity are not the boundary marks for Dant'as, which differentiate them from the neighbouring Kambatssa or Hadiyissa speaking communities in the existing conditions as Mulugeta tries to explain in his MA theses on literature in 1998. Nevertheless, their traditional religion is still used by all religious groups of the Dant'a as one way of explaining their past collective recognition by the neighbouring communities and the early days of their heroic triumph. Moreover, the Dant'as still have great respect to their traditional religion of worshipping a Hauzuala spirit even though many of them have converted to Protestant Christianity.

Truly speaking, these boundary marks, which differentiate the Dant'as from the neighbouring kambatssa speaking communities, have started to be emphasized, and used to serve as a political resource for the mobilization of the Dant'a community only very recently, after ethnicity has been highly politicized since 1991. However, the Kambattas still perceive the Dant'as as their own ethnic members who have developed certain differentiating cultural marks the same as some of the other Kambatssa speaking communities like Donga, T'ambaro, Alaba,

and K'abena as a result of being administered by their own independent political system for many centuries, and being exposed to different external factors of historical processes. In fact, the Dant'as are mainly perceived by others as horsemen with good galloping skill and tradition of horse breeding by the neighbouring Kambatssa and Hadiyissa speaking communities. As a result, a horse from Dant'a is highly demanded in the areas of Kambatssa and Hadiyissa speakers and the name "Dant'a" is often used to refer to a horse with best quality known as "Dant'iču Fäšu and Danteče Farašo" in Kambatssa and Hadiyissa languages respectively.

On the other hand, the structure of the Dan'as descent groups range in depth and size from nuclear family to lineage (Mini), clan (Boku) and ethnic level. Though clans are subdivided into lineages, the lineages are not further subdivided into major, minor and minimal segments in any terminological sense recognized by the Dant'a. The only term indicating segmentation into less inclusive segments than a clan is a lineage. Clans contain varying numbers of these lineages ranging in depth from five to seven generations. For the Dant'a the term "Ilammo" (relative) includes all clan groups descended from the same apical ancestor, but matters that concern the members of each clan like the case of inheritance among the members of a clan are handled at a clan level. If one of the individual or all clan members are not satisfied with the decision of the clan council, they can take the case to a Woma.

Villages were also identified by a clan groups and they were mainly collections of related households. Currently, not all who live in the same village belong to members of the same clan or are descendants of the Dant'a, but also members of other ethnic groups like Hadiya who settled in their territory after the 1890s as a result of long established marriage relationships with them. Because of their belief in common origin, all members of each clan of the Dant'a identify themselves as brothers and sisters of the other clan members of the Dant'a. Accordingly, the Dant'as had never intermarried with their own members even on clan level up

to the last one decade, but they often intermarry with the neighbouring communities of Hadiya, Kambatta, Donga, T'amboro, Endegaññe, Masmās and others. Nevertheless, because of their high contact and geographical proximity to Hadiya, they intermarried mostly with the neighbouring Hadiya, and the marriage ratio may account for two-thirds of the existing marriages among the Dant'a. As many of my informants argue, this high intermarriage ratio and the influence of mothers from Hadiya have been the main cause for the shift of many young age groups of the Dant'a from Kambatssa language to Haidiyissa language.

However, Kambatssa is still maintained in some villages of Dant'aland, which are found in close proximity to the village of a Hauzulmačō (religious leader) and a Woma (king) in which all forms of rituals have been performed by only Kambatssa language such as Dant'a, Zambawičō, Ganetta, Gaganna, Masarra, Wontanna and Bidik'a. The informants further argue that a Hauzulmančō never speaks in other languages except Kambatssa when he transmits his message to those who consult him individually or in group, as well as when he makes a speech in ritual ceremonies that have been performed in his village. In addition, Kambatssa is believed by a Hauzulmančō as a language selected by a Hauzula spirit for communication purposes, and the only language of releasing power from this spirit.

Moreover, all persons who led the Dant'as successively for more than fourteen to sixteen generations either in a religious aspect as a Hauzulmančō, or in a political aspect as a Woma have indirectly contributed for the maintenance of Kambatssa language by establishing marriage with women only from Kambatssa speaking communities as opposed to the ordinary people who are allowed to intermarry with any language groups. As a result, most of the inhabitants who live in villages near a compound of a Hauzulmančō and a Woma are predominantly bilingual who can speak both Kambatssa and Haidiyissa languages fluently. In addition, some people over the age of forty and most of the young age groups who are born of

mothers from Kambatssa speaking communities are bilingual who can speak both languages equally.

Since the EPRDF came to power in 1991, the constituent groups of people in Ethiopia have been defined by the government according to their languages. Because of this, the Dant'as started to worry about their children who have been adopting the Hadiyissa language instead of their own Kambatssa. Gradually, their awareness towards their identity is also raised, and they started to think how they could maintain their Kambatssa language. Then, as a strategy they started to encourage their young age groups to intermarry mainly with those whose mother tongue is Kambatssa. In addition, they officially allowed their ethnic members to intermarry with each other on a clan basis. As a result, members of one clan group of the Dant'a are presently free to intermarry with members of the other clan group of the Dant'a as opposed to their previous tradition. Nevertheless, many of the Dant'as are presently inclined to perform marriage with the neighbouring Kambatta, Donga, T'ambaro and others in which Kambatssa is a mother tongue for most of their younger generations.

On the other hand, many changes have been taking place among the Dant'a in terms of marriage. For instance, Protestant Christians are presently intermarrying with only members of their faith because their leaders forbade marriage with members of Orthodox Christians and the followers of a Traditional Religion who seem to be permitted to consume alcohol and who worship the "evil spirit" respectively. Many informants say that marriage was also performed among the Dant'a after the age of twenty in the past, but presently it is common for a girl to be considered ready to marry at fifteen or sixteen by adopting a tradition of the neighbouring Hadiya. In addition, unmarried girls were not allowed to go to markets and funeral ceremonies whether the place is in a walking distance or far away. Moreover, there was no unsupervised contact between both sexes in adolescence except when they present "Zararut" (a flower) to

their neighbors during "Masalla" (the finding of the true cross holiday), and when they collect firewood. Currently, there are many occasions to meet officially for both sexes such as market places, schools, youth meetings, funeral and mourning ceremonies, spiritual conferences and Sunday program of Churches in their neighborhood or in distant places.

On the other hand, marriage was also arranged in the past through mutual agreement of the families of the Dant'a and the neighbouring communities because there was no intermarriage within the members of the Dant'a. Particularly parents among the Dant'a were responsible for finding their son a good wife who is well behaved, beautiful and from a respected family. Accordingly, the parents of a boy were responsible to choose a girl for their son, and to send elders to the girl's house. Engagement also took place when a girl's parents were agreed to give their daughter to a boy. If they refused to answer or to give their daughter, a boy had to go anywhere he could find a girl to touch her back and swear "I hold you in the name of Hauzula." Then, the parents of a girl were expected to consult a boy's parents within two weeks time. If they refused to respond again, the parents of a boy directly consult a Hauzulmančo. Thereafter, a Hauzulmančo sent a messenger to the parents of a girl and tell them his decision whether they had to give their daughter, or to agree with any possible means with the parents of a boy. Otherwise, the expected outcome on a girl would be series sickness or sudden death. As a result, no one had confidence to refuse the decision of a Hauzulmančo until very recently. Because of that, the Dant'as were the most privileged ones from the neighbouring communities in terms of marriage when a Hauzulmančo was famous and powerful. Moreover, the girls of the Dant'a were not abducted by anyone because of a Hauzulmančo who supports marriages performed by mutual agreement of both families and who can make series of punishments on offenders.

Currently, marriage is started to be performed in different ways among the Dant'a. Their girls are abducted unusually by the neighbouring communities particularly by Hadiyas. In this connection, one of my informants with an age of ninety-five who adheres to the traditional religion says that "we are now looked down upon by many people because our prophet, Hauzulmančo lost his power and reputation after many Dant'as have become the followers of other faiths which can not contribute anything to our dignity and recognition." On the other hand, marriage is presently started to be performed by the agreement between both sexes. Accordingly, a boy has a right to choose a girl for himself, but his decision must be supported by his parents because a bride price is still paid by his parents. The amount of a bride price has also grown from Birr two in the 1890s up to two thousand depending on the income of the boy and his family. However, a tradition of giving one heifer and one bull by the parents of the girl to the new spouse is still maintained without any change.

3.2. Traditional Administrative System of the Dant'a and Change

The Dant'as have their own traditional administrative system, which involves nine hierarchically differentiated positions with specific duties and responsibilities. However, the overall system operates as a single entity on the basis of their political unity and tradition of collective decisions. This traditional administrative system has been one of the deeply rooted cultural aspects of the Dant'a, which differentiate them from the neighbouring communities including the Kambatssa speaking communities. However, it has been one of the areas, which had been remotely treated and its changes had been over-looked by many scholars who wrote on their culture and other affairs.

Candidates to be assigned in these hierarchical levels of their traditional administrative system can be elected only from those whose agnatic descent are from the Dant'a, and whose age are not less than thirty years. This is because the Dant'as believe that individuals can

assume their responsibilities effectively only if their ages are not below thirty years. Whereas, power succession for all these hierarchical positions is not hereditary, passing from father to son, but rather through nomination and election on the basis of one's ability to administer.

In their administrative hierarchy a Woma is the highest decision maker followed by one or more individuals ranked at each level such as Bušaša, Eräšä, Magäba, Gazei-Ännä [Gazeina, Gat'ana or Gädena], Maconä, Dänä, Korfira and Womi Beta (Wombeto) (Mulugeta, 1998: 8). The Woma of the Dant'a is also the over-all political leader of the community and responsible to administer in time of peace and war. However, his role never diminishes during wartime as Mulugeta (1998:63-64) postulates, rather the contact of both a Woma and a Hauzulmančo increases more than the peaceful days. In fact, the role of a Hauzulmančo is very important among the Dant'a during wartime but he never takes -over the administrative responsibilities assumed by a Woma, and never acts like a Woma at any moment. Whereas, a Woma is approved by a wider community in a general assembly which involves all clan members.

Bušaša is a man who assists a Woma as spokesman, and transmits the messages and orders from a Woma to all hierarchical levels below him as well as who delegates a Woma in his absence. As opposed to a Woma who is often nominated by a Hauzulmančo and presented to a community for approval, Bušaša and other individuals are elected by a general assembly involving all community members, and approved by a Hauzulmančo before they are assigned to different hierarchical levels. However, in most cases, a Bušaša will have a great chance of becoming a Woma if he possesses good leadership quality, and if this is accepted by a Hauzulmančo. In general, the right of a Hauzulmančo to nominate someone who is going to be a Woma avoids the possibility of conflict to be emerged among those who compete for the position of a Woma, and contributed a lot to peaceful co-existence of the Dant'as traditional administrative system.

Eräsä is a man who serves as a treasurer and storekeeper in the administrative system of the Dant'a. The Dant'as are also expected to give one-tenth of their produce at least once a year either in cash or in kind which is used by a Hauzulmančo and a Woma for administrative purposes. Eräsä is also responsible to list and take care of the items received as gift or tribute by Hauzulmančo, or a Woma either by the Dant'as or by other community members who came to worship a Hauzula spirit or to consult a Woma. In this regard, there is a house built in the compound of a Hauzulmančo to store every item received from any one. Moreover, Eräsä is the one who divides the share of a Woma and a Hauzulmančo.

Magäbä: is a man who is elected by each clan member to represent them in any occasion. As a result, the number of Magabas and clans is equal among the Dant'a. There are about twenty-two Magabas who are mainly responsible to transmit the messages passed from a Woma through Eräsä, and take back the information from each clan member to a Woma. So they are perceived as information bridges between a Woma and the wider community.

Gäzeänä: is title given to war leaders among the Dant'a. Those who have a desire to be called by the title Gäzeänä must be good in hunting and at least have record of killing either a lion, a leopard or an elephant. A Gäzeänä is also responsible for recruiting and training a traditional army of the Dant'a from young men of all clans who are between 20 and 50 years of age. Before starting the training to be entitled with a title of Gäzeänä, one has to be circumcised and officially passes to manhood. Approximately, after one month from the circumcision period of K'ak'umie (the Ethiopian' 13th month) all who were circumcised in the same season known as "Missoes" are invited by Gäziännä for physical competition of local sport known as "Gammiša". Then, the best ones are selected and they start to hunt together to prove their fitness by killing wild animals. Without this rite of passage of being circumcised

and involved in Gammiša, no one would be allowed to participate in meetings, and be accepted for any public responsibility.

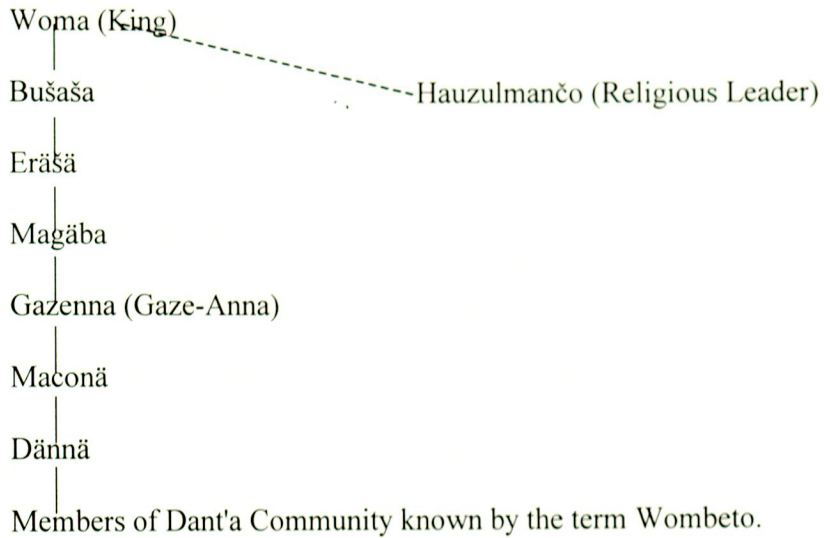
Maconä: is a man who is elected to delegate a Mägäba in his absence, and to assist him in the meetings carried out at a clan level.

Dänä: is a title given to a man who is elected to lead a village. Among the Dant'a, each village has its own Dänä.

Korofira: is a title given to a man who is assigned temporarily to act as a king after the former King dies and until the perspective Woma is nominated by a Hauzulmančo. However, sometimes a Hauzulmančo nominates the individual who is going to be a Woma in advance, and encourages him to start sharing the experience of administration from a Woma in power.

Womi-Beto (Wombeto): which means the "son of King" is a name given to anyone who is descended from the apical ancestor known as Woma "Damt'e". Therefore, members of the Dant'a and the neighbouring community prefer to use the term "Wombeto" to refer to any one descended from Woma Damt'a instead of calling the actual name of the individual (Mulugeta, 1998: 8-9).

The Hierarchy of the Dant'as (Dubammos) Traditional Administrative System.



- The straight lines indicate power relations and one is subordinate to the other.
- The broken lines indicate the relationship is mainly based on consultation and consensus.
- In most cases Eräšä lives near a Hauzulmančo's homestead and he has a close association with him because most gifts are given to a Hauzulmančo and he is responsible to take care of them.

Currently, the structure of the Dant'as administrative system spread throughout the community as before, and its functions are more pervasive and more binding than some of their cultural aspects like religion. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the traditional administrative system of the Dant'a functioning with no modifications and changes as before. For instance, the Dant'as have still a Woma who is respected and the highest decision maker within the community. His role in disputes settlement over the land between the Dant'as and the neighbouring ethnic groups is still important. However, some cases like homicide, which were exclusively handled by a Woma and the representatives of other ethnic groups are treated presently by government functionaries like 'Woreda' court and 'Woreda' administration.

Moreover, the Magäbäs who were largely involved in the issue of land division of their clan members are presently performing other duties. On the contrary, the case of land division has been undertaken predominantly by the administrators of Peasant Associations (PAs) since 1975.

In addition, there are no people who have a title of "Gäzinänä" (war leader) because there has been no war on ethnic lines between the Dant'a and the neighbouring communities for more than a century. The Dant'as young men presently involve in hunting on rare occasions because only a few games are found as a result of the original forest vegetation of Dant'aland consisting of Zigibba (*Juniperus Procera*) and other trees are almost completely cleared. Moreover, involving in the competition of Gammiša is not a mandatory rite of passage as the previous days.

3.3. Menelik's Conquest and Change in the Dant'as Mode of Life

The people of Dant'a and others like Kambatta, Donga, T'ambaro and K'abena share the same language called "Kambatssa", and a sedentary way of life based on hoe cultivation. On the contrary, all these communities had their own independent states with history of different traditions led by their own kings before the 1890s as opposed to Hadiya and the Kambatssa speaking Alaba who were predominantly pastoralsits. However, after the Christian Kingdom of Shoa started to implement its expansionist policy through conquest from the centre to all directions of the country, many of the socio- political aspects of the Dant'a and the neighbouring communities have been changed dramatically.

As Paulos (1998:20) states, Menelik started his expansion towards north (i.e. to Wollo in 1876 and to Gojjam in 1887) when he was a ruler of the southern most Amhara province, and later to South, Southeast and Southwest after he became the emperor of Ethiopia in 1889. The Dant'a and their neighbouring communities were conquered by Menelik's troops named

"Naftaňñas" (gun bearers) in 1892 and 1893. Then as a result, a large number of people of the area started to live under the rule of 'Gabbar' system in which most of the local peasants were turned into tenants of landlords, and most of their land production was expropriated.

After the incorporation of these areas into the central administration of Ethiopia, some of the communities who were previously known to have their own independent states, and who had their own distinct administrative systems had lost some of their traditional institutions. The institutions of the remaining communities were modified by this autocratic central regime to be used as points of administrative penetration.

As Grenstedt (1995:31) mentions, Menelik designed the administrative hierarchy where he himself was the highest decision maker, and which stretches down to local Čiquašum (the lowest in administrative hierarchy), with Balabat, Awraja (province) administration and regions in between to be served by tax collection and administrative duties.

The local informants further argue that Awraja Gežži (province governor) named Ras Abate Boyalew was assigned in 1893 to administer the area inhabited by the Kambatssa speaking Dant'a, Donga, Kambatta, T'ambaro, Alaba and other ethnic groups like Hadiya, Masmās, Endegaňňe as well as some part of Selt'i and Libido who were incorporated within the same Awraja. However, the political advancement of Kambatta since the 1770s, and their socio-political structure led by kings suited the Balabat system of Menelik in a far better way than other ethnic groups, like the more egalitarian structure of Hadiya. Moreover, the Balabats (appointee from local people) of Kambatta got more support from people assigned by Menelik as opposed to the Balabats of Hadiya and others. These factors gave the Kambatta a leading role in the area and led many ethnic groups to be submerged under the name "Kambatta Awraja" (Kambatta Province) since 1893 (Grenstedt 1995:31-33).

According to my informants and confirmed by Greadsedt (1995:31), a great number of Naftaññas and their Kinsmen were settled in the lands of Hadiya which were owned communally on clan basis, and not covered by perennial crops as opposed to the lands of Kambatta and the other Kambatssa speaking communities which were predominantly covered by Enset (false banana) and owned privately as rist (gimit). My informants further elaborate that the lands of the Dant'a, which have been relatively mountainous could not attract the attention of Menelik's troops, and were left without being occupied by many Naftaññas. However, the settlement of many Naftaññas and their kinsmen in the lands of Hadiya had resulted in eviction of several Hadiyas from their own lands, and appropriation of their land production. It was during this period that many Hadiyas who were evicted from their lands, and whose mothers were from Dant'a started to settle in the territory of Dant'a by claiming a farming land through their mothers line according to the inheritance right of male and female among the Dant'a. Then within a few years, the Dan'as were increasingly subjected to population pressure from Hadiya, and most of their open lands were occupied within a short period of time. As a result, the settlement pattern of the Dant'a, which was exclusively occupied by members of the Dant'a community, has become an intermingled type where members of both ethnic groups have been living together.

After a few years, some Dant'as who faced land shortage in their territory started to move temporarily together with their cattle to lowlands in Gibe (Omo) valley which was inhabited by a few pastoral Hadiyas because of its harsh climate and high infestation of tropical diseases like malaria. Gradually, a few of them adopted this pastoral way of life and left their lands and homes in the Dantaland. Others preferred to move temporarily for seasonal grazing, and handed-over their plots of land, and homes in trust to their relatives. Since then, there is a sizeable number of Dant'as who have been subsisting themselves through transhumance

pastoral economy which took them to the highlands in the dry season, and down to the lowlands in Gibe valley in wet season. As a result, most of the Dant'as cattle in the highlands are presently moved at least once to lowlands where some of their relatives are found. Moreover, these pastorlists of Dant'a and Hadiya travel far into the Omonada and Sokoru Woredas of Oromiya and SNNPNS on a pastoral movement respectively.

Accordingly, it is impossible to draw a clear-cut boundary between the Dant'a and Hadiya in terms of mode of life because some members of both groups are presently pastoralists and the rest are predominantly sedentary farmers. However, a shift of a few Dant'as in mode of life does not result in complete change of the Dant'as overall farming system in the highlands of their territory.

According to their farming system, the land of each household is categorized into either of four divisions known as "highly fertile, moderately fertile, less fertile and unproductive land". In most cases, peasants of the Dant'a primarily allocate their best lands for enset plantation, and the remaining part for other crops except the unproductive lands, which were used for animal grazing and wood lot plantation. Moreover, crops are sown according to their calendar, from June 22 to August 18 which is classified into seven divisions the same as that of Kambatta, Donga, T'ambaro, K'abena, Masmās and Endegaññe who perceive themselves as sedentary farmers (Kizza) from their early settlement known as Habaratte, Suimebelle, Tordume, Honsse, Hezette, Lamalle, Lehhe and Onte. Moreover, sowing crops according to this calendar and planting Enset *ventricosum* "falsebanana" are presently adopted by the neighbouring Hadiyas and other communities.

Operational Calendar of Sowing Crops Among the Dant'a According to the Ethiopian calendar

Days of a period	Name of the period	No of Days	Types of crops to be Sown	Type of Soil
From June 20 to June 30	Suimabële	Ten	Beans	Less Fertile
From July 1 to July 3	Habaratte	Three	Beans	Moderately Fertile
From July 4 to July 13	Tordume sanna	Ten	Beans Wheat	Highly Fertile Less Fertile
From July 14 to July 22	Honsse Sanna	Nine	Wheat Barely, peas and Oats	Moderately Fertile Less Fertile
From July 23 to July 30	Hezeete Sanna	Eight	Wheat Barley, Peas, Oats	Highly fertile Moderately Fertile
From August 1 to August 7	Lamalle Sanna	Seven	Barely, Peas, Oats Lentils	Highly Fertile Less fertile
From August 8 to August 13	Lêhe Sanna	Six	Lentils	Moderately Fertile
From August 14 to August 18	Ontë Sanna	Five	Lentils	Highly Fertile

Currently, because of land shortage, many households are forced to cultivate unproductive lands on which a good yield cannot be harvested. As a result, a tradition of fallowing croplands for one year after a continuous cultivation of five years is not common in the Dant'aland. Moreover, cultivating lands with digging sticks and hoe, which was believed as a means of keeping the fertility of a land is completely eroded, and cultivating by oxen dominates the whole farming system of Dant'a.

In the past, the finished products of 'enset' known as "Wassa" and other products like cabbage, wheat and barely were exchanged for butter, cheese and eggs with Hadiya who were pastoralists. Sometimes, eggs were even simply given by Hadiyas to Dant'as because eating eggs was a taboo for Hadiya. However, with the breakdown of the early tradition, and the increasing shortage of food, the taboo on egg has been weakened among the Hadiya and they now consume eggs in the same way as other food items.

Currently, the Dant'as sell Wassa, Wheat, Barely and all other types of crops in monetary terms in markets not only to Hadiya, but also to their own community members who subsist themselves in pastoral way of life around Gibe valley. Apart from this, having a sizeable 'enset' (false banana) plantation ready for harvest was a mark of prestige, and the only indicator of differentiating a rich man from a poor person. However, having a large number of cattle kept in lowlands, and loaning money to neighbors to be repaid in crop production have become additional marks in indicating a wealth of a person.

On the other hand, fetching firewood and 'enset' processing activities were exclusively carried out by women, but presently men are widely involving in many activities of 'enset' processing like uprooting and transporting root and trunk of 'enset'. In turn, women are also now involving in many activities which were exclusively carried out by men like hoeing, weeding and harvesting of various crops.

3.4 Religious System and Change Among the Dant'a.

It was in the late 1920's that the interdenominational Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) commenced work in the densely populated Kambatta and Hadiya region. However, these protestant missionaries were settled permanently in almost the same period as that of the French-Catholic capuchin, father Pascal Luchon who settled in the land of Kambatta in October 1928 (Grenstedt, 2000: 50-51). Grenstedt further argues that each community of this region had its own religion and belief system before the arrival of these missionaries. As my informants underlined, nearly all the Dant'as were the adherents of their own traditional religion before the Protestant Christianity was introduced in their area. Their traditional religion had also been led by a man possessed a Hauzula spirit known as a "Hauzulmančo" who played a very important role in their social and political organization. Moreover, they had been famous for their traditional religion in which a Hauzula spirit was worshipped by a great number of people from the neighbouring communities such as the Kambatta, Hadiya, Donga, T'ambaro, Woleyeta, Endegaññe, Dawro, Masmās, Yem and others. For the Dant'as who attach themselves to a traditional religion, Hauzula is "Ayanna" (spirit) sent from "Maganoo" (God) to protect them and the neighbouring Kambatssa speaking communities from the attack of outsiders.

Similarly, Hauzulmančo is still perceived by these people as a prophet having a Hauzula spirit and who can predict the future, and warns them from the impending dangers such as drought, heavy rains, locust plagues and ensuing epidemics. He is also perceived as some one who knows what remedies may be taken to prevent such disasters or to protect against approaching dangers, and who has the power to bring rain, to produce abundant crops, to have more children or cattle, and in general, who can increase one's personal fortunes. The distinguishing feature of Hauzulmančo, according to my informants, was his role in response

to external threats and drought. Moreover, his strong stand against divorce, polygamy, adultery and mistreatment of women has gained him recognition, respect and to be accepted by a wider community, particularly by women.

On the other hand, Orthodox Christianity has been the other religion, which has been worshipped by some members of the Dant'a for many years. There are some indicators for the existence of Orthodox Christianity among the Dant'a before the 1890s, like the occurrence of certain households whose great grandfathers were Orthodox Christians. However, the strongest influence of Orthodox Christianity came after the subjugation of the Dant'a by Menelik's troops (Neftaññas) in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As argued by Grendenst (2000:49), and confirmed by the local informants, most of the Orthodox Churches in the area of people speaking Kambtssa and Hadiyissa languages were built between 1890 to 1913, and these churches were able to receive tax-free land of more than 10,000 hectares.

However, the Protestant Christianity, which is the product of recent American and European missionary activities, dominates over both Orthodox Christianity and Traditional Religion of Dant'a. In other words, most of the Dant'as presently adhere to Protestant Christianity, and their churches are widely found in many areas of their territory except in a few villages around the villages of a Hauzulmančo and a Woma.

Many informants underline that most of the Dant'as have converted from their previous faith in Traditional religion and Orthodox Christianity to Protestant Christianity particularly within the last three decades. This is mainly because of the missionaries good will and their effort to translate some part of the Bible (e.g. the Gospel of John and the New Testament) into Kambatssa and Hadiyissa languages as soon as they entered into the area. They also preached the Bible in a local language as opposed to Orthodox Churches, which often use Geeze as a sacred language of the church. Moreover, the construction of elementary

schools, clinics, health centres and creation of job opportunities in Protestant Churches, and in some NGOs that have been affiliated with them facilitated the conversion to Protestant Christianity.

However, Traditional Religion and Orthodox Christianity are maintained even though the majority of the population and almost all younger generation have been converted to Protestant Christianity. Some informants argue that most of the current followers of Orthodox Christianity are elderly people who have been attached to this faith for a long period of time and who have no desire to change their faith at their old age. Apart from this, most of the people who still adhere to traditional religion are those who have been living in drought prone areas of extreme low lands because their pastoral way of life is easily affected by lack of rainfall as compared to people living in highland areas. All the Dant'as who live in the borderlands between Kambatta and Hadiya as well as Kambatta and Woleyeta are the followers of Protestant Christianity as opposed to the Dant'as in the borderlands of Hadiya and Selt'i who were converted to Islam.

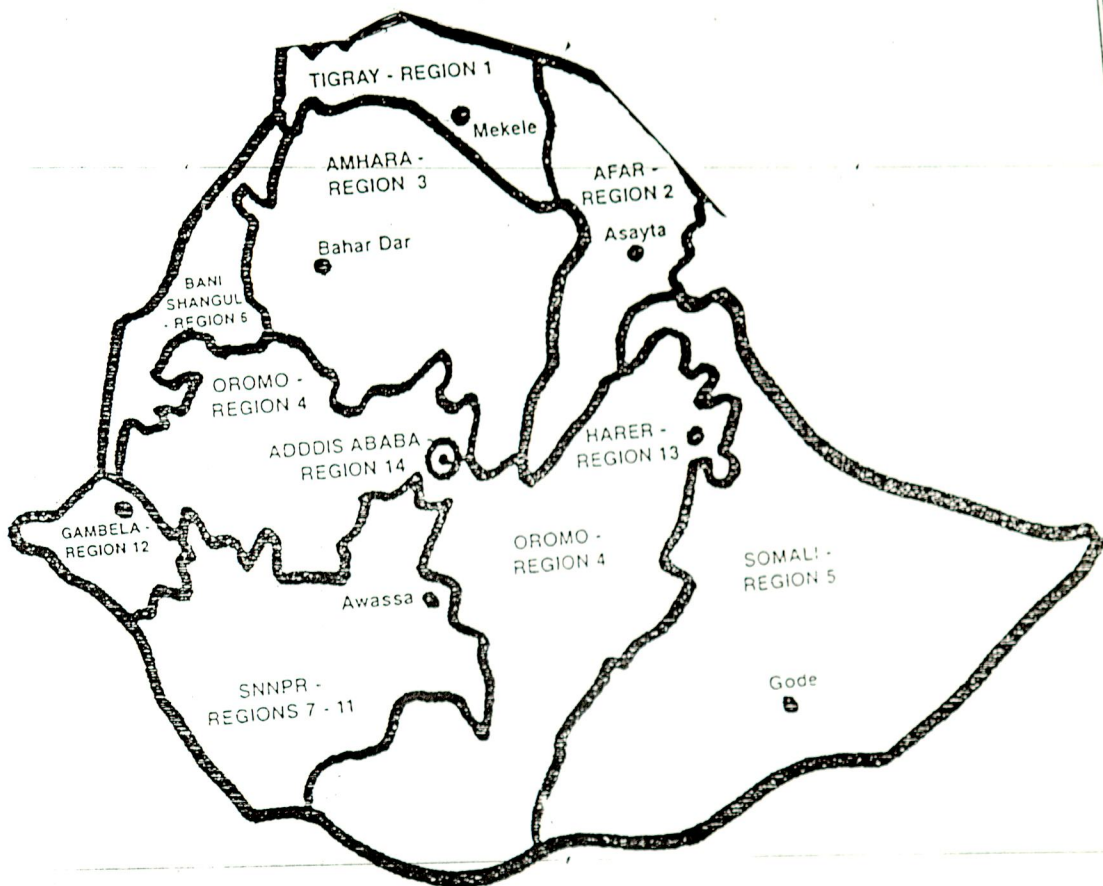
As opposed to men, women are more attached to a traditional religion and particularly those who want their husbands not to marry other women, and who want to have a guarantee against divorce. One old woman who worships traditional religion argues that the measures taken by a Hauzulmančo on those who perform polygamy, commit adultery, and on those who break their marriages are more effective in preventing such acts than the measures taken by other religions. She further elaborates that there are some people who have attached themselves with all these faiths having a desire not to miss the opportunities gained from all directions, or who may perceive all religions as only different ways of reaching the same divine reality.

Moreover, a number of people who give tribute or gift to a Woma or a Hauzulmančo have decreased significantly, and only a few volunteers are presently giving either a tribute or gift or both to a Hauzulmančo and Woma. Therefore, they are not that much economically rich as they used to be. For instance, my informants argue that Hauzulmančo who was previously receiving more than fifty bullocks and two hundred pots of butter and honey per month on the average was able to receive only five bullocks and nine pots of butter and honey during the months of October and November 2000 from the people living in Gibe valley and Women of different areas.

As the informants argue, the relationship between Hauzulmančo and Woma is not as it was strong as before because the latter became a follower of Orthodox Christianity. Since the last two decades because of a shift in religion from a traditional religion and Orthodox Christianity to Protestant Christianity, local drinks like Seleo and Gešeo which were widely sold in all markets and along the main roads are mostly substituted by Šaimeta which is predominantly consumed by Protestant Christians because it has no alcoholic content at all. Moreover, this religious conversion has resulted in complete elimination of Gešeo plant (*Rhannus prinoides*) from the farms of many Dant'as and its substitution by other crops.

On the whole, the Dant'as have undergone many changes in their socio-cultural aspects such as marriage, administrative structure, religions and occupation because of conquest, change in national politics and because of the introduction of Protestant Christianity. However, some of their cultural aspects have still been maintained with certain modifications. Their inter relations and inter dependence with the neighbouring communities have been affected and changed due to the policies imposed on them by the Ethiopian governments.

MAP. 3. ETHIOPIA'S POLITICAL MAP OF THE EPRDF GOVERNMENT



ADOPTED FROM COHEN, E.P. (1995).

CHAPTER FOUR

Inter-Ethnic Relations Among the Dant'a and the Neighbouring Communities

This chapter deals with the ethnic relations of Dant'a with the neighbouring communities in relation to the government policies during the Haile Selasse, the Derg and the EPRDF regimes.

4.1 Government Policies and Emergence of Ethnic Conflict During the Haile Selasse Regime.

After the death of king Menelik II, Haile Selasse became a regent in 1917, king in 1928 and emperor in 1930. Then, he continued the centralization process initiated by king Menelik II, but he further divided the country into fourteen larger 'T'eklay Gizats' (regions), which were internally divided into 103 'Awrajas' (provinces), 505 'woredas' (districts) and 949 sub-districts (Paulos, 1998:24).

According to my informants, no structural change was made by the Haile Selasse regime in terms of size and boundaries regarding the area known as "Kambatta Awraja" which had been arbitrarily divided for convenience of administration during the reign of king Menelik II. As a result, this area which has been inhabited by various community groups such as the Kambatta, Hadiya, Selt'i, Endegañne, T'ambaro, Donga, Dant'a, Masmās, Boša and others remained under the name Kambatta 'Awraja' upto early years of the Derg regime. Similarly, the subdivisions of the 'Awraja' known as 'Woredas' were also arbitrarily set without any concern for settlement patterns and population distribution of various ethnic/linguistic groups. Accordingly, one of the 'woredas' which was inhabited by different community groups such as the Dant'a, Donga, T'ambaro and the two groups of Hadiya (Agar

and Sooro) had continued to be called "T'ambaro" for many years by maintaining the name given during the Menelik's time.

As my informants from Dant'a and Hadiya further argue, there were little or no strongly manifested tendencies of ethnic sentiment during that period among these communities who were placed under the administrative unit of "Kambatta Awraja" and "Tambaro Woreda". Moreover, there were no politicised struggles among these communities on the issue of conflicting power competition because all of them had no tradition of centralized political rule, which brought them into the same administrative unit of 'Awraja' or 'Woreda' before the expansion of Menelik II. Gradually, however, the names, which were arbitrarily given to the administrative units of 'Awraja' and 'Woredas', became the major cause for the emergence and escalation of conflicts as well as ethnic sentiments between the Dant'a and the neighbouring communities. Nevertheless, the grievances against the names of 'Awraja' and 'Woredas' vary from one community to another.

On the other hand, the intellectuals of Hadiya started to react against the name "Kambatta Awraja" and "T'ambaro Woreda" in the 1970s by expressing their discontent through the application letters written to the Ministry of Interior, and authorities of the Haile Sellasse's regime at various levels such as at 'Woreda' (district), 'Awraja' (province), 'Tek'lay Gizat' (region) and central government. Subsequently, the intellectuals of Dant'a and Donga started to protest against the name "T'ambaro Woreda" at about the same period as that of Hadiya. However, members of the Dant'a and Donga have never reacted against the name "Kambatta Awraja" which is relatively more inclusive, and used in most cases to refer all Kambatssa speaking communities including their territories except the community of K'abena and their territory which is detached from all others.

After the 1970s, particularly the intellectuals of Hadiya whose name was overshadowed by the name “Kambatta Awraja” were organized politically, and gradually started to mobilize their local people against the name “Kambatta Awraja” and “T'ambaro Woreda” by mentioning their population size, which has been one of the highest among the ethnic groups in southern Ethiopia. Nevertheless, as my informants further elaborate and many of their application letters written in different periods indicate, the authorities of Haile Sellasse's regime were not interested to look at their conflicts genuinely, and could not resolve the matter because it might be beyond the frontiers of their own interests. It was only after the conflict between the educated people of the two ethnic groups had reached its peak, and resulted in physical violence of Kambatta and Hadiya students at Hossana town that the name “Kambatta Awraja” was renamed “Kambatta and Hadiya” by the Ministry of Interior of the Derg regime in 1976 (see the Ethiopian Herald and Addis Zemen of March 10, 1976 in Appendix one).

4.2. The Ethnic Relation of the Dant'a and Neighbouring Communities

During the Derg Regime (1974 to April 1991).

In 1979, the Derg government split the area, which had been known by the name “T'ambaro Woreda” into two independent ‘Woredas.’ Accordingly, the communities of Donga and T'ambaro who were put under the same ‘Woreda’ reached a consensus of giving a geographical name known as “Omošek'o” which is neutral to represent the two communities equally. Then, the government authorities started to call the rest of the ‘Woreda’ inhabited by the Dant'a, Lauka, Masmās, Agar and Sooro Hadiya as well as other community groups by the name “Sooro” in the 1980s. However, as a result of the Dant'as and Agar Hadiyas official opposition against this name, the government authorities in the ‘Awraja’ during that period had decided this ‘woreda’ had to be called by its previous name known as

“T’ambaro” for some years even after the community of T’ambaro and Donga became independent ‘Woreda’ known as Omošelek’o.

In 1987, the Derg regime rearranged the administrative map of the country into thirty regions with varying sizes and character for the purpose of its administration. Five of these regions (Eritrea, Tigray, Ogaden, Assab, Diredawa, which include Harar), that were felt to be politically sensitive, were given a greater degree of local autonomy in an attempt to ease their demands for independence, or their tendency to cause problems for the central state (Cohen, 1995:98). In December 1988, the government authorities of T’ambaro ‘woreda’ invited elders from Dan’ta, Agar Hadiya, Sooro Hadiya, Lauka and others to attend a meeting to name their ‘Woreda’. Then, three names known as “Hadiya and Dubammo,” “Šonkolla and Dansä” as well as “Šonkolla and Lange” were proposed as a possible alternatives by all participants of the meeting to avoid the conflict that could emerge among the various community groups as a result of naming. Finally at the end of the meeting, all groups unanimously agreed to call their ‘Woreda’ “Šonkolla and Dansä” which refer to two big mountains in the area, and which can represent all inhabitants of the ‘woreda’ equally.

However, as my informants further argue and the letters appealed to the central government of the Derg in August 1988 indicate, the authorities of the ‘woreda’ who were from Sooro Hadiya during that period had reported the name “Sooro” instead of “Šankolla and Dansä” to be the name of their ‘Woreda’. The report reached offices of all concerned bodies in the ‘Awraja’, Region, and particularly office of the central government, which was responsible for its approval (see letters in Appendix two). After a few months, the central government approved the name “Sooro” to be the name of their ‘woreda’. However, the elders who participated in meeting of the 1988 by representing their community groups

became aware of the conspiracy only after they had seen the letters having a new stamp of Sooro 'Woreda' sent to their Peasant Associations (PAs).

In the same year, elders from Agar Hadiya and Dant'a wrote their application letters to the Workers Party of Kambatta and Hadiya as well as to the central government protesting against the name Sooro which refers to descendants of four brothers (Sooro) who had descended from their apical ancestor known as "Boyammo", and never includes all other community groups living in that 'Woreda'. Moreover, according to my informants (and their letters in Appendix three and four), Agar Hadiyas are the largest in population size from all other groups, and are estimated to account for 40 percent of the total population in Hadiya zone and 45 percent in Sooro 'Woreda'. Whereas, the Sooro Hadiya and Dant'a are estimated to account for 20 and 10 percent of the total population in Hadiya zone, and 25 and 20 percent of the total population in Sooro 'Woreda' respectively. The remaining small groups like Masmās, Lauka, Boša, Endegaññe, Selt'i, Kambatta and others are estimated to account for 30 percent of the total population in Hadiya zone, and 10 percent of the total population in Sooro 'Woreda'.

Based on application letter written by both the Dant'as and Agar Hadiyas in 1988, the central government of Derg assigned a study team in 1988, having a mission of investigating whether the complaint against the name Sooro had been the question of a few individuals or the question from a wider community. Accordingly, the assigned team had fixed the time of field program and informed its plan in advance to authorities of Sooro 'Woreda' as a team would consult people from the local community and would conduct at least one meeting at any place in the 'Woreda' which involves elders represented by each PA to decide on the name of their 'Woreda'. Surprisingly, when the assigned team arrived at Gimbiču, the capital of Sooro 'Woreda' in May 1988, elders who were to be consulted individually, and who were

expected to participate in the meeting conducted at various PAs and 'Woreda' levels had already been selected from Sooro Hadiya only, and oriented by 'Woreda' authorities to have one voice of supporting the name Sooro to be the name of their 'Woreda.'

As the informants further argue and elaborated in the documents of (Appendix three and five), the members of the Agar Hadiya and Dant'a became aware of the field work conducted by people assigned from the central government, and a meeting held in various areas of Sooro 'Woreda' after a certain period of time because it was kept secret from them. As a result of such mischievous action, the assigned team accepted the name Sooro, as there was no need of substituting it with another name, and reported this finding to authorities of the central government in June 1988. Immediately, the name Sooro was approved by the central government and was officially announced through the mass media (see Appendix three and four). Then, members of the Dant'a who were mobilizing their community for opposition were jailed from three months to one year immediately after the approval of the name Sooro 'Woreda' was announced through the media. Whereas, elders of the Agar Hadiya were seriously warned mainly by 'Woreda' authorities not to be involved in the opposition. Because of the imprisonment and intimidation made against members of Dan'ta and Agra Hadiya in 1988, the opposition movement against the name Sooro 'Woreda' cooled down for a few months.

However, in April 10, 1989 elders from the Agar Hadiya and the Dant'a wrote their application to the new administrative region of Southern Shoa by requesting that the name of their 'Woreda,' should be substituted with another name, which could represent all community groups. Fortunately, they were also able to consult the regional administrators who were from Kambatta and Hadiya in person, and convinced why they were not willing to accept the name Sooro as the name of the 'woreda' (see Appendix five).

Then, regional authorities requested the Central Committee of the Workers Party in a letter to reconsider the case of the Dant'as and Agar Hadiyas again. In October, 1990 the Central Committee of the Workers Party assigned a group of multi-disciplinary team comprising five members led by Dr. Tarekegn Adebo to Sooro 'Woreda'. As opposed to the previous team who informed about their field program in advance to authorities of Sooro 'Woreda', the new team conducted most of its fieldwork and discussions with local people without informing their arrival to 'Woreda' authorities.

Later on, they informed 'Woreda' authorities, as they were able to consult people from different groups, and requested their cooperation by only inviting elders from all groups to a meeting. Then, elders of every groups were able to attend the meeting held at 'Woreda' level, and approved the name of 'Woreda' to be "Šankolla and Dansä" for the second time. The team reported its findings automatically to the Central Committee of the Workers Party.

As my informants further argue and the Dant'as and Agar Hadiyas application letters written to the regional council indicate, the name "Šankolla and Dansä" had not been used immediately after the approval of elders from all groups because it was proposed to be approved in the conference of the National Assembly of Ethiopia which was expected to take place in July 1991. However, EPRDF controlled the country in May 1991 before the conference of the National Assembly of Ethiopia had taken place.

4.3. The Ethnic Relations of the Dant'a and the Neighbouring Communities from 1991 to 2001.

Changes in the system of government have had a significant impact on the relationship among various ethnic groups in the study areas. The collapse of the Derg in May 1991 brought to power the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), and followed by a National Conference held in July 1991 to which all ethnic groups were invited

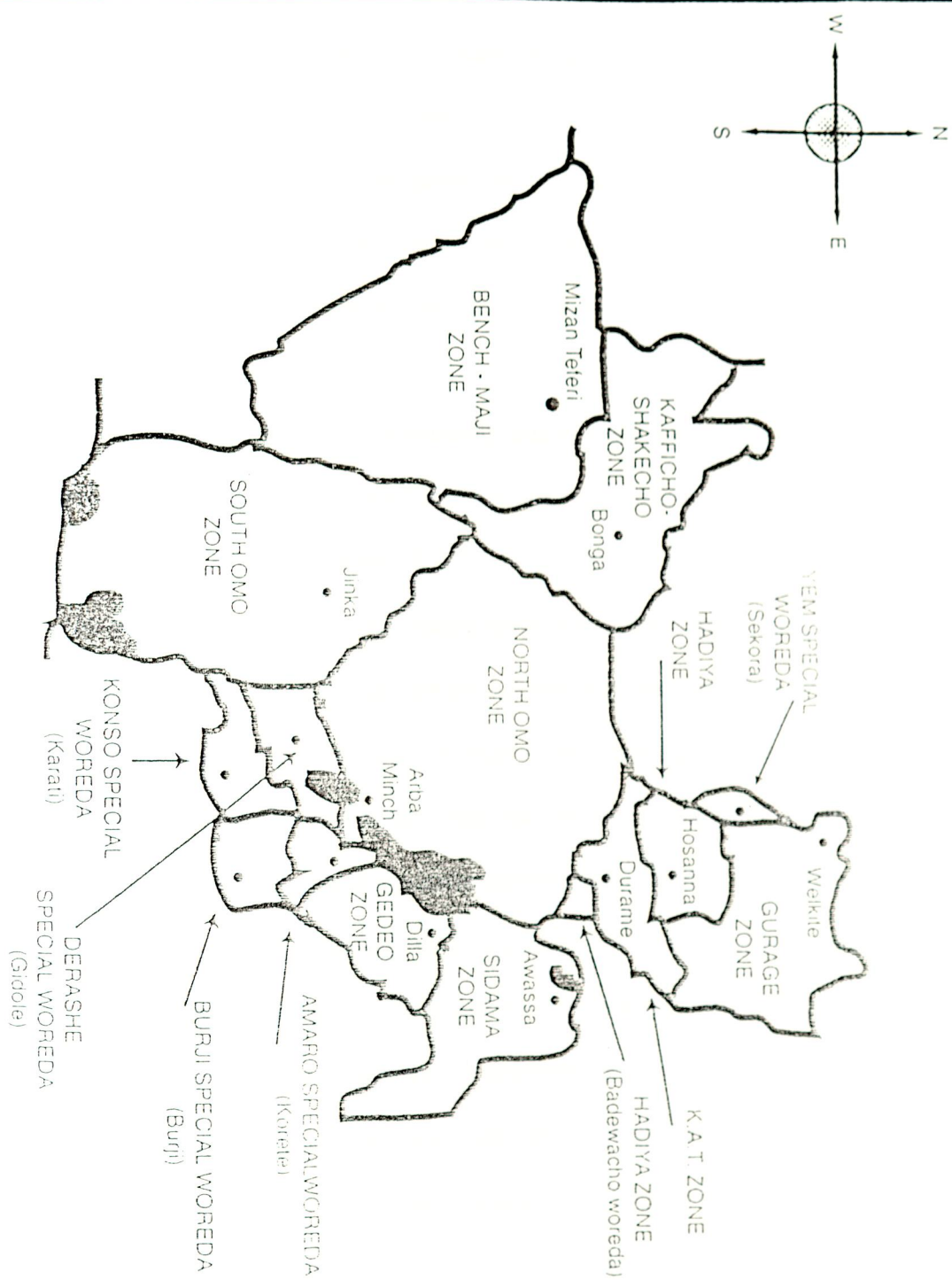
to send their representatives. In the conference, agreement was reached on a federal system as the best administrative framework to address the ethnic issues. Subsequently, ethnicity has been officially adopted as a fundamental and legitimate political principle for organizing the federal states, zones and 'Woredas'. As a result, the administrative structures and boundaries of the country were redefined along ethnic and linguistic lines. Accordingly, the EPRDF divided the country into fourteen regions based on the distribution of major language groups.

Later on in 1995, the EPRDF government re-established a federal structure of nine states known as Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromiya, Benshangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples National State (SNNPNS), Gambella, Somali, and Harari each with its own president and assembly (council) which together form the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (Cohen, 1995:98). Since then, various ethnic based political organizations have emerged in the country in order to represent their respective groups in the new government structures.

The zones in SNNPNS were also restructured on the basis of ethnic and linguistic patterns in 1992. Accordingly, many ethnic groups that were previously administered within the same 'Awraja' called "Kambatta" and later renamed "Kambatta and Hadiya" for about a century were split into two independent zones named Hadiya and Kambatta, Alaba, and T'ambaro (KAT). However, none of these zones has been homogenous linguistically or in terms of ethnicity even though they were taken as if they had been inhabited by communities speaking only Kambatssa and Hadiyissa languages.

As my informants further explain, the three community groups known as "Kambatta, Alaba and T'ambaro" who form the KAT zone on the basis of their similarity in culture and language were able to share political and administrative power within their zone proportionally according to their population size. However, the Dant'as who have a similar

MAP.4. THE POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF SOUTHERN NATIONALS NATIONALITIES AND PEOPLES NATIONAL STATE(SNNPNS) FROM 1995 TO MID 2000.



ADOPTED FROM COHEN, E.P. (1995).

culture and language with these Kambatssa speaking communities, and whose members were previously administered within the same 'Awraja' have been fragmented into four different administrative zones after 1992. Accordingly, the Dant'as in the borderland of Hadiya and Selt'i, Kambatta and Hadiya as well as Kambatta and Wolayeta were categorized without their interest into the Gurage, KAT and Semen Omo zones respectively. Moreover, the Dant'as in their homeland were also ignored without being incorporated into the KAT zone where communities similar to their culture and language are inhabited by people who were assigned by the central government of EPRDF to form the administrative zones of the SNNPNS in 1992.

As a result, many Dant'as are presently administered within different zones dominated by other language groups except the Dant'as in the borderland of Kambatta and Hadiya who are administratively categorized into KAT zone in 1992. As my informants underline, the fragmentation of Dant'as into four independent zones since 1992 resulted from lack of knowledge of people assigned to the job by the central government. The people who worked out this structure were not aware of the problem of demarcating one zone from the other with clearly delineated linguistic and/or territorial boundaries because most of the areas in KAT and Hadiya zones are dominated by intermingling type of settlement patterns. Moreover, these people had not taken adequate time to consult the local people on the problems and prospects of the new structure. They did not pay attention to look for other possible alternatives because they were in a hurry to implement the program of their political party.

On the other hand, there was only one political organization formed in the name of Hadiya known as the "Hadiya Nation Democratic Organization" (HNDO) before the formation of zones in the SNNPNS in 1992. As a result of its early formation in June 1991, the HNDO was able to obtain two seats in the Council of Representatives of the Transitional

Government of Ethiopia. Later on, the HNDO became a member of the Southern Ethiopia Peoples Democratic Coalition (SEPDC), which is a union of fourteen different ethnic opposition political organizations. However, because of the EPRDF policy, which places ethnicity in the center of Ethiopian politics and the formation of new zones in 1992, various ethnic based political organizations were formed in Hadiya zone one after the other. Accordingly, the EPRDF affiliated political organization known as the “Hadiya Peoples Democratic Organization” (HPDO) was formed in 1992.

Subsequently, in February 1993 by the support and good will of the EPRDF, the third ethnic based political organization known as the “Danta’a Peoples Democratic Organization”(DPDO) was formed in Hadiya zone. Since then, on the one hand, contests among these competing political organizations who claim to represent one or the other community group and who desire to hold the political power have become a common feature in the area. On the other hand, the EPRDF affiliated HPDO has controlled all political and administrative power in Hadiya zone since 1992, and started to persecute and suppress members of other political organizations in all possible ways (Tronvoll, 2000:153-154). As my informants from Dant’a and their letters of appeal to the Transitional Government of Ethiopia indicate, the Dant'as seem to be the first ones to be discriminated from other community groups after they have started to be administered within the Hadiya zone. They also further elaborate in these letters of appeal how they have been discriminated in terms of employment, transfer, promotion and other social and economic affairs since the first president of Hadiya zone was assigned, and appointed to be the chairman of HPDO (see Appendix six).

Apart from this, my informants from Agar Hadiya argue and underline in their application letters to zone council that they have been discriminated in recruitment for

membership in HPDO, and in terms of appointment to political and administrative leading positions as opposed to the Sooro Hadiyas who were recruited and assigned without any discrimination. As a result, only a few members of their community group were able to be members of HPDO as compared to Sooro Hadiyas. Gradually, most of the political and administrative key positions in the zone, 'Woredas' and Peasant Associations are occupied by members of Sooro Hadiya. They also further elaborate that the Sooro Hadiyas benefited more in terms of social, political and economic opportunities in Hadiya zone as opposed to members of the Agar Hadiya (see Appendix seven).

In this connection, the written documents received from the record office of the Hadiya zone indicate that eighty-three individuals were sent to the Ethiopian Civil Service College since the College started to operate and admit the EPRDF cadres for higher education in degree program. Of these eighty-three individuals sent from the Hadiya zone, only one individual was from the Dant'a who claim to have more than 102 thousand population as mentioned by Mulugeta (1998: 5). Surprisingly, the number of individuals who joined this College from the community of Dant'a is less than the other community groups including even those who have much lower population than the Dant'as in Hadiya zone such as the Masmās, Endgaññe, Selt'i, Amhara, Alaba and others. For instance, out of these eighty-three people, four from Endgaññe, two from Selt'i, four from Masmās, two from Amhara, and one from Alaba. While the other sixty-nine individuals were from Hadiya, accounting for more than 83 percent of the total individuals who were sent to Civil Service College of Ethiopia (see Appendix Eight).

Subsequently, twelve individuals were sent abroad for graduate and under-graduate studies as well as twenty-one individuals to Water Technology of Ethiopia for under graduate studies in the last five years. However, members of the Dant'a were totally denied this

opportunity as opposed to other community groups in which a few of their members were at least sent together with members of Hadiya who took the lion's share of this opportunity. The Dant'as also underline in most of their letters of appeal to regional and central government of EPRDF that their high school graduates are still denied access to any kind of employment even though they have better academic performance and grades than some of the high school graduates of Hadiya.

Moreover, many informants estimate that the number of individuals who could be employed in the last five years from all other ethnic groups in Hadiya zone including the Agar Hadiyas are less than fifty percent as compared to the Sooro Hadiyas. Above all, the Dant'as underline that the discrimination against their members continued virtually the whole period of the last eight years in which the two successive presidents of Hadiya zone were in power beginning from 1992, and that it still remained without any improvement as one of the unresolved problems of the zone (see Appendix six).

On the contrary, the informants argue that the Dant'a Peoples Democratic Organization (DPDO) has entered into a conflict with Hadiya Peoples Democratic Organization (HPDO) from its inception because it has demanded share of political power in the zone and 'Woreda' levels. However, the DPDO has consolidated its power struggle in two directions since 1993. Accordingly, on the one hand, the DPDO began to mobilize the Dant'as in their homeland by recruiting them to be its members, and by promoting their awareness towards the existing reality in the neighbouring zones like KAT, Gurage and Semen Omo in which every community group has been organized, and shared power according to its population size. On the other hand, by forming an alliance with Agar Hadiyas, the DPDO has strengthened its opposition against the name Sooro, which has been used to refer to the name of their 'woreda'. Then, the Dant'as and Agar Hadiyas wrote letters of appeal to zone and regional

authorities by protesting against the name “Sooro” many times since 1993. However, they could not receive any adequate response particularly from the zone authorities because most of them were from Sooro Hadiya who were not sympathetic to their problems (see Appendix seven).

According to the informants of Dant'a and Agar Hadiya and as it is mentioned in their letters of appeal to the zone and regional authorities, the zone authorities were not willing to show them any courtesy by replying to their application letters. Moreover, there were many occasions in which their application letters were totally lost from the record office of the zone council, and caused an interruption for more than a week, and forced them to give their own copies. Many of these informants add that what angered and disappointed them more than the loss of their application letters was the brusque and reprehensible manner in which they were treated by people of the zone council and their secretaries (see Appendix ten and eleven).

Thereafter, the elders of the Dant'a and Agar Hadiya applied to council of SNNPNS on 8 November, 1993. However, the regional council wrote a letter on 11 November 1993 and informed them to stay in their locality until they send the team who would investigate their problems, and come up with its own findings that could help them to make decisions (see Appendix nine).

As my informants underline and the report of the team assigned by the regional council of SNNPNS indicates, the discrimination against members of the Dant'a has been more consolidated and followed by other sanctions after the elders represented by the Dant'as presented their grievances to the council of SNNPNS in January, 1994. In the same year, the Zone and ‘Woreda’ councils as well as officers of Agriculture Bureau conducted a meeting together, and passed a resolution that the peasants of Dant'a should not be allowed to benefit from any Agricultural Extension Packages of Ethiopian Government. Since then, the peasants

of Dant'a have never been provided with any agricultural inputs like commercial fertilizer, improved seeds, insecticides, herbicides and others because applying this sanction has been accepted as the best means of suppressing the Dant'as political struggle, and their desire to share political power in the Zone and 'Woreda' levels. As a result, any one from Dant'a who wanted to use commercial fertilizer and any other agricultural inputs for his crop land must either purchase it in cash from merchants, or borrow it from the neighbouring Kambatssa speaking communities on credit.

Particularly, the intellectuals of Dant'a who were suspected of supporting the DPDO officially or underground, or even those who associate themselves with members of the DPDO personally and in other social affairs were in danger of being suspended from their jobs or exposed to other kinds of repercussions. For instance, as Feleke (2000: 28-32) argues and the letters written by the council of SNNPNS as well as the regional Teachers Association indicate, some civil servants from Dant'a who were transferred to urban areas some years ago after their long years of service in rural areas such as teachers, health workers, Agricultural Extension agents and others were again transferred to remote areas because of their ethnic background (see Appendix twelve).

In addition, many of the informants from civil servants of Dant'a argue that they have started to work in these remote areas with no complaint in the hope that the zone authorities will transfer them to their previous working areas in which they were assigned on the basis of their experience. According to Feleke's (2000:28), those who were members of a committee in the DPDO were officially suspended from their jobs. Some of them were also accused and even jailed from one to three months on unfounded charges. Moreover, he underlines that the political power has been extremely abused, and the fundamental human rights have also been openly violated in many sectors of the Hadiya zone.

According to my informants, it was during this period that most of the intellectuals of Dant'a from rural and urban areas joined the DPDO, and started to mobilize their community members in the Dant'aland as the most effective method of waging their political struggle. As a result of this mobilization, all Dant'as in their territory of Sooro 'Woreda' unanimously agreed to refuse paying the agricultural land tax as a defense mechanism until the policy of discrimination against their community members stops, and until they are treated in the same way as those of the Sooro Hadiya. Then in March 1996, authorities of Sooro 'Woreda' invited both intellectuals and elders of the Dant'a for discussion and informed them that they have reached an agreement to involve two individuals of Dant'a in the council of the Sooro 'Woreda'. In turn, the Dant'as accepted the decision of the 'Woreda' authorities as one step forwarded to their success and expressed their agreement by electing and sending the two individuals to the 'Woreda' council within a couple of days.

However, the representation of the two individuals in the 'Woreda' council could not satisfy many of the Dant'as who have been demanding official recognition and proportional power sharing at the zone level. Moreover, many of them perceive the power sharing in the 'Woreda' as an under representation and no one started to pay the agricultural land tax in the last few years. On the country, the Dant'as continued to use this measure of refusing to pay a land tax as one means of enforcing the zone authorities to respect them as people, and to pay attention to their complaints and claims.

Since the Dant'as have not backed down from their stand of refusing to pay the agricultural land tax, the attorney of the Sooro 'Woreda' was ordered, by the zone council to open charges against their elders who were suspected of agitating their community members not to pay a land tax, and particularly those who were members of the central committee of the DPDO. Based on the decision of the Sooro 'Woreda' court two elders and four members of

the DPDO central committee were caught by the police force in June 1997 and brought to Hossana town to be arrested (see Appendix thirteen). However, many of their elders and members of the DPDO were managed to escape to the neighbouring communities of T'ambaro, Donga and Kambatta where their relatives are largely found.

Immediately, three elders and two civil servants of Dant'a went to Addis Ababa and appealed to the Prime Minister's Office. Three days after their application letter had been given to the Prime Minister's Office, the central TPLF cadre and the head of regional affairs at the Prime Minister's Office was sent to handle the case of the Dant'a and to resolve it. As soon as he arrived at Hossona, the zone authorities released the imprisoned elders and civil servants of Dant'a. However, he called the central committee of the HPDO and DPDO for a meeting and there-by to mediate the conflict between the two political organizations (see Appendix fourteen, p:1).

Finally, at the end of the meeting, the central committee of the HPDO agreed to share the political and administrative power in the zone with members of the DPDO and to work in collaboration with them. However, this agreement which was made in front of the mediator from the Prime Minister's Office had not been implemented practically because the minutes of the agreement were left in the hands of the HPDO members, and they started to deny the basic idea of the agreement signed by both opposing groups. Nevertheless, the frequent imprisonment of the Dant'as has been at least minimized since this meeting was held even though their discrimination in other affairs has continued with no change at all.

As a result of their discrimination in other affairs, the Dant'as again sent another group of elders and civil servants who can appeal to the council of SNNPNS. Based on this appeal, the council of SNNPNS wrote a letter to the zone council, but it could not intervene and give

them final solution to their conflicts because it is up to the zone to decide on every issue concerning the zone according to the federal system of the EPRDF (see Appendix fourteen).

In December 1997, the council of the SNNPNS assigned the team composed of three individuals (with law academic background) with a responsibility of investigating the cause of the conflict between the Dant'as and the government authorities in Hadiya zone. Accordingly, the team arrived at Hadiya zone and consulted the zone and 'Woreda' authorities. Thereafter, the team conducted a meeting with the community of Dant'a on 30 December, 1997 and come up with its own findings. After carefully assessing the complaints of the Dant'a and the response of the zone authorities, the team identified the problem and proposed options, which could improve the political relations between the two groups.

According to the report of the team, the Dant'as refused to pay the agricultural land tax starting from the 1996, and detained the police force, which was sent by the zone council to enforce the tax payment. However, the team strongly underlines that the Dant'as were prevented from having access to the agricultural inputs, which have been distributed through the agriculture bureau. In addition, the team mentions that the Dant'as have been discriminated in job opportunities, access to education and in provision of other social services as well as in certain developmental activities available at the zone and 'woreda' levels (see Appendix fourteen).

The team's report indicates that the discrimination against the Dant'as since 1992 goes up to the extent of denying them access to using land to construct houses in some urban areas of the zone and to their denial of adequate infrastructural facilities. For instance, the Dant'as complain that the schools in their territory are inadequate in facilities as compared to other areas even within the same 'Woreda'. Moreover, the team identified that the zone and 'woreda' authorities often prefer to exercise different measures of power to redress the

grievances of Dant'as instead of showing willingness to accord and entertain their complaints and claims (see Appendix fourteen).

On the other hand, the zone council argues in the report that,

“The Dant'as can not be considered as independent ethnic group who are different from the Hadiyas according to the constitution. Otherwise, their specific identity must be identified clearly and assured by the government before they claim to have a seat of representation at the zone level. As far as they compete with us in election, which is free for any one, we should not be blamed for their failure. We cannot also give them a seat of representation in the zone level through their political organization, which has no legal ground. Truly speaking, we have solved all problems, which exist at the 'Woreda' level in the past. Currently we assigned their own people in leadership positions in all PAs where their population ratio is greater than ours. Even we did not take any measure on many of their members who were committing a crime by agitating their community members not to pay the agricultural land tax, and payment of the agricultural inputs taken on credit. If they had requested us to have their own seat of representation at the zone level without competing in the election, and claiming power and recognition as an independent ethnic group, we would have given them a seat of representation” (see Appendix fourteen, p: 6).

Nevertheless, the team lastly proposed the following recommendations as means of resolving the conflict between the Dant'as and the government authorities in Hadya zone:

1. Individuals with good outlook and administrative capacity of accommodating the interest of all groups should be assigned in the council of the Sooro 'Woreda' which is highly blamed by the Dant'as.
2. To avoid the existing political tension and confrontations in the area, the development activities should be more focused in areas, which were disadvantaged in the past.
3. The mistakes, which were made during the election of 1995, should not be repeated and people must freely elect any one they like.
4. For not saying that they are Hadiya, the Dant'as should not be denied access to education, employment, and other social and economic opportunities. In this regard, the zone council

should take the necessary measures to change the outlook and behaviour of the executive bodies at all levels.

5. Even though the Dant'as could not succeed in the last election, they should not be prevented from having their own representatives at any level.
6. The zone council should also pay attention to promote the awareness of the people and make them to know their rights and obligations (see Appendix fourteen page 7-8). However, as my informants elaborate, the council of SNNPNS was not able to respond adequately to the complaints of the Dant'a even though the team of lawyers proposed the findings together with possible measures to be taken to improve the over-all relations of Dant'a and the government authorities in Hadiya zone.

Gradually since 1999, the Dant'as who have been struggling for official recognition and a seat of representation at the zone level have now started demanding to have at least their own specific administrative unit of 'Woreda' and a seat of representation in the regional and national governments. Accordingly, the Dant'as applied to the council of National Federation and the council of SNNPNS, requesting a seat of representation in the national and regional levels through their letters written on October 19,1999 and October 22,1999 respectively (see letters in Appendix fifteen). As my observation during a fieldwork of October and November 2000 indicates, the Dant'as who have been fragmented into different zones since 1992 have also been started to conduct meetings together with the Dant'as in their ancestral territory in Sooro 'Woreda' of Hadiya Zone. In this regard, the geographical proximity of certain groups of Dant'a to the community of Selt'i who have been mobilized to claim their own independent zone since the 1997, and whose community groups have been fragmented into different zones the same as that of Dant'a has greatly influenced them to be mobilized, and started to claim their own independent unit of administration in a short period of time.

Subsequently, three individuals represented by the community of Dant'a were again appealed their grievances to the Prime Minister's Office in February 2000. Based on this letter of appeal, the Prime Minister's Office sent another central TPLF cadre to Hadiya Zone to discuss on the issue of election 2000, and there-by to mediate the conflict between members of the Dant'a and the government authorities in Hadiya Zone. Then, he called members of the central committee of the HPDO and DPDO for a meeting on 21, April 2000, and both groups reached a compromise. According to this compromise, the central committee of the HPDO expressed its willingness for the second time, and signed an agreement to share a power at the zone level with members of the DPDO just after the election of May 2000 is completed. In turn, the central committee of the DPDO signed an agreement to resign from the election of May 2000 because it was believed that the competition between the candidates of the HPDO and DPDO would negatively affect both parties, and it could be an opportunity for the success of the opposing party known as the "Hadiya Nation Democratic Organization (HNDO)." Thereafter, members of the central committees of the HPDO and DPDO agitated the people of Hadiya and Dant'a in collaboration to make them elect the candidates of HPDO (see a Minute in Appendix sixteen).

However, the HNDO, which has been a member of the Southern Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Coalition (SEPDC) and led by Dr Beyene Petros was able to win in election of May 2000 because of its mass support. Accordingly, the HNDO secured almost all seats of Hadiya in the Council of Representatives of Ethiopia, and more than seventy five percent of the seats in the region and zone, thus gaining an overwhelming victory over the EPRDF in Hadiya Zone (Tronvoll, 2000: 168-169). Nevertheless, members of the HPDO who have been the administrators of the Hadiya zone since 1992 are not yet handed-over the zone administration, even to members of the HNDO who won them in election of May 2000 let

alone to share power with members of the DPDO according to their agreement of April 21,2000.

Currently, a wider community of Dant'a are strongly agitated by members of the DPDO to get official recognition and to have their own specific 'Woreda'. As my informants from the central committee of the DPDO underline, the main objective of the DPDO is to unite all communities of Dant'a in different zones into a single administrative and political unit, which could ensure their representation in the zone, region and national levels. Moreover because of this politicized ethnicity in the past few years, most of the Dant'as presently prefer to be considered as an independent ethnic group, and recently started to oppose the idea of being perceived as Kambatssa speaking communities until their claim of sharing a power in the zone level is made practical. This is because their demand for having a representation in Hadiya zone since 1992, and having specific 'Woreda' of their own can only be reality when they claim distinct ethnicity as set by the policy of the EPRDF.

The members of DPDO emphasized their long-term plan of developing their own culture and desire of promoting their language, history, and even educating the children of all Dant'a in their ancestral language called "Kambatssa". But unfortunately enough, neither the council of the SNNPNS nor the Prime Minister's Office were able to respond adequately to the complaints of Dant'a community and tackle their grievances with dedication according to my interview made with informants of Dant'a, to their recent letter of request to have a seat of representation in the national level (see a letter in Appendix seventeen).

As a result of their discrimination in many ways, the socio- economic relations of Dant'a with the neighbouring Hadiya have been affected negatively. Its impacts can also be observed in the day-to-day relations of both communities. For instance, the social institutions in the local level such as Iddir, Equib, Mahiber, Sanbate and others which were previously

accommodated people from any ethnic group on the basis of one's preference and economic status are presently started to be established on the basis of ethnic lines. Some of these institutions, which accommodated people from any ethnic background are presently disintegrated and became inactive. Moreover, the activities like house building, harvesting and others, which need additional labour force, and usually accomplished by the assistance of neighbors who form a working group known as "Gejja" are presently established on the basis of ethnic lines as opposed to all-inclusive Gejjas before 1992.

On the other hand, as some of my informants who have been working in governmental organizations argue and the existing reality in SNNPNS indicates, claiming distinct ethnicity and demanding for new independent administrative zones and 'Woredas' is not only common among the Dant'a, but also the main issue among many communities within the entire region. For instance, the council of SNNPNS is recently forced to accept the request of certain communities to be separated from their previous zones and become a new independent zones and 'Woredas'. The Woleyeta, Dawro, Shaka, Gamo-Gofa, and Konta, Basketo, and Alaba are cases in point. As a result, the SNNPNS which was known to be administratively divided into eight zones and five specific 'Woredas' from 1995 to mid of 2000 now has thirteen zones and eight specific 'Woredas'. Moreover, there have been many communities who still demand for their own administrative zones and 'Woredas' based on the EPRDF constitution, which allows self-determination up to secession. Above all, there is no way of preventing any community from its demand for being separated and claiming independent zone or 'Woreda' of its own, and no one could predict where this process of demanding for an independent administrative arrangements would end as far as the new Ethiopian constitution allows self determination up to secession. Therefore, the Dant'as perceive their official discrimination since 1992 as the consequence of the state policy, but not as a natural or accidental outcome.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusions

In this study, attempts have been made to show the ethnic relations and socio-cultural changes among the Dant'a of Southern Ethiopia in relation to the neighbouring communities. In the introductory chapter, a brief discussion of the environment, occupation, economic activities and agro-climatic zones of Dant'a and the neighbouring communities such as Kambatta and Hadiya have been presented.

In the literature review chapter, various ethnic theories have been discussed in detail. The terms ethnicity, ethnic group, ethnic identity, nation and nationality are defined from the viewpoints of various scholars and historical overtime. According to most of the recent scholars, the definition and meaning of ethnicity and its derivatives such as ethnic group and ethnic identity are subject to change as a result of change in social, political, economic and religious circumstances. The principal debate among scholars has been the one between "primordialists" and "instrumentalists." According to Sociological School of primordialists, ethnicity is a collective identity, which is deeply rooted, in historical experience of human relations. The Socio-biological School of primordialists on the other hand argue that ethnicity is at root a biological phenomenon of inheriting genetic endowments into future generations.

Conversely for instrumentalists, ethnicity is not a historical given at all, but rather a dynamic and highly flexible phenomenon. It is an ideology that elites either construct or deconstruct for opportunistic reasons or myth calculated to mobilize mass support for economic or political goals. For extreme instrumentalists, ethnicity is a cynical myth or expression of "false consciousness" to achieve a material benefit. Therefore, the polar

extremes of advocating the primordial aspect of ethnicity and of instrumental opportunism seldom account for the real behaviour of ethnic communities (Esman, 1994:10-15).

Nevertheless, the instrumentalist theory clearly explains how a certain group of people start to claim distinct identity, and becomes distinct ethnic group through time. It also further elaborates what kind of circumstances can lead a certain group of people to be detached from their community, and claim distinct identity, which were not common among their members. In addition, the instrumentalist theory helps to elaborate how the Dant'as recently started to consider themselves as distinct ethnic group from the neighbouring Kambatta and Kambatssa speaking communities as a result of politicized ethnicity, which dominates other expressions of identity since 1992. This claim of the Dant'as to have distinct identity seems to fit with the notion of De Vos (1995:17) that "ethnic identity is a continually evolving social process, sometimes occurring within a single generation." Moreover, the undergoing process among the Dant'a matches with what Markakis (1998:127) argues: "what we see today is not the atavistic remnants of an earlier age, but fairly recent creations changed by social and political change." However, paying more emphasis to the instrumental theory in this concluding remarks is not to deny the existence of a subjective, non-instrumental (primordial) element in ethnic identity of Dant'a like their myth of having a common origin, which became a base for claiming common descent and to be organised politically. Therefore, one conclusion of this study might be that ethnic group and ethnic identity are social constructs defined by historical conditions in which they emerge.

Subsequently, the inter-elite competition theoretical model helps to understand the competition over political power and other opportunities and relevant in explaining how the Dant'as and the neighbouring communities were initially mobilized by their elites to demand for change in names of their 'Awraja' and 'Woredas'. Moreover, this theoretical model

indicates how discrimination motivates the Dant'as in Hadiya zone to become cohesive, and gradually incorporates their community members in the neighbouring zones in the competition of sharing power at the zone level and their recent demand for specific 'Woreda' of their own.

As the ethnography in chapter three indicates, the ethnic relations and socio-cultural aspects of the Dant'a have undergone many changes in the last few decades. Their social, political and economic relations with the neighbouring communities have also been affected and changed due to the policies imposed on them by Ethiopian governments in different periods. Their cultural relations with the neighbouring communities in terms of kinship, marriage and religious systems are broadly described in relation to how they persisted, maintained and changed over time in this study according to the views of Fredrick Barth as mentioned in Kuper (1981: 105).

The conquest of Dant'as and their neighbouring communities by Menelik's troops in 1892, and the establishment of the Gabbar system had resulted in eviction of many peasants of Hadiya and others from their lands. Even though the Dant'as were not evicted from their lands, they shared their produce and labour with landlords of Abyssinia not in a lesser way than the peasants of Hadiya and other communities who shared their produce and evicted from their lands. Some of the Hadiyas who were evicted from their lands and whose mothers were from Dant'a were able to settle in the territory of Dant'a by claiming land through their mothers line who had an equal right of land inheritance from their parents the same as the Dant'as male children.

As a result of the Hadiyas settlement in the territory of Dant'a through their long established marriage relationships, cultivable land that was adequately available in the territory of Dant'a became very scarce within a few years. In turn, this scarcity of cultivable

land had forced some of the Dant'as to leave their previous sedentary way of life, and move to Omo valley where they could subsist on pastoral way of life together with some of the Hadiyas whose livelihood is still based on pastoralism.

Subsequently, the Dant'as who were predominantly known to worship their traditional religion of Hauzula spirit and Orthodox Christianity to some extent were mostly converted to Protestant Christianity, particularly within the last thirty years. The conversion of Dant'as to Protestant Christianity was resulted from the activities of protestant missionaries who accept and employ a local language for teaching of the Bible as opposed to Orthodox priests who often preach the Bible in 'Geeze', which is believed to be a sacred language for the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Consequently, the activities of missionaries in constructing schools, clinics, health centres, roads and other infrastructural activities in the locality of Dant'a have contributed a lot to their conversion to Protestant Christianity.

On the other hand, the high ratio of the Dant'as intermarriage with Hadiya, which led many of their young age groups to shift from their ancestral language of Kambatssa to Hadiyissa, has started to decline after ethnicity has been highly politicized since 1991. Because of that the number of marriages performed among the Dant'a with members of the neighbouring Kambatssa speaking communities have been increasing significantly. Moreover, their specific cultural elements have also been used to mobilize the Dant'as and make them to demand for their representation at the zone and 'Woreda' levels after they have been administratively set into the Hadiya zone.

Since then, the Dant'as awareness of claiming independent territory, independent political governance, distinct traditional administrative system and genealogical descent as their distinguishing cultural aspects have increased more than any other time in their history. Accordingly, many of the Dant'as presently prefer to claim distinct identity and behave as if

they have been totally different from the neighboring Kambatta and the remaining Kambatssa speaking communities when they discuss the issue of their political representation with political appointees of the EPRDF government. This is because their demand for having a representation in Hadiya zone or having a specific 'Woreda' of their own can only be a reality when they claim distinct ethnicity as set by the policy of the EPRDF. If this recent claim of distinct ethnic identity by the Dant'as to succeed in their demand for representation continues and their younger generation is socialized by the EPRDF ideology, which politicise ethnicity and emphasize cultural differentiation more than similarity, the Dant'as would develop into an independent ethnic group in the near future. Likewise, the existing perception of the neighboring Kambattas towards the Dant'as might also be changed gradually in the coming years.

In the discussion of ethnic relations in chapter four, three periods of ethnic interactions are identified. The first and the second parts of this chapter are focused on ethnic relations of Dant'a and the neighbouring communities during Haile Sellasse and Derg regimes respectively. The policy of designing the administrative map of the country and naming the administrative units of 'Awraja' and 'Woredas' with no consideration of settlement patterns and population distribution of various ethnic groups during the regimes of Menelik and Haile Sellasse have been the main cause for an escalation of conflicts in subsequent periods of the Derg and the EPRDF regimes. Accordingly, the conflict among the Dant'a and the neighbouring communities during the Haile Sellasse and the Derg regimes was associated with an issue of renaming the "Kambatta Awraja" and "T'ambaro Woreda" which could represent all community groups who live in these administrative divisions. In this regard, the Haile Sellasse's regime could not able to treat adequately the conflict among these communities by taking the necessary measures for its resolution.

However, the Derg regime was able to resolve the conflict between the communities of Kambatta and Hadiya by renaming the name "Kambatta Awraja" into "Kambatta and Hadiya Awraja" in May 1976. Nevertheless, the Derg government failed to resolve the conflict associated with "Woreda" name inhabited by the Dant'as, the two groups of Hadiya (Agar and Sooro) and others. That is why this conflict is continued to be protracted and devastating to human and material resources of the study area.

After the collapse of the Derge regime in 1991, the EPRDF divided the administrative map of the country into various regions, zones and 'Woredas' along ethnic or linguistic lines. Because of this policy, which doesn't take local conditions into consideration, and the formations of these administrative units in a hurry, the Dant'as have been fragmented into four different zones the Gurage, Hadiya, Semen Omo and Kambatta, Alaba and T'ambaro (KAT). As a result of this administrative arrangement, the Dant'as in their homeland territory were detached from KAT zone and grouped into the Hadiya zone without their interest. The grouping of the Dant'as into Hadiya zone and the politicization of ethnicity since the EPRDF came to power have resulted in other conflicts. For instance, there is competition between members of the DPDO and the HPDO who are supported by the Dant'as and who hold political power in Hadiya zone respectively.

The discrimination of Dant'as by members of HPDO who became government authorities since 1992 and their conflict associated with the name of their 'Woreda' has become a bone of contention in the Hadiya zone. Because of the official discrimination against the Dant'as in social, political and economic affairs, the day-to-day relation of Dant'as with the neighbouring Hadiyas has been adversely affected. These conflicts over power and various other opportunities indicate that the EPRDF government failed in resolving the inter-ethnic conflicts in Hadiya zone.

Truly speaking, the tension and ethno-political conflicts between both groups in Hadiya zone might be resolved if the power at the zone level is shared, and the Dant'as demand for equal opportunities for education, job and other activities has been entertained adequately. In this regard, the three regimes and their leaders seem to lack foresight in designing an appropriate policy, which considers a local condition and political will to preempt the ethnic conflict before it emerges. Particularly, the EPRDF regime should be able to respond creatively and genuinely to Dant'as' and others' grievances before they have been mobilized and the Dant'as started to challenge the government by refusing the payment of the agricultural land tax. As a result, the opposition against the name Sooro Wereda by Agar Hadiyas and Dant'as is still persisted.

Even though dividing the country on the basis of ethnic lines seems to be a well sound ideological principle for the EPRDF, the practical realities in Hadiya and the other neighbouring zones in Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples National State (SNNPNS) appeared to invite problems that would be beyond the capacity of this regime to address and control. As a result, many communities in SNNPNS are now separated from their previous zones and became new zones and specific 'Woredas' based on the new EPRDF constitution, which allows self-determination up to secession. Therefore, the EPRDF seems to be responsible for aggravating the ethnic conflict and the disintegration of communities into different administrative zones and 'Woredas' in SNNPNS by taking ethnicity as a basis for the formation of the administrative regions, zones and 'Woredas' and by allowing communities to claim separate administration and secession at any time in its constitution.

Moreover, the existing reality confirms to what Esman (1994:30) writes: "once an ethnic mobilization is underway, however, the ensuing conflicts may develop a momentum that is difficult to control." Therefore, revising the political map of the SNNPNS seems to be

very crucial because its policy of dividing the zones and 'Woredas' along ethnic lines with no consideration of local conditions creates tensions and confusion among many communities, which had previously co-existed harmoniously.

In addition, the plan of the Dant'a Peoples Democratic Organization (DPDO), which desires to unite the Dant'as in different zones would further aggravates problems of separation in the near future in the neighbouring zones unless some kind of solution is achieved. Fortunately, if there had not been religious similarity, long established marriage relationships and tolerance between members of the Dant'a and Hadiya as well as other conflicts that can be resolved at a local level had not been carefully handled by long-sighted elders of both groups, the politicization of ethnic difference since 1991 would have resulted in civil war of both communities.

In the final analysis, the over-all change in socio- cultural aspects and the ethnic relations of the Dant'a has been not only the outcome of their social interactions with the neighbouring communities, but also shaped by constraints resulting from policies imposed on them by the central governments of Ethiopia since 1892. Moreover, the Dant'as of today are not the same as the Dant'as of yesterday in many of their cultural aspects and their relations with the neighbouring communities. Therefore, one might conclude that the theoretical shift to interactional approach of Fredrick Barth in the study of societies is more relevant to understand ethnicity, ethnic relation and to perceive the underpinning social processes in historical over time, and the actual picture of the Dant'a in existing condition as opposed to the early days of static functional theory, which treats the cultural content of every society as a closed entity.

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Food For Thought

"You are not merely the
of God, but also of men;
ever endowing you with beauty
in hearts... You are one half
and one half dream.

Rabindranath Tagore

The Ethiopian

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Wednesday 10 March 1976
(1 Mesqablit 1968)

Ethiopia Tik

Chinese Vice-Premier

Banquet Given in Honor of Ethiopian Delegation

(Hsinhua) — Ku Mu, Vice-Premier of the State
gave a banquet here Monday night in honor of the
official goodwill delegation led by Captain Mogus
Mikael, Chairman of the Economic Committee of the
Central Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia.

The guests were Fantaye Biftu,
Ambassador to China, and of-
ficial Ethiopian Embassy in Pek-
ing were Chiao Kuan-Hua and
Vice-Minister and Vice-Minister of
Foreign Affairs, Chen Mu-Hua, Vice-

Minister of Economic Relations with
Foreign Countries, Peng Min, Vice-Mi-
nister of the State Capital Construction
Commission, Hao Chung-Shih, Vice-
Minister of Agriculture and Forestry,
Ho Cheng-Wen, Deputy Chief of Gen-
eral Staff of the Chinese People's Libera-
tion Army, Yang Shou-Shan, Vice-Chair-
man of the Peking Municipal Revolu-
tionary Committee, and leading mem-
bers of department concerned.

Vice-Premier Ku Mu spoke at the
banquet which was permeated with a
warm and friendly atmosphere.

He warmly praised the Provisional
Military Government of Ethiopia which
has, since its establishment, initiated a
series of social reforms, actively develop-
ed the national economy and achieved
gratifying progress.

"In international affairs", he said,
"Ethiopia pursues a foreign policy of
non-alignment, opposes imperialism and
colonialism, supports national liberation
movements and has contributed its ef-
forts to promoting the African cause of
unity against imperialism."

"The Chinese Government and peo-
ple heartily rejoice at the successes won
by the Ethiopian Government and peo-
ple and wish you continuous new victo-
ries on your road of advance," he added.

He said China and Ethiopia have al-
ways sympathized with and supported
each other and forged a profound friend-
ship in the long struggle against imperia-
lism and colonialism. The Provisional

Wollamo, Kembata Provinces Given Other Appellations

The provinces (awrajas) of Wollamo
in Sidamo Region and Kembata in Shoa
Region have been renamed Wolaita and
Kembata-Hadiya respectively, the Minis-
try of Interior disclosed yesterday.

There are 102 provinces in the 14 ad-
ministrative regions of Ethiopia with the
highest, 13, in Hararghe Region and the
lowest, three, in Arussie region.

(ENA)

Three Special Courts To Hear Traffic Cases

Three special courts have been assign-
ed exclusively to hear cases of traffic vio-
lations in Addis Ababa, according to an
announcement by the Ministry of Law
and Justice.

All the three courts are located opposite
the Municipal Abattoir south of the capi-
tal city. The courts would start their traf-
fic hearings today.

The assignment of the special courts
was necessitated as the traffic congestion
in Addis Ababa showed an ever-increasing
trend and consequently the frequency of
traffic violations increased in the city
from time to time, the announcement
said. "It goes without saying that all char-
ges regarding traffic violations and acci-
dents or both should be speedily dealt with
by courts thereby doing away with the
hitherto time-consuming procedures of

Local Favourably Accepted Here

(ENA) — The manager of the
Plantation enterprise, in Il-
lustrative Region, says that
tea produced in the planta-
tion favourably accepted in Ad-
dis Ababa and other parts of the country.
to Mr. R.A. Murray, mana-
ger of the Plantation, 31,000 kgs. of
tea had been sold to the big
market in Addis Ababa during the last
calendar year.

He added the enterprise had
about 35 hectares of land.
The tea produced by the plantation
will be immediately on arrival in the mar-
ket. The plantation intends to cultivate
tea during the next five years
to supply the domestic mar-
ket with 1,000,000 kgs. of tea after


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«... አርሶ አደር ገበሬዎች
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 ካራ የአብዮቱ መሠረት በመ
 ሆን ዓላማውን ከግቡ ለማድረስ
 ታጥቀው ተነሥተዋል...»

አያ  ትቅደም »

ዓመት ጥ. ወ. ከአገል
 ገሎት ጥምር ጭብር ከፃ
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የራያና ቆቦ ገበሬዎች በአውራጃ ተደራጁ

ደሴ ፤ (አ. ዜ. አ) በወሎ ክፍለ ሀገር በራያና ቆቦ አውራጃ የሚገኙት በሺህ የሚቆጠሩ አርሶ አደሮች የገጠር መሬት የሕዝብ የሆነበትን የመጀመሪያ ወን ዓመትና በአውራጃ ደረጃ የተደራጁበትን ፅሁፍ ምክንያት በማድረግ ባለፈው እሁድ በዓላቸውን እጅግ በሚያስደስት ሁኔታ አክብረው ዋሉ ።

በአውራጃ ደረጃ የተደራጁት አርሶ አደሮች በታላቅ ሥነ ሥርዓትና በደ ግቅ ሁኔታ ባከበሩበት በዚህ በዓል ላይ በዓላማ ለተማ የሚገኙ የሦስት የኅብረት ሥራ ማኅበራት አባሎች የበ ዓሉ ተካፋይ ሆነዋል ።

በበዓሉም ላይ አርሶ አደሮቹ የእርሻ መሣሪያዎችንና አብዮታዊ መሬክሮ

ችን ይዘው ነበር ። እንዲሁም የገጠር መሬት ዓዋጅ በወጣ በአንድ ዓመት ውስጥ ምንም እንደተጠቀሙ ሰባት የገበሬ ማኅበራት ተወካዮች በየተራ ባደረጉት ንግግር ሲገልጡ ፤ በዓላማ ለተማ ከተመደቡት ዘማሾች ፤ ከአውራጃው የመሬትና ሕዝብ ማስፈር ፤ አውራ ጃው የእርሻና የደን ልማት የተውጣጡ ሰዎች አርሶ አደሩ በኅብረትና ንቃት በ፯ኛው ገጽ በ፫ኛው ዓምድ ዞሯል

የክምባታና የወላጥ አውራጃዎች ስም ተለወጠ

(ከኢትዮጵያ ዜና አገልግሎት)

የክምባታና የወላጥ አውራጃዎች መጠሪያ የተለወጠ መሆኑን የአገል ለስተዳደር ሚኒስቴር ትናንት ገለጠ

በዚህ መሠረት ፤ ቀድሞ የክምባታ አውራጃ ይባል የነበረውን አሁን የክምባታና ሐዲያ አውራጃ ፤ የወላጥ አውራጃ ይባል የነበረው ደግሞ የሐዲያ አውራጃ መባላቸውን ሚኒ ቴሩ ለስታውቋል ።

የክምባታና ሐዲያ አውራጃ የሚኘው በሸዋ ክፍለ ሀገር ሲሆን ፤ የወይታ አውራጃ ደግሞ የሚገኘው በጋሞ ክፍለ ሀገር ነው ።



የሶሴዮት የቴሌቪዥን ቡድን

የኢትዮጵያ አብዮት በሬልም ይዘጋጃል

(ከኢትዮጵያ ዜና አገልግሎት)

አንድ የሶሴዮት ኅብረት የቴሌቪዥን ቡድን የኢትዮጵያን ለብ ውጤት በኅብረ ቀለም የቴሌቪዥን ሬልም በማዘጋጀት ላይ ነው ።

የሞስኮ ቴሌቪዥን አንሺ ኡን - በሚመለከቱ አቅጣጫዎች ከሚኒ ሮችና እንዲሁም ከዘመቻ ለስተ ሐሚቱ ሊቀ መንበር ጋር ቃል ይቅ ይኖረዋል ።

Appendix two

August 21/1988

To: Ethiopian People Democratic Republic of the Government council Addis Ababa

Reason: Opposition against the name Sooro.

As Ethiopia has been the mother of big mountains, plains and historical places, since thousand years of independence names are given to administrative divisions on the basis of historical and local conditions of people. The reason why this district was stayed to be called by its previous name known as T'ambaro was because of our opposition against a newly given name called Sooro which does not represent all communities and accounts for only one-sixth of the total population living in the district.

The description of communities living in our district is as follows:

- A. The community of Dabamoo have seven major clans known as Gojjena, Kinčičilla, Zambačo, Lauka, Dolla and Gujeya.
- B. The community of Donga have seven major clans known as sinteyana, čuresso, orego, Lambuda, Lenčo, magalala and Matefarasa.
- C. the community of Agar Hadiya have seven major clans know as Hayeba, Haballo, Wayabo, Badogo, Bargagea, Hojje and Dawa.
- D. the Community of T'ambaro have seven major clans known as Tasečo, Yagečo, Kuiničo, Agarčo, Sambatičo, Abečo and Wasečo.
- E. The community of Laura have seven clans
- F. The community of sooro Hadiya divided into four major clans know as Habaro, Hadea, Šakana and Bošoana.
- G. The community of Atie Amhara is divided into four major clans know as Dildilla, Hemečo, Sant'ara and Enegara.

Currently, the communities of T`ambaro and half of the Donga are detached from us and became a new independent district named "Omoseleko". but the remaining communities such as Dubammo, Agar Hadiya, Sooro Hadiya. At'ie Amhara and half of Donga are still living in this district.

In December 1988, elders from each community were invited by authorities of our district to attend a meeting and name our district. Then, we nominate three names such "Hadiya and Dubammmo:", "Šonkolla and Dansä". and "Šonkolla and Langea" as a possible alternatives.

However, these names ignored and the name of our woreda became Sooro without our knowledge and agreement. Therefore, we request our district should not be called by the name Sooro and the name which could represent all community groups in the woreda will be given.

Ethiopia be first

Names and Signatures of Applicants

1. Kassa Gebre
2. Beyissa Geimisso
3. Makebo Medigo

Appendix Two

ገጽ 23: ቀን: 1980. 9. 9

በጊዜያዊ ስጦታዎች: ደግሞ ለጊዜያዊ ስጦታዎች:

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አዲስ አበባ:

ጉዳይ: ለካላ ሁሉ: ስጦታዎች: የቀረበ: ተቀባይ:

ሆኖ: በተጨማሪም: ጉዳይ: ገንዘብ: የሰጠው ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ: ገንዘብ:

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Appendix Three

October 1/1989

To: Kambatta and Hadiya Workers Party Committee Office,
Hossana

Reason: To inform about the illegal action committed by Head of the Economy and Social Affairs of Kambatta and Hadiya Workers Party named comrade Tadesse Tilahun.

As it is informed above, the Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Republic of National Assembly decided in its second round meeting all woredas in the country have to be renamed Awrajas. Accordingly, our T'ambaro Woreda also renamed Awraja, but comrade Tadesse Tilahun committed the following illegal actions:

For instance during the feudal system, our woreda administrator named kañazmach seyoum Anore was started to use a new stamp of Sooro Woreda without our knowledge, but the stamp was registered because the opposition from Dubammo, Donga and T'ambaro communities. In addition, similar situation was emerged in 1978, 1979 and 1981, but the stamp was again ejected because we were able to convince government authorities as the stamp having the name Sooro could not represent all community groups in the woreda. However, by the leadership of comrade Tadesse Tilahun an study was conducted in PAs where the Sooro Hadiyas are the majority and invited elders for meeting only from Sorro Hadiyas. Therefore, we inform you that the information gathered by the leadership of comrade Tadesse Tilahun does not incorporate other community groups.

Ethiopia the first!

Name of applicants and signature,

Biyessa Giemisso

Makebo Miedigo

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Appendix Four

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Appendix Five

April 10/1989

To: Ethiopian Peoples Democratic Republic of Southern Shoa Administration Office.
Ziway.

Reason: Request for a solution to a problem in our Administrative Area of T'ambaro Woreda in Kambatta and Hadiya Awraja.

As it is mentioned above in the topic, we opposed the decision which was made to rename the name T'ambaro Woreda into Sooro Awraja because it does not represent all community groups living in this administrative division except the descendants of four brothers such as Hadea, Habaro, Shako and Bosha, and who were descended from their ancestor Boyammo and accounts for only one-sixth of the woreda's population.

Regarding the name of the woreda we agreed and nominated three possible new names to our woreda and informed to Ethiopian people Democratic Republic of Government Council by our application letters after the second meeting of National Assembly was held on December 30, 1988 such as "Dubammo and Hadiya", "Sahkolla and Dansä" and "Šank'olla and Langea."

Subsequently, we applied to offices of line Ministries at various levels, and we still waiting for a response because we are not aware of whether our application letters were adequately investigated or not.

As the result of a delay in renaming our Awraja, the contradiction among different communities is increasing from day-to-day, and the Sooro Hadiyas have started to intimidate members of other community groups.

Therefore, we apply here with great respectation enough attention and final solution is to be given to our applications written to office of government council, the central committee of the Ethiopian party, the Ethiopian workers party of control committee, Office of Ministers council and Ministry of Domestic Affairs.

Applicants name and signature.

1. Kassa Gebre
2. Beyissa Giemisso
3. Makebo Miedigo
4. Deneke Dogisso
5. Petros Hayayo
6. Kukore Dutebo
7. Kassa Lafebbo

C.C. Southern Shoa Peasant Association office, Ziway

- " " Domestic Affairs office, Ziway
- " " Police office Ziway
- " " Youth office Ziway

Appendix Five

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ጉዳይ: ተገቢ: ጽንፈኛ ስርዓት: በሆኑም: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ:
የሆኑም: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ተገቢ: ጽንፈኛ ስርዓት: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ:
የሆኑም: ሆኖ: ጽንፈኛ ስርዓት: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ:
ቅ: ሆኖ: ጽንፈኛ ስርዓት::

ይህም: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ:
ተገቢ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ:
ጽንፈኛ: ክስተዳዳር: ተገቢ: ሆኖ: ጽንፈኛ ስርዓት: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ:
በክስተዳዳር: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ: ሆኖ:

በጋራ ለመፍታት የነበረን ፍላጎት በጣም ከፍተኛ በመሆኑ፡፡

1ኛ / የአሥር ኪሎ ጫካ ላይ የሚገኝ ጥርጊያ ተከላኝ፡፡

2ኛ / በሰብሰባችን ከሀይደ ዞን ጭ ከሆኑ ከከጣባታ፣ ከሰጫ ጎረቤት ከጌጌ ዞኖች ጭር አባላቸውን ተገኝተው ከ10,000 በላይ ሕዝብ ከመጥቱ ከ 3-12 በዓት ተባብረው በጸሐይ ሀይሮና በብርድ ቢሰቃዩ ጭሏል፡፡

3ኛ / በጥር 50 ፈረሰኞች በ10 ኪሎ ጫካ ላይ ሲጠቀሙ በሰላም ለሰላም የሚሰጡ ጭቶች ይደሰባቸዋል፡፡

4ኛ / አገገጆቻችን በክብር ለመቀበል ሀዳናትና ሽግግሮች ተገቢ ዝግጅት አድርገው አፍረው ተመልሰዋል፡፡ ይህ ሁሉ ከመሆኑ በፊት፣ ተጠር ከሃይ በጋላ በሽግግሮቹ በመጠየቃቸው ተቀተው በዛናቸው የሚገኙ ሌሎች ጌራ-ጌራ ለሰባት ጥያቄ አገሰተው ቢገኙ የሚሰጡ ሰላም የሚመስሉ ለመሆናቸው በ10 ለ4 / 86 ዓ.መ የደብዳቤ ህዝቦች ጭክረሲሃዊ ገመገሞና ለህዝቡ / አገራት በመገናኛ በተደገገው ሕዝባዊ ድጋፍ በሰላም አረጋገጠዋል፡፡

በመብት ጥያቄዎቻችን መከንያት ቀደም ስለሆነ የተፈጸሙትን በደረሰች፡፡

1. ባለፈው ሕገ ክብራችን በሰላም ስር መሥሪያ ቤት ልዩዎቻችን ተፈጥረዋል፡፡ የቀረቡ ለመገናኛቸው ታገለጹ በገዢ ተወሳኝነት ችግር ለመፈረስ ዝግጅታቸውን አሳገሩ ይዘታሉ፡፡

2. የተጠቀሱ ከፊት ለላይ የሰጡትን በላይ በሰላም በሰላም አረጋገጠው ሲሆኑ ለሰላም ችግር ላይ ወጣቶች በመጠቀም ላይ ይገኛሉ፡፡

3. በፖለቲካ ጥሪዎች ባለጥያቄና ፍጥነታቸው ትኩረት ከሰጡ በኋላ በላይ አሳታቢና ላይ በመልሻና ልመና ባለጥናታቸው መታረቅ ገደብ ሆኖባቸው ከፍተኛ ግንዛቤና ጭቅጫ አሳክረው ይዘታሉ፡፡

4. ገበያ ትግል ላይ የሰጡትን ስራዎች ሌሎች የሕዝብ ጠገን ሥፍራዎች የአካባቢ ጭቃ ላይ ሲሰጡ ስራዎች መሰፈፈያ ሥፍራዎች ሆኖባቸዋል፡፡

5. ማለታሪኩ በሰላም ስር ላይ ባለጥሁ አሳታቢን የመሰለጠን ገደባችን ከዛ በፊት ሲታይ ከገበያ አገዛዞች ሁሉ የከፋ መልክ ያለውና በገሀይ አረጋ አያደረግን ይገኛል፡፡

6. በ15 / 3 / 86 በጊዜያዊ ክፍለ ጊዜ በተደረገው ሕዝባዊ ስብሰባ ጥያቄ ችግር አሳይተን ስለሆኑ አጭቶችን በሚቀጥሉ ሁሉ በፖለቲካ ጥያቄ በአመለካከት ባንሳይ ስራዎቻቸው ከሚሰጡበት በላይ በከፊት ይገኛሉ በሀይደ ደገፊ ጋንታ ጌራ ላይ ስራዎች ጭቃ ላይ ሲሰጡ ስራዎችን ለማሰባሰብ አባባል አሳታቢ ከሰጡ ገን የሚገፋ ገንገር አሳይተን ስራዎችን አስጠብቀናል፡፡ ይህን ሌሎች መሰል ድርገቶችን ለማሰባሰብ ሆነ በሙሉ ተጠቅሞ ላይ የሚጠቀሙ ገለሰቦች አገደቡን አድርገዋል፡፡

ሰለዘህ ሳሌሎች ጊሴር በሌረባቸው ሕዝቦች ከተገኘው አይሉ ደርቫ ተጠያቂ
መሆን ሰለጫገባን ዲሞክራቲክ ፕሮግራም ያሰጣና አባላቱ ከዲሞክራሲክ ደርቫ ተጠያቂ
ች ጋር አብሮ ላይገዛ አይደለም ይህ አይሉ ሕዝባዊ መብቶችን ለመረገ ሀሀዳዊ ባለ
ፀ አይሉ ላተገሩን መሆኑ በአገሪቱ ተጠያቂ 1. በግንኙነቱን ስርተገና ላሳጣው
መብት ባንጋዩ በሴ.ሞክራሲያዊ መንገድ በአገገነታችን አየተጠራገ አገገናር የሚጠቀ
ጫን ምረቃዊ መብቶችን በሙሉ አገደብበረሰገ መንገድት የሚያደርግልን አገዛ በ
አፋጣኝ አገደረገሰገ።

2. በጠባብ ብሔርተኝነት ከአሁን ተገቢ በላይቻችን ላተጠቀሩ ርዕሻዎች በ
ሕገ ተጠቅሞ ጭህኔ አገደብጠገና ዘላቂ ጠፍቶ፤ አገደረገሰገ ለሚመለከተው አባላ
ሎዩሎች / አገደተላለፍሰገ።

3. ጠይቀን ተገቢ ጠላብ በመስጠት ረገታ ተገታት የሚተጠባጠን ላሀደያ ዘን
ዶ ለትግ ሆነ ደርቫት አረቡ ከጥቁና ጠጭቱን በላይረረቡ አላገለጸ ላአኛነታችን
ደብዛ አገደጠሩ የሚያደርገው አይሉ አይሉ አባዛኝ ደረቫ በሙደረቡ ገለልተኛ አባ
ሎ ላተገታቸችን ተገቢነት አጠቅሞ ላይገታ ርዕሻ አገደጠሰጠገና፡፡ በሰላላችን በ
ላጠፍኖ ምተረጋጋ ገሮ ዋስትና አገደናገኝ አገደረገሰገ።

4. ያቀረብናቸው ጥያቄያችን ላብገገሮ ፕሮተሪገና ላሎ ሎዩና ላበሰከደ
መብቶችን ሀገጋትን ላተገገረ በመሆናቸው ተገባረደ ሆነው በላደረቫው አላደረገበገ
ያለውን ተጽዕኖ አረና ተጠገገ ሕጋዊ ዋስትና አገኘታን አገደገና አገደረገሰገ
ገደ በአክብሮት በገህትና አኖላስታሰገ።

ከሠላሳ ጋር

አጠላካቸው ስሙና ረረጫ

ብይህ ገዕዝ *[Signature]*

ደገታ ደገቦ *[Signature]*

ገሮጫ ገብና *[Signature]*

~~የሚጠቀሙት~~ ሕዝብ ተጠቃሚ

Appendix seven

To : Hadya zone council office Hassana.

We, the applicants of this letter are the representatives of more than seventeen clans of Agar Hadiya live in sooro 'wereda' as it has become an obvious for everyone as we are not able to benefit from social, political and economic services undergoing in our area for many years due to the violation of human and democratic rights of constitution. In particular, because of power domination by only Sooro Hadiya starting from PA level, disregard, tension and hatred are wide spreading among people of the 'woreda'. More over, members of Sooro Hadiya started to inform officially as they will fight with us if we do not stop protesting against the name Sooro.

These all problems are the outcome of not resolving our questions genuinely. Therefore, the zone council is responsible for any kind of danger that would occur on our property and us.

With greetings

C.C

- EPRDF office Addis Ababa
- SNNPNC office Awassa
- HPDO office Hassana

Applicants

1. Dana Petors Hyayo
2. Abegaz Gintamo wlgano
3. Yohannis Gagure
4. Abule Lambamo

Appendix Seven

ገጽ ፳፻፲፯/፳፻፲፱

ደ ዘን መስተ / ማህጸን
፩

አመልካች ፤- ከ17 ገጣ በላይ የሆነን በሃገሪ ዘን በሮ ወረዳ
 ልሰት የጠናቀቀ የአገር ሃገሪ ሕዝብ ተወካዮች ስርዓት የጠናቀቀውን ገደብ
 መገንባት ለማግኘት ዜጋ የበጠጠሩን ሰብአዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንግሥት አገልግሎት ለበዙ
 ት የፖለቲካ ፤ የኢኮኖሚና የጥራት አገልግሎት ተጠቃሚዎች ስርዓት ከገደብ
 ለማግኘት ስፊት የሚደሰጠው ሃቅ ነው።

አስፈላጊ በሆኑት ስርዓቶች ላይ ከገደብ አገልግሎት አስተዳደር ላይ ደረሰ
 ስን የጠበቀው ክፍል ለአገሩ ለሰራተኛው ገጣ ከመጣው የተነሳ በወረዳው ሕዝብ
 ለአገልግሎት ይልቅ የሌላ፤ ከመከባበር ይልቅ መኖሪያ ፤ ከሠላም ይልቅ
 በየመስኩ አገልግሎት ይገኛል።

አሁንም ይህ ስራ አገልግሎት በሀሀደኛ መስክ ላይ ከሚኖሩ ወጪዎች በጣም
 ለገደብ የሰራ ገብረ ጥራት በአገልግሎት ለሰራተኛው በራሱ በ27/12/92 ዓ.ም
 ላይ በራሱ ስርዓት ላይ የሚኖሩ የአገሩ የሰራ ገጣ ተሰጥተው ለሰራ ስራ ላይ
 በጣም አገር ሃገሪ የሚገቡ ሕዝብ በወረዳዎች የሰራ ክፍሎች ላይ አገልግሎት
 ይሆን ጥያቄ የሚያስፈልገውን ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ
 አይደለም።

ስለዚህ መሥሪያ ቤቅ ጥያቄዎችን በዲሞክራሲያዊ መንገድ ከሰራተኛው የተነሳ
 ስራን በየመደቡ አገልግሎት ስራን የተደገፈ ስራን በአመልካች ገጣዎች
 ስራን ገብረት ለሚጠቀሙ አደጋ ተጠቃሚዎች ጋራ ስራን የጠበቀው ክፍሎች መኖሪያ
 ስራ አገልግሎት።

" ከሠላም ጋር "

- አመልካች
1. የአገር ሃገሪ ተወካዮች
 2. የፍትህ ስራ ስራ
 3. የሰራ ገጣ
 4. አሁን ሰራ

፩
 ሠላም ስራ
 ስራ ስራ
 ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ
 ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ
 ስራ ስራ ስራ ስራ

APPENDIX EIGHT

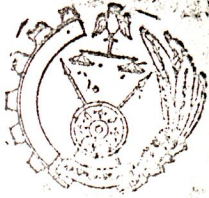
Name of Individuals Attended the Civil Service College of Ethiopia From Hadiya Zone in Seven Consecutive Rounds

Sr.No	Name	Field of Study	Ethnic Background	Woreda	Attended round
1.	Tadesse Alemayehu	Law	Hadiya	Misha	First
2.	Belachew Ansheso	Law	Hadiya	Lemmo	First
3.	Admasu Ashebo	Law	Hadiya	Badawacho	First
4.	Ermačo Hobbe	Accounting	Hadiya	Misha	First
5.	Ashenafe Legebo	Economics	Hadiya	Badawacho	First
6.	Mekonen Tadesse	Economics	Hadiya	Lemmo	First
7.	Tesfaye Abera	Law	Hadiya	Misha	Second
8.	Admassu Sugammo	Law	Hadiya	Sooro	Second
9.	Tesfaye Abebe	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	Second
10.	Tefera Molla	Economics	Masmas	Lemmo	Second
11.	Yirga Handisso	Accounting	Hadiya	Misha	Second
12.	Gemedede Dolicho	Economics	Hadiya	Lemmo	Third
13.	Mulatu Abebe	Law	Hadiya	Lemmo	Third
14.	Erjabo Ersido	Law	Endegaññe	Misha	Third
15.	Zeritu Desta	Accounting	Masmas	Lemmo	Third
16.	Girma Osse	Law	Hadiya	Misha	Fourth
17.	Milkias Abeyo	Law	Hadiya	Misha	Fourth
18.	Desalegn Tochoro	Law	Hadiya	Misha	Fourth
19.	Lemma G/Egziabiher	Law	Hadiya	Misha	Fourth
20.	Alemu Molloro	Law	Hadiya	Misha	Fourth
21.	Shegut'e Ertiro	Law	Endegaññe	Lemmo	Fourth
22.	Feleke Lintammo	Law	Dant'a	Lemmo	Fourth
23.	Ayele Ayanno	Law	Hadiya	Lemmo	fourth (died)
24.	Yohannis Gichamo	Accounting	Hadiay	Lemmo	fourth
25.	Yohannis Latebo	Accounting	Hadiay	Lemmo	fourth
26.	Tamere Molisso	Accounting	Hadiay	Lemmo	fourth (died)

Name	Field of Study	Ethnic Background	Woreda	Attended round
Suraje Abdella	Civil Engineering	Hadiay	Lemmo	fourth
Yosef Lailore	Civil Engineering	Hadiay	Lemmo	fourth
Worku Desalegn	Civil Engineering	Hadiay	Lemmo	fourth
Argaw Getahun	Civil Engineering	Amhara	Lemmo	fourth
Demisse Said	Accounting	Selti	Lemmo	fourth
Fantu Danballo	Accounting	Endegaññe	Lemmo	fourth
Zelalem Desta	Accounting	Masmas	Lemmo	fourth
Elias Sugebo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Petros Sawo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Teshome Abune	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Mulugeta Dunammo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	died
Asfaw Adore	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Tamirat Helebo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Desalegn Latebo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Fekadu Jalebo	Economics	Hadiya	Sorro	fourth
Lobba Bachore	Economics	Hadiya	Sorro	fourth
Samuel Watero	Law	Masmas	Sorro	fourth
Ayelech Menno	Law	Hadiya	Badewocho	fourth
Ermias Olbammo	Law	Hadiya	Badewocho	fourth
Ayele Hegena	Law	Hadiya	Badewocho	fourth
Asfaw Abede	Law	Hadiya	Badewocho	fourth
Melesse Alemu	Law	Hadiya	Badewocho	fourth
Dawit Demesse	Economics	Hadiya	Badewocho	fourth
Tilahun Anore	Accounting	Hadiya	Badewocho	died
Gebre Gagge	Accounting	Hadiya	Badewocho	fourth
Eyasu Tesfaye	Accounting	Hadiya	Badewocho	fourth
Temesgen Ermako	Accounting	Hadiya	Misha	fourth
Alemu Leranso	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Tamirat Ashebo	Civil Engineering	Hadiya	Sooro	forth (died)
Desta Habiso	Accounting	Hadiya	Badawocho	fourth
Tarekegn Asfaw	Law	Hadiya	Misha	fourth

Name	Field of Study	Ethnic Background	Woreda	Attended round
Lajore Sibammo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Selamu Beyessa	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Samuel Abafit'a	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Dasta Abullo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth (died)
Belaynesh Menedo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Felekech Tekle	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Bayush Horamo	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	fourth
Hirut Abate	Accounting	Hadiya	Misha	fourth
Tamirat G/mariam	Economics	Endegaññe	Misha	fourth
Tefera Tadesse	Civil Engineering	Hadiya	Lemmo	fourth
Brihanu Shaffi	Accounting	Selti	Lemmo	fourth
Melesse Ayamo	Accounting	Hadiya	Lemmo	fourth
Mulatu Gichamo	Accounting	Hadiya	Mesha	fourth
Hirut Dilebo	Economics	Hadiya	Lemmo	5 th
Daniel Hosesso	Civil Engineering	Hadiya	Lemmo	5 th
Shokollo Azmach	Law	Hadiya	Misha	6 th
Markos Darello	Law	Hadiya	Sooro	6 th
Mulugeta Molloro	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	6 th
Fekadu T'umsido	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	6 th
Berhanu Sulito	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	6 th
Tefera Zewde	Accounting	Hadiya	Sooro	7 th
Dillamo Offoro	Management	Hadiya	Sooro	7 th
Ermako Binčhamo	Management	Hadiya	Misha	7 th
Alemu Zewde	Management	Alabn	Misha	7 th
Matewos Maldoye	Economics	Hadiya	Misha	7 th
Solomon Tafesse	Accounting	Hadiya	Misha	7 th

Appendix Ten



ደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች ክልላዊ መንግሥት
Southern Ethiopian Peoples'
Regional Government

ቁጥር 84/002/53/409
ቀን 3/6/86

ለሀዲያ ዘን መስተዳድር ም/ቤተ
ሀሳብ ፣

ጉዳይ ፡ የደንገግ ጥበቃ ቤን ፔቸል ሕዝብ ተወካዮች ጸቤታት ፣

በርዕሱ ለገደ ተጠቀሙ ሁሉ የሀዲያ ዘን መስተ ዳድር ም/ቤተና
የሀሀዲድ ድርጅት ጠሪ ሆኖ ረፀጠን ስለሚሉት በደለ በታህሣዥ 25/
1986 ዓ.ም. ጸረው ያቀረቡልን ራገር ገለባቶ A ገጽ ከዚህ ጋር
ለከፍለ፡፡

በለዚህ ተጠያቂው ያቀረቡት ስቤታት ተከታይ ጠሀት ተጠርቶ
ተገቢውን በመወሰን ወጪ ስንደገለግልን ለባታይታሁ፡፡

" ከሰላም ታ ጋር "

ፊ

ተሰጠ ገቢ

በለ ከለሰ ም/ቤተ ፕረዚዳንት



ለበ/ለለ

የሆነው ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው። ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው።

25 / በሆነው ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው። ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው።

26 / በሆነው ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው። ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው።

27 / በሆነው ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው። ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው።

28 / በሆነው ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው። ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው።

29 / በሆነው ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው። ስርዓቱም ለሆነው የሥነ ምግባር ስርዓት መሆኑን ለማሳወቅ የሚያስፈልገው ስርዓት ነው።

PA

በሥነ ምግባር የሚሰጠው ምርመራ በደንብ በሥነ ምግባር ተገዢ ሆኖ
 1ኛ / ገለጻል። በደንብ ተገዢ ሆኖ የሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር
 ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር
 ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር

2ኛ / የሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር
 ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር
 ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር
 ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር

3ኛ / በሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር
 ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር
 ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር
 ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን ለሥነ ምግባር

•• ከግብር ስልጣን ጋር ••

ከግብር ስልጣን 1ኛ / ከግብር ስልጣን ጋር *(Handwritten signature)*

2ኛ / •• የሥነ ምግባር ሥልጣን *(Handwritten mark)*

3ኛ / •• ግብር ስልጣን *(Handwritten mark)*

ገለጻል

ደንብ ለሥነ ምግባር

ከ ሥነ ምግባር

Appendix Eleven

በ 10 / 10 / 89 ዓ-ም

ለደብዳቤ ስርዓት ስርዓት ስርዓት
ለደብዳቤ ስርዓት ስርዓት ስርዓት
ለደብዳቤ ስርዓት ስርዓት ስርዓት
አጭር

አመልካች አና ዓዲገጣ ዳብዎ በገጃቸው በሥራቸው ተወካዮች
ገንዘብ የመጠን ጥያቄ አቤታቸውን ለጋራ ጠቅላይ በጣጣት የደረሰ
በባንክ ችግር ለመቅረብ ስለሚችሉ ይሆናል።

በተከታታይ ሥልጣን ለገብረው መፍትሄ የሚሆነው በሌላ በኃላፊነት
ጭነት አንዳቸውም የአመልካች ሆነው ለመቅረብ ሆነው ለሌላ ሆነው ለሌላ
የሆኑትን ስራዎች መቆጣጠር በመስጠት የሚችሉ፤ የመጠን ጥያቄ በተገቢው መንገድ
ተፈጻሚ በሆነው መንገድ ወይ ሌላው አገልግሎት ዘርፍ ይደረገልን ዘንድ ከሌላ
በተለይ በርካታ አቤታቸው በሚገኙበት ጊዜ ለሌላ ሆነው የተወጣው የአመራር
አካላት ያደረጉበትን በደብዳቤ የተሰጠው በጣጣት በረካታ የራሳቸውን ጥቅም ሥርዓት
ሰጠው የአካላትን የደብዳቤ ተጠቃሚዎች አገልግሎትን በመጠን ጥቅም ያለ
ጭንቀት የሆኑ ገንዘብ በዘርዘር በሚገኙበት ጊዜ ለሌላ ገደብ ገደብ
ሆኑናል።

የሚጠቀሙ ፍራ ነገሮች ደርገው አገልግሎት በገልጽ አድርገዋል።

- 1- የደብዳቤ ዳብዎ በገጃቸው ስርዓት የሚከረከሩ ደርገው ተቀባይ የሚሆኑ ሰነድ
በ 12 / 4 / 89 ዓ-ም መ/ደ ደርገው ከአደጋ ጊዜ ጀምሮ የአገልግሎት በርካታ
በሥራ ገቢዎቻቸው አና ሌሎች ተቀባይ ያወጡትን የገንዘብ ጭነት ጋር
ተጠቃሚዎች በየጊዜው ከሚከሰቱ መንገዶች ለሚጠቀሙ መቆጣጠር ደንቦች
ጠቅላይ ተገዥ በመሆን ተገባቸው ለሆኑ ዓላማ መታገጥ ይታወቃል።
- 2- የረቀቀው ጥንት መሠረት በጣጣት 1984 ዓ-ም በተካሄደው የጊዜያዊ
የጠቅላይ አስተዳደር በቦር ፊርማ ሆነው ተወካዮች አስጠቀሙ የረቀቀው ዕድል
በረቀቀው የመጠን ገንዘብ ጥያቄ አገልግሎት የመጠን ጥቅም አገልግሎት
ነበር።
- 3- በሌላው መንገድ በአካላት ስርዓት አገልግሎት 10996 አቅርቦት ከሰጠው
ጊዜ ያለፈው ደብዳቤ በጣጣት በሀገር ስርዓት የሚከረከሩ ደርገው በሥልጣን
አፈና ለዕድሉ ተደጋጅ በሆነው በባንክ ጥያቄ ጥርጥሯል።
- 4- ከአሁን በፊት በቦር ፊርማ ጠቅላይ ሆነው ተወካዮች አስጠቀሙ የረቀቀው
ዕድል በረቀቀው የመጠን ለመረጣው ስርዓት አካላት ያተረፈው ስርዓት ከሀ
ሰነድ የሚገኙ ለሥራ ስርዓት አገልግሎት አገልግሎት የሥራ አገልግሎት ዕድል

ያለአገባብ ተገዳብ አገዳ አባል ብጋ ዓሥሎ ለባል ለባሉ ተወካዎች፡-_____

5- ለጊገ ጠገገሥት ገገዳ ሁለት ተጠቃሪዎች የርባ ስጦታ ክልል ከአገዳ ሺህ አስከ ስጦት ሺህ የሕዝብ ዲሞክራሲ ለግገት በአሠራር ተገኝቶ ዕድል በሀዳዎች ተጠቃሪዎች የርባ፡-_____

6- በ1987 ዓ-ም በግንባታ 29 ቀን በተካሄደው የርባ አገዳ ለሕዝብ ተወካዮች አገዳ ለክልል የ ሊኮፕ ተጠቃሪ የርባ ከፍተኛ የዲሞክራሲ ግንኙነት በተጠባባይ ሁኔታ ለዕድል በአሠራር ተገኝቶ ተቀባይ የርባ፡-_____

ከላይ በክርድ በአጭሩ ለጠባለሽ የጠባብ ስጦታ ገዳ በኢትዮጵያ ሀገር ከግንባታው የግንባታው የሂደት ክልል በመደገፍና ከአጭሩ ጠባብ በራሳቸውና በሕዝባችን ደርሻ በባሉ ከግንባታው በላይ ተገኝቶ ግንባታ ለአገባብ የግንባታው አባቶች ይኸው የክልሉ ጠገገሥት የ ሊኮፕ በገንባት 7 ቀን 1987 ዓ-ም ግንባታው የግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

የክልሉ ጠገገሥት የ ሊኮፕ

1- በ11 /6 /1986 ዓ-ም በተሰጠው የግንባታ አስጠባቂ ለሀዳዎች ዘንድ የ ሊኮፕ በአዲሲቱ በገንባታው በግንባታ በደረሰ / 002 /53 /279 ለ13 /3 /86 በተገኘው የግንባታው የግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

2- በ1986 ዓ-ም በቀን 25 /4 /86 በግንባታ በደረሰ /002 /53 /409 /ገንባታ / 6 /86 በአዲሲቱ በተገኘው የግንባታው የግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

3- ይኸው የ ሊኮፕ በ11 /12 /86 ዓ-ም የግንባታው አባቶች አቅርቦት በግንባታ ለግንባታው /03 /08 /87 ዓ-ም አባቶች ለክልል የርባ የተሰጠው የግንባታው የግንባታው የግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

4- ለክልሉ የ ሊኮፕ በ7 /9 /87 ዓ-ም ለግንባታው አባቶች በ23 /9 /87 ዓ-ም ከግንባታው አስከ ዘንድ ያሉት አርክቶች የግንባታው ግንባታው ለሀዳዎች ዘንድ የ ሊኮፕ የግንባታው የግንባታው ለአጭሩ ጠባብ በራሳቸውና በሕዝባችን ደርሻ በባሉ ከግንባታው በላይ ተገኝቶ ግንባታ ለአገባብ የግንባታው አባቶች ይኸው የክልሉ ጠገገሥት የ ሊኮፕ በገንባት 7 ቀን 1987 ዓ-ም ግንባታው የግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

5- በደረሰው የ ሊኮፕ ከግንባታው አስከ ዘንድ የግንባታው አርክቶች ከተጠባባቂ ገዳ ዲሞክራሲ የራሳቸው ዕድል በራሳቸው የግንባታው ግንባታው ግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

6- የክልሉ ግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

7- ለግንባታው በተሰጠው የግንባታው የግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

8- የክልሉ የ ሊኮፕ ግንባታው የግንባታው ገዳ፡-_____

9- ሕዝቡ በየገዥው መስክ ተወካዮች አለመሰጠቱ ስለረዘመ ገርግጦ ተገቢ
አለመሆን መቅረብ :-

10- በ23 // 2 / 89 ዓ-ም ለክልሉ የ ሌት ክመስክተን ለሀዲያ ዞን የ ሌት
ሊቀጠር የገበረጌ ለአዳዲስ ግድብ ለራገን ተባብሮ በገዥ ገዳም
ተሰልፎ የአመልካች ሕዝብ በባት በሕግ መሠረት አልተፈታም :-

11 / በሕዝባችን ላይ የመጠጥ ጭ ጥያቄ ለመገንዘት መ ሌተን በመቀረብ በቻ አን
ደወገንና ተጥጥሮ ሕገ ያለበት ሀገር ሕገ ያለንና በሰር ሠልጣን የመጠጥ አ
ባለት መጠጥጫ ሆኖ 15 / የደረጃ ሊቀጠር የገበረ ሕገ ተሰፎ የሰላም
25 / ሕገ ታዲያ መከባ የደርጃ ጥጥር ከጣቲ በባለባቢ 35 / ሕገ ገንባታ
ኑሮ የደርጃ ጥዕከላዊ ከጣቲ አባል 45 / ሕገ ደረጃ ያህን አርባ
አዲር ገበረ 55 / ሕገ አዲሱ ኃይለ አርባ አዲር ገበረ 65 / ሕገ
ፀ ለሀገራል ኃይለ ግርጌም አርባ አዲር ገበረ :-

አገራዊም በርካታ ጭ ሕዝብ ጭጥጥ በሰኔ 5 ቀን 1989 ዓ-ም
የ15 የገለሰ አባላትን የሰር ጭ ሌት ተከዛዝ በመጣት የሕዝብ ጭጥጥ
ሕዝብ አገልግሎት በግደን በመደባደብና በመዘረፍ የሕዝብ ጭጥጥ ኑሮ የጭ ጭት
በጭጭት በአሠራት በጭጭት አኖ ሕገ ጭ አዲሱት በመፈጸም ላይ ስለሚገኙ
ይህን ሕባዛኛ ደርጊት ለመብታቸው በጭጥጥ ሕዝባች ላይ የጭጭት መሠሪያ በጭጭት
በገለሰ ገንዘብ በመጠጥ ላይ ገለሰ ጭ የተከሰረው የክልሉ መ ሌት ይህን ሕገ
ጭ አሠራር በሕገ አገራችን በጭጭት የታሠሩትን ገጭ ሕገ የጭጭት
መጭጭት የዕዛዝ በመስጠት ለመገንዘት ሕገ መጭጭት ጭ የጭጭት አዲሱ ህገ
የ ሌት አገራችን አስከ በታይ ደረሰ በመሰከ ገገጥ ጭ አገራችን
አገራችንን በታይ ገንባታ አጭጭት :-

- “ ከሰላም ታይ ”
- አመልካች የሕዝብ ተወካዮች
- 1 / ሕገ አርጭ ደገደ
 - 2 / " ያዕቆብ አጭ
 - 3 / " ሕገ መከባ ጭ
 - 4 / " ገርግ ጭ

Appendix Twelve

To: Southern Nation Nationalities and peoples National State Education
Bureau Awassa.

To: Hadiya Zone Council Office Hassana.

Reason: The Appeal of a Teacher Getahun Nuramo

The teacher whose name is mentioned above has appealed to our regional council as he was transferred without his knowledge and mistake from shokbera Junior secondary school in Kontebe district of Hadiy zone to Darawit Junior secondary school in Lemmu district of Hadiya zone. We remember the letters were wrote to your organization based on these teacher's appeals firstly, in November 22/1993 in No./ 002/ 53/256 and Secondly, in February 19/1994 in No. / 002/1701

Currently, the individual is again appealed to our office in February 29/1994 by mentioning as he and his family are exposed to famine because he was denied his salary for successive four moths and no solution was given to letters written by our regional council.

Therefore, were strongly request you for the third time to pass the necessary order to Education department of the zone to pay the individual's salary and transfer him to his previous school.

With greetings,

Girma Gichama Head of Education Regional Council

Appendix Twelve



ሰላማዊ ደህንነት ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር
Southern Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Front

ቁጥር 22/002/53/604
ቀን 24/6/86

ለደ/ሲ/ሀ/ዝ/ወ/ግ/የትምህርት ስር

ለጥፋ ፤

ለሀገሪያዊ ዘንግ መስተዳደር ያ/ቤተ

ሀሰባና ፤

ንግዳ ፣ በሌሎችም ገቢዎች ነገር ለቤተት ፤

በአርዕስተ የተጠየቀው መምህር ምንም ጥፋት ሳይሆን በደለዎ ሳይሆን ሳይሆን ከምስክርነቱ ሀገሪያዊ ዘንግ ኩነቱን ወረዳ ሸክራ ተምህርት ቤት ወደ ለም ወረዳ ፋሪ ዌት መለሰተኛ 2ኛ ደረጃ ት/ቤተ ለንጻዛወር በመደረጉ በደለ ደርሰበኛል ቤተ ባህሪዎች ለቤተት መነሻ ግንዛቤ በብርሀኑ በኩል ተጠርቶ ፍትህ ባለው ገንዘብ ተገቢዎችን ጭነት ለንጻዎች ገንጠል ፤

1ኛ/ በ13/3/86 በቁጥር ደሲ/002/53/256

2ኛ/ በ4/6/86 በቁጥር ደሲ/002/55/1701 የጻፉና ትውግ ደብዳቤያት

ለናስታጭላለን ፡፡

አሁን ለዚህ አመልካች በአካሄድ በወሰዱ ትውግ ደብዳቤያት መሠረት ለረዕይና ትውግ ባለመገኘቱ 4 ወር ጭነት ለየተገኘረተተ በቤተሰባቸውና በራሳቸው ላይ ሊበብስ ይህ የሆነ ችግር ደርሶባቸው በረዘብ ለየተሰጡ ያሉ መሆኑን አሁንም የካቲት 21 ቀን 1986 በተጻፈ ጭልከቻ አመልክተዋል ፡፡

በአካሄድ የመምህሩ ለቤተት ተገቢውን ገንዘብ ለገኘት ቀደም ሲል ባባተላለፍ ናቸው ደብዳቤያት መሠረት ያልተከረከላቸው ደመወዝ ለንጻዎች ስራ ትውግም የደም በነበረበት ለየሠሩ በሠላም ለንጻና በብርሀኑ ለዘኑ ተ/መምሪያ ለሰረገገው መጠሪያ ለንጻተላለፍ ገቢ ገደብ ዘንግ ለሰበኛ ጊዜ ለገባቸው ለናስታጭላለን ፡፡



ከሰላም ት ገር
[Signature]

ገርግ ገገጾ
የትምህርት ስር ግንዛቤ
ገላፊ

Appendix Twelve



ደቡብ ኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች ክልላዊ መንግሥት
Southern Ethiopian Peoples' Regional Government

ቀጥር .. 13/03/80
ቀን .. 13/3/80

አደ/ኪ/ሕ/ባ/ከ/መ/ የትምህርት ቢሮ

አ ቁ ሣ ፣

ጉዳዩ: - ስለ የምህር ጌታዎች ጥያቄ

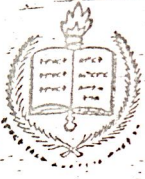
ስለይ በርዕሱ ስጋ ጉዳይ የተጠቀሱት የምህር ጌታዎች ስንተብ ወረዳ ሸክራ መ/ሁ/ዳ/ት/ቤት ሲገልገሉ ስነ-ምግባር ጋር ስለተጠበቀ የዕድሜ ልዩነት አርምቢ ስመወገድ በፊት በሚል ሰበብ ወደ ስሙ ወረዳ ደራጃት ወደ ተጠላው መ/ሁ/ዳ/ት/ቤት ተወራ አገልግሎት ለስጥራት ስለተሰጠ በኅዳር 9 ቀን 1986 ዓ/ም በ ተገደረ ደብዳቤ ተጠቅሞ አመልክቶአል ፡፡

ስለሆነም ያቀረቡትን ጥያቄዎች ቅጂ ሁሉ ገዥ ፍቶ ስሮ ስዚህ ደብዳቤ ጋር አደይዘን አዳላሽን ስለገልገሎት ሰራ ተኝቶ አስተዳደር ጋንብና መሬት አደይ ያሉ ስጥብ ተገደሎችን የሚሉትን ዘመር ተጠርቶ አሰጠ ስለሆነም ተደርጎ የተገረጠበት ሙከራ አገልግሎትን የምግባር መሆኑን አረጋግጠናል ፡፡



"ሰጠናታ ጋር"
[Signature]
ሰለ የም/ቤቱ ጠቅላይ

Appendix Twelve



ኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች ክልላዊ መስተጻጫ
መምህራን ግንባር ጽ/ቤት

ግድ 9/12/0010910303186

91 15-11-86

አዲስ አበባ ለ/ጠ/ብ/ከ/ወ/ት/ጊ/ሪ

አ 9 43

ጉዳይ በአለቶ ጌታነን ቅሪት ለባተን ወይት ለገንጠብ ሰላሳ

ከላይ በርዕስ ለግለሰብ ለገደቱከረው ለተ ጌታነን ቅሪት ወይት ለገንጠብ ሰላሳ
ተቃርተ ወይት ለገንጠብ ሰላሳ ከገንጠብ ሰላሳ ተ/ቤተ/ብሔራዊ መምህራን ግንባር ጽ/ቤት
መሆኑን በጥንቃቄ በተረጋገጠ በተቃርተ ወይት ለገንጠብ ሰላሳ የረረሰባቸው በይዘት ለበላላ
ተ/ቤት ለውሳኔ የበላላ ተ/ቤት መምህራን ላይ የረረሰባቸው በይዘት ከገንጠብ ሰላሳ
የተያዘባቸው የወይት ለገንጠብ ሰላሳ የተሰጣቸው ዘመናዊ ተገቢ ለመሆኑ
በግለሰብ ተቃርተ ቢሮው ደንብ ለውሳኔ ጥቅም በ24/6/86 ዓ/ም የተደገፈ የተሰጠ
ለገደቱከረው የባረሰባቸው ወይት ለገንጠብ ሰላሳ ተቃርተ ወይት ለገንጠብ ሰላሳ
የገደረገው መሆኑን ለ9 ወራት ደውሎ ገንጠብ ሰላሳ ስለሆነ የበላላ
ተቃርተ ቢሮ መምህራን ጉዳይ ላይ የረረሰባቸው ነገር በወርባዊ በለባቸው ለገንጠብ ሰላሳ

ለማሳለፍ::

ከላይ ጋር
ተሰጠ
አዲስ አበባ ለ/ጠ/ብ/ከ/ወ/ት/ጊ/ሪ

ገልባጭ:

አሁን ዘንድ መምህራን ግንባር
ሆኑ

→ ለአለቶ ጌታነን ቅሪት

በላላ

Appendix Thirteen

No. 680/89

Date: June 13, 1997

To: Sooro District Court Office

Gimbiču

የሰ/ወ/ዓ/ሕ/ወ/መ/ቁ/165/89

የሰ/ወ/ም/መ/ቁ/174/89

Plaintiff: Attorney of Sooro District

- Defendants: 1. Getahun Nuramo Address Hossana town; Age 35
2. Tesfaye Dalkasso Address Gimbiču town; Age 38
 3. Tadele Makebo Address Hosssana town, Age 26
 4. Admasu Haile Address Hahora PA, Age 35
 5. Wolde Mechale Hailmariam Address Sibiya and Arara PA, Age 45
 6. Daffar K'atisso Address Gimbiču town; Age 63

Crime: Being disobedient to respect the law in No. /ወ/መ/ሕ/ቁ/32/1/ u and 361

Description of Crime:

The defendants mentioned above are accused together with others who are not still detained because of agitating 950 people at Gimbiču town and other people in BonaDebora and Dant'aBidik'a peesant Associations not to pay a land tax and to react against the state.

Secondly, the individuals mentioned from number four to six are additionally accused because of refusing to pay a land tax and the debt of fertilizer taken on credit which is about 3176 Birr.

Getahun Daboche

Head of Attorney office of

Sooro District

Appendix Thirteen

ቀጥር 680/89

ቀን 01/10/89

ገቢዎች ወረዳ ፋ/ገፊ

2ኛው ደረጃ

የሰላሳገዝ/ወ/መ/ቁ 165/89

የሰላሳ/ወ/መ/ቁ. 174/89

ገንዘብ ወረዳ ሕገ

- 1ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ ንዳ/መ/ወ/ቁ ንተማ 08/35
- 2ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ ደገ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ ንተማ 08/38
- 3ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ መገ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ ንተማ 08/26
- 4ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ ንዳ/መ/ወ/ቁ ንተማ 08/35
- 5ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ ንዳ/መ/ወ/ቁ ንተማ 08/45
- 6ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ ንዳ/መ/ወ/ቁ ንተማ 08/63.

ወንጀል

የገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 32/1/ሀ/አ/5 361 የተመለከተውን መተካኝ
የወንጀል ገር ገር

ላይ በሕግ የተጠቀሱት ተካላቶች ፣ የመዘገብ ወንጀል ተክለኛ ሲሆን ስንደረጃው ይሁላቸው ወንጀል ናቸው። በሕግ ስንደረጃው የተጠቀሱት የሕግ ሰነድ ተክለኛ ሲሆን ስንደረጃው ይሁላቸው ወንጀል ናቸው።

- 1ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 1ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 189
- 2ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 2ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 189
- 3ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 3ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 189
- 4ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 4ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 950
- 5ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 5ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 950
- 6ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 6ኛ/ገፊ/ገ/ወ/መ/ቁ 950

ወንጀል ተክለኛ ሲሆን ስንደረጃው ይሁላቸው ወንጀል ናቸው።
2ኛ ክግ ነው ገቢዎች ወረዳ ሕገ ወንጀል ነው ስንደረጃው ይሁላቸው ወንጀል ናቸው።

ወንጀል

በጠ/መ/አ/ቀጭ 360 ላይ የተመለከተውን በመተሳሰብ
የወንጀል ዝርዝር

ቀክሶቹ ነሳይ ነፋተኔ እስከ 6ተኔ ቀጭ የተጠቀሱት
በሰው! በሕግ የተወሰነውን የመንግሥት ግብር ለእኛ
ተፈጥሮ ደስከፊ ስንደሰን በሕግ እንደሚጠየቅ እያወቅ
ው ተኔ ቀክሶ ደለብንን የእርሻ ሠራ ግብር ብር 55:00
6 የእራር ማደባሰብ ብር ብር 791:00 5ኛው ተኔ ቀክሶ
ግ ደለብንን የእርሻ ሠራ ግብር ብር 55:00፣ የእራር
ደባረብ ብር ብር 697:50 6ኛ ተኔ ቀክሶ ግ ደለብንን የእርሻ
ግብር ብር 55፣ የእራር ማደባሰብ ብር ብር 880
እና የእስክራምትን ብር 630:00 በደምኛ ብር 31-
00 የሆነውን የመንግሥት ገንዘብ ለማን እለብኛ
በገናው ክፍሉ ላይ በተጠቀሰው መልኩ ሕዝብን ለ
ግሥት ላይ ለመገኘት እና የመንግሥት ገንዘብ
ደስከፊ ስንደሰን ስንገባ ደስከፊ ስንደሰን ስንገባ
በገናውን ሕግ ለመገኘት ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ
ሕግ ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ
ግብር የመገኘት ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ ስንገባ

ይተሠጥጥ በግብር

የሰው መሪ በ/ህግ መ/ገንዘብ
ህግ

Appendix Fourteen

የዳንብ ዳግም እንቅጥላ ሕዝብ የመብት ጥያቄ

ሕዝቡ በሃይማኖት ዘንግ በቦር ወረዳ ባሉ ተቀላቃሽ ውስጥ በተለይም በደንብ፣ ሀገራችን ላይ ለተከሰቱ ስርዓቶች ለረደብ፣ ሀገራችን በየጊዜውም ለደንብ፣ ሀገራችን ላይ ለሀሰት የቀረበው ውስጥ በብዛት የሠራ ሲሆን በሃይማኖት በሚሰጠው ጋር ባለው የመገንጠት ወቅት በጣህንወት የገለገሉ ስርዓቶች ለጥናት ላይ ያላቸውን የመብት ጥያቄ በየጊዜው ወደ ክልሉ ዎ/ቤት ጭመኑ ሲያደርሱ የነበረ ሲሆን የክልሉ ዎ/ቤትም በጉዳዩ ላይ ዘርዘር ጥናት እንዲያደርጉ በጥሰራ ለጉዳዩ ለጥንቱ ለሕዝብ ሕዝቡ በውሃ እና በጥያቄ ለሃይማኖት መስተዳድር ለኪሳት ጋር በውስጥ ጥናት ለጥናት በተገናኝተው መሠረት በ21/4/90 ቦር ወረዳ የደንብ ዳግም እንቅጥላ ሕዝብ በሚገኝባቸው ተቀላቃሽ በተባሉ የሕዝብ ስብሰባ ላይ ሕዝቡ የጥቅም ለውጥ ለተገኘው ስጦታ/ጠቀላላ የሰበሰቡትን ጉዳዮች በቅጽ ተቀይረዋል/

ሕዝቡ ለተገኘው ክፍል በሰጡ ጥናት ጥናት ስርዓት ለሰራተኛዎች፡፡

••ቦር ወረዳ ውስጥ ሁለት ብሔረሰቦች ለሉ ይኸውም ደንብ ዳግም እንቅጥላ እና ሃይማኖት ብሔረሰቦች ለሉ ድር ድርገት ይህን ለገር ባካለ ጊዜ በስያሜ ላይ ጥያቄ ተነሥተው ነበር ይኸው በዘውድ ለገዛ ጊዜ ጥያቄው ወረዳ ተቀላቃሽ ይጠራ ነበር ጋላ ገን ስለ ስያሜ ሲነሣ ከሁለቱም ብሔረሰቦች የሀገር ሽግግራችን ተጠቅሞ ለጉዳዩም በተደረገበት ወቅት ጥናት ዳግም ተቀላቃሽ እንደሰጠው ተረጋግጦ ይህም የሁለቱም ብሔረሰቦች ስም ያካለ ነበር፡፡ በመረጃ ይህም ከተባለው ጥያቄ የሽግግር የደንብ ተረጋግጦ ወረዳ የሚባል ሕዝብ በወረዳችን የለም ብሎ ጥናት የሚባለውን ስም ብቻ በጊዜው የሰጠው ለተገኘው ስብሰባ /ሊገርስ ገብረ/ ለተሰጠው፡፡ ይህም በሚጀምሮ በ1980 ተከታትሎ ነበር፡፡ ይኸው ስያሜ ተከታትሎ ለይደለም በጥላት በተከታትሎ የተቃዋሚ ጠቅላይ ተጠቃሚ ነገር ገን ባለሥልጣናት ሃይማኖት በውስጥ ትኩረት እና ነውገን ብዙ ባንከራተኝ በጋላ የመረጃ ውሳኔ ሲሰጠን በነበረበት ወቅት የደርግ መገንጠት ወደቀ፡፡ በቦታው ሲሰጥ ለጉዳዩ ተቆጣጣሪ ዘር፣ በዘር፣ ገዛ፣ በገዛ፣ በባህሪ፣ በባህሪ ተደራጅ የሚል ለካሊድ መጣ በዚህ መሠረት ለጥናት ድጋሚ ተደራጅቶ ነገር ገን ይህ ሃይማኖት ለተቆጣጠሩ ድርጅቶች የውጥ ጥላት ደውረ፣ በድርጅት የሚመጣ የለጥተ ሥራ ለሕዝባችን እንደደርሰው የተገኘው ሕዝብ ጥናት ሥራ እንዲይዝ እና በሌላ ቦታ ወደዚህ ተዛወር መጣ ሠራተኞቻችን በተከታትሎ ሥራ ለጉዳዩም ተከታትሎ የቦታ ሥራ እንኳ ይከለክላል የሁሉ የኢትዮጵያ ብርሃን ለሰጠው፡፡ ብዙ ሽግግራችን ለዚህ ባንከራተኝ ሕዝባችን ለሰጠው፡፡ በየተኛው ሠራ ለሕዝባችን ለሰጠው በሰጠው ስርዓት/ቤት/ በግራ በመስተዳድር ስም የለኛ ብሔረሰብ ተወካይ የለም በዚህ በየሰጠው ተከታትሎ ሁሉ ሥራ ጠቀሰ፡፡

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ተገቢ ከባለፈው አመት ጀምሮ ከግዕዝ ጋር ጋር ወክሎ የገኙ የሚሉት ተወካዮች
በግምገማታችን በሥራችን እንኳ ወጥሮ ስለሌሉ:: የምህንድ ምንም የመብት ፍንቅ አልታዩ
በሌሉ:: በአባቶቻችን ከክልል ተወካዮች ተቀላቅሎ ለዘን ሲገኝ ለገዢው እኛ ይባላል
ከክልሉ በደረሰ ያደርሱባቸዋል:: ከዘን ባለፈው አመት በአባቶቻችን መሠረት በተባበሩበት
የደንብ ጥቅም አንቀጥሎ ሕዝብ መብት ይጠበቅጥበውረዋል ተወካይ ይኔቸው፡፡ በዘንም ደረጃ
ወክሎች በመንገሥት ጋር ውሳኔ ይሰጥበታል ይህም በሥነ ስራ ውስጥ ይከናወናል
በቀበሌያተኛ/በገን ቀበሌያተ/ ውስጥ የሕዝቡ ተወካይ ይሁንላቸው ብሎ ነበር:: ነገር
ገን የጎሳ ተወካይ ይሁንላቸው ብሎ ነበር:: ነገር ገን የጎሳ ጎሳ ይህ ሳይሆን
ቁቷል:: የአጠቃላይ ጉዳይ መደብተ ስንጠባበቅ ነበረን ባትመጡ ኖሮ አንደሌላዎችን
በአባቶቻችን ለመሄድ አያሳብን ነበር:: ቸገራችንን ለሚመለከተው ክፍል ለደርሱሉን በመንገሥት
ሥራ ለሁን የምንለምናቸው አኩላ አንድንኛ አንድታደርጉ ከኛ ላይ አንቸውን አንዲያነሱ
አንድታደርጉ ነው:: እኛ በምንለው ነፃ ከሚባለው አንድታደርጉ ነው አይረ የምንለው

••ከአ.አ ወደ አዋሃ እነዚህ ሰዎች ለምን አንዲህ ይሆናሉ እያለ ተወካዮች
ይሠጥላቸዋል ይሻገራሉ:: ነገር ገን የክልሉን ም/ቤተ ሰብደርስ እኛን የምያውቁ
ሰዎች ስላሉ በዘበኛ የለም መለሱ እየተባሉን እስከ አራት ቀን እንኳ ስንከራተት
የቀየንባቸው ጊዜያት አሉ:: አንዳንድ ለዘን ነገረናል ሂደት ይሉናል:: አንዳንድ
በገን የታችን ደብዳቤ ይሰጡናል:: በዚህ ሁኔታ እስከ 15 ቀን እንኳ ተገቢ ተገቢ
ሰው ሃይማኖት ደግሞ ምንም የለም ሂደት ይሉናል:: አንድ በአዋሃ ጥቅም የሚባል
ሕዝብ የለም አንድ ቀበሌ ብቻ ነው ተብሎ የተባረብንን አዋሃ አገንን ለላ ጊዜ
ደግሞ በባት ሰዎች የሕዝብን ገንዘብ ለመብላት ከሚንጠቀሱት ጠቅላይ ለላ ሕዝብ የለም
የሚሉ ተፅዕኖታት ይደርሳቸዋል:: አንዳንድ ደግሞ ዳርግም ባለፉት መንገሥታት በሥራ ላይ
የነበሩ አባቶቻችን የሥራ ቦታ መልሰው አንዲሰጡን ያስመሰሉ ይፀፋቸዋል ይህን
ከደረሰንባቸው በጎሳ አንዲህ ከሆነው መንገሥት ይህን ቸገራችንን እስከያውቅ ድረስ
ገብርም አንከፍልም አልን:: መንገሥት አርምጃ ይውሰዱ የሚሉ አዎ ያዘን ከዚያ
በጎሳ በእኛ ላይ በግንዛቤ ለያስተኑ ጀመሩ ፖሊስ ወደ ቀበሌያቸው ተለከው ሰው መያዝ
ሲሆኑ አንድያውስ ••ፖሊስ ሰው ለታሰቡት ቸገራችን ተባብረዋል:: ፖሊስንም
በዚህ መሠረት አንዲያገቡ ተከላክለን የዘያነ ነው መንገሥት ያውቀን:: ሰው ሲጠቀስ
መንገሥት ለውቀን የገብረ ገንዘብ ለምን አይሰጠው ሰው የቀ ገና ••ጥቅም••
አልከፈል ብሏል:: ለሌላ ሰው ታሪክ ነው:: ሰንሰለት ሲተው ግን ተባብረዋል
ይጠበቅ ለተሰጠው በግለሰብ የታሰሩት ለጊዜው ተራተው ጎሳ ደግሞ መልሰው መላለሰው

የወረዳ መንግሥት መርዳት ሲቸል ነው እኛ አዩተንን ያለውን ስን ከድርጅት ደረጃ ገቢን ነገ ለ ነፍጠኛዎች ቧለት ነበርን ከድርጅት በኋላ ኢሕአገን ነው ነፃ ያመጣን ከተግባሩ በኋላ ለ ነዚህ / ሃዲያጅቸ / በኛ ላይ ከረብንጅቸ ኢሕአገንን ምን ለርገነው ነው ለገንዘብ ለገንዘብ ለገንዘብ የሌለው ከዚህም የተነሣ የምንገባበትም ሆነ ከሥራ ከሥራ የለም፡፡ ወንጀለኛ የምናሰዘበትም የለም፡፡ እገዛለንም ያህያዬ የሌሊት ገቢዎች ነው አንድን ያለው ለገንዘብ ለገንዘብ ያለው፡፡ በአዋጅ ፊደሎቻችን ለሌሊት፡፡ በሌሊት ፊደሎቻችን ለሌሊት፡፡ ኢሕአገንን ለደረሰ ከዚህ ለውጣን በሌለን እኛ ያለሌላና ያለገብር ለውረዳ ለገንዘብ መኖር አንችልን? አንዲናርገን፡፡ ከሌላው ጋር ለኩል አገዳጅ፡፡ አገንዘብ ለድርጅቱን ለስቴ ይህ የደንገጃ ጭማሪ አንችቸላ ሕዝብ ይሠጣሉ በሌላ ጭማሪ አገዳጅ የድርጅቱን ለሌላዚያ ሃዲያ መጥተ አገዳጅን በመሳሪያ ጠርፎን ፊደሎቻችን ለረዳ፡፡

የ/ክፍሉ/ በመስተዳድሩ ለከላት ተሳታፊ ለመሆን በምርጫጅ ላይ ያለው ተሳታፊ ምን ያህል ነው? ተፅዕኖ ስላለ ወይ?

•• በሌሊት ያለው ከመወለድ በፊት ተገኝ ስለ ቸገራችን ለናገር የደንገጃ ጭማሪ አንችቸላ ሕዝብ በራሱ ወጭ/ገንዘብ/ በጣሊ ሠርገት ከጥንት ደምር የሚኖር ሕዝብ ነው፡፡ ሌሊት ለገዛዜ ደገብ ለተ ጭማሪ ለራገን ጭማሪ የደንገጃ ጭማሪ አንችቸላ ሕዝብ ለሰረሰገ ለና ደስጋው መብታቸው ይጠባቅቁ ብሎ ሂደ፡፡ ከዚያ በኋላ ለተ ታምራት ፀርፎ / የዘነ ለገብር / ለገንገል ጭማሪ አንችቸላ አገዳጅ አገዳጅ አገዳጅ አገዳጅ አገዳጅ አገዳጅ አገዳጅ / ለምት / ወረዳ ለሰረሰገ ወክልና ደስጋ ብሎ ሂደ ነበር ነገር ገን ይህ ያለ ብቻ ነበር ለገን ለገብር ምን ለሰረሰገ ገንዘብ የሕግ ለመገኛቸው ነው፡፡

በገንዘብ ያለ ደገብ የወረዳው ለ/ወገብር / ለተ ሳጡሉ ወ ነቦ/ የባሕል መሪያችንን ሕዝብ ለተ በደባቸው በዚህም ተወቅቶ ሂሳብ ተጠቃለ፡፡ ከዚያም በኋላ ከድርጅታችን ጭዕኖች ለራት ባሕል ከገብር ባሕል ለደስጋ ለው ለሠሠረበን / በገንገላ / 20 ዋን በገጃ 20 ገብረ ያቸን ከገንገት 1 15 ትንፀጭሪ በደቺራ ከ20 የሚነሱ ሰቻቸ ለሳሠረ ተው ለገን በኋላ የባሕል ጭማሪ መሪያችንን ለና ለሌቸ ለጭገያዝ ሠራዊት ለስታት ለገን ከዚያ የተነሳ ሕዝቡ ሸሽ ተበተነ ገንዘባችንን ሸሽተው ሂደው በሕዝብ ዘን ለገ ለውሰጥ ላይ በጣሊ ጫካ ሕይወታቸው በምን ሁኔታ ለገደቡ ባለታወቁት ሁኔታ ለተውሰ ለገ ለዘህ ሲሉ ለስባሁን ወደ ባታቸው ለተውሰጡ፡፡ ይህ ከሆነና መንግሥት በራገን ለሌላን / ይሸላል፡፡ ለሁን በተከፈለው ምርጫ ደገብ በሰረረና በሲያ በተከፈለው 15 ተብላ ያ ደለባለ 00 25/ በታደሰ መከባ 1308 35/ ታምራት ታክረ 1200 ደምፀ ለጭት ባላረ

የደምፀ ቦረጃዎችን ለዚህ ለንዲቷ እና ለንዲቱም ለርገው ገንቢቸ ይዘው በሃይ
 ልዩ ጣቢያ ለንዲያድር ተደርጎ በአቃቤ በገላ ቤት ለንዲቱም ተደረገ/ገታሁን ደብዳቤ/
 ተከፋይ መሣሪያ አስይዘው አያስጠበቁ ተቆጣሪ/ይህ ገታሁን ደብዳቤ ለንዲቱ ተወላጅ ለራሱ
 ለር/ ለላ ለዓ ኳሌል ዳውሎስ የተባለውና የወረዳው ሊ'ወገብር ጣምጥጥ ለንዲቱ ለባለው
 ተቃራኒ ገታሁን ጣምጥጥ ነው ጣላፍ ያለበት በዓለት ሁለተኛ ሆኖ የላፈውን ታደሰ መከባን
 ለማስተ ገታሁን ለንዲያልፍ ዛሬ በገ:10 ደቂቃ ላይ አደረገ:። ይህ ደገዎ የምርጫ
 ርዳታ አስፈላጊ ውሳኔ ከባለው ስጦት ድክመት የተነሳ ነው:። ለላው ተስፋ ያለበት የተባለ
 ሃይደ ዞን ም/ቤተ የመጣ ጦቱን ለላ ጋ መቆጣጠር ተተው በደንገ ጣም ለንዲቱ ላይ ባይ ባይ
 ጠጥሮ በዓድረገ ለኛ ባሉን ባቸው ተቀላይት ለየዘረ በ1ኛ ደንብ በባላ ደንብ በገኛ ለተር
 የዘረ ለነሱን ለንዲቱ መርጦ ብሎ ለሃይደባን ደገዎም በአቃይና አረርና ሰቢያ ተቀላይት
 ለሰጥ ከርዱ በገዛ በ17/4/90 መታደል ሲገባው ለንዲታ ለገባቱ ለሃይደታ ተረፈፈፍ
 ገታ ቀደም ለሕዝቡ ተረፈፈፍ አደረገ:። ከዚህም የተነሳ በ17 ተወላጅ በላይ ቀየንበት
 ገራቸንን ለጃቻቸንን የመረጥ ፀዱል አባገ:። በ11ኛ ተቀላይቻቸን ባሉ ቦታ የለላ ፖሊስ
 መደባባባል ይህም ለኛን ለዓራን ታሰባ ነው:። መጠንቻቸውን ሕዝቡ ለውቀ ቢሆን ኖር
 20,000 በላይ ሕዝብ ይሠበሰብ ነበር የዚን ነት ጥያቄ የሆነውን የገብርና የዓሳባሬያ
 ላይ አለ መክፈትን ከመብት ጥያቄ ጋር ለንዲቱ ለሰጥጥቷ ታይታላቸው?

•• የዓሳባሬያ ፀዱን ያልከለለ ነው ምክንያቱ መተዳደሩ ከአራት የዓይባሰው ሥራ ለጥ
 የሆኑ ገለበቦች የሚያራምዱት ጥያቄ ለንዲ ደንገ ጣም ለንዲቱ ሕዝብ ጥያቄ አይደለም:።
 ገባላቸውን የሕዝብ ጥያቄ መሆኑን ለማሳየት ነው ገብር የቆየው ገብር ለና ዓሳባሬያ መክፈል
 ለሃይደ ሕዝብ ባሪያዎች የሚያስደርገን ከሆነ የገው ላለውከለናቸው ለእናንተ ለንዲቱም
 ቢሆን ቢሆን በሕላጅና ወገቸን ከሚመሳሰሉ ለከለዎ ዞን ለንዲቱን ብለን ለምቢ ብለናል:።
 ይህ የዓት ተቀራኝ ከሆነ ከረሳጋቸው ጨርሱን ብለናል:። የክልል መንገድ መብቻቸን ለከሲ
 ያሳጧቸውን ስለተጨቁን ነው ያልከለለ ነው:። ከዚያ ለላ ደገዎ ጣም ደንገ ለንዲቱ ለዓቸውን
 የደራቸው ሃይደ ከሳባቸው ለምሉ ሃይደዎች ሰላባቸውን ለንዲታው ለዓቸውን ከሚጠፋ
 መደባቸውን ይጥፋ ብለን ነው:። ለምቢ ያለ ነው ተቀላይቻቸውን ተያይዘው ለከሰ ስም ሽለቀ
 ለሰጧቸው መገባርም መታዘዝም ከሆነ ለከለዎ ዞን ለንዲቱ ለንዲታቸውን ለንዲታቸውን:።

ተም/ቢተቸን በተቀላይቻቸውን ለይዘራቸው ቢታይ ኖር የወደቀ ለጃቻቸውን በባለባቸው
 በገንገሩን የገደቡን እና ያልታደሱ ናቸው:። ይህም የሚሆነው ለኛን ሃይደ ነው ከሳላቸው
 ተቀራኝ የሰጧት ሥራዎችን ለራሳቸው ባይ በዓድረገቸው ነው:። ለላኛው ለገራቸው ወጣ ገባና
 ተራራዓ በመሆኑ በሽተኞቹንና ነፍሰጠሮቹን ወደ ሃኪም ቤት ለመውሰድ ለንዲቱ ለንዲታቸውን
 ለና ጣቢያ ለንዲ የለንም ሰተቸ በሃይደዎች ለመለፍባቸው ለንዲ የምንፋረደባት የለንም:። ለሰዚህ
 ነው ባህነሱ በሃይደዎች ለይ ከምንገዛ ባንምተ ይሻለናል:። ብለን ነው ለምቢ ያለናቸው:።

ሰለዘህ አደራቸውን ለሚመለከተው ሁሉ አደርገው ለሰበሰቡ ለሁሉ እናገብጥ እንደ የላቲን
ጭቀት * * * ታሪካዊ ስሜት ለማለት ይቻላል። አደራቸውን ጭቀት ይረሰብ።

ከመደራረቡ ጭቀት የሚሉትን ሕዝብ እንዲያገዙ ተይዞ/በሰበሰቡ/

* * * ጭቀት ለሁሉም በወጣው ለጭቀት ጭቀት

. በየደረጃው ተወካይ ይላገባል

. የሰጠው ተሳታፊ እንዲሆን ይደረገዋል

. ተወካይ እንዲሆን ከተደረገ ለሁሉም ነገር ታስታይ

ነገ የኛ ጥያቄ የሚከተሉት ጥያቄ ነው።

~~5~~ 8

በደንብ ጥያቄ ከገባችሁ ሕዝብ የሙሉ ጥያቄ ላይ የዘነዎ/ባት ለስተያየት

•• በህገ መንግሥት ሆነ በዘነዎ መሰረት ገንዘብ ለነገ /ደንብ ጥያቄ ለገኙ ቸላን/ ለገደ በሚረሰብ ልንጠር ስለቻልንም:: ነገር ገን በሚረሰብ ነን ባለው ለገደ ሕዝብ ለገደ በሚረሰብ ሊያረጋገጥ ይቻላል እኛ ለገን ለናደርገው ከዚያ ውጭ በራሳችሁ ማረጋገጥ ነው ያለባችሁ ለስብዚያ ገን ለገደ ሃሊያ ነው የሚናገሩት::

•• ለገን ያገኙት ድርጅት ስላችሁ:: በዚያ ድርጅት ተዘገበው መውጣት ይቻላል ገን ውድድሩ ሲገባ በውድድሩ ስለሚሸነፉ ወንበር ያጣሉ:: ለስብዚያ ድርጅት ደገም በውክልና ቢታወቅ ማገኘት ይረዳል:: ስለዚህ በሚረሰብነት መረጋገጥ ለሌላው:: በዚያ ውጭ በፖርት ነት ውክልና ለይሰጥም::

•• ከተወሰኑ ለመታተ በፊት በዕርገጥ በወረሃ ደረጃ ቸገር ነበር:: ለሁን ገን ሁነታዎቹ ተስተካክለው ለሁን ቸገሩ ተገብተዋል:: ከዚያ ውጭ ለዳኑት ሃይደረገ ለገደ ማገኛውን ገለሰብ ለገደ ማገደሩ ነው ለየተደረገ ያለው::

ፖርት ያቸው ሕጋዊ ሠውነት ያለው ለይደለም በሚረሰብነት ለማረጋገጥ የራሳችሁ መረጃ ነው የሚወስነው እኛ ማንነታችሁን የምንወሰን ለይደለም::

ማገኛው የሌላው ሥራ ለገደ ማገኛው የሃሊያ ለከባቢ ለየተሠራ ነው ያለው ታሪክ የተባሉት የሕዝባችሁ ለባላት በነገ የፖርት የባላይ ለመረር ውስጥ ያሉ ማጠባለያ የሌሎችን የገብር ክፍያ ለገን ይከፍሉ ያደረጉ ፍቺ ለገን በሕዝብ ነታችሁ የተወሰደ ባቸው ስርዎች የለም::

ከገብር ለሰባሰብ ጋር የተያያዘ ለነገ በበዛት የሠረዘባችሁ ተባይት ውስጥ የራሳችሁን ሰው በየተባሉት ለገን መረራ በማድረግ ለገብር ለሠባሰቡን ለገን ለማድረግ ለማድረግ ለሠባሰቡ ለወረሃ ሥ/ባት ሥርዓት ደገም የሁሉም /የሃሊያም የደንብ ጥያቄ ለገባችሁ ተወዳዳሪ የለ/ ብለዋል::

ለሕዝቡ የሙሉ ጥያቄ ለመታተ ለቸገሩ የሙሉ ሕዝብ ስም/ባት ተጨቅሎ
•• ለገደ ማገኛው ሃሊያ በሚረዳው ማንነታችሁ ተከብሮ መኖር፣ ለና ለላው እኛ ለገደ ሃሊያ ነው የሚናገሩት ከዚያ ውጭ ለገደ ለሌሎች በሚረሰቡ ጥያቄ ለብር የሚረዳ ነው የሚሆነው በሌላው ደገም ሕዝቡን ማስተግር ያለብን ይመስላል:: በሌላው ለከባቢ የሚረሰብ ማንነት ጥያቄ በማንነታችሁ ጥላቻ ለገን ይደረግ ነው:: ተወዳዳሪ ለሌሎች ለገን ለገደ ሕዝብ ተወካይ ሊሆን የሚችልበት ሁኔታ ይኖራል:: ነገር ገን በፖርት ነት ለና ለሌሎች::

Appendix Fifteen



የደንግ ዱባዎ ከንቲታ ሕዝብ
ዲፕሎሞሲያዊ ድርጅት

ቁጥር 5ክ/02/307/92
ቀን 8/02/92

ለኢ.ፌ.ዲ.ሪ የፌዴሬሽን ም/ቤት
አዲስ አበባ

ጉዳይ:- የእናሳ ሕዝቦች ውክልና ጥያቄን ይመለከታል

የደንግ ዱባዎ ከንቲታ ሕዝብ በደ/ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ/ መንግሥት በሀዲያ ዞን የሚገኝ ሆኖ እንደማንኛውም ብሔር ብሔረሰብና ሕዝብ በአገር ጉዳይ የሚሳተፍበት መንገድ እንዲተየሰለትና በማንነቱ ታውቆ ለመኖር እንዲችል በተፈጠረለት የዲፕሎሞሲ ሂደት ተጠቅሞ ለ8 ዓመታት ሲታገል መኖሩና በትግል ወቅትም የሥልጣን ባለቤት የሆነው ሕዝብ በፈጠረው ችግር በእስራትና ስደት መሰቃየቱን በተለያዩ ጊዜያት በተጻፉ የሕዝብ ማመልከቻዎች ከመግለጹም በተጨማሪ በ1989 ዓ.ም. ከደ/ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ/ መንግሥት የተላከው ቡድን እስከወረዳውና የሕዝቡ መኖሪያ ክልል ድረስ ገብቶ አጥንቶ በመለሰም የተደረሰበት ውጤት ግን ይፋ ሆኖ አለመገለፁ የታዩ ችግሮች ሲሆኑ በሌላ በኩል አብሮ የሚኖረው የሀዲያ ሕዝብ የደንግ ዱባዎ ከንቲታ ሕዝብን በማንነቱ ቢያውቀውም የፖለቲካ ድርጅቱ ከሕዝቡ የተለየ አመላካክት በማያዝ በማረን ሕዝቡ ማንነቱን እንዲያጣ ባህሉና ቋንቋው ጨርሶ እንዲጠፋ ብርቱ ጥረት ቢያደርግም የሕዝቡ ትግልና የመሪው ድርጅቱም አቋም በመጠንከሩ ከዞን እስከ አገር አቀፍ ላለው ድጋፍ ባያሳይም በዋናው የሕዝቡ ክልል በሆነው በሶር ወረዳ ሁለት የወረዳ ም/ቤት ሥ/አ/ አባላት ድርሻ ለድርጅታችን ሰጥቶ ህዝቡን በማገልገል ላይ መሆናቸው የማይካድ ሆኑ ነው።

አገራችን የምትተዳደርበት ህገ መንግሥትም እትዮጵያን ብሔር ብሔረሰቦችና ሕዝቦችን ራሳቸውን በራሳቸው የማስተዳደር መብት በሚያጎናጽፍ መልኩ ተቀርጾ በመተዳደር ላይ በሚገኙበት ሂደት ላይ የደንግ ዱባዎ ከንቲታ ሕዝብ በሌላ ህዝብ አመራርና አስተዳደር ሥር መውደቁ ሕገ መንግሥታዊ መብቱ መሸራረፉን የሚያሳይ በመሆኑ በእናሳ ብሔረሰብነት ሕዝቡ የሚወከልበት መንገድ እንዲተየሰልን ዘንድ በታላቅ አክብሮት እንጠይቃለን።



ከወላምታ ጋር
ጌታችን ነራዎ
የደዳክህደድ ማዕከላዊ ኮሚቴ
ለመንበር

ה' תשנ"ח
 חתום ארבע נוסבם חתום יחדיו נא
 ארבע חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא

ה' תשנ"ח
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא

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 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא

ה' תשנ"ח
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא

ה' תשנ"ח
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא
 חתום ארבע חתום יחדיו נא



Handwritten signatures and scribbles at the bottom of the page.

Appendix Seventeen



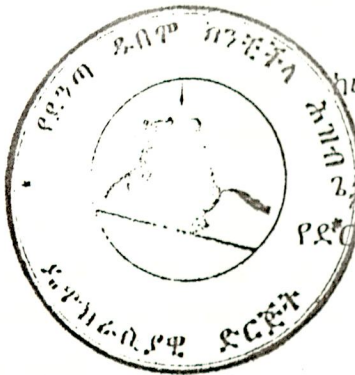
የደንግ ዱባም ኪንፎችላ ሕዝብ
ዲሞክራሲያዊ ድርጅት

ቁጥር ዳዳኔ/02/72/93
ቀን 06/04/93 01:50

ለአ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ የሕገ መንግሥት ጉዳዮች አጣሪ ጉባኤ
አዲስ አበባ

ጉዳዩ:- የድርጅታችን አባላት የሆኑና የሕዝብ ተወካይ ሽማግሌዎች የሕዝባችንን
ውክልና በተመለከተ ያቀረቡትን አቤቱታ ስለመላክ።

ከላይ በርዕሱ ለተጠቀሰው የድርጅታችን የደንግ ዱባም ኪንፎችላ ሕዝቦች
ዲሞክራሲያዊ ድርጅት አባላት የወከሏቸው አቤቱታ አቅራቢዎች የተጓደሉ የሕዝብ ሕገ
መንግሥታዊ መብቶች እንዲከበሩላቸው ለሚመለከታቸው የመንግሥት አካላት
እንዲያቀርቡ በወከሏቸው መሠረት ጽፈው ያዘጋጁትን አቤቱታ 2 ገጽ ከዚህ መሸኛ ጋር
አያይዘን ማቅረባችንን እንገልጻለን።



አላገምታ ጋር
ጌቶሁን ኑራጥ
የድርጅቱ ሊቀመንበር

45

ተከላከለ ሃሳብ

የደንግ ዱባም ኪንፎችላ ሕዝብ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ድርጅት

ለኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ የሕገ መንግሥት ጉዳዮች አጣሪ ጉባኤ ጸ/ቤት አዲስ አበባ

ጉዳዩ:- የአናሳ ሕዝብ ውክልናን ይመለከታል:-

የደንጣ ዱባጥ ኪቺቺታ ሕዝብ በደ/ብ/ብ/ሕ/ክ/መንግሥት በሀዲያ ዞንና በሌሎች አገራት ስምምነት ሆኖ እንደሚገኘውም ኢትዮጵያዊያን ብሔር ብሔረሰቦችና ሕዝቦች የራሱን ዕድል በራሱ የመወሰን በቋንቋው የመናገር ቋንቋችንን የማሳደግና ባህልን የመግለጽ፣ ማዳበር ታሪክን የመንከባከብ መብት በማጣታችን ላለፉት ዓመታት የሚያቋርጥ ትግል ማድረጋችንና ለሚመለከታቸው የመንግሥት አካላት በሰላማዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መንገድ አቤቱታዎችን ስናቀርብ መቆየታችን የሚታወስ ነው።

የደንጣ ዱባጥ ኪቺቺታ ሕዝብ በመሪ ድርጅቱ እየታገዘን ሕዝብ በሕዝብነቱ ማግኘት የሚገባውን ሕገ መንግሥታዊ መብትና ጥቅም ለማስከበር በተወካዮቹና በድርጅቱ አማካይነት

1. ለኢትዮጵያ የሽግግር መንግሥት የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት አቤቱታ አቅርቦን ከምክርቤቱ ለክልሎች ጉዳይ ዘርፍ እንደሚገኘውም ብሔር ብሔረሰብ መብቱ የሚከበርበት ሁኔታ እንዲመቻቸልን በተለያዩ ጊዜያት የጽሁፍ አመራር ጭምር ተሰጥቶ በተዋረድ ለክልል ቢተላለፍም አለመፈጸሙ።
2. በክልላችን ምክርቤት ከአቀረብነው ተከታታይ አቤቱታዎችና ጉትጉታ የተነሳ በ1989 ዓ/ም አንድ አጥኝ ቡድን ተመድቦ አጥንቶ ካለው ተጨባጭና ከጥያቄአችን መሠረታዊነት የተነሳ ትክክለኛና ጠቃሚ ውሳኔ ይሰጣል ብለን የጠበቅነው የጥናት ውጤት ተግባራዊ ያለመሆኑ።
3. ለኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ መንግሥት የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ምክርቤት የፌዴሬሽን ምክርቤትና ለሕገ መንግሥት ጉዳዮች አጣሪ ጉባኤ ያቀረብናቸው አቤቱታዎች የደረሰበት እልባት ባለመታወቁ ለማመልከት ተገደናል።

በኢትዮጵያ ሀገራችን ለብሔር ብሔረሰቦችና ሕዝቦች መብት መከበር ዋስትና የሚሰጥ የኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ ሕገ መንግሥት ከጸደቀበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ ሕገ መንግሥቱ ሳይሸራረፍብን ለመጠቀም እንድንበቃ የበኩላችንን ትግል ብናደርግም በሚከተለው መልኩ ተሸራርፎብን እንገኛለን።

1. ከላይ እንደተጠቀሰው ሁሉ የደንጣ ዱባጥ ኪቺቺታ ሕዝብ በቁጥር አናሳ ከመሆኑን የተነሳ የራሱን ስምምነት ምርጫ ክልልና የቀጥታ ውክልና ባለመስጠቱ ምንም ዓይነት ብቃትና ችሎታ ያለው የደንጣ ተወላጅ ቢሆንም የመመረጥ መብት ሊያገኝ ባለመቻሉም ላለፉት 9 /ዘጠኝ/ /ዓመታት በየትኛውም የስልጣን እርከን የደንጣ ሕዝብ ተወላጅ ተመራጭ አለመኖሩ በሕገ መንግሥታችን አንቀጽ 38 የተደነገገውን የመምረጥና የመመረጥ መብት ያሳጣንና ያለፍላጎታችንን በቁጥር ብዛት ያለውን ሕዝብ እየመረጥን እንድንገዛ ማድረጉ።
2. ሕዝቦች የራሱን ጉዳይ በራስ የመወሰን፣ ራሱን የማስተዳደር መብት በሕገ መንግሥታችን አንቀጽ 39 በግልጽ ሰፍሮ እያለ ሕዝባችን በሌላ አካል ውሳኔና አማራጭ መተዳደሩ።

መኪከር ፀደቀው ፍርድ ገደብ



3. አንድ ሕዝብ በራሱ የሥልጣን ባለቤትነት ያለተገናኘፈ ሆኖ እያለ ባህሉን ቋንቋውን ታሪኩንና ማንነቱን ያስከብራል፣ ያሳድጋል፣ ይጠቀማል ብሎ ማሰብ ከቶ የማይቻል ለመሆኑ የሀገራችን ሕዝቦች ካለፉት የአስተዳደር ሥርዓቶች በጉልህ የሚያውቁትና የሚያረጋግጡት ማስረጃዎቹ ሲሆን የደንጣ ሕዝብ በሌላ ሕዝብ አስተዳደር ሥር ወድቶ እያለ ከላይ የተጠቀሱት መብቶች ለመሸራረፋቸው ማስረጃ የሚሻ አይደለም።

4. ለዲሞክራሲያዊ መብት መስፈንና የሕዝቦች ሁለንተናዊ መብቶች መከበር በምጣኔ ሁብት አረገድ ማደግ፣ የኑሮ ሁኔታዎችን ማሻሻል በልማት መሳተፍና በሻርጃክቶች መወያየትና መወሰን መብት ሕገ መንግሥታችን በግልጽ የሚሰጥ ሆኖ የሥልጣን ባለቤት የሆነው ክፍል በማፈኑ የደንጣ ሕዝብ ተጠቃሚ ልንሆን ባለመቻላችን ለድህነትና ለኋላ ቀርነት ተዳርገናል።

5. የደንጣ ዱባሞ ክንቸችላ ሕዝብ በራሱ የተለየ ቋንቋ፣ ባህል ታሪክና በአንድ በተያያዘ መልክ ምድር የሚኖር፣ የተዛመደ ህልውና ያለውና የሥነ ልቦና አንድነት ያለው ሕዝብ መሆኑ አብሮት በሚኖረው የሀዲያ ሕዝብ ሊያረጋገጥለት የሚችልና የደቡብ ብሔር ብሔረሰቦችና ሌሎች ክልላዊ መንግሥት ም/ቤትም ስለ ሕዝቡ ማንነት በአስጠናው መሠረት ተጨባጭ ግንዛቤ ያለው ሆኖ እያለ በመንግሥት በኩል ሲሰጠን የሚገባው እውቅና ባለመሰጠቱ ከላይ ለተጠቀሱትና ለመሳሰሉት ችግሮች ተዳርገን ኖረናል።

ስለዚህ ከዚህ በፊት ለበርካታ ጊዜያት ያቀረብናቸውን አቤቱታዎች በመመልከትና የሕዝባችንን ብሶትና እንግልት ከግምት ውስጥ በማስገባት እንዲሁም የስልጣን ባለቤት ባልሆነው ሕዝብ ላይ የሚደርሱትን የፍትህ አጠቃቀም፣ የአስተዳደር በደል የኢኮኖሚና ማህበራዊ ጥቅማ ጥቅሞች መሸራረፍ የሰባዊና ዲሞክራሲያዊ መብቶች መጣስ ችግርን በማጤን የተጥታ ውክልና መብት እንዲሰጠን ተደርጎ በሀገራችንና በሕዝባችን ጉዳይ በተጥታ በኢንዱስትሪዎቻችን አማካይነት እንድንሳተፍ በማድረግ የተሸራረፉብን የሕገ መንግሥታዊ መብቶች እንዲከበሩልን በሚያስችለን መልኩ በማናቸውም የመንግሥት ደረጃ በየጊዜው በሚካሄደው ምርጫ በተጥታ እንደሚሳተፍ ልዩ የምርጫ ክልል እንዲሰጠን ዘንድ በትህትና እናመለክታለን።

ከሆላምታ ጋር

የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ሽማግሌዎች

1. አቶ መኰበ ሚዲጎ መኰበ ሆላምታ
2. አቶ ኤሮሞ ዲጋዶ
3. አቶ ፍቅሬ ዊጭሄ
4. አቶ ለፌቦ አረኮ
5. አቶ ጎበና ሀንፋጮ

ግልባጭ:-

- ለኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ የሕዝብ ተወካዮች ም/ቤት
- ለኢ.ፌ.ዴ.ሪ የፌዴሬሽን ም/ቤት
- አዲስ አበባ

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Signature *[Handwritten Signature]*

Place and date of submission: A.A.U

June 2001

Advisor(s)

Name 1/

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