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A HISTORY OF LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURE IN WALLAGGA (1941-1991)

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ENDALKACHEW DINA

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A HISTORY OF LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURE IN WALLAGGA (1941-1991)

Abstract

This dissertation discusses agrarian history of Wallagga from 1941 to1991. As the center piece of the dissertation using available primary and secondary sources the study argues that following the expulsion of the Italians from Ethiopia the restored Emperor issued a proclamation in which he openly outlawed the gabbar system. It examines how the reform failed to bring any change on the life of the landless peasants who continued to be exploited and oppressed by their land lords. The study investigates agricultural development in the region which had many shortcomings and problems. One major problem was the land tenure system. Land ownership particularly by the absentees reduced the incentives of the farmers. The peasants felt insecure on the land not only because they could be evicted at any time but also land taxes may increase from year to year. The study also reconstructs that both the peasant rebellions and the Balabats demonstrations were the direct outcomes of the intricate land tenure system that had prevailed in Wallagga since Menilek's conquest of the region. In the 1950s the reasons for the pressing need of "land remeasurement" were diverse and complicated. Sources substantiate that the state had embarked on controlling vast tracts of virgin land through land remeasurement. As an integral part of the landownership issue shortage of food was becoming a serious problem particularly in the coffee growing areas such as Anfilloo and Gimbii in the 1950s and 1960s. The combined effect of food shortage as a result of cattle diseases, population increase and the absence of transportation to supply food crops from surplus producing areas intensified the demand for grain production and this made technological change in farming imperative. Therefore, commercial farmers who owned tractors emerged in the region. By the middle of the 1980s, all strata of the society which had expected solution from the 1974 revolution were disappointed. In 1984 there was a widespread food shortage in the country. The research area was also affected by food shortage mainly due to the state's extraction, the appropriations of the AMC, and the frequent meetings held to establish collectivization and enforce Villagization at the expense of farming and harvesting. The general dissatisfaction created by unpopular land and agricultural policies even after the slogan of "Land to the Tiller" was effected did not change the conditions.This paved the way for the fall of the regime in 1991.

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I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Ministry of Education and Wallagga University to allow my study and cover the expenses.

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Moreover, I also have a heartfelt thanks and appreciation to the guidance and encouragement of my friend Etana Habte. Although my attempt to visit foreign archive centers in Rome and London was not successful the encouragement of Professors Alesandro Triulzi and Wendy James is always appreciable. I am indebted to all my informants who devoted their precious time and energy and shared their knowledge of the former province of Wallagga with me and the librarians and archivists who helped me in locating important documents in Addis Ababa and the study region.

My warmest indebtedness particularly goes to my friends Girma Tilahun and Kennasaa Walde who persistently supported my study in various ways. Above all, I am grateful to my family, my wife Bekelech Ayyaanaa and my recently born kid, Hawwii (Kennaa). I am particularly indebted to Bekelech for her patience and support amid several troubles which I have encountered throughout my study.

Key to Transliteration System

Amharic

I. The seven sounds of the Ethiopian alphabets are represented as follows:

1st	ሀ	=	Ba
2nd	ሁ	=	Bu
3rd	ሂ	=	Bi
4th	ሃ	=	Ba
5th	ሄ	=	Be
6th	ህ	=	Be/B
7th	ሆ	=	Bo

II. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

ሸ	=	Sh
ቸ	=	Ch
ኘ	=	Gn
ዠ	=	Z
ጀ	=	J

III. Glottalized sounds are represented as follows:

ቀ	=	q
ጠ	=	t
ጨ	=	Ch
ጸ/ፀ	=	Ts
ጰ	=	P

IV.Gemination is indicated by doubling:

E.g.

ደጃዝማች	=	Dajjazmach
ደጃች	=	Dajjach
ከበደ ተሰማ	=	Kabbada Tasamma

Oromoo

For the Latin Script employed in the transliteration of the Oromoo songs and proverbs, and explanations, the seven sounds are represented as follows:

1st	ቤ	=	Be
2nd	ቡ	=	Bu
3rd	ቢ	=	Bii
4th	ባ	=	Ba
5th	ቤ	=	Bee
6th	ቢ	=	Bi
7th	ቦ	=	Bo

II. Regarding the long and short vowels the transliteration system to be used is according to the following example.

Examples: Laafaa = Soft

Karaa = Road

Malkaa = Ford

Beela = Famine

III. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

ሸ	=	Sh
ቸ	=	Ch
ኘ	=	Ny
ጀ	=	J

IV. Glottalized sounds are represented as follows:

ቀ	=	q
ጠ	=	x
ጸ/ፀ	=	dh
ጨ	=	C
ጰ	=	P

N.B. It should be noted that Latin script is not only used for the Oromoo proverbs and songs quoted in the thesis. Other, Oromoo names, words and phrases in the text also follow the manner of transliteration of the Latin script.

Acronyms

AMC	Agricultural Marketing Corporation
CADU	Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit
CIPA	Coffee Improvement Project Area
CMC	Coffee Marketing Corporation
CPSC	Central Planning Supreme Council
DA	Development Agent
EDU	Ethiopian Democratic Union
EECMY	Ethiopian Evangelical Churches Mekane Yesus
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
EPID	Extension and Project Implementation Department
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
ESC	Ethiopian Seed Corporation
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MPP	Minimum Package Projects
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NWCDC	National Campaign for Development through Cooperation
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
MCTD	Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development
MSFD	Ministry of State Farm Development
NEC	National Economic Campaign
NEPP	New Extension Package Program
PA	Peasant Association
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
RDP	Rural Development Programs
RRC	Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
SA	Settlement Authority
SIDA	Swedish International Development Authority
SPLA	Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TPLF	Tigray Peoples Liberation Front
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nation Higher Commission for Refugees
WADC	Western Agricultural Development Corporation
WADE	Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise
WADU	Walayta Agricultural Development Unit
WCA	Wildlife Conservation Agency
WPE	Workers Party of Ethiopia

Contents Pages

Chapter 1 Introduction.....1
1.1 The Study Area.....1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....5
1.3 Research Questions.....5
1.4 Objectives of the Study.....6
1.5 Conceptual Framework.....6
1.6 Significance of the Study.....19
1.7 Literature Review.....20
1.8 Methodology and Sources.....30

Chapter 2 Historical Background: The System of Landholding.....33

Landholding Strategies: Interaction Among Clans, the New Comers and Land Use System.....42

Chapter 3 Land Tenure and Taxation System to 1974.....67

Pre Italian Occupation Imperial Period Land Administration.....67
The Italian Interlude: An Overview.....82
Post-Italian Period: Process of Access to Land and the Peasant Problems.....90
Taxation System: Changes and Continuities.....109

Chapter 4 Popular Grievances and the Commencement of Peasant Rebellions..... 121

The Gidaamii Peasant Uprising.....121
The Gumuz Rebellion.....128
The *Balabats* Demonstration..... 138

Chapter 5 Agriculture in Wallagga.....163

Introduction.....163
Land Use.....176
Soil Fertility Management.....179
The Farming System.....185
Coffee Production.....196
Animal Husbandry.....204

Chapter 6 Reform in Land Ownership: Implementation of the *Darg*'s Land

Proclamation in Wallagga.....215

Causes of the Revolution.....215
Nationalization of Land.....218
The Formation of Peasant Associations.....228
Land Redistribution to Households..... 233

Chapter 7 The Establishment of Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise:

A Critical Appraisal..... 243

Historical Foundation of the Enterprise.....246
Location, Geology and Topography of the State Farms.....248
State Farm Operation.....253
Labour Force.....255
Machinery Performance.....256
Input Utilization.....260
Production Output and Marketing.....262
The Problems of Wallagga State Farms.....266

Chapter 8 Agrarian Crisis and the Last Years of the *Darg* Regime in Wallagga

(1985-1991).....273

Resettlement.....274
Villagization.....280

Conclusion.....293

Epilogue.....296

Glossary.....298

Bibliography.....300

List of Informants..... 314

Appendices.....325

Illustrations

List of Maps page

Map 1 Wallagga Region Administrative Divisions 2
Map 2 Location of the Study Region by Province.....325
Map 3 Sketch Locations of Wallagga State Farms..... 326
Map 4 Location of Lower Dhidheessaa Valley.....327

List of Figures

Dajjazmach Kumsaa (alias Gabra-Egziabiher) Morodaa.....70
Dajjazmach Habtamariam (alias Hambisaa), Son and Successor of
Dajjach Kumsaa Morodaa.....84
Dajjach Damisaw Nasibu (later *Ras*) Governor of Arjoo.....87
Dajjach (later *Ras*) Birru Walda Gabriel.....127
Lt Colonel Mangistu Hailamariam.....220
Major Atnafu Abate, Second Vice Chairman of the *Darg*.....221
Birgadier General Tafari Bantii, Chairman of the *Darg* After
the Execution of Aman Mikael Andom.....222
Negusse Fanta, *Darg* Representative, Chief Administrator (After 1978)
and WPE First-Secretary in Wallagga.....282

Preface

Chapter one outlines the general location of the study area, statement of the problem, the research questions employed for the study, general and specific objectives, the conceptual framework of terms like land, land tenure, and agricultural/agrarian, significance of the study, literature review and methodology and sources.

Chapter two deals with the historical background and the system of landholding. Prior to the conquest of Menilek communal and individual holdings had existed in the region though the former predominated the latter. The chapter also discusses that the *qabiyyee* system upheld the rights of the pioneers and their descendants to the best land. The *abbaa qabiyyee* had access to more land than others from the first days of his settlements and his descendants continued to have privileged access to land and market revenues.

Chapter three recollects the land tenure and taxation system in the region. After its annexation to the Ethiopian empire, Wallagga was brought under direct Shawan rule and immediately the traditional land tenure system or *qabiyyee* (possession) rights were altered. The chapter point out that even though Menilek died in 1913, his land tenure and taxation system lived until the mid 1970s. By 1930, Emperor Hailesellassie (r.1930-1974) intended to reform the land tenure system as part of his "modernization" schemes. However, his plan for reform was saddened by the Italian occupation (1936-1941). The period between 1941 and 1974 witnessed the entrenchment of the access to freehold right to the lands of the conquered south. At the beginning of the post Italian occupation period, the regime introduced "land measurement" or "land remeasurement" in Wallagga.

Chapter four investigates that in 1950s and 1960s several peasant rebellions took place in Ethiopia against the feudal regime of Emperor Hailesellassie. The peasants often expressed discontent either through peaceful appeals or by resorting to uprisings, which were mostly isolated and spontaneous. The Gidaamii peasant uprising and the Gumuz rebellion in Gimbii, western Wallagga were one of such peasant rebellions.

Chapter five reconstructs the origin and development of mixed agriculture in the study region. Over the course of several centuries, the Macca Oromo farmers had developed a complex

farming system, using indigenous agricultural knowledge and practices. Sources point out that they predominantly practiced farming, supplemented by animal husbandry. The farmers classified the soil since agriculture was practiced on many kinds of land in terms of location as well as suitability. The chapter also identifies the type of farm implements and the farmers cultivating practices.

Chapter six recounts the reform of 1975 and nationalization of land and its distribution that followed the *Darg's* takeover of power. The proclamation abolished private ownership of rural land and made all land the collective property of the people and provided land use rights to the peasants and landless tenants. The chapter investigates how the Peasant Associations (PAs) were formed at the same time as the landlords' power was being broken. It discusses that the state controlled agricultural collectivization which caused economic stagnation and was denounced worldwide, the regime followed the path of organizing agricultural collectivization in order to bring about rural transformation.

Chapter seven reconstructs the establishment of Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise (WADE). The chapter discusses why and when the enterprise was established and how many state farms were included, the conditions of the state farm and the responsibility of WADE. The chapter also attempts to investigate the technical and economical benefits of the state farms to the surrounding peasant communities. Moreover, it describes the state farm's operation, production output, marketing system and the problems of the state farms.

Chapter eight elucidates the dynamics of the agrarian crisis which took place in the final years of the *Darg* regime in Wallagga. It discusses that by the close of the 1980s, the drive for collectivization was halted and in 1990 the mixed economic policy was announced. The hatred against the *Darg* administration in Wallagga gained momentum when politico-military situations in the Ethio-Sudanese border turned from bad to worse and the regime was finally collapsed in 1991.

N.B Unless other wise the Ethiopian calendar is indicated I have used the Gregorian calendar through out the dissertation.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 The Study Area

One of the changes Emperor Haile Sellase introduced in the post Italian period referred to as "the new era," was the redrawing of administrative boundaries and the organization of districts into a hierarchy of provinces, sub-provinces, districts and sub-districts.[1] According to the new administrative division of Ethiopia, Wallagga administrative region which is the focus of this dissertation is geographically located between 8^0 12' North to10^0 29' North and $34^0$33' East to $37^0$40^{0}East, bordering west Shoa in the east, Asosa and Gambella in the west, Illubabor in the South and Metekel, west Gojjam and east Gojjam administrative regions in the north.[2] The new province was thus divided administratively into six *awrajas* namely, Naqamtee, Gimbii, Arjoo, Horro Gudruu, Asosa and Qellem.[3] Present day Wallagga administrative region is a result of division and redivision at different times since the restoration of Haile Sellase's regime. It is apparent that until the present time its size has been altered many times in the course of history. The administrative region with capital at Naqamtee[4] has an area of 43,290km2 and a population of 2,188,289 with the density of 50.55 persons/ km2. According to the 1984 census from the total population of the region 49.9 per cent is male and 50.10 per cent is female. The population of Wallagga administrative region is 4.77 per cent of the country's total, and its area covers 3.22 per cent of the total country's area.[5] Topographically the administrative region is a combination of plain and dissected land forms.[6] In general the region is higher than 2000 meters above sea level. The rain pattern follows the west-east topography and on the average from1000 to2000 mm of rain is obtained annually.[7] The region has a climate suitable for agriculture with an amount of rainfall that allows biannual harvest for some areas.

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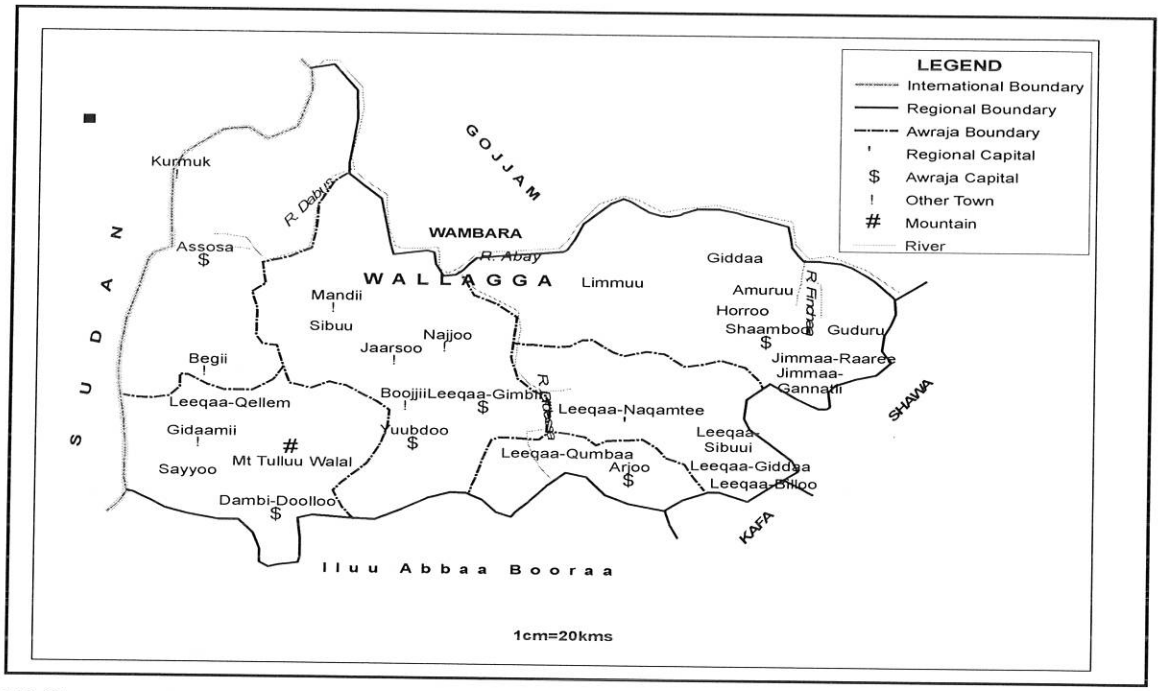
[1]Christopher Clapham, *Haile Sellase's Government.* (Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969), p.21.
[2]Report on the new classification of Wallagga Administrative Region, Nekemte, 1981, p.1.
[3]WMTMAC, File 1/1, *Wallagga awraja gezat selarapor*, Bizuwarq Gabre, "Memorandum to the Emperor," 28/9/1953[June 5, 1960]; Yekatit 1937[February 1945].
[4]EWTAO, Reference No 5992/62/1, letter of Megabit 21/1956 E.C.; '*Ya Naqamtee Katama Tarikawi Amsararatina Edgat*'. 1981. pp. 56-57.
[5]Report on the new classification of Wallagga, p.1.
[6]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.98-104.
[7]Report on the new classification of Wallagga, pp.1-3.



Wallagga Administrative Divisions (Adopted from Tesema Ta'a, *The Political Economy of African Society in Transformation: The Case of Macca Oromo (Ethiopia)*. Harrassowitz Verlag: Weisbaden, 2006, p. 76).

Our informants' state that a number of perennial streams and rivers traverse it.[8] Wallagga was covered with dense forest until some decades before the outbreak of the 1974 revolution. Forest covered 10 percent of the area of the administrative region mostly in the southern and northeastern regions.[9] The forests of the region host a large number of wild animals. Nevertheless, it has been exposed to consistent deforestation especially after the revolution. The afforestation campaign of the *Darg* regime, which was mainly characterized by planting foreign tree species, could not replace the dense natural forest which had been full of indigenous trees. However, one can still see up to the present the imprint of the *Darg's* afforestation program throughout the region.[10] There are many rivers which start in the region, like Dhidheessa, Birbir, Daabbus, Angar, Daabana, Waamaa and Finca'aa. Finca'aa is the only river used for generating electricity which amounted to 749 million Kwh/per annum.[11]

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[8]Informants: Cawwwaaqaa Maatoo, Emeru Gabre, Nega Bekele, Bantii Amanuu.
[9]Report on the new classification of Wallagga, p.3; Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Bantii Amanuu, Emeru Waqjiraa.
[10]Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Baajaa Bulguu, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee, Berhanu Galata.
[11]*Ibid:* Report on the new classification of Wallagga, p.3; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.105-108.

The perennial streams and rivers cited above originate mainly in the region's highlands, which form an important part of the northwest Ethiopian highland. Some of these highlands in Wallagga such as Tullu Walal rise over 3300 meters above sea level. Besides there are many other mountains in different *awrajas* of Wallagga with a height between 500 to 2000 meters above sea level. These peaks are not only the sources of intermittent streams and perennial rivers but also the associated lowlands are the homes of various kinds of wild animals.[12] The region also has many natural resources of which only a very limited amount is exploited. Its mineral potential has greatly attracted subsequent Ethiopian governments.[13] Preliminary research has established the occurrence of minerals like Gold, Iron-ore, Platinum, Coal, Asbestos, Beryllium, Uranium, Bronze, Tungsten, Cobalt, Mica, Granite and Marble. The Yubdo Platinum mine was the only government plant operating on a relatively wider scale. The Gimbii (Biqilaal) iron deposit is estimated by geologists to be as much as 18 million tons.[14]

Wallagga region has largely been inhabited by the Macca Oromo belonging to the Boorana branch. Today it is divided into Eastern, Western, Horro-Guduruu, and Qellem-Wallagga zones. There was socioeconomic interdependence among the different ethnic groups in the region and a strong economic ties with the neighboring peoples and merchants coming from distant areas like Gondar and the Sudan. Ecologically the region is well known for its excellent climate and fertile soil conducive for the production of varieties of food as well as cash crops. Traditions on Wallagga, travelers' accounts, historical and anthropological works, often indicate that it is one of the richest provinces in natural resources. Relatively speaking a large amount of export items such as coffee, gold, ivory, honey and civet musk have been obtained from Wallagga.[15] The region has been and still is famous among others for maize and sorghum production not to mention a number of other cereals, coffee, pulses, oilseeds, fruits and vegetables. It has also a large cattle population.[16]

[12]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.98-104; Informants: Emeru Gabre, Nega Bekele, Cawwwaaqaa Maatoo.
[13]Informants: Emeru Gabre, EjjetaaTolasaa, Gamachuu Shoonee.
[14]Report on the new classification of Wallagga...pp.7, 15.
[15]Tesema Ta'a, *The Political Economy of an African Society in Transformation: The Case of Macca Oromo (Ethiopia)*. Otto Harrasstowitz GmbH & Co.KG.: Weisbaden, 2006, p.202; Alberto Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness: Ethiopia and Fascist Italy, 1935-1941*. Asmara: The Red Sea Press Inc., 1997, p.277.
[16]Informants:Nega Bekele,Galata Dheeressaa,Gamachuu Shoonee, Berhanu Galata, Sirriiqaa Galatee,Baajaa Bulguu.

It is evident that the presence of abundant and precious natural resources attested to the region and the pivotal role Wallagga economy directly played in the empire building of the Emperors Menilek II, Haile Sellase I and the regime of the military junta which had offered it an important place in the country's socio economic development particularly makes the agricultural or agrarian study of Wallagga crucial and highly pertinent.

Altitudinally, the zone extends between 500 and 3340 meters with rugged topography. The region is characterized by diversified landforms, i.e. mountains, dissected plateaus, hills, plains, valleys and gorges. Among the major soils of the region are: Dystric Nitosols, Orthic Acrisols and humbic Cambisols. High forest woodland, riverine, shrub and bush, savanna and few afforested areas are still available. Because there were no government protected forests and wildlife conservation areas lion and buffalo were the two highly endangered wild animals due to illegal hunting.[17] It is apparent that the *Gammoojjii* (hotter) sparse forests and grassland areas were burnt down annually for the purpose of grazing, cultivation and hunting. This interference of man with nature has led to a slow but increasing deforestation and resulted in the extermination of parts of the fauna.[18] The combinations of good soil and abundant rainfall, moderate climate and mild temperature have made the *baddaa* (cool) highland region very suitable for human settlement, animal husbandry and cultivation. The *Gammoojjii* (lowland zone) is generally very hot and climatically unhealthy region where, the middle and lower courses of the rivers have eroded deep gorges and valleys which were the home of big game and of dangerous wild animals. They were infested with mosquitoes and tsetse flies which transmitted malaria and sleeping-sickness. Animal diseases such as trypanosomiasis and anthrax and internal and external parasites were the most commonly prevalent diseases.[19]

The region is drained by several perennial rivers and intermittent streams. If one were to choose

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[17]*Oromiya Bureau of planning, physical and Socio-economic Profiles of One Hundred Eighty Districts of Oromiya Region*, Physical Planning Department Finfinne, March 2000,pp.174-76,366; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.98-104; Informants:Emeru Gabre.

[18]Nagaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730-1886.* Mega Publishing Enterprise: Addis Ababa, 2001.p.8; Informants: Nega Bekele, Emeru Gabre, Olaanaa Batii.

[19]*Ibid.*7-9,116; *Oromiya*, 2000:366; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.126,133 ; Informants: Emeru Gabre, Nega Bekele,Sirriiqaa Galatee, Bantii Amanuu.

five important rivers from Wallagga that have a significant contribution as tributaries to the Blue Nile, one would pinpoint the Dhidheessa, Angar, Daabbus, Waamaa, and Birbir rivers.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There is a consensus among scholars that most of the studies that have appeared on Wallagga are characterized by imbalance of themes and periods of study. Political, religious and ethnic histories are generally better treated. In such studies, unpublished student theses at both graduate and undergraduate levels have played a leading role. These as one may agree are the rich narratives of Wallagga history. Most of them, however, have limited the scope of their studies up to 1936 and emphasized one or two aspects of the history of the region. Thus, they do not comprehensively deal with the intertwined social, economic and political developments between 1941 and 1991.

Economic history has been a great lacuna as far as Ethiopian historiography is concerned. It is apparent that agrarian history of Wallagga during the period under discussion is not yet documented. My endeavor is, therefore, an attempt to contribute and fill in the gap by trying to document the land tenure and agricultural history of Wallagga covering the period from 1941to 1991 so that it will help to bridge the existing lacuna in the academic and public sphere.

True, my research is not an ethnic study. But as the Macca Oromo branch possessed its own traditional farming systems, peculiarities of agriculture related to this group of the Oromo may throw some light on the study. I believe that conducting research on the agrarian development of Wallagga from the grassroots has enabled us to write both its land tenure and agricultural history at the regional level. This approach has also helped us to know the specific and significant historical developments in the region during the period under study.

1.3 Research Questions

As this research strives to study the hitherto little known agricultural history of Wallagga, it has attempted to examine various themes related to the land holding and taxation systems, mixed farming and reforms in land ownership. To this effect, some major questions that were addressed include the following:

What was the structure of the land holding system in the region?

What did the land tenure systems bring on the life of the *gabbars* and tenants in Wallagga?

What were the peculiarities of the land reform measures of the imperial and the *Darg* regimes?

What was the common farming system long practiced in the region? What were the traditional as well as modern mechanisms of maintaining soil fertility? What were the traditional methods of soil and water conservation?

What were the most important food as well as cash crops of the region? What were the serious problems of agricultural production and marketing both under the imperial and the *Darg* regimes? What role did animal husbandry play to support the economy in addition to crop cultivation?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the proposed research project aimed at reconstructing the land tenure and agricultural history of Wallagga between 1941 and 1991.There are issues which have not yet been treated well that are dealt with in the dissertation which are generally important in expanding our horizon of knowledge on the subject. Therefore, the proposed study with effective and efficient employment of the primary and secondary sources has attained the following specific objectives.

1.It examined the nature of the land tenure and its taxation system in the region during the period under study.

2. It investigated critically, in the light of the surviving historical sources, the impact of the land tenure system on the social and economic developments of Wallagga between the liberation and revolution.

3.The study has also investigated the changes and continuities of the farming systems and the agrarian developments both under the imperial (1941-1974) and the *Darg* (1974-1991) regimes.

4.It has assessed the attempts made towards rural transformation and the dynamics of resettlement and Villagization in the subsequent agrarian crisis which culminated in 1991.

1.5 Conceptual Framework (Land, Land Tenure, Agricultural/Agrarian)

Land is a basic means of production where every social, economic and other aspects of development take place. It is in fact a vitally important means of production without which agricultural and or agrarian development is impossible. Among the agrarian population of northern Ethiopia "...to have rights over land is to be human, to be landless is to be subhuman." Land is a crucial resource for acquiring status and even for ascendancy to, and maintenance of political power. According to Dunning, land is essential for life. From land comes sustenance, social and economic position and political authority.[20] This basic means of production apparently needed a system of governance of the tenure and its use. Hence, this necessity led to the commencement of one or the other forms of land tenure systems in Ethiopia.

The conceptual analysis of land tenure recognizes the relationship, among people, whether legally or customarily defined, as individuals or groups, with respect to land. Land tenure is an institution, i.e. rules invented by societies to regulate behavior. Rules of tenure define how property rights to land are to be allocated within societies. They define how access is granted to rights of use, control and transfer land, as well as associated responsibilities and restraints. In simple terms, land tenure system determines who can use what resources for how long, and under what conditions. It may be defined as the terms and conditions on which land is held, used and transacted. The Ethiopian land tenure system before 1975 was among the most intricate in the world. The complexity could be attributed to Ethiopia's geographical, ethnic, cultural differences and its historical formations.[21] This intricacy of land tenure is said to have brought about backwardness, underdevelopment, and above all else inhibited reforms. The Ethiopian land tenure varied from one province to another and within one province itself from a sub-province to another. Despite the outward complexity of the land tenure system, however, one could

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[20]Dunning D. Harris, *Land Reform in Ethiopia: A case Study in Non-Development.* Economic Miscellanea 8.p.341.

[21]*Ethiopian Economic Association. A research report on Land Tenure and Agricultural Development in Ethiopia*, Addis Ababa 2002.p.21; Stahl Michael, *Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development*. Stockholm, 1974; Gilkes, Patrick, *The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia*. London.pp.1-2; Cohen and Weintraub Dov., *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to a Revolution*, 1975.p29.

categorize the system as mainly communal (*rist*)[22] system, which was widely practiced in the north, and the private tenure system in the south. The classification is done mainly on the basis of how land was acquired and under what conditions one utilized land and paid tax (dues or tribute) and to whom the dues were paid. It is apparent that both categories had undergone changes over time.[23]

In Ethiopia, it seems more appropriate to divide the tenure system under the Old Regime into two broad categories, namely: usufructury and private tenures. Usufructury could be sub-divided into: communal, church, and state tenures. Private tenures were originally lands which were expropriated from peasants and local chieftains in the south and given to officials and loyal servants of the crown. Let us turn to examine the land tenure system in Wallagga which could more or less be considered as representative of the southern regions. It is obvious that in the region private tenure came to prevail after Menilek's conquest. Until then, however, communal or customary tenure was the norm. There was no private ownership of land. Rather, land was communal property over which every member of the society had equal usufractury right by virtue of being born in the area.[24]

How and why was private ownership of land introduced to the south in general and Wallagga in particular? Cohen and Weintraub asserted that the conquering northern settlers felt insecure in the south amid unfriendly peoples. Therefore, as a means of adaptation, they introduced a type of feudal land tenure system that could attract as many northerners as possible. No doubt, Menilek also sought to reward richly his generals and ordinary troops who took part in the conquest of the south. This gave rise to the difference of land tenure system between the north and the south.

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[22]Under *rist* tenure, the "land of a parent was divided equally among all his or her biological children without regard to seniority or sex". A. Hoben, *The Role of Ambilineal Descent Groups in Gojjam Amhara Social Organization*, Ph.D. thesis (UC,Berkeley,Calif.,1963),p.43In addition to actual ownership of land, it also gave the right to claim a share of land by tracing kinship through either parent to a recognized and often fictious original occupant or founding father. Haile Larebo, *The Building of An Empire: Italian Land Policy and Practice in Ethiopia.*P.30.

[23]*Ibid.*p.22; Stahl, p.80; Gilkes.pp.102, 105-106. The northern region includes Gojjam, Begemedir, Tigray, parts of Wollo, southern parts of Eritrea and northern portion of Shoa. Here, land was occupied by genealogical descent where both males and females had equal right. Thus, it was both *rist* and communal system. The southern regions were conquered by Menilek in the second half of the nineteenth century through a series of military campaigns and subsequently made part of the Ethiopian empire.

[24]It was a common tradition in Wallagga. See also Tesema Ta'a,The Political Economy, p.; Ethiopian Economic Assessment, pp.18-19.

Nevertheless, the latter came to be harsher and more exploitative than the northern one.[25] Land tenure has been the subject of considerable scholarly study.[26] As Bahru rightly indicates, it is a 'belaboured' subject.[27]

Of more recent studies, Shiferaw Bekele's work is particularly important because it reviews the existing literature on land tenure. Shiferaw asserts that most scholars concentrate their studies on *'rist'* and *'gult'* as two principal traditional variants of the land tenure system in northern Ethiopia. Rather than focusing on *'gult'* (right to tribute over land owners) and *'rist'* as a focus of study, Shiferaw came up with *'serrit'* arguing that there is no land without some kind of obligation attached to it. Land could be assigned for church and military on the basis of service they give to the government hence particular pieces of land were given out in return for their livelihood.[28] In fact his and other pertinent works have been of considerable use to show the way in discussing the point in this dissertation. This study attempts to make a significant effort and it also goes out of the temporal scope of its investigation to point out the nature of the land tenure, to trace the background and the causes of the peasant rebellion in Gidamii (Qellem), the Gumuz uprising in Gimbii and the *balabats* demonstration in Naqamtee. Our sources state that after the end of the nineteenth century, the centrality of *'gult'* and *'rist'* as forms of land tenure began to alter. Thereafter, private ownership of land emerged in the newly conquered regions of the south. The northern and the southern land tenure systems which have been taken up as subjects of study survived up to the land reform of 1975.[29]

In 1966-67 the MLRA made its own pilot study of the land tenure systems of different regions of Ethiopia.[30] Some theses written on Wallagga have also dedicated space to the subject of land

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[25]Cohen and Weintraub Dov., *Land and Peasants*, p.12.
[26]See for instance, Cohen and Weintraub Dov., *Land and Peasants*, pp.367-380; Gilkes .pp.101-135; Stahl, Michael...pp.79-89.
[27]Bahru Zewde, *Society and State in Ethiopia: Selected essays*, Addis Ababa: AAU Press, 2008.See also Bahru 1984:12.
[28]Shiferaw Bekele, *An Economic History of Ethiopia*, Dakar: CODESRIA 1995, V.I, pp.77-81.
[29]*Ibid.* pp. 122-139.
[30]Imperial Ethiopian Government, Ministry of Land Reform and Administration, "Report on Land Tenure Survey of Wollega Province", Addis Ababa, 1967.

tenure with particular reference to the region though its scope was mostly limited to 1936.[31] Since it has already been discussed by some writers, this study does not attempt to treat the topic anew. It however, attempts to deepen the scope of the investigation as much as possible because most works cited above either have not considered or treated only superficially the structure of the land holding and taxation system and the land measurement edict. Therefore, this dissertation draws particular attention to the measured, unmeasured and remeasured lands under different tenures in the region. It attempts to assess what the system entailed on the holders and its socioeconomic implications. It is important to note that this study dealt with both the agricultural and agrarian developments in Wallagga during the period under review. Dessalegn Rahmato put a brief note on the meaning of the terms "agrarian" and or "agricultural" in Marc Bloch's words, as follows: the word "agricultural" or "agriculture" refers to the cultivation of the soil, the "technicalities of farming" and it embraces such activities as land and livestock management, cropping practices and labour techniques. "Agrarian" on the other hand refers to the land and the social, economic and ownership institutions pertaining to it. It includes rights to land, class and power relations, and structures of production and appropriation. Thus, the latter term is much broader than the former.[32]

In the early period of the Oromo expansion, land was relatively plentiful and the exercise of communal rights regulated by the *daggal saaqii* (opener of the forest) together with the ruling *gadaa*, operated fairly smoothly. Every household in the community was entitled to its *dhoqqee* (farmyard trash and manure) for cultivation and for keeping and raising its herds of cattle, sheep and goats. Land was the most vital economic resource and all members shared equal communal rights.[33] However, the land tenure system in Wallagga was completely altered by the Land Apportionment Act of 1909/10 because after his conquest of Wallagga in the 1880s, Menilek introduced what was known as the *qalad* or *gasha* system by issuing *awaj's* (edicts).The land proclamation of 1909/10 required the measurement of all land and its redistribution on the basis of military, political and religious services to the central government. The procedure affected Wallagga seriously since the *qabiyye* (ownership) rights of the indigenous people were wiped

[31]See, Raga Abdissa, pp; Gutama Emana, pp.; Boshera Jerbo, pp., Kedjela Mardasa, pp.
[32]Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and the State: Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950s-2000s*, Addis Ababa University Press, 2009.p.x.
[33]Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy of Westerncentral Ethiopia: from the Mid-Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries, Ph.D Dissertation Michigan State University, 1986. pp.55-56.

out, rendering them legally landless.[34] Menilek died in 1913, but his system of land tenure and taxation survived well into the 1970s, although modified by the introduction of a written constitution and other decrees, proclamations, and institutions during the time of Emperor Hailesellassie (1930-1974). The post war land tenure and taxation reforms were the most complex problems, which Hailesellassie had ever encountered. Instead of establishing pre-war landlord tenancy relationship directly, it was deemed necessary to make some reforms in order to lighten the pre-war burden of *gabbars*.[35]

We have already explained that the high importance attached to own land continued after Menilek's conquest of Wallagga. Access to land was restricted and private land ownership became the order of the day in place of land ownership and utilization in common which was the case before the conquest. Those who came to own land were honored and acquired high social and economic status. On the contrary those who did not own land were looked upon down and described in various degrading and dehumanizing ways.[36]

In the post-Italian period land came to be a commodity; it's giving out by grant promoted imperial power and control.[37] In the post Menilek's conquest both records and informants have classified tenures according to the appellation of the land holders (grantees) and also by the obligation of the owners: *gabbar*, *samon*, church *gult*, *ristagult*, *sisso*, *madaria*, *yamangist*, and *yakatamabota*, or urban area among others. However, of these only five in the strict sense had belonged to the land tenure system according to available sources. These appellations as sources rightly indicate are the obligations or services to be provided by the land holders or by their representatives.[38]

Let us briefly elucidate the most prominent types of land tenure system in Wallagga hereunder.1.Gabar-literally the term *gabar* means one who pays *geber* or tax. But in the past the

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[34]H.C.Dunning, 1970:271quoted in Tesema 1984; Tesema 1984:184-185.
[35](Margery 1969:354.)
[36]Be it in the north or south, the unjust land grants made by the government alienated the broad masses from the imperial régime. See also Tesema Ta'a, The Political Contradictions, pp.
[37]Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy, p.207.
[38]Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Land, pp.

term *gabar* had sometimes been associated with the idea of forced labour.[39] It was a system of land tenure under which a person who had acquired land by purchase, grant or inheritance paid land tax to the government as prescribed by law. In the past, the owners of such land were subject to various dues in addition to land tax and were required to render personal services to government officials. However, these dues and services had been abolished by the government.[40] The owners of *gabar* land paid land tax, *asrat,* education and health taxes directly to the government. They could sell, lease or mortgage their land and their rights in land were heritable. Sources revealed that percentages of measured lands under *gabar* varied from fifty-eight in Gimbii to twenty-eight in Arjo.[41]*Qutergabar* was a term used for land before land measurement regulations were issued and applied. Unmeasured land was taxed as *quter gabar* and it was divided into six categories for the purposes of land taxation.[42] All the land in Asossa and part of Gimbii *awrajas* were under the *quter gabar*. Estimated area and fertility of the soil were some of the considerations for categorization of unmeasured lands for land taxation which was more or less based on the paying capacity of the holder. In two of the three *waradas* in Asossa, ie.Benishangul and Asossa there was shifting cultivation. Land was plentiful and farmers shifted from one place to another when the soil was exhausted. Each farmer paid land tax for one unit of *quter gabar* and the classification of tax payers into five classes was based on how well off a farmer was.[43]

Seven-tenths of the land owners with about a little more than seven-tenths of the measured area and all of the *quter gabar* lands were living on the farm and the remaining three-tenths of the land owners with less than three-tenths of the total area were reported to be absentee owners.[44]

2. Sisso-Out of the land possessed by the *balabats* (first-settlers) three-fourths was taken by the government. The remaining one-fourth of land with the *balabat* was his *sisso/erbo (hambifata).*The government entitled the *balabats* to retain this portion (one-fourth) of land

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[39]Informants: Emeru Gabre, Dhinaa Dikoo, Asfaw Bekele.
[40]*Land Tax Proclamation No.70, 1944.*
[41]IEG,MLRA, p.7.
[42]*Ibid.*, p.3.
[43]*Ibid.* pp.9-10.
[44]*Ibid.* p.14.

imposing just a nominal tax on it until it would be developed. The tax which was paid in kind varied according to the products of the area. The system and rate of land taxation on *sisso/erbo* land was the same as for *rista gult.*[45] The available sources indicate that the main difference between *sisso* and *ristagult* forms of land tenure lay in their origin. While rights of *sisso/erbo* originated in respect of one-fourth of the land remaining with the *balabat* in the manner described above, rights of *ristagult* had been granted by the Emperor subsequently to members of the royal family and to some people as reward for their meritorious services. The percentage of measured lands under *sisso* varied from eighteen in Qellem to ten in Arjo.[46]

3. Maderia-land was government land granted to government employees in place of salary or as a pension for the period of office or for life. A *madaria* holder must pay *asrat,* health and education taxes on his holding. He may collect rentals in produce from persons settled on his holding. *Madaria* land essentially belonged to the government which could transfer it to another person when the *maderia* owner was convicted of crime or transferred to another job. He may not, of course, dispose of his holding by gift or sale and his holding was not heritable. A *maderia* holder could get up to one *gasha* of *maderia* land converted into free-hold (*rist*) on payment of registration fee in the *warada* treasury.[47] The Ministry of Land Reform addressed to all Governorates-General except Begemidr, Gojjam, Wollo and Eritrea, Captains, Lieutenants, Sergents, Ranks and others could have up to 4, 3, 2 and 1 *gasha* of *maderia* land held by them converted into *rist.* The balance of the *madaria* land would be taken over by the government and the *madaria* form of land tenure was later abolished.[48]

4.Samon-was land whose primary interest had been vested in the church. This primary interest carried the right confirmed to collect and retain for church use: land tax, tithe, and education tax from persons settled on the land at the rate laid down by law for other categories of land.[49]

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[45]Informants: Nega Bekele, Dhinaa Dikoo, Emeru Waqjiraa.
[46]*Ibid*; IEG, MLRA, pp.2, 7.
[47]*Proclamation No. 221, 1956*; p.23; Informants: Mamo Mangasha, Emeru Gabre, Dhinaa Dikoo.
[48]The Ministry of Land Reform Order No.R/9135 of January 26, 1959; WMTMAC, The letter of Ginbot 17,1948E/C Ref.No.5315/1/48, File 1/495, *Sela shalaqa maretoch*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance, to Arjo *awraja gezat* office.
[49]*Negarit Gazeta, Proclamation No.2, 1942*; Informants: Nega Bekele, Emeru Gabre.

In the past, some members of the nobility used to transfer their *gult* land to the church as the tax payable to the church was simple. Some of the land owners, too, applied for a transfer of their *rist* to *samon* in order to pay tax at lower rates. These land owners retained their right to sell, assign or dispose of this property at will even after the transfer of land to *samon* was completed. The land owners (*gabbars*) holding *samon* land paid *asrat,* education and health taxes to the church treasury according to the classification of land at rates prescribed for other categories of land. The health tax was later transferred to the government treasury. They could sell their land and their rights in land were heritable. They did not pay land tax but had to pay for the services of the priests according to their agreements with them. The amount was generally higher than the land tax.[50]. Church *gult*-originally some landed-property was granted by the government to the church for its maintenance. The church apportioned this land among its ecclesiastical members who paid *asrat* to the church, but did not pay the land tax as they were serving the church. They had no right to sell, exchange, mortgage or pass on the land by inheritance or gift to any person. Where the land was church *gult,* which had been apportioned by the church, among its functionaries each holder paid *asrat* and education tax to the church. When such a holder terminated his period of service, the person who succeeded him took over the land and followed the same practice.[51]

Ristagult-under this form of land tenure the person having *ristagult* was entitled to collect land tax from the land holders settled on the land at rates prescribed by law, ie. fifteen, ten, and five Ethiopian dollars per *gasha* of fertile, semi-fertile and poor land respectively and to exercise certain judicial functions. Out of the land tax collected he paid to the government treasury at a uniform rate of $3.50 per *gasha* for all classes of land and retained the rest with him. *Ristagult* rights were heritable. The bill for the abolition of *ristagult* and *sisso* was passed by the parliament in June 1964. However, the proclamation became functional as of 1966.[52]

In Arjoo there were thirty-six *gasha* of church *gult* out of which eighteen *gasha* was rented out by the church on cash basis. The remaining eighteen *gasha* was held by one church official who paid only education and health taxes on this land. In Horro Gudruu there were eighty-two *gasha*

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[50] *Ibid.*
[51] *Ibid.*; IEG, MLRA, pp.1-2.
[52] *Nagarit Gazeta Proclamation No.230, March 7, 1966.*

of church *gult* which was included under *samon* in the land tax register.[53] Under this proclamation the land holders (*gabbars*) who held land within *ristagult* or *sisso* would pay the land tax as well as education and health taxes directly to the government. Regarding the land which was in the name of the *gult* owner and on which there was no *gabar*, the *gult* owner would pay land tax at the normal rates of fifteen, ten, or five Ethiopian dollars per fertile, semi-fertile and poor *gasha* of land respectively and not at the reduced rate of Ethiopian $3.50 per *gasha* for all classes of land as was the case before the proclamation was issued.[54]

5. Yamangest- as government property was called *yamangestmaret*. Grants of land were given to people out of land registered government land. The remaining land was rented as *maggazo* (lease) to people for farming or grazing purposes.[55] The area of measured land was given in *gasha* in the register. A standard *gasha* was 40 hectares. But in land measurement in the past, there had been wide variations in the size of a *gasha*. The land owners paid land tax according to the area of land registered in the tax register. During Emperor Hailsellassie's regime, over two-fifths of the measured land in Wallagga was *gabar*. About one-third was *yamangist*, a little less than one-seventh was *sisso* and about one-twentieth was *samon*. One-third of the measured land was classified as fertile, the remaining one-seventh and more than half were classified as semi-fertile and poor respectively.

The percentage of *mangist* land varied from fourty-eight in Arjoo to eighteen in Gimbii.[56] The available documents and our informants assert that there was a state domain official in the *awraja* treasury who was responsible for the administration of the government land and other government properties in the *awraja.* Between the years 1952-55E/C. each *warada* treasury was asked to fill a proforma (model 218) in four copies for each government land in the *warada* giving the area, land classification, land use, (cultivated, grazing, forest etc.) estimated values of the land, estimated annual income from the land, number of tenants on government land and reasons how it became government land.

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[53]IEG, MLRA, p.7.
[54]*Ibid.*
[55]Informants: Emeru Gabre, Nega Bekele, Dhinaa Dikoo.
[56]IEG, MLRA, p.4, 7.

The Ministry of State Domain (MSD), the Wallagga Governorate-General treasury, and the *awraja* treasury each got a copy of this proforma; the fourth copy remained with the *warada* treasury.[57] The *warada* treasury leased out government land for grazing and cultivation by auction. Both the grazing lands and the land for cultivation were leased out on cash rent.[58] In 1949E/C in Begi *warada* 811 farmers were said to have practiced shifting cultivation on government land. The government collected one-fourth of the produce as rent. The duration of the lease was indefinite. Except for Gimbii *awraja* information about the number of leases of government land having sub-leases and the number of leases living outside the *warada* was not available for any of the *awrajas*.[59]

Sixty percent of the leases had written agreements while the remaining fourty per cent had verbal agreements. In three of the *awrajas*, all agreements with the leases on government land were written, while in the remaining two *awrajas* the percentage of written agreements varied from seventy-eight in Horro Gudruu to seventeen in Gimbii. The duration of contract for two-thirds of the leases on government land with written agreements was between one and two years while for the remaining one-third, the duration of contract was between six and ten years. All the leases on government land paid cash rent.[60] The *warada* treasury reported every three months to the *awraja* treasury the income from grazing land and cultivated lands separately on a proforma (model 17).These reports were consolidated by the state domain official in the *awraja* on another proforma (model 36) and submitted to the Ministry of State Domain (MSD).[61]

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[57]*Ibid.*p.18; WMTMAC, File 3/495; Meeting of Wallagga Province Governorate, File 9/495; Ref.No.5315/1/48 The letter of Ginbot 17, 1948E/C, File 1/495, Sela *Shalaqamaretoch*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance, to Arjo *awrajagezat* office.

[58]WMTMAC, File 1/495 Ref No.81654/51, The letter of Sene 20,1951E/C, *Yamangestmaret kiray*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance to State Domain Main Office;Informants: Dhinaa Dikoo, Emeru Gabre, Nega Bekele.

[59]IEG, MLRA, pp.19-20.

[60]*Ibid* pp. 21-22.

[61]*Ibid.* pp.18;WMTMAC,File 16/495 *Wallagga Province State Domain to Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of State Domain*,Ref.No277/27/58,Sene 13,1958E/C, The letter of Lemma Mamaru, Wallagga Province State Domain official.

In share tenancy generally the landlord got one-tenth of the gross produce towards payment of *asrat* and his share of the produce from the remaining nine-tenths of the produce.[62]According to informants and available document the most common causes of disputes on agricultural land in Wallagga were stated to be boundary and inheritance problem and disagreement between the landlord and the tenant in payment of rent and right of pre-emption.[63]About half of the tenants paid cash rent while about two-fifths of the tenants paid share rent and a combination of both cash and crop and payments in personal services accounted for the remaining tenants. Less than one-fifth of the share croppers were supplied with oxen. More than half of the holdings were rented and about two-fifths were owned and the remaining holdings were partly owned and partly rented. The percentage of rented holdings varied from sixty-nine in Naqamtee to three in Asosa and the percentage of owned holdings varied from ninty-six in Asosa to twenty-seven in Naqamtee.[64]

The percentage distribution of holdings by tenure and size indicated that twenty-nine per cent of the holdings were below half hectare of which twelve per cent were owned while seventeen per cent were rented. Thirty-six percent of the holdings were between the size of half hectare and one hectare out of which fifteen per cent were owned and nineteen per cent rented while two percent were mixed. Twenty-four per cent of the holdings were between the size of one hectare and two hectares of which twelve per cent were owned, eleven per cent were rented while about one percent were mixed. Out of ten per cent of the holdings which were between the size of two hectares and five hectares about half were owned and the other half were rented and less than one per cent of the holdings were above the size of five hectares. The available document states that about one-eleventh of the total cultivated area in Wallagga was in holdings which were partly owned and partly rented. The remaining cultivated area was equally distributed between owned and rented holdings. The percentage of cultivated area in owned holdings varied from seventy-three in Asossa to thirty- one in Naqamtee and the percentage of cultivated area in

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[62]IEG, MLRA, p.29; Informants: Nega Bekele, Mamo Mangasha. Among the considerable number of tenancy systems, the most widespread were *erboarash, sissoarash, and ekkularash*, translated respectively as 'tiller of one-fourth', 'tiller of one-third', 'tiller of one-half. The form adopted was largely determined by the degree of fertility of the land and the quantity of labour required.
[63]Informants: Dhinaa Dikoo, Emeru Gabre, Mamo Mangasha, Getachew Haile.
[64]IEG, MLRA, pp.30-32.

rented holding varied from sixty-seven in Naqamtee to eleven in Asossa.[65]

Ethiopia, being one of the least developed countries in the world was economically dominated by agriculture. However, such a basic sector had, for a long period of time been dominated by small scale subsistence farming which aimed at achieving self-sufficiency and satisfaction of one's own family. There is a consensus among scholars that as in other developing countries, agriculture played and still plays a vital role in the Ethiopian economy. Until very recently over ninety per cent of the country's population got its livelihood from it. Almost all the Ethiopian exports consisted of agricultural products. Its factories process agricultural raw materials and its contribution to the country's Gross National Product (GNP) has been very high. In this respect, the region has played a pivotal role in the economic history of Ethiopia. This makes the study of the region in the context of agricultural and agrarian development pertinent. This is partly because Wallagga has been one of the most fertile and productive regions in Ethiopia and with the advent of the *naftagna* in the area since 1880s it also became a region where the question of land holding had been a contentious issue.

Documents state that landlessness versus large land holdings among the majority of the population, fueled by a high degree of exploitation and oppression of the ruling *naftagna* caused peasant rebellions at different times in the study region.

In Ethiopia problems of peasant agriculture were numerous and Wallagga is not exceptional. Accordingly, different writers have forwarded different problems. For instance, Dessalegn Rahmato asserts that the inherent weakness of peasant agriculture flowed from the interplay of different factors. Firstly, small holder agriculture was oriented mainly towards self-consumption and this more than the market, largely determined land-use and cropping plans. The standard of technology was poor or of limited potential and improved technology was for most peasants, either too costly to acquire or too complicated to operate, or too dependent on external economies.[66]

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[65] *Ibid.*
[66] Dessalegn 1990:103; *Ibid*1994:278.

Our sources state that most peasants were plagued by inadequate holdings and their plots were too often fragmented which caused the farmers to spend many hours to visit their fields. The main reasons behind rural impoverishment, according to our informants, were believed to be insecurity of farm land, peasants disruption through resettlement and villagization and other unpopular measures imposed from top and non-consideration for community initiative and participation.[67]

Another critic observed the problems of peasant agriculture as emanating from three corners: from the state, from the urban elite and from the peasants themselves. Problems associated with the state were lack of political will to empower the rural people, failure to protect the peasantry, unnecessary interference in the rural economy and not giving priority to agriculture. Ignorance and widespread arrogance about the rural life and hence misconception about the potential skill and experience of the peasantry were those associated with the urban elites. Peasants created problems against themselves by being located in dispersed manner which became a constraint to be organized as a political body to promote their interest.[68] It is most likely that expansion of the state farms, rapid and wide collectivization program and other governmental measures including price control on production excluded the private sector and stagnated peasant agriculture and thereby desperately weakened and totally ruined the entire economy.

Marina Ottaway explaining how crisis of the Ethiopian economy, peasant agriculture for that matter, could be understood, says that deep-seated economic and political problems which existed since the imperial era, pervasive policies of the *Darg* regime and state consolidation process which was negatively and simultaneously affected by converging factors could be used as determining factors of the crisis. The agricultural policy choice of the *Darg* regime was pervasive because they were short-sighted at best and rested on centralized control.[69]

According to James Mc Cann, the economic crisis in Ethiopia had far-reaching roots. To him "the complex interplay" of climate, demography, technology, and property system were major

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[67]Informants: Gammachuu Shonee, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Geremew Bayyataa, Berhanu Galataa.
[68]Pawsewang 1990:213-224.
[69]Ottaway 1990:2-4.

causes for the downward spiraling of Ethiopian agriculture. Manipulation of policies by the government was believed to be at the centre of these problems. Military action intensified guerrilla war, central state policy also have had considerable adverse effect on agriculture and resulted in the shrinkage of productivity of both land and labour.[70] According to my view the aforementioned scholars are correct as far as their observations are concerned. It is obvious that some of them touched upon some basic problems which are generally believed to be consistent with my work. It is likely that problems of peasant agriculture under both regimes were generated as a result of self-centered attitude of the high officials, irresponsibility to the peasantry which entailed high regard to the state, failure to invest and or reinvest in the sector, centralized control and intervention, adverse measures against the sector including price control and quota assignment. Furthermore, introduction of policies and programs which did not concern the peasants interest like collectivization, resettlement and villagization, strict adherence to socialist agriculture development principle which was imported and intended to be implemented without analyzing the real situation of the country, and failure to break the vicious circle of poverty directly, all of which resulted in the stagnation of the peasant agriculture causing a grim economic situation in Ethiopia in general and in Wallagga in particular.

1.6 Significance of the Study

A profound historical reconstruction of the agrarian development between 1941 and 1991 has revealed a comprehensive and an objective social and economic life of the peoples of Wallagga. This study has investigated the land tenure and agricultural development in Wallagga during the imperial period (1930-1974) and the *Darg* regime (1974-1991). I believe that this thorough examination of the period has filled some of the lacuna in the economic history of the region and has enabled us to have a modest historical knowledge of Wallagga's agricultural development and its land tenure system. This in turn has promoted a holistic understanding of the nature of the land tenure and agriculture in the region. Furthermore, the study has given insights to future researchers who are interested in the socio- economic developments of the region. Moreover, the study has served as an additional springboard for the reconstruction of the social, political and economic history of western central Ethiopia.

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[70]James Mc Cann, 1990:192-93

1.7 Literature Review

Although aspects of agrarian developments are included the study is basically a history of land tenure and agriculture. It mainly deals with the structure of the land holding system, the different forms of land tenure and its taxation system. It also deals with the farming systems, land use, soil fertility management, and traditional water and soil conservation methods. Moreover; it assesses crops produced, problems of agricultural production and marketing and the role of animal husbandry in the mixed economy. The agrarian aspect includes the politics of access to and rights of use, control and transfer of land and its implications for the different social groups and the elites.

The extant general literature on Ethiopia provides not much on regional particularities and cites the region solely to fill the gap encountered in the progress of its studies. Therefore, we have gone to the indices of these works and found out what they have to tell about regions like Wallagga. Since the central theme of my research project is land tenure and agriculture, the literature review employed in this study has largely considered widely varied works and materials on the subject and it has in one way or another informed this study. Let us see a brief outline of the primary sources hereunder.

To begin with, Cerulli's work is a collection of folk songs, largely obtained from a certain Loransiyos Walda-Yasus who had served under Morodaa, Kumsaa and Jootee. Its chronology is inadequate, however, with all its shortcomings the material has been used in the reconstruction of the environmental and social history of the region. In 1933, Cerulli contributed a travel account covering, among other places, parts of Qellem with historical digressions.[71] Although Schuver's career of African Exploration was cut short so suddenly, his writings have a double claim on the reader's attention. The travel account explores through parts of former Wallagga province, beyond Fadasi, south to the Oromo highlands of Jootee Tullu's Leeqaa Qellem, Beni Shangul and the Sibuu country, the Koma (Komo) and the Gumuz.[72]

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[71]Enrico Cerulli, *"The Folk Literature of the [Oromo] of Southern Abyssinia,"* in Harvard African Studies, 111, Varia African,Mas:Cambridge, 1922.
[72]Juan Maria Schuver's *Travels in North East Africa 1880-1883.*

Lambie's *Boot and Saddle in Africa* gives us the narrative of horseback rides which had left in their trail one of the most amazing works of God's grace in reaching African peoples since Livingstone opened Africa. It mentions Lambie's ride to Gambella and beyond to carry out his missionary activity. It has given us a brief reference to the developments in Leeqaa Qellem and its capital, Sayyoo in western Wallagga which became lovely beyond his imagination. His travel to Sayyo has definitely provided us with varied accounts of the region's physical feature, cultural and economic conditions during the imperial period.[73]

Nagaso's work is found to be important. It is clear from the presentation that the songs were not composed by the informants. They were popular in Qellem from the time of the conquest up to the eventual removal of *Dajazmach* (later *Ras*) Birru W/Gabriel (1928).[74] *Yatarik Matshet*, a collection of oral tradition produced by members of the History and Culture Club of *Atse* Zara Yaqob Secondary School, is found to be another useful source. Even if it has important omissions it became a commendable beginning and has stimulated our work.[75]

Other primary information has been obtained from Gidaadaa Soolan's memoir. It has given us insight about the religious development of Qellem in connection with the activities of the missionaries and the challenges they faced from the Orthodox Church supported by the appointed rulers of the area. The material has also a reflection on the attitude of the Italian administration at the time.[76]

Reports on Land Tenure System has been very vital for my dissertation in that it shades light on the forms of tenure and system of tax collection in Wallagga. It has some information about the revised proclamation of agricultural income tax. Moreover, it has given some clues with regard to the sources of income and the way the tax collectors handled cash payments during the imperial regime.[77]

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[73]Lambie, Thomas. *Boot and Saddle in Africa*. New York, 1947.
[74]Nagaso Gidada. "Oromo Historical Poems and Songs: Conquest and Exploitation in Western Wallagga, 1886-1927," in *Horn of Africa*, vol.5, No.3, 1982.
[75]Atse Zara Yaeqob Senior Secondary School. "*Yatarik Mastawasha*," Dembi Dollo, 1961EC.
[76]Gidada Solon. *The Other Side of Darkness*. New York, Friendship Press, 1972.
[77]Ministry of Land Reform and Administration, Reports on Land Tenure System of the Provinces, 1967-1970 Addis Ababa.

Leeqaa Naqamtee's letters of correspondence with Addis Ababa have seen the light of day by the joint work of Triulzi and Tesema. It is found to be important in disclosing the relationship between Menilek II and his conquered territory of Wallagga. In other words the documents in the book vividly revealed the relationships between the central government and the regional governors putting the political economy of Wallagga and the Amhara hegemony over the Oromo in perspective to the 1930s.[78]

The history of Warra Bakaree and traditions narrated by selected elders are another vital primary source that contributed a lot to my dissertation.[79]

A vital document entitled "Study Document of Peoples of Wallagga," is found to be an important source. This material has included the linguistic and cultural aspect of each ethnic group that has been living in Wallagga.[80]

Reports on drought problems caused in Ethiopia 1976E.C is another invaluable historical document that explains the role played by Socialist Ethiopia's Relief and Rehabilitation Commission(RRC) which was charged with disaster management (the provision of emergency relief and the rehabilitation of people and the areas affected by disaster). The material has provided good information on the activities of the RRC which attempted to alleviate problems in different parts of the drought prone regions of the country.[81] cooperatives. It briefly discusses the agricultural training programs and the measures taken to implement the plan.[82]

Another vital document is entitled "Agricultural Sector's Peasant Farm and Rural Infrastructure Development Plan 1981E/C." This material offers explanation about the problems that were posed in the fields of agriculture and rural infrastructure development. Moreover, it has provided some information about the formations and developments of the peasant associations.

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[78]A.Triulzi and Tesema Ta'a *Ya Wallagga Ya Tarik Sanadoch ka 1880wochu iska 1920wochu* E.C (Documents for Wallagga History, 1880s to 1920s E.C).
[79]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C.
[80]*Bewelega kiflahagar wust yamigagnu biherasaboch yatinat dokumant 1974E.C.*
[81]*Yaasrazatagn sabaamist ina yaasrazatagn sabasidist amatamihrat yazinab etirat bahagaritu yaskatalaw chigir zagaba.*1976E.C.
[82]*Begibrinaw kifleikonomi yagabare sabil limatina yagatar masaratalimat yaasrazatagn samaniyaandi ikid 1980.*

Another important document is "The National Revolutionary Development Campaign Central Planning Council's Provincial Distribution of Investment Projects and Government Services 1974 E.C". It focuses on the investment projects and services rendered to the peasant associations by the government.[83] It is important to note that all of them have rendered significant contribution for the dissertation.

The earlier research works of the different scholars have studied the political, religious and ethnic histories of Wallagga in the period between 1870s and 1930s. Among the scholarly works conducted on Wallagga so far the most important ones referred to are the works of Jan Hultin, Enrico Cerulli, Lambert Bartels, Alessandro Triulzi, Terefe W/Tsadik, Bahru Zewde, Michael Stahil, Nagaso Gidada and Tesema Ta'a. A panoramic assessment of these sound earlier works, following chronological approach is given as follows.

Jan Hultin's work has treated the early westward Oromo migration and their occupation of land for agriculture and grazing.[84]

Triulzi's works have been very helpful in that they have given us a better insight into the kind of interaction the Gudruu Oromos had with their neighbours before the Battle of Embabo of 1882. His other work, has also given us a vivid picture of the political development that took place in Western Wallagga in the late nineteenth century.[85] Michael Stahil's work has dealt with the land reform in western Wallagga.[86]

Terefe Woldetsadik and Bahru Zewde's senior essays have treated the socioeconomic and political account of Wallagga in the late nineteenth century. Terefe's work has reflections on the political developments in Wallagga in connection with the conquest of Menilek in the late

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[83] *Yabiherawi Abiyotawi Yamirt Zamachana Yamaikalawi Pilan Taklai Mamiriya Yaasrazatagn sabaarat Yamirtina Yabahil idgat Zamacha Ikid Yainvastimanti Pirojektochina Mangist Yamisatachaw Agalgilotoch Kiflahagarawi Sirichit 1974.*

[84] Jan Hultin, *Man and Land in Wollega*, Ethiopia1977.

[85] A Triulizi,."The Guduru Oromo and their Neighbours in the two generations before the battle ofEmbabo", Journal of *Ethiopian Studies*, XIII, 1 (1975); "The Background to Ras Gobana's Expedition to Western Wallagga in 1886-1888" A Review of Evidence," *Proceedings of the First United States Conference on Ethiopian Studies*, 1973.

[86] Michael Stahil, *New Seeds in Old Soil: A Study of the Land Reform Process in Western Wollega, Ethiopia 1975 - 1976.*

nineteenth century which has been used in this dissertation. Bahru's essay provides us with a clear picture of the socioeconomic and political developments in Qellem, during the *naftanna* rule in the 1880s.[87]

Tesema's works, give us a relevant picture of the political economy of the study area to the 1920s. His article, "The Basis for Political Contradictions..." is found to be invaluable in that it explains the objective of the land proclamation of 1909/10. In his "Bribing the Land..." Tesema has debunked the notion that the Abyssinians invented plow agriculture and taught its use to the Oromos and other nations based on his study of the indigenous farming system of the Macca Oromo of Wallagga.[88]

The other relevant works having good contribution to my dissertation are the studies made by Alemu Shuie and Etana Habte. Their studies have uncovered the administration of Wallagga during the Italian Occupation (1936-1941) and the *Darg* regime (1974-1991) respectively. However, details of the nature of land tenure and its taxation system, farming and production of crops (particularly cash crops such as coffee), have not been studied. Therefore, I have filled this gap by collecting as much fresh data as possible from the archives and fieldwork. Alemu's work has offered good information on the Italian land policy and other developments during this period. Etana's thesis is a useful work that gives an important perspective to this study. Although the center piece of his work is administration of Wallagga, it particularly has thrown some light on the economic policies of the *Darg* regime between 1974 and 1991. In spite of certain shortcomings both works have offered good contribution to my dissertation.[89]

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[87]Terefe Waldatsadiq, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880-1935), Wallagga", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies,* vol.Vi, I (1968), pp.73-74; Bahru Zewde. "A Biography of *Dejazmach* Jote Tullu, Abba Iggu(1855-1918)," BA Thesis in History, HSIU,1970.

[88]Tesema Ta'a, The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Study to 1910," AAU, Department of History, 1980; *The Political economy of Westerncentral Ethiopia: from the Mid-Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries,* Ph.D Dissertation Michigan State University,1986.; *"The Basis of Political Contradictions in Wollega: The Land Apportionment Act of 1910 and its consequences"*, Northeast African Studies, vol.5, No. 2, 1984; "Bribing the Land: An appraisal of the Farming Systems of the Maccaa Oromo in Wallagga", *in Contested Terrain, Essays on Oromo Studies, Ethiopianist Discourse, and Politically Engaged Scholarship*, edited by Ezekiel Gebissa, the Red Sea Press Inc.2009.

[89]Alemu Shuie. "Wallagga during Italian Occupation, 1936-1941, "MA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 2002; Etana Habte, "The Administration of Wallagga under the *Dergue* 1974-1991"M.A Thesis, A.A.U., Department of History, 2007.

Dessalegn Rahmato's book is a serious work that throws light on the agrarian study of Ethiopia. The work is found to be very important and it has guided me to have an insight to the nature of the existing land tenure system and to have a comparable perspective of the agricultural system and peasant life particularly in northern Ethiopia since the imperial period. However, it is surprising that the material fails to give even a passing reference to the agricultural history of Wallagga which is covered in this work.[90]

The study is also informed by influential Africanist monographs with explanatory models for the various themes. Among others, I benefitted from the book edited by Thomas Basset and Donald Crummey, *Land and African Agrarian Systems*. It has detailed studies of the indigenous tenure systems, an issue related to this study. The collection of articles in the book edited by Daniel Biebuyck, *African Agrarian Systems* also informed this work. The Biebuyck volume emphasizes local variability and the influence of both endogenous and exogenous factors in the making of different tenure systems. One of the contributors, Paul Bohannan helped in providing perspectives on the social nature of land access and control. He argues scholars and administrators alike to view land tenure systems not only in terms of relations between people and land but also among people. In this volume, Andurey Richards and Charles White's contributions provided insights into issues of the individualization of land holdings in Buganda and Northern Rhodesia. Both of the above mentioned books have shaped the various aspects of this study.[91] William Allan's classical work on African land tenure system and agriculture also contributed to the relevant section of the study.[92]

In eastern and southern Africa, although some people considered individual holdings to be the ideal form of tenure, political reasons discouraged colonial officials from granting freehold status. Some administrators opposed freehold because it would mean the loss of the right to expropriate lands and the ability to regulate agricultural practices in the reserves. Freehold was available to Africans only in the "Native Purchase Areas" of Northern Rhodesia and Kenya and

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[90]Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and the State: Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950s-2000s*, Addis Ababa University Press, 2009.
[91]Thomas J. Basset and Donald E. Crummey (eds.), *Land in African Agrarian Systems*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994); Daniel Biebuyck(ed.), *African Agrarian Systems* 1963.
[92]W. Allan, *The African Husbandman* (Edinburgh: 1965).

in the Land Settlement Scheme of Swaziland. Elsewhere, they held land as tenants of the state, as in Southern Rhodesia under the Native Land Husbandry Act, or under customary tenure in resettlement areas, as in Tanganyika (Tanzania).[93]

Michael Roth's study examines the process of land registration and security of tenure in the lower Shebelle River valley. The most important trends he discusses are heightened peasant insecurity due to conflicts between customary and national land systems, rural land speculation by urban elites, and a reduced flexibility of indigenous tenure systems with little progress made toward equity and productivity. Roth show how the capitalist nature of agrarian reform in the Horn of Africa fostered increasingly rigid land allocation and management practices. It is this rigidity, in contrast to the flexible use of resources under indigenous tenure systems that partly accounts for the highly inefficient farming systems characteristics of the region in the 1980s.[94]

Merle Bowen and Terence Ranger's study focus on the processes of agrarian reform in southern Africa. Bowen's study of Mozambique's policy shift from a collective agricultural strategy to one oriented toward private and peasant farming in many ways complements Dessalegn Rahmato's work on Ethiopia's reform experience. Like Ethiopia, Mozambique initially followed the Orthodox socialist path of collective agriculture with a heavy emphasis on state farms. The problems of poor performance in the case of Ethiopia, despite massive capital investments in this sector, have prompted the ruling Frelimo Party to seek alternative solutions to increasing agricultural output. Terence Ranger's contribution on agrarian reform in the so-called communal areas of Zimbabwe brings us to full circle on the debate over the potential of communal tenure systems for promoting agricultural growth. He begins by showing how the notion of communal tenure as it is currently conceptualized was not at all typical of the pre-colonial period. It emerged as a colonial construct during the 1920s and is shown by Ranger to be continually re-created by agrarian reform programs emphasizing egalitarian landholdings.[95]

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[93]Thomas J. Basset, "Editor's Introduction," pp.6-11.
[94]Michael Roth, Somalia Land Policies and Tenure Impacts: the case of the Lower Shebelle. Thomas J. Basset and Donald E. Crummey (eds.), *Land in African Agrarian Systems*, pp.298-322.
[95]Merle L. Bowen, Socialist Transitions: Policy Reforms and Peasant Producers in Mozambique, pp.326-350 and Terence Ranger, The Communal Areas of Zimbabwe. *Land in African Agrarian Systems*, Basset and Crummey (eds.) pp.354-382 .

A brief review of the literature on the agricultural history is essential to place this study in perspective. Scholars have long acknowledged the antiquity of agriculture in Africa. Records of African agriculture were mainly collections and classifications of cultivation methods, farming tools, and the types of crops described with Eurocentric tones and informed with underlying static assumptions. John Tosh deplored that studies presented as agricultural history were more of history without agriculture, since they rarely included issues of soil types, crop diseases, ecological problems, the labour process and access to land.[96]

The collection of articles Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons edited in the late 1970s dispelled the notion of static African agriculture and paved the way for subsequent development of monographs. The contributors indicated that African peasant agriculture was depicted as inefficient and backward in contrast to the dynamic and productive white settler farms in southern Africa. The articles showed with evidence that capitalist white farms were productive because of their control of black labour and auspicious state policies.[97] Laurel van Horn's case study of Barotseland outlined the impact of environment and soil and indicated how cattle diseases, transport problems, and colonial policy favoring migrant labor contribute to the decline of agricultural productivity below subsistence level.[98]

The study is informed with the impact of environment and soil and how cattle diseases, and transport problems contribute to the decline of agricultural productivity. Christopher Wrigley's article is particularly important as he focused on a single crop (banana) in pre-colonial Uganda. The crop became a staple supplemented with beans, peas, and groundnuts until the rise of commercial maize cultivation in the 1950s. This can be compared to the replacement of coffee as the main cash crop instead of cereals and its impact on the economy of Wallagga. Wrigley's conclusion is broadly relevant to this study because of the link between land and farming system.[99]

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[96]John Tosh "The cash Crop Revolution," *African Affairs* vol.79 (1980), p.80
[97]Robin Palmer and Neil Parsons (eds.) "Introduction: The Roots of Rural Poverty: Historical Background" *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa* (London, Heinemann, 1979), pp.1-26
[98]The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840-1964"pp.144-70
[99]C.C. Wrigley, "Bananas in Uganda,"*Azania*, vol.24, (1989), pp.64-70

Herman Amborn's case study focused on the cereal hoe cultivation of Burji-Konso of southwestern Ethiopia. Amborn showed the link between access to land and the division of agricultural tasks such as irrigation and terracing among the various age-groups in the society. He argued that the intensification of agriculture was derived from a long historical process set within the social, political and economic institutions as far back as the sixteenth century.[100]

My study has attempted to benefit from the above historical literature on different parts of Africa. Issues of land right and tenancy, expropriation and accumulation of land, the rise of state farms and agrarian reforms are concepts deployed for my study. Moreover, the role of soil, climate, changes in farming systems and cropping patterns were concepts additionally adopted for this study.

1.8 Methodology and Sources

The methodological approach employed in this study is primarily a qualitative one. Thus, the methods of both data collection and analysis based on the qualitative methodology which involved various techniques and procedure has been employed. In the first stage of the study the secondary sources and other narratives available at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES) and other libraries of the Addis Ababa University have been more or less thoroughly examined. Moreover, the archival materials that have been collected in the capital and the study region were carefully searched. The second stage of this study has been fieldwork. In the course of the fieldwork two basic tasks were carried out. Interviews with selected informants as well as gathering of available documents have been simultaneously conducted. In the third and the final stage of the study the gathered oral sources have thoroughly been sifted and crosschecked after which the work on the analysis and the writing up of the dissertation has been undertaken.

The documents needed for this historical study are classified in the dead files known as archives which embraced a corpus of first-hand information. However, the archives are not complete; some important records are missing.

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[100]Herman Amborn, "Agricultural Intensification in the Burji-Konso Cluster," *Azania*, vol.24, (1989), pp.96-97.

Many files are not kept in their correct file and folder; neither do they have proper forms of identification. Those that are identified have combination of Amharic alphabets and numbers. Therefore, it is difficult to cite the archives with their proper date of creation and folder and file number in the footnotes partly for these reasons. I have brought the available folders one by one and then examined the files reading or glancing through heaps of letters, reports, petitions and minutes. In this way I have browsed files dated from the 1930s to 1990s that were related to Wallagga province from different centers and from private sources as well.

I undertook the research partly in Addis Ababa where I gathered some invaluable data from Walda Masqal Tariku Memorial Archive Center (WMTMAC). This center has provided me with some documents related to the land tenure and taxation. Nevertheless, the center was closed for one year (from June 2013 till June 2014) for unspecified reason and this blocked the concentrated effort to search for relevant archives on time, a matter quite memorable to the history department of AAU. It is surprising that I could not find a professional archivist working in this center. I have always contacted a non-professional and temporal worker who did not know the exact location of the files during my scheduled visits.

The other archive center I have visited in Addis Ababa was that of the Ethiopian National Archive and Library Agency (ENALA). The archivists in this center at least know which files were located in which digitized folder. They brought the folders out one by one and left them with the researcher who had to read through the decayed papers. The problem with this center, however, was the fact that it was not allowed to copy more than five pages from a single file.

It is obvious that the capital of the study region, Naqamtee has also a collection of disorganized archives at different centers. The researcher attempted to visit such archive centers as the former office of Wallagga Governorate General, now under East Wallagga Zone Administration Office (EWZAO) and branch of the former Ministry of Finance now Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MFED), the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) and Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise (WADE). I have browsed some of the archives in these centers in a quite suffocating room. In the former Ministry of Finance, I have identified documents related to land litigation, tax registry and registry of tenures of the former *awrajas* of Wallagga province. The archives in the former office of Wallagga Governorate General are extremely disorganized

and mishandled permitting no easy access to research work. Therefore, few of the invaluable documents were collected from this center mainly due to financial and administrative problems. The archive of the Naqamtee branch of the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) before 1974 and during the *Darg* period is completely destroyed. However, the officials working in the office have preserved folders of the post 1991 for probable office use or interested researchers. In Gimbii reports from the Ministry of Tea and Coffee Development (MTCD) related to coffee production and marketing in the post 1974 period and private documents has been collected.

I have also attempted to search documents from the municipalities. However, an irretrievable damage was perpetrated to the files between 1974 and 1991 because they were frequently removed from their original locations. Nevertheless, I was able to check some of the files of East Wallagga Town's Administration Office (EWTAO). The records were mostly appeals for land and unfair taxation, urban land transaction and market tax records.

I have a glance to some archives of WADE whose head office was located in Naqamtee town until it was totally closed down in March 2014. Although the records are indispensable for my dissertation I could not fully exploit the existing archives because all the files have been removed once and for all to Addis Ababa by the order of the higher authority. Moreover, the researcher has attempted to collect some manuscripts, memos and office memorandums from interested individuals.

In addition to the search for domestic sources an attempt has also been made to utilize materials from abroad. Since many of the archival materials I have anticipated to get in Wallagga have been destroyed or disorganized the situation has made imperative to travel abroad to get access to primary sources available in overseas libraries and archival centers in London, UK where Foreign Office Archives of the 1940s and 1950s as well as the Sudan Intelligence Reports concerning western Wallagga and other relevant data for my research are found. Nevertheless, the British embassy's negative response for the request of the entry visa into the UK has obstructed my progress. Moreover, an attempt to obtain reels of microfilms and microfiche in the IES, AAU has not been fruitful as pertinent materials on Wallagga during the period under review are not available.

The study is also enriched by oral traditions for which I have to mention some of the most important interviewees. I have contacted selected informants of both genders who gave me invaluable information on some of the topics chosen for interview. Ato Emeru Gabre, *Balambaras* Nega Bekele, Sirriiqaa Galatee, Dhinaa Dikoo, Ambaw Lamuu and *Balambaras* Getachew Haile are found to be knowledgeable on the nature and forms of land tenure, problems of land access, taxation system, land remeasurement, and peasant agriculture both during the imperial and the *Darg* regimes. I have already obtained firsthand information from the deceased elderly around some of whom I was brought up and others I had the opportunity to attend their conversation at social gatherings and during coffee ceremonies when I was at my early high school and college years. Their testimony is quite plausible and authentic because they were experienced personalities. I have acquired information from such elders on the traditional landholding, animal husbandry, hunting expeditions, and events of the Italian occupation period. In Qellem they were: Qes Kumsaa Boroo, Baatii Hembelee, Mammite Mandafro and Waashoo Abbaa Dotii. I have contacted the other group of elders in Naqamtee during the fieldwork for my M.A thesis in 2007. Among others Olaanaa Batii, Yigazuu Binagaa, and Habte Mastasalim are worth mentioned. Many other interviewees assisted this research and a full list of their names is included in the bibliographical section of the dissertation.

Chapter Two

Historical Background: The System of Landholding

According to Lambert Bartels, among the many people living within the borders of present-day Ethiopia the Oromo constitute the most numerous. In the 1960s although a reliable census was not available, the country's total population was estimated to be 28 million and assuming that the Oromo accounted for 35 per cent of this figure, then they must number about10 million.The population of Ethiopia is growing from time to time and at present it is estimated to be 100 million. Generally speaking it can be said that, in the highlands Oromo economies were based on a mixture of agriculture (grain-crops and coffee) and animal husbandry (cattle, sheep, goats and poultry).In the lowlands they lived as pastoralists. Where both types of lands are to be found, mixed types of economies had been observed, so that often within one family agriculturalists and herders may be found.[1]

The original homeland of the Oromo, from where the extensive movement in several directions was launched in the sixteenth century, was a subject of debate among scholars in the past. Currently, there is a general agreement that today's southern Oromiya region in Ethiopia was the cradle of the Oromos. While written sources point to this general area with few specifics, oral traditions provide additional specific places and mountain names which helped to clarify the issue.[2] Thus, the compilation of Oromo oral traditions from different regions together with written sources is the basis for the consensus view that the Oromo lived in today's Bale highlands and the adjacent lowlands to the west before their dispersals.[3] It was originally assumed that prior to their movement the Oromo constituted a single pastoral group who lived in a lowland ecology. However, subsequent research has established that different Oromo groups

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[1]Bartels Lambert, *Oromo Religion, Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia: An Attempt to understand.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1983. pp.13-17.

[2]Eike Haberland, *Galla Sud-Athiopiens* (Stuttgart: 1963), pp.4, 7,772; H.S. Lewis, "The Origin of the Galla and the Somali," *Journal of African History* (1966), pp.27-46; Yilma Deressa, *YaEtyop'ia HezbTarik Kaasraasedestannaw kefla zaman.* Addis Ababa: 1959 E/C. (Addis Ababa: 1959 Ethiopian Calendar), pp.213-215; U. Braukamper, "Oromo Country of Origin: A Reconsideration of Hypothesis," In *proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies* ed., Gideon Goldenberg (Tel Aviv: 1980), pp.25-40; Mohammed Hassan, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1990.p.4.

[3]*Ibid*, I. M. Lewis, Review of E. Haberland, *Galla Sud-Athiopiens.* In *Man*, LXIV (November-December 1964), pp.189-190.

lived in both highland and lowland ecological zones over a widely dispersed area. Other sources establish the early presence of the Oromo in East Africa. In 1624, approximately a century after the recorded mass exodus from today's southern Ethiopia, the Jesuit missionary Jeronimo Lobo, reported on their coastal settlement and pastoral way of life.[4] Not much was known until 1824 when the British admiralty reported their presence between Juba and Mombasa.[5]

There is a belief that the Oromo movement was the result of demographic pressure.[6] These movements have been the result of substantial increase in livestock accompanied by growth in population.[7] Indeed such movements manifested themselves in successful wars which the southern Muslims waged against the Christian state, especially in the 1520s and 1530s. Since the Oromo shared the southern region with these Muslims, it was assumed that they also shared the natural factors that contributed to population growth. It is significant to note here that the Christian Muslim wars of the medieval period had exerted consistent pressures on Oromo who were neither Christians nor Muslims at the time.

The Oromo gradually moved and settled in Wallagga as a result of their massive expansion in the sixteenth century. They constituted two major groups called the Boorana and the Barantuma. These groups begot many children and multiplied themselves. The most significant of the Boorana include the Maccaa and the Tuulama who spearheaded the Oromo expansion into Shawa, Wallagga, Illubabor and southwestern Ethiopia. The Barantuma branch moved to eastern and northern Ethiopia eventually to settle in what are today Arsi, Bale, Harar, Wollo and parts of Gojjam.[8] The Maccaa groups farther separated from the Tuulama and moved to the west forming confederations. One of these confederations was the *Afree* (confederacy of four) which consisted

[4]D.M. Lockhart (trans.), *The Itinerario of Jeronimo Lobo* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1984), pp.55-67
[5]W.F.W Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar*, Vol.II,(London;1833), p.172.
[6]J.L.Krapf, *Vocabularies of Six East African Languages* (Tubingen: 1850), p.60; Charles Tutschek, *Dictionary of the Galla Language* (Munich: 1844) p.58; C.F.Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies*, Vol. II (Cambridge: The Hakluyt Society, 1958), p.438.
[7]Eike Haberland, *Galla Sud-Athiopiens*, p.772.
[8]Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy of Western central Ethiopia: from the Mid-Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries, Ph.D Dissertation Michigan State University, 1986. pp.48;Yilma Deressa, *YaEtyop'ia HezbTarik*, 1975 p.202; Bahru Zewde. *"A History of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1974)."* London: James Currey, 1991.p18 Jabessa 1994:92.

Calliya, Gudruu, Liiban and Hako clans. It was this confederation which later settled in Wallagga. The Maccaa groups also found a new center of their own at Odaa Bisil Osolee between Geedoo and Billoo Boshee, some one hundred fifty kilometers west of Odaa Nabee. From Tuutee Bisil the Maccaa eventually moved into today's Wallagga which occupied in the first half of the seventeenth century.[9] The various Maccaa clans farther moved beyond the Gibe River as a result of Tuulama pressure from behind and in search of fresh pastoral lands. Thus, the Sibuu, Tummee, Amuru, Leeqaa, Jimma, Gudruu and others settled between the Abbay river in the north, Dabbus river and mount Tullu Walal in the west and Gojeb river in the south which today constitute Wallagga and Illubabor.[10]

Before the Maccaa Oromo moved into western central Ethiopia, the region was largely inhabited by peoples belonging to two major linguistic groupings: the Omotic and the Nilo-Saharan. Limited medieval sources indicate that the Omotic people had a highly organized and well structured kingship system, while the Nilo-Saharan lived in a widely scattered, segmented communities. Some of the most important Omotic kingdoms between the Abbay and the Gojeb rivers, the area which more or less came under the direct control of the Maccaa Oromo, include: Damot, Enarya, Bussase, and Ganqa. Some of the Nilo-Saharan specifically mentioned by the traditions were: Agadi, Gabato, Kaza, Masango, Shiluk and Mao. These were collectively called *Shanqilla* by the Amhara and were usually known as *diina* by the Oromo. Tradition has it that their established economic activities were hunting and gathering while subsequent developments affirm that they adopted farming and cattle raising around the valleys of the Abbay, Dhidheessa and Angar Rivers.[11]

Bartels and Nagasso stated that the Macca in Wallagga have been sub-divided into three groups:

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[9]Mohammed Hassan, *The Oromo of Ethiopia,* pp.41, 42; Assefa Jalata. *Oromia and Ethiopia, State Formation and Ethno-National Conflict, 1868-1992.* Boulder and London: Lynne Rrenner Publishers, 1993.p.21; Guluma Gemeda, "Gomma and Limmu: The Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1750 - 1889," M.A Thesis, Department of History, A.A.U, 1984.p.21.

[10]Tesema Ta'a, The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Study to 1910," AAU, Department of History, 1980.p.25.

[11]Nagaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730-1886.* Mega Publishing Enterprise: Addis Ababa, 2001pp.60-87; Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy, p.36; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.73-74.

the Leeqaa, the Sibuu and the Sayyoo.[12] The territory bounded by the Angar River in the North, Waamaa in the South, Gibee in the East and Dhidheessa River in the West is mainly settled by the Leeqaa of Naqamtee.[13] The Sibuu are mainly found in the area south of the Abbay and East of the Daabbus River, while the Sayyo settled in the region to the South of Mt. Tulluu Walal, from the Birbir River in the East to the Anfilloo forests in the West.[14].The Leeqaa and the Sibuu, since their departure from the main body of Western Macca in the upper Gibee region and established themselves in the Dhidheessa area in the mid-eighteenth century, were traditional rivals.[15] The Gudruu and Horroo sub-group of the Macca who occupied the fertile area south of the Abbay and East of the Dhidheessa River to the north of Naqamtee are another Oromo group in Wallagga. Like the Sibuu and Leeqaa there was rivalry and conflict between the Gudruu and Horroo when W. Plowden and his companion John Bell visited the area in 1845-46.[16] Around1847 Antoine d' Abbadie stated that all Oromo inhabited areas between the Abbay and the Gojab rivers were small republics with chiefs changing every eight years, each group having various chiefs.[17] Besides, Terefe W/Tsadik notes that two major sets of forces were at work in the Oromo areas now united under the name Wallagga in the period before 1880. The forces of unity, in his view, tended to establish hereditary and monarchical forms of state over a divided and tiresome society based on family ties, while forces of disunity worked for the maintenance of traditional petty republics, autonomous and antagonistic to one another.[18]

The pastoralist Macca Oromo moved into Qellem from the territory east of the Birbir River known as Baddaa Ulmaayyaa. Historical events in Baddaa Ulmaayyaa are far from clarity in the existing literature. It was, however, suggested that the Oromo abandoned this region for the same

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[12]Nagasso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo of South-western Wallaga, 1730-1886.*Addis Ababa: Mega Printing Enterprise, 2001, p.34; Mohammed Hassan, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1990, p.76.

[13]*Ibid.*

[14]Alessandro Triulzi, "Nekemte and Addis Ababa: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule", in Donham D. and W.James (eds.), *The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopian: Essays in History and Social Anthropology*. Cambridge, 1986, pp.55-62; Negasso, The Impacts of Christianity, pp. 1-2.

[15]Triulzi, "Nekemte and Addis Ababa, p.5; Etana Habte, The Administration, pp. 3-4.

[16]Terefe Waldatsadiq, "The Unification of Ethiopia (1880-1935), Wallagga", *Journal of Ethiopian studies*, vol.Vi, I (1968), pp.73-74; W.C Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Countries.* London: 1868, pp.304 - 307; Plowden, W.C. *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Countries*. London: 1868.pp. 304,307.

[17]Etana Habte,Administration of Wallagga, p.5.

[18]Terefe W/Tsadik, "The Unification of Ethiopia," p. 73.

reason that caused their exodus from earlier centers. All these kingdoms had in common that dominant personalities, clans and family groups emerged by the turn of the century. Bahru stated that these Oromo states had an egalitarian and republican system of socio- political organization known as *gadaa* which soon gave way to monarchical institutions. The prominent ones were Oromo monarchies of Leeqaa-Naqamtee and its dependencies ruled by Kumsaa Morodaa and Qellem ruled by Jootee Tulluu. Varieties of historical sources maintain the rise of these dominant personalities in western-central Ethiopia more or less in a similar historical perspective. Plowden alleged that chiefs in Horro-Gudruu generally bore bitter enmity towards their neighbors. When he visited the area inter-group wars were constant and apparently interminable.[19] The Italian traveler A. Cecchi, who had closely observed the Oromo inhabited areas south of the Abbay confirmed that "each tribe obeyed one chief" who is nominally the eldest of the most ancient and powerful family which is to be set up among them.[20]

Wallagga as a region of considerable commercial significance was crossed by caravan route to the Sudan. Around the 1880s, however, the Oromo monarchies of Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Qellem as well as the small chieftaincies like Horro-Gudruu and Leeqaa-Arjoo were fighting for political supremacy and control of trade and trade routes. The absence of a well-organized authority to maintain peace and security for the merchants to conduct commercial transactions of gold, ivory, coffee and other items was a major problem.[21]Moreover, officials in Wallagga particularly the *Abbaa Duulaas* (war leaders) checked the power of *Abbaa Bokkuus* (holders of the scepter) in the mid 1880s, following the example of the Gibee region. One of such leaders who built his power around 1851 after his eight years power had terminated was Bakaree Godaanaa of Leeqaa-Naqamtee. According to the existing relevant literature, the first *mootii* (King) to have united the

[19]Bahru Zewde, "*Dejjazmach* Jote Tullu, pp. 18-19; Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia,* pp.278-79, 288-290.
[20]Cecchi, *Da Ziela Allee Frontiere Della Caffa.*Roma, 1886, quoted in Alemu Shuie, "Wallagga during Italian Occupation, 1936-1941", M.A Thesis, A.A.U., Department of History, 2002, p.4. Asmarom Legesse asserts that, "The Gada system is a system of classes (*luba*) that succeed each other every eight years in assuming military, economic, political, and ritual responsibilities. Each *gadaa* class remains in power during a specific term (*gadaa*) which begins and ends with a formal power transfer ceremony." Lambert Bartels comments: "The *gada* system was more than a merely socio-political system. Lambert Bartels, *Studies of the[Oromo]*...pp.
[21]Alessandro Triulzi, "The Guduru Oromo and their Neighbours in the two generations before the battle of Embabo", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies,* XIII, 1 (1975), pp.57-58.

state of Leeqaa-Naqamtee was Bakaree Godaanaa.[22] More importantly the states of Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Qellem managed to absorb the adjacent weaker population and assured their leadership on a number of families located around their respective domains. After the death of Bakaree in 1868, his son and successor, Morodaa, extended his domain over vast areas by a blend of war and diplomacy. To this in effect, Gimbii, Haruu, Arjoo, Jaarsoo, Baamboo-Gambeel, Jabal and Guyyoo-Mandii were brought into his domain before the advent of the Gojjame into the region.[23] In the meantime, Jootee Tulluu Guddaa had also conquered various principalities under petty chiefs found in Wallagga, south-west of Naqamtee beyond the Birbir River creating a relatively large state in the region. Jootee's territory included parts of Asossa-Bela-Shangul, Gambella.[24] (the land of Yamboo and Abbigaar), Goma, Masango, Garjeeda, Daallee, Sayyoo, Aayira, Ganjii, Noolee-Kaabbaa and Anfilloo.[25] By and large, the methods and strategies employed by Morodaa and Jootee in bringing different principalities in to their domains were similar to those later made use of by Emperor Menilek in incorporating Wallagga into his empire. They recognized the autonomy of the conquered chiefs as long as they paid tribute, but of course checked their loyalty. Apparently, lack of unity among the Oromo, absence of modern firearms and tactics of warfare had greatly affected them in their struggle against alien forces like those of Gojjam and Shawa.[26]

Another state, which needs at least a mention, is the Busaasee (Omotic) Kingdom of southern Wallagga. They had conquered part of the Mao (Nilo-Saharan) people over whom they

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[22]Bartels, "Studies of the Galla, pp. 148-155; Tesema Ta'a, "Administration of Leqa Naqamte between 1850-1923", B.A Thesis, Department of History, H.I.S.U., 1976, pp.3-7; *Idem*, "The Oromo of Wollega, pp.36-46.

[23]A. Triulizi and Tesema Ta'a, *Ya Wallaga ya Tarik Sanadoch ka 1880 wochu iska 1920wochu* (Documents for Wallagga History, 1880s to 1920s E.C.), Addis Ababa:Addis Ababa University Press, 2004, pp.52-53 It offers a deep insight on official correspondence from Naqamtee to the central govern ent and the local chronicles of Maccaa genealogy of Bakaree family of Leeqaa-Naqamtee between 1880s and 1930s.

[24]The river port on the Baro-Sobat River, the territory we are referring to in this dissertation, has the name Gambella.

[25]Terefe W/Tsadiq, "Unification of Ethiopia, p.24; A.Triulzi, "Salt, Gold and Legitimacy, Prelude to the History of No Man's Land, Bela-Shangul, Wallaga, Ethiopia (ca.1800- 1898)", Ph.D Dissertation, Institute of University of Oriental African Studies, p.161; Nagasso, *History of the Sayyo*, p.330.

[26]Tesema Ta'a, "The Political Economy, p.85; "Triulzi, "Salt, Gold and Legitimacy, p.161; Terefe, "The Unification of Ethiopia, p.74; Mohammed Hasan, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*, pp. 197-198.

established a ruling dynasty called the "Busaasee" in Anfilloo[27] before the arrival of the Oromo. This dynasty had put up a long and stiff resistance against the Oromo expansion into the region. Harold Marcus stated that in 1881 Yohannes became alarmed at Menilek's increasing success in the south and attempted to balance his growing power by appointing Takla-Haimanot as King of Gojjam and Kaffa.[28] On his way to take over his new fief, Takla-Haimanot passed through and laid claim to some Shawan territories. The problem was resolved on 6, June 1882 at the battle of Himbaabboo, where the Gojjame were badly beaten and their king became a prisoner of Menilek.[29] Tesema points out that the Gojjame involvement in the internal affairs of northern Wallagga was undoubtedly earlier than Shawan encroachment on any parts of the region. The Gojjame, Triulizi affirms, had already commenced their expansion across the Abbay into the Oromo land of Wallagga in the 1860s and 1870s.[30]

Another significant development in the late nineteenth century Wallagga was the rivalry between the Shawans and the Gojjame to control the resourceful Oromo lands of Horro-Guduruu south of the Abbay. In the agreement which was made between Yohannes and Menilek, after Himbaabboo, Marcus confirms, the latter agreed to free Takla-Haimanot. In return Menilek received approval of his conquests and dependencies of Shawa from Yohannes, and attained the recognition as King of Kaffa and an immediate heir to the Ethiopian throne. Even though Morodaa had submitted to *Ras* Darasu of Gojjam in the early 1880s, his neutrality in the conflict between the Gojjame and the Shawans won him recognition as the only ruler of his territory and

[27]Girma Mangistu, "The Busase of Anfillo, Qellem, Wallaga: A Historical Study", B.A thesis, H.S.I.U, 1973, pp.1-4; OljiraTujuba, "The Fakosho of Manasibu, Western Wallagga", B.A Thesis, AAU, Department of History, 1987, p.13; Ernesta Cerulli, *Peoples of the Southwest Ethiopia and its Borderland.* London: Publisher Internal African Institute, 1956, p.17.

[28]Harold G.Marcus, *Menilek II, Leadership in Africa's six political Biographies.*Norman R. Bennett, ed., Boston University Press, in his miscellanea 1, 1968, p.173.

[29]Himbaabboo is a plain in Guduruu which was occupied by Himbaabboo Didee, one of the pioneers in Horro-Guduruu as the *qabiyyee* of his group. The traditions relate that the plain was named after him. Earlier researchers have used the name "Embabo" instead of Himbaabboo in connection with the battle which was fought between the Gojjame and the Shawans in 1882. Therefore, Himbaabboo seems the correct name of the place and anything connected with it. See R.A Caulk, "Territorial Competition... pp, 12-13. *Ibid* "Firearms and princely power in Ethiopia in the 19th century," *Journal of African History*, XIII, 4 (1972), p. 620.

[30]Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wollega, p.111.

was given the title of *Dajjazmach* by Menilek.[31] Tesema quoting Massaja (1885-86) attests that there had been close trade relations between Wallagga and Gojjam in general and the Gudruu Oromo and the Gojjame in particular through the Assandabo-Baso route.The internal disputes in Wallagga were caused by a protracted and desperate struggle to exercise political power. This circumstance certainly resulted in the incursion of ambitious alien forces who also exploited the situation to their advantage. Moreover, the Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Qellem leaderships who received recognition by Menileke's government managed to get political upper hand in their respective areas. The control of land and the main caravan trade routes as well as local market villages were among the determinant factors for their success over the various rival groups.[32] Morodaa and Jootee, the two Leeqaa rulers, triumphed over their local rivals in the early 1880s before the Shawan and the Gojjame armies crossed into western Wallagga for commercial competition. Tuuchoo Daannoo of Leeqaa Qumbaa, Geendaa Buushan of Leeqaa-Sibuu and Garbii Jiiloo of Leeqaa-Billoo were among the main rivals of Morodaa. In Qellem the contenders were Tufaa Heddee (abbaa Oofaa) of Haawwaa succeeded by Buraayyuu Bari (Abbaa Gosaa), Bakakkoo Tufaa (Abbaaa Dhaasaa) of Galaan, Guumaa Oshoo (Abbaa Dantaa) of Qooxa'oo Sadii, succeeded by his son Hirphaa (Abbaa Daannoo).There was another powerful *abetu* Qajeelaa Abbaa Gimbii, of the Busasse of Anfilloo. Triulzi remarks that the Anfilloo rejected Jootee's overtures and the Sibuu that of Morodaa. Goobanaa's triumphant advance to the western most of Wallagga was the result of a call for help by the two Leeqaa rulers, both of whom felt threatened by the Mahadist advance.[33]

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[31]Triulzi, "Nekemte and Addis Ababa, p.54; Tesema, "The Oromo of Wollega, p.70; Terefe W/Tsadiq, "The Unification of Ethiopia, p.79.

[32]S.H. Lewis, "A Reconstruction of the socio-political system of the Western Galla", *Journal of Semetic Studies* vol. IX.I (1964), pp.139-143; *"The Gudru Oromo and their Neighbours in the two generations before the Battle of Embabo"*, Journal of *Ethiopian Studies*, XIII, 1 (1975)....pp.58-63 Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wollega, p.36.

[33]In the last decades of the nineteenth century, we find in the extreme west of Wallagga several "strong men", who tried to bring a whole region under their domination. Some English speaking Oromos usually call them 'kings' or '*mootii*'. For the Oromo of the far west they were *abetu*. Cerulli asserts in his book *Etiopia Occidentale*(II:89): it is a title which, previously, in Christian Ethiopia was given to the members of the royal family. The most important *abetu* in the area around Dambi Doolloo were: Jootee of Gidaamii,*Abbaa* Dhaasaa of Galaan, Buraayyuu of the country of the same name. The fourth one, whom the Oromo of this area always mention simultaneously with those three, is *abbaa* Gimbii,the Busaase king of Anfillo. Between those four the country around Dambi Doolloo was a contested area. Lambert Bartels, Studies of the [Oromo] in Wallagga, *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* vol.8 Nos.1-2, 1970. pp.141-42 See also Nagasso Gidada 2001: 195, 220.

The available literature confirms that no Gojjame or Shawan forces had foothold in Qellem before the clashes began with the Dervishes in southwestern and northwestern Ethiopia. The Mahdist forces penetrated into Wallagga in two directions. One group came through Asossa crossed the Sherqolle river into Jootee's fief, while the other detachments made their advent through Mandii crossed the Daabbus river and attacked Morodaa's lands.[34] It seems important to note here that Jootee and Morodaa's rivals had defected to the Ansara. The introduction of firearms into Qellem was the consequence of the arrival of the Ansara. Morodaa and Jootee had managed to attain firm control over their respective fiefs with the help of Goobanaa's forces. Needless to mention how Goobanaa arrived in Wallagga, his army defeated the Sibuu-Mahadist forces at the Battle of Guutee-Dillii in Najjoo in 1888.[35] In the immediate aftermath of Guutee-Dillii, the appointment of Wadajo, Goobanaa's son, as an overseer of all markets customs and duties in Morodaa's land effectively cancelled Gobanaa's initial oath (*Kakaa*). Later on, *Dajjazmach* Wadajo was appointed to rule over Wallagga as Goobanaa's representative. Here, what offended Morodaa was the fact that he was put under Goobanaa's son and not being under direct overlordship of Menilek. Morodaa was successful in reversing the arrangement through effective agreement with Menilek. Since then Morodaa used to pay Menilek an annual tribute in gold of 500 *Waqets* and 100 *feresula* of ivory and had to render military support to Menilek, and this arrangement sustained into the time of Kumsaa, son and successor of Morodaa.[36]

Literature at our disposal suggests that it was under such strong leaders as Kumsaa Morodaa of Naqamtee and Jootee Tulluu of Qellem that both local and long-distance trade in Wallagga was further enhanced. Before that, however, owing to lack of order and security in the region it was extremely difficult for the caravans to travel safely out of their locality. Menilek's expansion had opened the way for traders to conduct trade and commerce relatively securely in every direction.[37]

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[34]A.Triulzi, "Salt, gold and legitimacy, pp.160-161; Terefe W/Tsadiq,The Unification of Ethiopia, p.80; Terefe W/Tsadik,The Unification of Ethiopia, p.8; Tesema Ta'a, The Oromo of Wollega, p.70.
[35]A.Triulzi, Nekemte and Addis Ababa, p.55; Tesema Ta'a, The Oromo of Wollega, p.80.
[36]Tesema Ta'a, The Administration of Leqa Naqamte, pp. 28-29; *Ibid*, "The Oromo of Wollega, p.81.
[37]Alemu Shuie, Wallagga during Italian, p.13; LammaTamana, "Foundation, Growth and Development of Ghimbi Town to 1974", A.A.U., Department of History, B.A. thesis, 1988, pp.9-11.

Landholding Strategies: Interaction Among Clans, the New Comers and Land Use System

The traditions about the westward expansion are often vague and ambitious, but it is still possible to get an idea of the pattern, at least for the Leeqaa and Sibuu groups in western Maccaa. They both say that they came from their ancient ritual center at Odaa Bisil, and that some of them moved west and settled in what are now the territory of the Leeqaa and the Sibuu in central Maccaa, around Naqamtee. When they had lived there for two or three generations, some of them crossed the malaria and tse-tse infested lowland of the Dhidheessaa river valley and entered into their present territories in the far west, where the first settlers, according to traditions, arrived about seven generations ago. This land was called Wallagga, and it was not until around1900 that the name came to refer to the much wider area of the present administrative zones. The movements into new areas were never made on a large scale but by smaller groups. There was no great invasion, but much less dramatic drifts by small groups of pastoralists, who came to settle in places where they found good pasture. It seems that again, after two or three generations, some people left their place of birth and moved into new districts. According to Lambert Bartels, *darabaa* was one of the main mechanisms that propelled the Oromo westwards to their present settlement areas, enabling juniors to develop the *darabaa* sites into their own permanent settlement areas. This also accounts for the chain of lineage and clan names that replicated themselves along the routes of movement in the study region.[38]

Scholarly writing on the Oromo states that in the traditions of westward Oromo trek following the "bull" was customary. Each clan took the land on which its bull rested. In doing this the Maccaa believed the system to have been guided by *waaqa*, their supreme sky god.[39] Cattle was the oldest form of wealth and a universal metaphor for defining humankind and its environment.

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[38]Jan Hultin, *The Long Journey*:Essays on History,Descent and land among the Macha oromo,Uppsala University 1987. p.17; *Oromo Religion, Myths and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia: An Attempt to understand.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1983. p.71.

[39]Yilma Deressa, *Ya Etyop'ia Hezb Tarik*, p.240; Jeremy Rifkin, *Beyond Beef: The Rise and Fall of Cattle Culture* (New York: 1992), pp.2-3 (For a parallel metaphor among the Turkana see J. Lamphear's. "The People of the Grey Bull: the Origin and Expansion of the Turkana," *Journal of African History*, vol.29, No.1 (1988), pp27-40; Bartels, "Studies of the Galla,"p.139.

In a symbolic way cattle followed the dominant bull to the grazing site and forest.[40] The Maccaa Oromo's claim to have been led by the clan bull seems to refer to the herd splitting and *darabaa* sites, which eventually developed into permanent settlement areas from which the juniors moved to the next frontier. The Macca Oromo branches which moved into their present territories with their herds of cattle claimed large areas for themselves and their descendants. Driving away the indigenous people by force of arms they became "fathers of land" *abbaa lafaa* or possessors of land, *abbaa qabiyyee*. The *qabiyyee* (possession) was to be confirmed by the ruling *gadaa* at the *caffee* or *gadaa* center and after such a registration no other family could claim that land. Those who in this way took land became founders of localized patrilineages which became associated with certain areas of land. Land was plentiful and the first settlers came to be associated with large tracts of land for agriculture and grazing.[41]

The landholding pattern which prevailed in the pre-conquest days was referred to as both communal and individual holdings and presented the former as the predominant feature. Land was divided among the clans and each member of the clan laid claim to a certain portion of it. The individual holdings were plots farmed by different households while the communal land included ritual sites and grazing lands. As the land was communal property the individual needed implicit approval of his individual holdings which were accustomed by the lineage members. According to G.W.B Huntingford continued occupation and cultivation made land the property of the family and that warriors and rich men owned vast tracts of land. Yet in broad terms communal ownership was believed to have been the salient feature.[42]

During the initial period when a pioneer settled in a new place, he became the founder of a new, local descent group, which in its turn later may have split up through the emigration of some of its members.

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[40]Yelma Deressa, *YaEtyop'ia HezbTarik*, p.240; Bartels, "Studies of the Galla in Wallagga: Their Own View of the Past."*Journal of Ethiopian Studies* vol.8 No.1 (1970):135-159 p.149; Mitiku Tucho, "The Impact of Pastoralism on the Oromo of Qellem, Wallagga." B.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1983. p.36; Bahru Zewde. "A Biography of *Dejazmach* Jote Tullu, Abba Iggu(1855-1918)," BA Thesis in History, Haile Silasie I University, 1970.pp.1-2.

[41]Nagaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromoo*, pp.60-87; Jan Hultin, Man and Land in Wollega, Ethiopia,(Gothenburg University: 1977),pp.1-2.

[42]E.Haberland, *Galla Sud-Aethiopiens*, p.773; G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Galla of Ethiopia: The Kingdoms of Kaffa and Janjero* (London: 1955), p.27.

In most cases such a new lineage group did not take the name of the local founder as it's "family name", but retained the name of the 'clan' to which he belonged when he first left. Several descent groups in this way share a common name with many other groups who are found in many different places, sometimes without any explicit assumption or demonstration of common descent.[43] Therefore, it seems likely that the communal system of landholding has been basically derived from the accepted way of identifying land in terms of a group of holders. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, for instance, the various parts of today's Wallagga were described as the land of warra Bakaree (Leeqa Naqamtee),warra Sibuu (Gimbii),warra Beeraa (Arjoo) warra waayyuu or warra Dhaayee(Sayyo/ Qellem), after the clan members dwelt in it. The term indicated the extent of the land and the collective identity of its owners or residents.[44] The descent system through which the individual had access to land provided a person a place in a lineage and defined his relation and status within the group. This identification with a lineage associated him to some portion of land that the clan occupied.[45]

In the pre-conquest days the rule of primogeniture which operated in the Oromo family property inheritance left the juniors the option of looking towards the frontier for opportunity. It transmitted the prerogatives of the pioneer settlers through the eldest son down to the twentieth century, and helped the descendants of the pioneer settlers.[46] Each settlement area of a particular Oromo group was considered a residence for all members and their descendants theoretically. However, in practice the first born known as *hangafa*, inherited the lion's share of the farmland, leaving the juniors with a lesser amount of land for cultivation and such farmlands included those in the fallow system.[47] In the Oromo family, among all the sons the first-born was the only one who was likely to remain attached to his parents after marriage. The family herd was transmitted to him over the years. He received a substantial part of the herd at marriage and the rest in later years as the father became progressively older and more willing to relinquish his

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[43]Jan Hultin, *The Long Journey*, p.17.
[44]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.83-84; Informants: Emeru Gabre,Kumsaa Boroo,Baatii Hembelee
[45]Jan Hultin, *The Long Journey*, pp.8, 453-455.
[46]Dinsa Lepisa Abba Jobir, "The Gada System of Government and Sera Chafe Oromo" LL.B. Thesis, Faculty of Law,AAU,1975.pp.162-163:Asmarom Legesse, *Gada: Three Approaches to the Study of African Society* (London: 1973), pp.15,25: James Bruce, *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years1768,1769,1770,1771,1772and 1773* Vol.III(London,1805,2nd ed.),pp.244-245.
[47]Dinsa Lepisa Abba Jobir, The *Gada* System, p.162: Nagaso, *History of Sayyo*, p.142:Informants: Emeru Gabre.

power, authority, and property.[48] The *hangafa* held a critical position; he inherited the family patrimony. If he had any talent, he was also likely to succeed his father to any ritual or political offices or privileges. Within the family, he had the authority to redistribute the cattle he inherited among his younger brothers as he saw it fit. This gave the first born son considerable power. After the death of the father the son decided whether his brothers were going to marry, when they would marry, how many cattle would be made available for their bride wealth payments. Often a greedy *hangafa* allowed his younger brothers to remain unmarried despite the fact that the patrimony was large enough to allow all the sons to acquire wives. He may add insult to injury by marrying a second wife before his brothers got married. Younger brothers who faced with such a problem would usually try to get the lineage to influence the *hangafa*. If that fails, they are likely to leave the paternal camp and find a job on the periphery of the urban communities herding the cattle of the townspeople.[49]

Unless the father made a specific will to the contrary, the juniors known collectively as *qux'esuu*, were left with the gift of Guduru, cattle which had been given to them during childhood initiation, and a small portion of the farmland. If he wanted to, the eldest son could share some of the land with his junior brothers, however. The juniors could also remain in the area by supplementing unclaimed virgin land to improve their social and economic status. But more often the rule of primogeniture inspired a group of juniors in a lineage to move to the frontier for more land and thereby establish socially as seniors with better economic opportunity in the new environment. This process of moving into the frontier was justified by the customary law which did not entitle juniors to inherit land. Hence, it was said, "hangafni dhaabaa ta'ee haa taa'u, quxisuun qacheedha taa'ee haadheeratu." which means the first born son is a pillar to stay; the junior is an offshoot to extend.[50]

In the past one and half centuries various changes have taken place in the way the Wallagga Oromo had held land. Some of these changes took place as a result of the internal dynamics of the society while others were externally imposed after Menilek's conquest of the region. Oromo

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[48]Asmarom Legesse, *Gada: Three Approaches*, p.26.
[49]*Ibid.*p.25
[50]Dinsa Lepisa Abba Jobir, The *Gada* System,"p.162: Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo*, p.142: Informants: Kumsaa Boroo, Emeru Gabre.

right of access to land which they held for centuries had been denied by Menilek's conquest of the region. The multiplicity of obligations they were forced to fulfill that included the payment of property tax for instance, impeded their rights to land. The Oromo were instructed to accept that paying property tax on land and obtaining receipts could entitle them to the land. This interpretation, however, had been rejected by the indigenous people and it led to decades of legal disputes between the indigenous people and the Amhara governors during the imperial period.[51] Between 1936 and 1941, tax payment on land was done based on the principle of payment of property tax.[52] By drawing on their tradition the people argued that their forefathers had held the land for over seven generations and that they had an inalienable right to it. Hence, the people challenged the legality of attempts to dispossess them of their land by the officials and the dispute awoke the people to hold on to the traditions of the pre-conquest *gadaa* laws of access to land. For instance, one of the *balabats* petition to Emperor Hailesellasse would read as follows:

> *Since long time ago we inherited land from our forefathers, cleared the forest cultivated the land and settled on it (the land became lam) as our inheritance. We paid its tribute to Emperor Menilek in ivory, in gold and later in cash without resisting our Emperor's orders. In 1902 E/C, our land was measured and balabats received sisso (1/4) then madaria (Shalaqa and watadar matkaya and manqaya)and samon land were redistributed and the rest was classified as gizh (land for sale) and accordingly lam was sold for $50,lam-taf $25,and taf $10.Because Heaven is to God's and the Earth is to the King we abided the law of the country, we purchased our ancestors land (asmaristachinin).Those of us who had no money were left only with our sisso and those who had the money bought their father's land and the rest of our land was purchased by any money holder, including the Amharas and the muslims.*[53]

After the Maccaa Oromo adopted plow agriculture, mixed farming became the economic base of the society. Stock raising was one of the most valuable activities of the people and it was an important base of the mixed economy. The pastoralists raised different kinds of animals'- goats, sheep, cattle and pack animals-horses, mules and donkeys. (During holidays the *balabats* and

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[51]WMTMAC, A letter of Sene 14,1941E/C [June 21, 1949], Ref.No.7562, from the *balabats* of Wallagga to the Ministry of Interior; Folder 145, File 1, Minutes of the Governors Council, Yekatit 1946E/C [February 1954]; The letter of Hidar 20,1948E/C [November 29, 1955], Ref. No 17/9466, *Fitawrari* Bizuwarq Gabre to the *Endarase* of Wallagga Province.

[52]Mahtamasellase Waldamasqal, *Sela Etyopiya Yamaret Serit Astadadar ena geber taqelaalla astayayat*," (mimeo), pp.39: Gabrawald Engidawarq, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure," Ethiopia Observer, Vol.5 No 4(1962), p.325.

[53]WMTMAC, Ref.No.7562 A letter to the Ministry of Interior, from the *balabats* of Wallagga, Sene 14,1941E/C; The letter of Hidar 10,1945E/C [November 19,1952],Ref.No.1494/52,from Wallagga Governorate Office to Wallagga Governorate *Bajirond*, Petition of the *balabats* of Wallagga *taqlay* gezat.

wealthy men ride on their beautifully decorated mules and horses. Donkeys were used as pack animals and most people did not lack it.) In the early period since there was no currency, stocks were considered like money (used as medium of exchange). The stock-raisers produced milk products and animal beef for food. Animal skin and hides were used for clothes and different household purposes such as bags used for grain containers (*ciilgee*) mattress (*itillee*), leather beds and chairs and others. In the course of time stock-raising gradually declined because of shortage of pasture and failure to drive the animals to *hora*. A *hora* is a spring of mineral water to which people brought their cattle. The people themselves also drank from it in addition to the use of the mineral water for purification rituals. According to informants around some of the mineral water holes neighboring clansmen used to quarrel while driving cattle to them because *hora* meant life to the cattle and cattle was the life of the people. One of the widely used mineral water holes located to the southwest of the town of Dambi Doolloo in Qellem was *hora* Gorbaa. It was owned by the Aw clan and that of the Galan whose families used to bring their cattle there that they might drink from the water which made them healthy and fertile. Later on the Aw and the Galan clansmen had quarreled over the ownership of the water hole because it was not sufficient for both of them.[54] (See also Appendix 1)

Our sources state that Hanoo Baroo and his rivals claimed the ownership of *hora* Dardaraa in Noolee Kaabbaa. The respective clan elders ordered the two parties to bring a bull to the *hora* at the appointed date. They agreed that the party which slaughtered near the *hora* first to be the owner. It happened that Hanoo Baroo's contestants had played a trick and heard of the secret decision of the elders and hid the bull in the forest near the *hora* and appeared at the appointed date. However, Hanoo who knew nothing about the matter came empty handed. The judges informed of their decision and both groups agreed. When Hanoo's rivals went away to bring the bull which they hid in the forest. Hanoo asked the elders if he could sacrifice a "human bull". The elders replied the human bull is greater. Hanoo immediately cut his throat and jumped into the *hora*. When his rivals arrived with a "real bull" the game was already over and the judges declared the *hora* to be the property of Hanoo Baroo's clansmen.[55]

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[54]Informants: Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Emeru Gabre; *Afa Tarik Sibsib*, 1980E/C. p.62.
[55]*Seenaa Warra Bakaree* 1971E/C.pp.13-14; *Afa Tarik Sibsib*, 1980E/Cp.52, 111.

Among most of the Wallagga Oromo herders livestock raising strategy involved not simply a total figure but a careful balance between the various categories of animals each of which was needed to complement the other and ensure the future reproduction of wealth. The existing tradition indicates that the number of lactating cows was the principal evidence of wealth in the society. Thus, lactating cows, plow oxen, the siring bull, heifers and beasts of burden and transport were all needed in different sizes and combinations to complete an ideal herd. Sources affirm that oxen used for farming or traction and heifers that grew to lactating or milk cows were properly and carefully disciplined and trained by the owners to behave in good manners from the early age feeding them with good pasture, crop residues and with leftover foods and pancake mixed with salt. As stray cattle would destroy crops causing hostilities among neighbors they were tended properly by the owners. The cattle owners drove their animals to grazing fields and to *hora* (mineral water) twice a year with neighbors and kinsmen. The *hora* possessed high medicinal value to cure sick and infertile cows discharging parasites from their bodies and making them fertile enough to give birth to a calf. According to informants the cattle driven to *hora* were led to the water tanker or container known as *bidiruu* one at a turn by the tenders and drank as much water as they desired.[56]

In addition to the use of the *hora* for medicinal purpose, the pastoralists had their own traditional mechanisms of treating sick animals by preparing different local medicine. For instance, when a cow was attacked by a fatal disease such as when it fed on a perennial grass known as *siddisa* (a type of perennial grass having a poisonous effect on the animal's health after grazing) grown around the field, the endangered animal was fed with a pancake made of millet mixed with a very hot pepper (*mimmixa*) and salt (*soogidda*). After taking the medicine the animal was chased away to move here and there for a short time around the field. If the animal was not effectively cured by this method the side rib of the animal was pierced by a hot iron and the animal could relax from the sickness instantly and its wound was healed by offering another traditional medicine. If a cow was infested with reinderpest (*Mariye/Dasta*) and got aborted the owners took the aborted calf, cut it into pieces and when dried up it was powdered and mixed up with the sick cow's urine and put in a new unused gourd. In order to stop the epidemic they add the powdered

[56]Seenaa Warra Bakaree 1971E/C.pp.13-14.

dried flesh into a pancake and fed the unaffected animals. It was believed that this treatment protected the unaffected cows from being attacked by the epidemic disease because the medicine had naturally been endowed with a potential to serve as antibiotic vaccination against the disease.[57] According to tradition if a lactating cow happened to become infertile skilled person known as *ogeessa* treated the infertile cow by inserting a sharpened stick which would touch the irritated or swollen part of the animal's reproductive organ and the treatment was known as *gorda uruu* (for lack of proper meaning of the treatment I call it simply, "relieving the animal from its genital trouble"). After such treatment was made most of the time cows become fertile and lactating again.[58] When either because of the above mentioned problem or any other reason the cow's lactation period ends or when an oxen fail to become effective for traction they would be fattened to be sold in the market or slaughtered in the village during holidays in which individuals took their portion known as *qirca* for family consumption. It is likely that household wives abstain from consuming the flesh of such animals as they loved, cared and brought them up with deep affection from the early stage.[59]

Wallagga Oromo pastoralists had as much as one hundred cows and such persons traditionally threw a fabulous feast killing fattened bulls and invited relatives and neighbors to the feast and worn the stomachs of the animals as a sign of prosperity. Moreover, they also released one cow in the field for all time and it was called, 'released cow' which every member of the community recognized. When the number of cows reached one thousand the owner was believed to have swum in bowl known as *bidiruu* full of milk or *taj* (mead) prepared for the ceremony. One of such cattle-rich Oromo pastoralists in central Wallagga was a person known as Shorroo Galat who had lived in Giyyoo. Shorroo was from Waayyuu clan and he was a prosperous and socially respected person who had involved himself to arbitrate the two warriors Bakaree Godaanaa and Fidoo Bookkisaa both from Wayyuu who fought each other for political supremacy over the domination of their clan. In few places in Wallagga those cattle-rich persons have given poor kinsmen the opportunity to tend one or two cows in *darabaa* so that they would use the products for free and also use the oxen for farm. Such persons usually assisted the rich cattle- owners in

[57] *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C pp.66-67; Informants: Baatii Hembelee,Kumsaa Boroo, Cawwaaqaa Maatoo
[58] *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.65.
[59] *Ibid.*

driving the cattle to *hora*.[60]

Sources at our disposal verify that Wallagaa had important mineral water spots (*hora*). In Waayyuu Tuqaa there were mineral water spots at Qarsaa, Otee and Bidiiqaa while in Guutoo Gidda *warada* such spots were found at Lookoo, Eela Guddaa and Ukkee. Diimtuu mineral spot was found in Diggaa *warada*. In Horroo and Abe Dongoro *waradas* there were mineral water spots at Dikka and Jay areas. Hora bofaa, Abbayyaa and Alaakaa were located in Gudruu *warada*. Dardara and Garee (a mineral water which was believed to have great medicinal value both for humans and animals) were located at Noolee Kaabbaa. Gorbaa, Hindina, Caabii, Haroo, Xaambii, Kombolcha and Gubaa were mineral water spots located in Sayyoo, Haawwaa Galaan, Yamaalogii Walal, Gidamii and Begii *waradas* of Qellem *awraja* respectively.[61]

Our sources state that competition to maximize the size of each family's herd sharpened the need for more land for grazing, in addition to farming. Hence, there was an economic impulse to extend the frontier. In the pastoral practice of herd splitting known as *darabaa* the young drifted away from the family to graze a portion of its herd in a distant area periodically. It was customary that young boys take the family herds into the untamed river valleys rich in wild life where herds of elephants, lions and large numbers of antelopes, and many varieties of snakes were found. Armed with nothing more than spear and a container (*ciicoo*) in which to carry his daily supply of milk, a boy took his herd into the valley and roamed up and down the territory for several months at a time in search of good pastures.[62] Often the boys did not return to their families for as long as two or three years and when they finally came back they brought stories of their confrontation with great and fearful beasts, stories to which their younger brothers listened with great admiration. Many of these stories were adolescent fantasy and many were very real. Some of the boys got killed while trying to hunt big games or defending their cattle from predators. Others died of snake bite or malaria. The boys came back after this experience considerably more mature than when they left their parental camps.[63]

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[60] *Ibid*.p.64; Informants: Baatii Hembele, Emeru Gabre; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C p.27.
[61] *Ibid*.p. 52, 111,142.
[62] Asmerom Legesse, *Gada*, p.35, 57-58.
[63] *Ibid*.pp.36-37; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C p.

Available sources at our disposal state that with the adoption of plow agriculture herd splitting, *darabaa* remained an important strategy to minimize the risk of overgrazing and cattle epidemics. Moreover, it helped the exchange of crops in addition to relieving pressure on existing lands. It facilitated the interdependence of members of a family who exchanged varieties of crops. Because the surplus grain from the better off site would sustain those who were in distress in times of famines. Among the agricultural Oromo, the process of herd splitting was the responsibility of the junior members of the family.[64] The practice of herd splitting resolved the friction in a family created by the rule of primogeniture since the pastoral days. For the junior wives with resentment, it provided a new environment to improve their status as wives and access to wealth and their children's future. It provided tangible economic assets as part of the family herd which went to the frontier was expected to be inherited by the young wives or junior sons. Among the Gujii Oromo polygamy was justified because of the importance of herd splitting.[65]

In the Oromo families there were categories of adult women: senior wives, junior wives, and mistresses. As often happened in sub-Saharan Africa, the relationship between co-wives was tense. Sometimes co-wives were kept in separate camps in order to avoid hostilities between them. The senior wife enjoyed many privileges. In general she got more cows than her juniors. However, the distribution of cows among the wives was not done strictly according to seniority. If a junior wife has many more children than her seniors, she was given more milk cows. Mistresses were not included in the distribution of the family herd. Instead, they were given one or two cows as outright gifts. In theory, it was forbidden to give a mistress more milk cows than the wives. In practice an able mistress might control a significant part of the family's estate. This is especially true when the wife or wives were childless and the mistress was fertile.[66]

After the Macca Oromo adopted plow agriculture the *darabaa* partly regulated the pace of westward movements because each site was developed into a stable residential area due to

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[64]Dafaa Jamoo, *Kuusaa Sagalee Oromoo* (Addis Ababa: 1980) p.230: Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*, p166; Informants: Baatii Hembele, Kumsaa Boroo.
[65]Joseph Van de Loo, *Guji Oromoo Culture in Southern Ethiopia, Religious Capabilities in Rituals and Songs* (Dietrich Reimer Verlag, Berlin, 1991), p.99.
[66]Asmerom Legesse, *Gada*, pp.24-25.

farming activity which produced sustenance. Therefore, the juniors stayed on the *darabaa* sites for most of the time to do the farming activities. Although the sites were at a distance of a day or two from the main homestead, it was not possible to transport all of the harvest back to the residential areas. As a result, each *darabaa* eventually developed into a permanent settlement area.[67] Individuals, group of individuals or in some cases sub-lineages or lineages could move out directly to new settlement areas on the frontier. When such groups moved they always preferred to settle with their relatives who had earlier drifted to the frontier. "When we moved westwards, it was like this: the eldest son always remained behind on his father's land; the other sons went in search of new land for themselves. Later the sons of those eldest sons, in their turn, followed their relatives who went before them, and joined them in the new country."[68]

In the Oromo society there were other types of pioneering movements undertaken to the frontier without resorting to *darabaa* which included four interrelated aspects. The first was hunting expedition. Hunting provided young men with the opportunity to prove their personal maturity and improve their social status by successfully enduring hardship. One of my elderly informants Emeru Gabre who had hunting experience as a young man verified that hunting is a serious and risky affair. Although the successful hunter was socially respected and the reward he gained very attractive, the venture was a life and death struggle against a wild beast. He narrated that a killer was praised as "*janna*", strong fighter. According to Wallagga Oromo tradition it was obligatory for a young man to kill a buffalo or a lion before marrying a girl. An insult would follow him if he attempted to begin friendship with a girl to select his future wife before killing a beast. Therefore, in order to escape the insult of the ladies most young men preferred to die killing a beast than always feeling ashamed among their fellow friends and kinsmen. Girls were in deep love and respect for an *ajjeesaa*, a killer. After marrying an *ajjeessaa* she would deserve every priority and respect in social life from every woman except an *ajjeesaa's* wife.[69]

Nevertheless, it is a risky venture to go to a thick forest to look for a beast and come back with trophy enduring all the uncomfortable situations in the forest because of the presence of malaria,

[67]Informants: Baatii Hembelee, Kumsaa Boroo, Emeru Gabre.
[68]Bartels, "Studies of the Galla,"p.139.
[69]Informants: Nega Bekele, Emeru Gabre.

and other biting insects, and struggle against the merciless beasts in the hot desert areas such as Baqqoo located between Sayyo (Qellem) and Gambella. According to him a one who killed a beast in Baqqoo was far more superior and respected than the one who killed a beast in Handaq or Baloo forest (minor hunting ground found in the cool highland climate around Naqamtee) because of the climatic severity of the Baqqoo lowland for hunting.[70] Once my informant Emeru was called to attend a party thrown for a killer, *ajjeessa*. The hosts categorized particularly the *ajjeesaas,* killers who came to attend the ceremony by giving them different seats. They were distinguished according to who killed what and where and offered their proper seats to present their gifts known as *gumaata* for the new *ajjeessa* (killer). Killers of buffalo, elephant, lion, and leopard were categorized accordingly and seated in different sections. It happened that Emeru met with his friends Mardaasaa Gaantii who killed a buffalo at Baqqoo and his brother who killed a buffalo at Baloo forest in the party. Emeru being well aware of the hostility between the two brothers incited his own friend Mardaasaa who was not in good terms with his brother to praise his trophy and for killing at Baqqoo as against his brother who killed at Baloo. Mardaasaa exploited the opportunity to pay revenge to his enemy brother, belittled his thropy in the song which he sang, "gafarsi Lilmoo gadii isa Balootti sadii," that means "one buffalo killed at Baqqoo is equal to three buffalos killed at Baloo". Then all of the hunters began praising their own trophies.[71] One of the attendants in the party a certain *Balambaras* Abishee Hundee who killed a buffallo at Baqqoo like Mardaasaa Gaantii sang as follows:

Oromo	*Gloss*
YaHundee Baroo Galmoo	*Hunde, the son of Baro Galmo*
Nanajjeese yaaHundee	*My father Hunde I killed*
Ofii gamarra goree anaan gamana dhhabe	*It went over there and made me stood over here*
Gaaddisan irradhaabe gaaddisa waree du'aa	*I erected a shadow over it, a shadow of death*
.... mootii dullumaa	*...the king of old age*
Nanajjeese yaHundee isa Bulqeen eegu miti	*Father Hunde I killed the one neither Bulqee kept*
Isa ruxxe beettu miti.	*nor Ruxxe* knew.[72]

Bulqee was the forest guard of Baloo located around Naqamtee owned by *Dajazmach* Habtamariam Gabraegziabeher whereas Ruxxe was a woman who never dared to kill a beast down at Baqqoo near Gambella.

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[70] Informant: Emeru Gabre.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*

Then another hunter who killed a beast at Baloo forest sang to appreciate his success in killing the same animal with less hardship in a better ecological zone simultaneously expressing the hardship each Baqqoo hunter experienced in hunting wild beast down there as follows:

Oromo	*Gloss*
Nanajjeese anis utuun baddarra kaadhuu	*I killed while running on the cool highland*
Utuun bassaatti nyaadhuu	*While eating with melted butter*
Ilma abbaan dhibba qabu	*A son whose father has one hundred*
goodaa Balootti ajjeesaa	*Kills down at Baloo forest*
Ilma abbaan dhibba hinqabne	*A son whose father has no hundred*
Busaan Baqqooti ajjeesa	*is killed by the malaria of Baqqoo.*[73]

Elderly informants have a consensus view that the most dangerous game was hunting a leopard because if it was not accurately shot it may even climb up a tree in search of the hunter. Probably that was why a leopard killer was always expected to praise his trophy at the end of all the killers, implying that he was the bravest killer of all the other killers in the party. The leopard killers usually sang as follows:

Oromo	*Gloss*
Nanajjeese yabiyyoo nanajjeese anisii	*Oh, you earth I killed a beast*
Gafarsaaf muka yaabu,leencaafis muka yaabu	*A tree is climbed for buffalo and lion*
Arbaafis muka yaabu,Qeerrookootiif maal yaabu?	*A tree is climbed for an elephant too, but*
	What is climbed to escape my leopard?[74]

When an elephant was killed the tusks were sold locally for decorations and marketed in long distance trade. Back home the community presented gifts to the successful hunters which increased their wealth. Hunters also gathered information on the nature of the land, wild games, and the indigenous inhabitants of the areas to which they travelled. This knowledge was then used to select a site. For ex. the southern part of Sayyo (Qellem) the Gorbaa area was, first settled by chasing elephants from it and turning it into a settlement area.[75]

The second aspect was related to the clearing of the land with fire, chasing wild animals by horse until it was freed. Once the land was freed and settled it had to be defended until more settlers arrived. Late-settlers were always settled on the outer fringes to contribute to the defense of settlement areas.

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[73] *Ibid.*
[74] *Ibid.*
[75] Informants: Kumsa Boroo, Emiru Gabre; Mitiku Tucho, "The Impact of Pastoralism, pp.1-3, 5.

In terms of altitude such outer fringes were mostly below the hills where the pioneers had settled. However, in terms of resource and future expansion of farming areas these outer fringes later became a bone of contention. Where indigenous groups existed such lands were already occupied by the non-Oromo group. This pattern of settlement reflected the higher status of the pioneers and the subordinate status of the indigenous groups and late-settlers. Local tradition remembers that individual pioneers who settled in Sayyo (Qellem) had varied motives. Qaallittii Galabuu wanted to acquire more cotton land. *Qubee* wanted to have more grazing and farm land to increase his wealth. Barioo Warsadii pioneered in order to have more land for his wives. Baangaa Buukoo settled there to claim mineral water points for his cattle. A section of the warra waayyu was invited by the first group of warra Waayyu for demographic strength in their war against the Anfillo in the middle of the nineteenth century. Others arrived as individuals seeking to improve their lot.[76]

Tradition recognizes less than half a dozen pioneers of Sayyo country with social, economic and cultural titles. It remembers them as having been wealthy in cattle of which they held upwards of 200 heads each with dependents, and slaves. It is believed that they came from the east, a claim which shows the distance covered and their being of "pure" Oromo origin, with supernatural qualities to bless or curse effectively. It refers to them as the openers of the forest, *daggal saaqii*. Tradition also bestows on them the title of *abbaa cirrachaa*, possessor of the sub-soil, which they blessed for their followers. It also recognized them as *abba malkaa* if the land consisted of a river crossing or a watering place for cattle.[77] Finally tradition knows them as *abbaa qabiyye*, "holders of land," in reference to their precedence in acquiring land and their duties in distributing it to their relatives and other late-settlers. Their junior relatives and late-settlers referred to the household of the *abba qabiyye* as *balbala guddaa*, literally "the big door," senior family, in contradiction to their own *balbala xinnaa*, junior family. Although they were juniors at home, in the areas they pioneered they were referred to as *hangafa*, senior, an appellation used for the eldest son in a family.[78] The *abbaa qabiyyee*, accompanied by slaves and dependents, undertook practical procedures to acquire unoccupied land. Once they found unoccupied land,

[76]Bartels, "Studies of the Galla,"pp.139-140; *Ibid*, Oromo Religion, pp.133-134.
[77]Bartels, "Studies of the Galla,"p.139.
[78]Bartels, *Oromo Religion*, pp.68-86.

they built a hut on higher ground for a temporary shelter as a proof of effective occupation.\They created fire by rubbing two sticks together which had the dual purpose of clearing as much land as possible and of making the clearance known to a near or distant rival.[79]

Our informants point out various reasons why forests were burned down every year. Among others: clearing the land off poisonous snakes and insects and to obtain wild honey *(sorobduu)* to hunt wild animals easily and the like. Land acquired in this process was known as *qabiyye*.[80] *Qabiyyee* literally means possession or land holding necessarily recognized by others. The *qabiyyee* system refers to established rights of precedence in the occupation of newly conquered land. Tradition collected by Tesema Ta'a has it that the *qabiyyee* system regulated land occupation rights within the same clan dividing the local community into generational hierarchies. After a community established a new settlement and population pressures and land shortages begun to be felt, the *hoboo* (elder families) had precedence over the *coora* (younger families) to retain occupational settlement. Under these circumstances, it was incumbent upon the *coora* to move ahead, conquer new lands and establish their own *qabiyyee* as pioneers. To simplify the implementation of this traditional rule, the coora families often established their residence on the outer fringes of the settlement so that whenever the need arose, they could easily move out into new far away areas.[81]

The pioneers attracted indigenous peoples to join them through the *gadaa* rituals of adoption, which gave them a new genealogy. To regulate political, cultural, religious and military issues the pioneers reproduced the *gadaa* administrative functions and electoral offices. For Leeqaa Naqamtee, Naqamtee had initially been serving as a ritual and political centre of the *gadaa* institution of the area and was later transformed into the base of the local chief in the region and finally became the capital of the kingdom of Leeqaa Naqamtee. For Sayyo Oromo (Leeqaa Qellem), Gaara Mao remained the politico-ritual center until the beginning of the twentieth century. More often the pioneers themselves were elected into the military executive posts

[79]Bartels, "Studies of the Galla,"pp.138-140; Informants: Kumsaa Boroo, Baatii Embelee.
[80]Bartels, Oromo Religion, pp.68-69; Informants: Kumsa Boroo, Emiru Gabre; Mitiku Tucho, "The Impact of Pastoralism, p.19.
[81]Tesema Ta'a, *The Political Economy*, pp.36-68.

of *abba duulaa* and *abba bokkuu*.[82] In addition to establishing a community, the pioneers also fixed the extent of their land with the help of natural and man-made boundaries. They demarcated the individual farmlands which were usually closer to the villages, by trees or stones. Sometimes vertical or horizontal furrows marked a boundary between individual holdings. They built bigger levees (*temjii*) to mark the farm boundaries of the different lineages. They claimed and delimited the forests by hanging beehives on the branches of big trees easily seen from a distance. Each lineage or group of lineages had elders specialized in inter and intra-lineage boundary issues. The men often resolved conflicts over farmland boundaries and serious conflicts were referred to the *caffee, gadaa* council. Cultural sanctions helped resolve boundary issues between individuals relatively easily. Traditional Oromo religion held that "pushing" farmland boundary was a cardinal sin. Thus, the lineage farmlands were demarcated and within the lineage, individual farmlands were marked and strictly separated from one another.[83]

The individual land holding system was different from the communal holding. The communal land was land not claimed or held by individual households and whose uses were left for the public. These were the grazing areas which were always elastic due to the seasonal needs of livestock and the lineage's desire to extend the frontiers of the lineage land. Sometimes adjacent lineages shared common grazing land. Lands included in the communal land category were those with mineral water points, streams and ritual sites. Most of such communal lands lay in the frontier zone where sacrifices for the land were made. However, claims and the effective holding of the communal lands depended on the demographic and military strength of the group.[84]

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[82]Tesema Ta'a, *"The Process of Urbanization in Welega, Western Ethiopia: The Case of Nekemte,"* in claude lepage, ed., etudes e'thiopiennes: actes de lax conference in international des e'tudes e'thiopiennes paris, 24-28 aout, 1988, I (paris 1994).pp. 676 - 677, R. Pankhurst, *"History of Ethiopian Towns from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1935."* (Stuttgart: Franzsteiner Verlag Wiesbaden: GMBH, 1985), p. 242; Bartels, *Oromo religion*.p.85; Tesema Ta'a, "The Political economy,"p.83.

[83]Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*,"pp.144-145;Dhinsa Lepisa, Abba Jobir, p.69;Reginald Koettitz, "A Journey through Somaliland and Southern Abyssinia to the Shanqilla and the Berta Country," *The Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society*, vol. XVI,(1900),p.18; Huntingford, *The Galla*,p.27;Muriuki, *A History of the Kikuyu*,pp.34-36;62-68.

[84]Bartels, *Oromo Religion*, pp.110, 133; 349-350; Informants: Kumsaa Boroo, Baatii Embelee; Dinsa Lepisa, Abba Jobir, pp.165-166.

Our sources state that when *abba qabiyye* distributed land to lineage members ridges were in turn sub-divided among sub-linages and families. Individual members of these sub-lineages shared land next to each other according to the closeness of their affinity. Individual holdings were shared vertically from the top of a ridge down to a river valley in such a way that all had access to land in the valley below the ridge.[85] They were clearly demarcated by trees or natural features, and were referred to as an individual's and non family members were not expected to settle in front of an individual's holdings. The individual holding claimed by a family remained under the family control for generations. Hence, Plowden correctly states that "each man is a master over his father's land."[86] All of the individual holders of these lands were referred to as *abba lafaa,* "possessor of the land", a term which later came to mean private land owner and the land itself was referred to as *dhoqqee*.[87] However, the farmstead and its potential and actual products was referred to as *araddaa*, which some people translated it as *rist*, the Amharic word used to denote the northern individual landholding. *Gadaa* law defined the *araddaa*, and the properties on them, as the private property of the producer, "araddaaf qeen kan abbaa horeeti." This means the farmstead, the farmlands and the wealth derived from them were the sole property of the producer.[88]

In the early Oromo landholding system all land under cultivation was held individually within the household. At the initial stage there was no shortage of land. However, the sizes of individual holdings were determined by the initial process of land acquisition and the availability of labour. The *abba qabiyye*, the pioneer settler, took the largest portion of the land and settled on it his family and dependents. He took lands from the different parts of the claimed areas and built houses on them with different wives or concubines occupying them. He also retained the right to the unoccupied lands. As the most senior individual he took most of the land for himself both because of his seniority and because of the labor power he had in the size of his dependents.

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[85]Bartels, *Oromo Religion*, p.74; Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, pp.18-19; Hunting ford, *The Galla*, p.27.
[86]Informant: Emiru Gabre; W.C. Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia and the Galla Countries*. London: 1868. p.308.
[87]Huntingford, *The Galla*, p.27; Hultin, *the Long Journey*, p.13, 17; Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, p.11.
[88]*Ibid.*

The *Abba qabiyye* directly or indirectly influenced the decisions of the *Gadaa* council on matters of land distribution.The other members of the lineage also received varying sizes of land according to their labour power. Nevertheless, they could not possess or claim more land than they could actively utilize. The remaining lands were left aside for pasture and future claims. The *abba qabiyye* distributed such lands to needy members of the lineage. The *abba qabiyye* distributed land to individual members of his lineage according to their seniority. However, gradually late-settlers with labor power also appeared.[89] The initial difference in individual holding remained important in determining one's social and economic positions. After Menilek's conquest, this became a critical dividing line as the descendants of those who had the labor power claimed extensive lands. At the initial stage they were made into "landlords". For instance, in Qellem there was a tradition that the late-settlers Yayya lineage repeatedly requested Qaalittii Galabuu to get a piece of upland, Rogge baddaa and finally obtained it in a clever scheme.[90]

The other means through which the late-settlers had access to the land already settled was joining for protection (*kooluu*). Sometimes individuals or lineages were ousted from their own lineage because of socioeconomic problems such as epidemic diseases. Such groups often yielded to the powerful lineage and requested access to land in a mechanism known as *kooluu* (Submission) and usually paid heifers in return for land. They gave the payment to the *abba qabiyye*, who as a senior represented the will of the lineage in which they settled.[91] The most common means whereby late-settlers got access to land was the system of allowing settlement known as *qubsiisa*. The families of the pioneers naturally enjoyed the best available land and they also had the power to give plots to new settlers through a special procedure called *qubsiisa*. The late-settlers were called *qubee*, which literally meant taking a temporary residence or a camping at a particular place with an implication that the person was a guest to the area.[92] The *abba qabiyye* took a heifer or a bull and expected occasional labor service from the *qubee*. The *qubsiisa* agreement imposed on the new settler, certain duties which clearly underlined the subordinate nature of status. The *qubee* had to perform labour services to the pioneers for a specific number

[89]Nagaso, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*, p.154; Informants: Baatii Hembelee.
[90]Bartels, *Oromo Religion*, pp.81-83: Informants: Kumsaa Boroo, Emeru Gabre.
[91]Tesema Ta'a, The Political Economy, p.57.
[92]*Ibid.*

of days. At the initial stage the pioneers received these labour services not as a personal right but symbolically as the sign of pioneers' seniority. The *qubee* received an ambiguous occupational right usually on the frontier of the main settlements. Yet they were not evicted unless they disobeyed major traditional customs. The *qubee* not only paid and performed labor duties for the *abbaa lafaa* but they also fought for him when fighting begins. The relationship was affected by the sense of belonging to a common filial relation and had the character of patron-client ties. The *dagal saaqii* or *abba lafaa* did not evict his clients from his land which turned valueless without them. The owners sold them to other individuals whenever there were not enough clients on such lands. It is important to note that the late-settlers preferred settling on lands owned by the rich who also had a military career, especially the war leaders, whose prestige accorded them better protection. The late-settlers were not always *qubee*, or individuals allowed settling. Some of the land purchasers were also late-settlers. Plowden reported that even strangers could buy land.[93]

In the pre-conquest days land sale was common among the Oromo in general. Purchasing land was another form of getting access to land. There were three types of land sales: between lineages, between a lineage and an individual, and between individuals. Some lineages claimed an extensive area, but did not have enough members to occupy or defend it effectively. Such lineages sold their unoccupied land to individuals or other lineage groups who needed the land for grazing and eventual settlement. If the purchasers were a lineage group they shared the total cost of the purchase. Not all individual's necessarily contributed equally, and the land was divided among the purchasing lineage group according to the individual's contributions (*gimxoo buusuu*).[94] Sometimes the wealthy would cover the share of the poor who in turn would provide their labor to repay their share of the contribution.[95] Heifers, bulls, grain, or salt were used as the medium of exchange. Most often heifers were used as medium of exchange in land purchase, as a result of which the land was termed as *bittii raadaa*, "purchase by heifer".

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[93]Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia*, pp.309-310.
[94]Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, pp18-19; Informants: Mireessaa Lamuu, Kumsaa Boroo, Baatii Hembelee.
[95]Huntigford, *The Galla*, p.27; Nagaso Gidada, *The History of Sayyo Oromoo*, pp.309-310; Informants: Kumsa Boroo, Baatii Hembelee.

A certain portion of the agreed price, in a system known as lafa *qacaruu*, was paid and the purchaser built a temporary hut as a symbol of ownership. According to tradition an opposing party had to appear to the *gadaa* assembly in thirty days. At the end of the thirty days, the purchaser paid the remaining sum and confirmed his ownership.[96]

The other type of land sale was between individuals. Rich individuals bought land in order to attract late-settlers. Late-settlers settled on such lands as *qubee*, a term later was translated as tenant. Sometimes individuals settled on such land as *kooluu*, to get protection, and the host had also the obligation of protecting them. The host was referred to as *abba lafaa*, "possessor of the land", the same term was used for the individual holder.[97]

In addition to sale, land was paid as a blood price or exchanged for another piece of land. An exchange of land involved the barter of one land for another land of equal size or value. This kind of exchange took place between individuals in order to consolidate one's holdings or to minimize distance between farms and settlement areas. Land was also paid as *gumaa*, blood price. Under normal circumstances blood price for a murdered male individual was thirty heads of cattle. If the wrong doer could not afford to pay, his lineage would contribute to cover the amount needed. Sometimes members of the assassin's lineage foresook their land and emigrated. Such land would be divided among the lineage of the deceased. Although only the land of the murderer would have been turned over as blood price, peace would not reign between the two lineages as the use of the land by a member of a different lineage would lead to another conflict.[98] However, such incidents have been rare since there were many procedures of ritual purification to reconcile the two lineages. Both categories of purchased and exchanged land were transferred to the eldest son in accordance with the rule of primogeniture. Transactions involved not only land, but also mineral water holes known as *hora*.

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[96]Informants: Emeru; H. Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy: Jimma Abba Jifar, Ethiopia, 1830-1932*(Madison: 1965), p.50; Plowden, *Travels in Abyssinia and Galla* p.310; Abebe Ambachew et. al., Field Trip to Nekemte, "Ethnological Society Bulletin", No.6 (1957), pp.62-63; Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*," p.139; Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, p.19.
[97]Huntingford, *The Galla*, p.27; Informants: Emeru, Kumsaa, Baatii.
[98]Informants: Emeru Gabre, Olana Batii; Dinsa Lepisa Abba Jobir, "*The Gada System of Government*, pp.89-90.

According to *gadaa* law, although they were a rarely sold property, mineral water points were the private property of the individuals who found or dug them out.[99] It is important to note that sometimes they were easily discovered at other times the discoverers had to spend months or so to look for such spots individually or in group of two or three persons. The owners of the mineral water points had an enhanced status in the Wallagga Oromo society.

Although land was sold there were exclusionary rules: some groups of people were not entitled to purchase land. Members of occupational castes, slaves, women and *gada gatee*, individuals who did not perform the customary *gadaa* obligations, were considered *hirruu*, "incomplete", members of the community, to buy land. Blacksmiths and tanners were not allowed to buy land. (Tumtuu fi garbi lafa hinqacartu). They were always settled on a lineage land as promulgated in *gadaa* council. However, the blacksmiths could buy land in the name of their patrons.[100] Slaves and occupational castes were excluded from purchasing land in order to make them dependent. A *gada-gatee*, who did not fulfill the *gadaa* obligations and rites, was, considered unfit to buy land. Emancipated slaves obtained a portion of their master's land and some of them bought land in the name of their masters. Others moved to the frontier and bought land.[101]

According to tradition two groups of people were active in buying land: descendants of the pioneer settlers and some of the late-comers. Each lineage was divided into the categories of *warra qabiyyee*, the descendants of the early settlers and *warra galaa*, the immigrants. In a sense some of the *warra qabiyyee* themselves were late-comers at an early stage. But they identified themselves with the senior pioneers' families in their lineage and tolerated their growing wealth. However, later they resented the wealth of the late-comers whom they considered as strangers because they were considered as rivals for access to land and wealth. In some cases, even if the late settlers had bought land they were expelled from the area by the secret plot of the early settlers. This happened when all the *warra* Waayyu and the Dheekkoo evicted Waaqayyoo Oshoo from Sadii who had bought land in Sayyoo(Qellem).[102]

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[99]Dinsa Lepisa Abba Jobir, "*The Gada System of Government*, .p.166; Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*, p.139.
[100]Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*, p.189; Bartels, *Oromo Religion*, pp.185-187; Informants: Batii Hembelee, Emeru Gabre, Olaanaa Batii.
[101]*Ibid.* Bartels, *Oromo Religion*, pp.166-178.
[102]Bartels, "Studies of the Galla" pp.149-151; Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*, pp.249-250.

The descendants of the early settlers claimed to have a residual right to obstruct any transactions that interfered with their established use rights. This right had originated as a result of resentment at the changes that involved the emergence of wealthy late-settlers. The *warra qabiyyee* also used a crafty scheme to force farmers leave the purchased land by letting cattle destroy their crops. They also refused passage for the cattle of the purchasers of mineral water points claiming that stray cattle would destroy crops. Thus, within each lineage the split between the descendants of the pioneer settlers and the late-settlers was reinforced by the latter's gaining more wealth to purchase land and the former's use of force to discourage them from utilizing their purchased property.[103] Subsequent late-settlers came to the frontier to gain social and economical status which they could not attain in their original settlement sites. In their newly settled areas the late-settlers found a community that structured itself much as the one from which they had escaped. The authority of the seniors over the juniors was entrenched and it was in reference to this that Europeans reported that each "tribe" obeyed the authority of a chief and Beke argued over the presence or absence of "settled form of government" among the Oromo at the time.[104] However, they seem to have been referring to different groups of the Oromo; namely those who had come under monarchical rule and those who were under the *gadaa* system of government. Consequently, there was a confrontation between the descendants of the *warra qabiyyee* (pioneer settlers) and the late-settlers. It was from this contradiction that a conglomeration of states emerged by the middle of the nineteenth century.

The *qabiyyee* system upheld the rights of the pioneers and their descendants to the best land. The *abba qabiyyee* had access to more land than others from the first days of his settlements and his descendants continued to have privileged access to land and market revenues.[105] Sources stated that although the laws of the *gadaa* system appeared to provide equal opportunity for all, they contained the seeds of inequality from the beginning. For instance, ideology held that calamity would befall the community if the *abbaa bokkuu*, the executive officer of the *gadaa* touched land, as a result of which the elected *abbaa bokkuu* depended on the slave labor for tending his

[103] *Ibid*
[104] C.T. Beke, "On the Countries South of Abyssinia", *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol.XIII (1843), p.255 .
[105] Bartels, *Oromo Religion*, pp.74, 133-134,148.

cattle and later on his farms.[106] The *qabiyyee* lands inhabited by the pioneer settlers and their descendants produced a surplus that sustained the already existing human and cattle population because such lands were fertile for farms and grazing. Nonetheless, it was not as productive as the virgin lands on the frontier. The virgin farm lands were exploited by the frontier settlers to grow crops with relatively higher yields. A greater surplus could be produced by extensive cultivation of the new lands. The agricultural surplus derived from the extensive cultivation of the frontier provided food for the personal followers of the frontier fighters who helped in the defense of their cattle, land, crops, and families. In addition the frontier was also the source of precious items of trade like ivory and leopards' skin.[107] Thus, with the wealth derived from the frontier the warriors who emerged out of the necessity of defending themselves transformed the frontier into a zone of military and economic advantage. In the tradition of the Wallagga Oromo, the frontier warfare during the first three decades of the nineteenth century was known as *bara eeboo* (era of spear).[108] As the warriors successfully defended their communities against raids gradually they imposed their will contrary to the *gadaa* rules. In various localities herders and girls sung their fame and popularity. During this period spears came to be valued as gift items and the image of iron smiths, *tumtuu*, was also improved.[109] Iron bars were purchased from Aira and the surrounding areas, where the inhabitants had been extracting iron from a special type of rock known as *goordana*, with indigenous techniques for centuries.[110]

The era of spear was a period of transition when the late-settlers and the frontier warfare played a dynamic role in transforming the Oromo from the *gadaa* system of elected officials to monarchical rule.

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[106]*Ibid* p.150; Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*, p.184.
[107]Bartels, "Studies of the Galla,"pp.149-150; Informants: Baatii Hembelee.
[108]Nagaso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*, pp.303-304; Tutschek, *Dictionary of the Galla*, p.xx.
[109]E.J. Bartleet, *In the Land of Sheba* (Birmingham: 1934) p.11; Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, pp.31-33.
[110]*Ibid* The Aira Sayyo iron ore deposit was previously under the Ministry of Interior which was responsible for the control of the resource and which would give permission for its exploitation. The iron mine [ore] found in Aira was formerly located in Qellem *awraja gezat* but transferred to Gimbi *warada gezat* later on.WMTMAC, The letter of Tir 3,1938E/c, Folder 2167, Ref. No.550/2, '*Sela Ayra berat maeden*,' from the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of Interior, Addis Ababa. The Tullu Kappi Mining Department. The letter of Hamle 30,1939E/C [August 7, 1947], Ref.No.1079/39/, Folder 2167, from the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of Interior, Yubdo Mining Department. The letter of Tahsas 10, 1938E/C,Ref. No, File2167 4377/41, to Imperial Ethiopian Government Wallagga *Awraja Gezat*, to Ministry of Finance, Mining Department.

The individuals leading these campaigns were referred to as *goota waraanaa*, strong fighters.[111] These frontiers men were elected to the *gadaa* office of *abbaa duulaa*, war leader, in recognition of their achievements in defending the lineage territory.

Available sources state that several strong warriors who fought with each other for supremacy had emerged in the study area. From about 1830 onwards they witness the rise in western Maccaa land of petty despots who, on the base of landed property, little armies of their own (including slaves) and by control of the trade routes, gradually succeeded in dominating more extensive areas. A century ago, the three most important petty rulers of this kind were: Abbaa Dhaasaa,(Galaan),Buraayyuu Abbaa Gosaa in the country called after him and Jootee Tulluu (Gidamii) who became the strongest warrior in western Wallagga. Independently of the *gadaa* rulers they pursued their own aims to increase their area of influence, the number of people who worked for them, and their income from trade. Their activities resulted into repeated clashes between rivals. They set up an administration of justice of their own, imprisoning their adversaries and even putting them to death.[112]

In central Wallagga one of such noted strong warriors was Bakaree Godaanaa (1841-1868), the acknowledged founder of Leeqaa Naqamtee dynasty, who plunged himself into the interclan conflict on behalf of his paternal uncle, Baraartii Amoo, the *hangafa*(elder) of the Naa clan. Bakaree joined the family of Baraartii who was harassed by his enemies in his fight to defend the *qabiyyee* rights of his Naa group as an adopted (*guddifachaa*) son. He accepted the invitation, and joined in the struggle on behalf of his uncle, who had quarrels particularly with Fidoo Bookkisaa. (*abaa bokkuu* of the Kolooboo lineage).[113] After his possession of the resourceful handaq forest, Bakaree became very powerful economically and soon began to transform his office of *abbaa duulaa* surrounding himself with a large entourage and made the *qondaalaa*, the fighting force of the *gadaa*, into his own personal army. Many of his soldiers were horsemen armed with spears, shields and axes. He deliberately ignored the basic tenets of customary *gadaa* rules and regulations and the superior powers of the *abba bokku*, both of his own local *gadaa* as

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[111]Bartels, "Studies of the Galla", pp.133-142; *Ibid, Oromo Religion.* p.22.
[112] *Ibid.*
[113]Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy, pp.100-101; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C pp.33-36.

well as those of related communities.[114] Bakaree undertook a series of armed confrontations against leading personalities and he became successful in defeating Fidoo Bookkisaa of the Kolooboo lineage, one of his strongest rivals, occupied Naqamtee and made it the center of his new domain.[115]He established his autocratic rule over the area between Wama and Dhidheessa rivers, assuming the title of *mootii*(king) and exercising ultimate authority beyond the traditional eight-year tenure.[116] He continued periodic clashes with Dannoo Beeraa of Arjoo in the southeast and Geendaa Buushan of Sibuu in the east. Bakaree made use of his success against Fidoo in a way which was almost totally alien to Oromo tradition. He started dividing and giving out pieces of land to his followers, whom he settled on the areas that had been evacuated by his defeated rivals and his men. Eventually Bakaree placed himself at the center of a fairly strong state structure and set up a new administrative and judicial machinery with offices of *mootii*, *abbaa lafaaa*, *abbaa biyyaa*(father of the country),and *abbaaa qoroo*.[117]

The frontier incorporated different clans and lineages and thereby expanded the lineage's physical frontier. The wars were no longer for raiding, but to become victorious and impose authority on the surrounding population. After the imposition of a local rule all the areas unified by the rulers, *mootii*, who founded their own states came to be referred to as *biyya*, "country" and they were referred to as *abbaa biyyaa*, possessor or head of a country.[118] Thus, the frontier warriors not only defended their clans but also incorporated rival lineages and opened a new frontier for expansion by breaking the clan and lineage boundaries and imposed their rule. By the 1830's and 1840's the "era of spear" had resulted in a conglomeration of competing Oromo states in Wallagga with varying sizes which later became the victims of Menilek's conquering troops that had overrun the whole study area in the late nineteenth century.[119]

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[114]*Ibid.*
[115]*Ibid.*pp.102-103.
[116]*Ibid.*pp.103-104.
[117]Nagasso Gidada, *History of Sayyo Oromoo*, pp. 245-329; Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy, p.104
[118]Bartels, *Oromo Religion*, pp.272,227; Huntingford, *The Galla*,p.27; Nagaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromo*, p.158;Triulzi,The Gudru Oromo, pp.57-58;Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy, pp.101-104.
[119]Juan Maria Schuver's *Travels in North East Africa 1880-1883*.p.32; Nagaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromo*, pp.326-330; Tesema Ta'a "The political economy, pp.124-127,132,145-47; Triulizi, A. "The Guduru Oromo and their Neighbours in the two generations before the battle of Embabo", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. XIII, 1 (1975) pp.47-63; Cerulli, *Etiopia sciavista*, p.150.

Chapter Three

Land Tenure and Taxation System to 1974

This chapter has four sections. The first section attempts to outline the pre-Italian occupation of the imperial period land administration. It discusses the Shawan conquest of the study region, subjection to direct imperial rule and the imposition of a new land tenure system and the subsequent exploitation and oppression of the indigenous population. The second section investigates the changes in the land tenure during the Italian interlude. The third section analyzes the post-Italian period's process of access to land and the peasant problems. The fourth section reconstructs the changes and continuities in the taxation system of the region.

Pre Italian Occupation of the Imperial Period Land Administration

Wallagga, after its annexation to the Ethiopian empire, was divided into three provinces namely Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Qellem which were autonomous as well as Arjoo and Horro-Guduruu administered by officials directly appointed by Menilek. Following the submission of Tuuchoo Daannoo, who had earlier resisted the Shawan rule, *Ras* Goobanaa appointed *Balambaras* Lulsagad, one of his commanders, as an administrator of Arjoo. Tesema and Samuel unanimously affirm that this appointment heralded the beginning of Shawan rule in Wallagga.[1] Arjoo was established as the first political center for the Shawan officials in the region who settled in the area with their soldiers. No sooner was Arjoo brought under direct Shawan rule than the traditional land tenure system or *Qabiyyee* (possession) rights were altered. Besides, the settlers imposed on the peasants labour services, confiscated their cattle, grain and other products and properties.[2]

The peaceful submission of Morodaa had apparently served as an ideal example for Jootee Tulluu of Qellem, who was also given the title of *Dajazmach*. Both rulers were left overlords in their regions under Menilek, while in other areas of Wallagga new Shawan administrators were appointed.

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[1]Tesema Ta'a, The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Study to 1910," AAU, Department of History, 1980.p.77; *ibid*, "The Basis of Political contradictions in Wollega: The Land Apportionment Act of 1910 and Its Consequences", *Northeast African Studies*, vol.5, No. 2, 1984, p.184; Samuel Mamo, "The Administration of Arjo (South-eastern Wallagga), 1882- 1936", M.A Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 1998, pp.52-53.

[2]Samuel Mamo, "The Administration of Arjo, pp.52-53; Tesema, the Basis of Political Contradictions, p.18.

Their allegiance to Menilek had greatly helped them to eliminate the last remnants of local opposition.[3] Available sources state that the entire historical record in Wallagga about this period revealed that its rulers had strived for the maintenance of internal local autonomy without the interference of any superintendent serving the central government as tax collectors or supervisors. This was best evidenced by Morodaa's personal contact with Menilek who signed a mutual agreement between the two. In the mid- 1880's a direct relationship had been created between the rulers of Leeqaa- Naqamtee, Leeqaa-Qellem and Menilek's government. This relationship was to survive for a long time particularly in the case of Leeqaa-Naqamtee ruling house and the central government. According to an agreement between Menilek and Morodaa, no armies or commanders (*Naftannoch*) were to settle in Morodaa's lands, but he was to pay an annual tribute in gold of five hundred *Waqets*, hundred *Feresula* of ivory and unspecified amount of grain and honey. He also had to render military support to Menilek to whom he entrusted the guardianship of his son Kumsaa, soon baptized Gebreegzabher with Menilek as his god-father.[4] Such relations sustained during his period had been gradually eroded and Amhara intervention in the internal administration was reflected even during the Italian occupation when Gabraegzabher's son, Hambisaa (Habtamariam) and his prominent dignitaries ruled and set up the "Western [Oromo] Confederation" in 1936. The intervention of Shawa had worsened the administrative problems during Habtamariam and even it became more serious under the imperial period of Emperor Hailesllassie.[5]

The available documents asserted that since 1820 Bela-Shangul fell under the rule of Turco-Egyptian forces for a little over sixty years. Writers clearly stated that this Turco-Egyptian rule

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[3]John Markakis, *Ethiopia: Anatomy of Traditional Polity*. Addis Ababa: 1974, pp.104-105; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C p.87.

[4]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C pp.83-84; Solomon Mulugeta,"A Study of Urban Development..."p.p.44-50; Tesema Ta'a, *"The Oromo of Wollega,* pp.72 – 73; Caulk R.A, *"Territorial Competition and the Battle of Embabo, 1882. Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, xiii, 1975 p. 78; Terefe Wolde Tsadik, *"The Unification of Ethiopia 1880 - 1935), Wallagga,"* Journal of Ethiopian Studies. Vol. vi, I (1968) p.p. 76 - 77; Triulzi, Alessandro, *"Nekemte and Addis Ababa: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule,"* in Donham D. and W. James (eds.) The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia Essays in History and Social Anthropology. Cambridge,1986. pp.52 - 55; Major C.W.Gwynn, *"A Journey in Southern Abyssinia,* Geographical Journal, xxx viii, 2 (1911), p.p. 118, 133, Marcus H. *"Motives, Methods and Some Results of the Unification of Ethiopia, During the Reign of Menilek II,"* Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa: 1969. p. p. 275 - 276.

[5]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C pp.185-188; Patrick Gilkes, *The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Moderation in Ethiopia.* London, 1975, p.585.

Dajjazmach Kumsaa (alias Gabra-Egziabiher) Morodaa (Source: Triulizi, A. and Tesema Ta'a, *Ya Wallaga Tarik Sanadoch ka 1880 wochu iska 1920wochu (*Documents *for Wallagga History, 1880s to 1920s E.C.)* Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2004, p.58.)

was harsh and oppressive.[6] Slave raid and slavery for mining of gold and the introduction of heavy

[6]Atieb Ahmed, "Sheikh Khojale and Bela-Shangul: 1825-1938." BA Thesis in History, Addis Abba University 1973. p. 12; Triulzi, Alessandro, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy. Prelude to the History of a No-Mans Land Bela-Shangul, Wellega, Ethiopia (c.1800-1898).*Napoli, Instituto Universitario Orienthle, 1981. p. 94; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C p.88 [7]Bahru Zewde, "Relations between Ethiopia and the Sudan on the Western Ethiopian Frontier 1898-1935." Ph.D.Disseration in History, University of London .1976. p.22.

tribute (*Jiziya*-the poll tax traditionally levied on non Muslims) in the region- led to the break out of a revolt against the Egyptians. When the Mahadist forces reached the region in the 1880s, the Mahdi's appeal for a better world, and for a more just rule, was readily accepted by the ruling *Watawit* families and their Islamized Bertha subjects.[7] According to tradition, Khojale met the Mahdi in Omdurman and was invested with the title of *Sheikh*.[8] However, this warm acceptance didn't last long. After the death of the Mahdi, his successor, Khalifa Abdulahi, appointed Khalil al-Khazani to rule over Bela-Shangul and this worsened the administration. During this period the Bertha suffered greatly under the Sudanese slave raiders. The word "Bertha" became virtually synonymous with "slaves".[9] What is important to emphasize here is that the historical developments of the region following the death of the Mahdi were greater in scope and magnitude. The Khalifa's proclamation of the *Jihad* was followed by the development of new situations: the coming of *Ras* Gobana, the submission of Jootee, the rise of Khojale and the turbulence of Tor El Guri. For the details are complex and beyond the scope of this dissertation, it suffices to note here that Mahdists *(Ansars)* were defeated by *Ras* Gobana at the Battle of Gutee Dilii in Najjoo in 1886 where they and their allies made their centre.[10] Although *Ras* Gobana was victorious in this confrontation; Ethiopian forces seem to have had no interest of bringing Bela-Shangul under their rule immediately. However, after a decade, a huge Ethiopian army led by *Ras* Makonen supported by the rulers of Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Leeqaa-Qellem arrived at Mandii with the mission of incorporating Bela-Shangul. Thus, in 1898, the region emerged as a clear buffer zone between the waning Mahdist state and the imperial state of Ethiopia.[11]

When *Sheikh* Khojale Al-Hassan of Asossa revealed his peaceful submission to *Ras* Makonnen who sent letters to the rulers announcing that he came to the region just to punish Abdurahman (*Tor el Guri*), the attempt to form a common front became a fiasco. Although the final military campaign of *Ras* Makonen ended with victory at the Battle of Fadogno, earlier attempts at Yabus, Asido and Washa were unsuccessful. Soon after, the country was looted (except Asossa)

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[8]Atieb Ahmed, "Sheikh Khojale, p. 24.
[9]Triulzi, Alessandro, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*, p. 146; Atieb Ahmed, "Sheikh Khojale, p. 26; *Encyclopaedia AEthiopica*, Vol, 1,(ed), Siegbert Uhlig, Harra Ssowtiz Verlag. Wiesbaden, 2003. p. 549.
[10]Atieb Ahmed, "Sheikh Khojale, pp. 28-29; Triulzi, Alessandro, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*, p. 151.
[11]*Ibid.* '*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C p.112.

and Qebesh, the capital of Bela-Shangul proper was burned down.[12] Besides the defeated rulers of Bela-Shangul, i.e *Tor El Guri* and Wad Mahmud, *Sheikh* Khojale of Aqoldi was also detained after he intrigued with the British in the Sudan who defeated the Mahdist forces at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898.[13]

Having created good relationship with the rulers at Addis Ababa and submitted peacefully, *Sheikh* Khojale Al-Hassan became the sole ruler of Bela-Shangul region paying an annual tribute of 300 ounces a year. Since December 1914, the territories of Bela-Shangul proper and Khomosha were brought under Khojale's control.[14] It is apparent that Bela-Shangul under *Sheikh* Khojale was a semi-autonomus region like Leeqaa-Qellem under *Dajazmach* Jootee Tulluu, Leeqaa-Naqamtee under *Dajazmach* Kumsaa (Gabraegzabher) Morodaa, Jimma under *Abba* Jiffar and Aussa under *Dajazmach* Muhammad Yayu.[15] Up until the restoration of Hailesellassie's government after the Italian occupation and the short lived British Administration in the early 1940s, Bela-Shangul remained semi-autonomous. During these periods rulers of the region had their own army and collected tribute in their own way. Accordingly, no outsider administrators were sent to the region. Khojale was able to raise his own army by which he ruled over the region.[16] Unlike the territories of Qellem and Gimbii which became subject to direct imperial administration in later years, Bela-shangul was governed by the *Sheria* (Islamic law) which Khojale adopted as the principal law of his country.Khojale appointed his own *Qadi* (Muslim Judges) to the region under his jurisdiction.[17] Unlike the other parts of the newly incorporated regions into the Ethiopian empire, the state neither re-arranged land tenure system nor settled "*Naftagnas*" in Bela-Shangul.Therefore, *Sheikh* Khojale and his successors had been enjoying the right to collect taxes in gold and slaves. Because land was not measured in Bela-Shangul, the chiefs continued

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[12]Triulzi, Alessandro, *Salt, Gold and Legitimacy*,pp. 177-178; Atieb Ahmed, "Sheikh Khojale, p.40.
[13]M.Holt, *A Modern History of the Sudan* .London 1961. p.112; Atieb Ahmed, "Sheikh Khojale, p. 41.
[14]Atieb Ahmed, "Sheikh Khojale, p. 43, p.56. ; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C p.112.
[15]MahtemeSellassie Wolde Maskal, *Zikire Neger*. Addis Ababa, 1962 E.C., p. 164; Abdussamad H.Ahmed, "Trading in slave in Bela-Shangul and Gumuz, Ethiopia: Border Enclaves in History, 1897-1938" *Journal of African History* Vol. 40.Cambridge University Press. 1999. p. 436.
[16]Atieb Ahmed, "Sheikh Khojale, p. 56.
[17]*Ibid.*

paying 300 *Waqets,* (ounces) of gold each year until 1946.[18] However, this arrangement of taxation did not win the support of *awraja* officers.Their argument was that 300 *Waqets* of gold as annual tribute would be too small to a region like Bela-Shangul that has abundant mineral resources.[19] In some cases, the tribute was collected not in hard currency but in gold by the hereditary chiefs even without the consent or involvement of tax collectors assigned by the Ministry of Finance.[20]

With Menilek's victory at the Battle of Adwa in 1896 the regional autonomy and cultural identity of particularly the two Leeqaa states (Leeqaa -Naqamtee and Leeqaa-Qellem) which had been granted during the reigns of *Dajazmachs* Morodaa and Jootee were gradually abolished. Soon after the battle the amount of gold imposed on Wallagga was doubled. Menilek's collector of custom's tribute at Mandii, *Nagadras* Sartsawald informed the central government that the country under Gabraegzabher was so vast and so rich in gold that the tribute he paid could be increased easily. Therefore, Menilek ordered Gabraegzabher to pay one thousand *Waqets* of gold a year.[21] In addition to the regular tax, 3000 MTT was imposed on Gabraegzabher with new tax collectors who levied unfair tax on tobacco and took harsh measures to execute the tax collection which resulted in a chaos. When the matter reached beyond his capacity to control Kumsa, alias Gabraegzabher, son and successor of the pre-conquest king, sent his envoys to Shawa with a special gift called "*Mataya"* literally 'for seeing' the Emperor and his dignataries who otherwise could block the agent's contact with the Emperor. He negotiated with Menilek to dismiss the tax collectors and inspectors from his territory and paid the annual tobacco tax required from him. Menilek consented to Gabraegzabher's appeal and removed the new tax collectors and inspectors from his domain. The Shawan notables who wanted special gift called '*Yamammalaja Ganzab'* 'money for pleading authorities' from the autonomous region of Leeqaa-Naqamtee had

[18]EWZAO, Letter dated *Tikimt* 17, 1938, from *dajazmach* Asrate Kassa to His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I; Report from Assosa-Benishangul *Awraja* from to *dajazmach* Asrate Kassa (Monthly Tashas, 1938); Negaret *Gazeta*, First year No. 8 of 1942.
[19]*Ibid*.
[20]MFED, letter dated *Miazia* 14, 1936 from *qegnazmach* Kidanemariam to Wellega Governate-Geneal office Ref. No. 34, Folder No. 7405.
[21]Tesema Ta'a, The Oromo of Wollega, 1980:86; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C pp.167-168; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C pp.83-84.

persuaded Menilek to appoint Amhara officials as an agent over the area.[22]Accordingly, Menilek sent *Nagadras* Sartsawald to Mandii as chief of the custom's gate who sent the money to the central government. This seems to have caused distrust between the central government and the governor of Leeqaa-Naqamtee who sent Menilek 2000 *Waqets* of gold as *Mammalaja*. The Council's meeting decided to send Menilek 1000 *Waqets* of gold to get his audience. However, Gabraegzabher who knew well Menilek's desire commented that he could not be satisfied with 1000 *Waqets* and suggested to send him 2000 *Waqets* of gold. Accordingly, he sent an official letter which explained the corruption and intervention against his administration by Sartsawald and other Amhara officials.Nonetheless, the gift had further incited Menilek's appetite for more wealth and he sent a letter warning Gabraegzabher to increase his annual tax without responding to the quest of Naqamtee.The official meeting headed by the governor had finally decided to notify Menilek that the tax he had been paying was even heavier and requested the counting of *Gabbars* who had settled on his land. For six months Gebraegzabher had expected the arrival of Amhara inspectors to count the *Gabbars* in his country. However, Menilek thought that the Naqamtee officials' response to his harsh measures of counting *Gabbars* would disturb the smooth relationship he had with the hereditary rulers. Eventually the intervention was halted when Sartsawald was removed from Wallagga and Gebraegzabher was permitted to use the income from the poll gates as *Daragot*, a budget to run his internal administration.[23]

In 1925E/C [1933] Abebe Firew was sent to Naqamtee as collector and inspector of poll tax by Shawan officials. However, Habtamariam's appeal had dismissed Frew and his co-workers from the region. In 1927 E/C [1935] another official in the person of *Nagadras* Ti'umelesan was sent to Naqamtee as collector and inspector of market stall and custom revenues of the various custom posts. The Naqamtee rulers who had been well aware of the intrigue of the Shawan officials to control the financial and commercial interaction of the region had prepared a strategy to counter their move. The workers at the lower rank of the Ministry of Finance had been secretly agitated to misinform the inspectors the correct number of tax payers and the right figure

[22]***Amalaj*** is a person or persons often deserving highest respect before the governors or rulers.Such person pleads to repeal an already made legal case or other decision made by higher authorities.
[23]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C pp.166-167,175.

of money collected regularly.Taxes on market stalls and custom revenue were unsystematically collected and the money was embezzled by the tax collectors as ordered by the Naqamtee officials.[24]

Sources remark that the tax collectors were indirectly informed or permitted to embezzle government income deliberately rather than handing it over to the agents of Shawa. It seems probable that it remained customary for the workers of the Ministry of Finance to remain great embezzlers of government money as tradition.When the first tax agreement was signed between Menilek and *Dajazmach* Morodaa as 1000 *Waqet* of gold annually the price of 1 *Waqet* was equal to 30 *MTT* and later it increased to 40-50*MTT* and finally it reached 100*MTT*.[25] The rising demand of gold led to increased price gradually because the people who were forced by Gabraegzabher to be engaged for the search of gold had shifted their occupation with the introduction of the cultivation of coffee in the region which made them to obtain more money.The growing of coffee became more profitable than searching for gold in the malaria infested Birbir, Dabbus, and Abbay river vallies which claimed the lives of several tenants. So Menilek imposed additional 2*MTT* on each household inorder to compensate the shortage of gold and with the additional tax payment the officials of Leeqaa-Naqmtee purchased enough amount of gold and submitted to the central government.[26] It became difficult to collect as much gold as possible inorder to pay tax to the government and offer as a special gift for higher officials. Gold was not available in the market and in 1922E/C [1930] in order to convince the Shawan officials about its shortage golden decorations such as (*Yaangat, Yatat, Yaijena, Joro Get*) were purchased with expensive price from the market to be able to pay government taxes.[27]

Although Menilek's interference in the autonomy of Leeqaa-Naqamtee increased after the Battle of Adwa Gabraegzabher remained cooperative and loyal to his orders.This character of Gabraegzabher and his administrative ability particularly gave him good favor before the Emperor.[28]

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[24]*Ibid.* p.208.
[25]*Ibid.*pp.82-83,165; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C pp.83-84.
[26]*Ibid.*P.168.
[27]*Ibid.* pp.41, 208.
[28]Tesema, The Oromo of Wollega, p.91.

In 1908, Menilek wrote to explain his wish of completing the construction of railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa and he ordered Gebraegzabher to impose a special tax in cash. Previously, Menilek recommended that those who did not have land should be taxed on their cattle while those who had land should be taxed on their land. Gebraegzabher had written to the Emperor that it was difficult to levy tax on the land because land was not divided into *qalads*.[29] Gebraegzabher accepted Menilek's recommendation and taxed the people in cash and sent the money to the central government.[30] The rulers of Leeqaa-Naqamtee who acted as mediators between the central government and the chieftains of the rebellious territories like the Sibuu (Gimbii) and Bela-Shangul (Asossa) had persuaded them to submit to the advancing Shawan forces. In doing so they had also put up claims on these territories. The continuity and complexity of center-periphery relationship had facilitated the payment of tax on land, the increase of taxes levied and collected from the lucrative trade and custom duties on different merchandize that passed through the tollgates (*Kelas*) from within and without the region. Sources also affirm that the items sent to the central treasury included gold, ivory, cotton cloth, honey and even slaves. These were sent from the Sibuu, Khojale's and Jootee's lands through the intermediary of the Leeqaa rulers of Naqamtee.[31]

Gabraegzabher appealed to Menilek that he paid tribute from the money he collected from taxes at the gates and dues on markets. Nevertheless, the presence of imperial overseers, judges and especially customs' inspectors in Wallagga had greatly disturbed his smooth relations with Menilek. Triulizi remarks that the customs inspectors were sent from Addis Ababa allegedly to check illicit trade but in reality to keep an eye on Wallagga ruler and resources. It is also evident that the rising rate of tribute became a heavy burden on the people and impoverished them.[32] According to Tesema, *Dajazmach* Gabraegzabher had respected the imperial orders and satisfied

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[29]*Ibid*,pp. 20-21.
[30]*Ibid*, p.93.
[31]A.Triulzi and Tesema Ta'a. *Ye Wellega Ye Tarik Senedoch ke 1880wochu iske 1920wochu* (Documents for Wallagga History from 1880s to 1920s E.C).Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press. p.106; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C pp.83-88; Gabra-Egzabiher's letter to *Lij* Iyasu written on 24 Ginbot, 1907 E.C. denoting that the fifty slaves from Khojole and the four slaves from Jootee would be sent to Iyasu by the Wallagga ruler to Addis Ababa.
[32]Triulzi, Alessandro. "*Nekemte and Addis Ababa: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule,*" in Donham D. and W. James (eds.) The Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopia Essays in History and Social Anthropology. Cambridge, 1986.pp.59-61; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C p.41.

the financial and labour demands by Addis Ababa without necessarily giving due considerations to local needs.[33] Even though this relation enabled him to preserve his authority, he could neither avoid direct *Naftanna* settlement which subjugated the socio-economic life of his people nor did he escape from the pressure and influence of the central government. Similarly, the chiefs and the people in the rest of Wallagga were under great stress from the *Naftanna* oppression.[34] Gabraegzabher's lands were initially subjected to a fixed tribute status which after 1910 were transformed into a *qalad* type of "region" in which land was appropriated by the central government within the same domain and at the same period, there appeared different types of co-existing "rules" one beside the other. An autonomous and a dominant Shawan-Amhara rule with imposition of a typical *Gabbar-Naftanna* relationship had been observed in Leeqaa-Naqamtee, Arjoo and Horro Gudruu respectively.[35] In addition, the Sibuu land (Gimbii) was a typical Addis Ababa ruled enclave entirely enclosed within Gabraegzabher's domain. Regardless of all that, western Wallagga proved an ideal example of the difficulty of imperial domination.[36] Moreover, the increased imposition of provision on Gabraegzabher had upset his entire economic system. The Leeqaa ruler then told *Ras* Tasama, the ruler of Illubabor that the men who got provisions at *Ras* Damisawu's territory in Arjoo were many and the Leeqaa-Naqamtee ruler used to feed all of these soldiers.[37]

The situation in Qellem, Jootee's fief, had even taken turn to the worse. Jootee was placed under the pressure of *Ras* Tasama Nadaw of Illubabor a soldier with political and economic upper hand over the local people appointed by Menilek and acted as an overseer of Jootee. Thus, with the advent of the new administration severe socio-economic and political problems were faced by majority of the indigenous inhabitants. During Jootee's rule the settlement of the northern soldiers in Qellem led to the displacement of the indigenous people and they fled in mass to Begii. The people felt discontented after their land and property was given to the new settlers.

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[33]Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy of Western central Ethiopia: from the Mid-Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries, Ph.D Dissertation Michigan State University, 1986.pp.185-186.
[34]*Ibid.* The term *naftanna* used in this study is representative of Oromo sound for the Amharic *naftagna*. The term was derivative of Arabic word '*neft*' which means 'firearm'. *Nafxanya* was the Shawan-Amhara colonial settler who used to impose its rule over its subjects at gun point.
[35]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C p.122, 134-137.
[36]Triulzi, Alessandro. "*Nekemte and Addis Ababa,* p.69; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C p.60.
[37]*Ibid*, pp.60-61.

The case disappointed Jootee in whose domain had settled 9,000 *Gondares* a figure that exceeded by far that of Naqamtee.[38] These soldiers were called '*Gondare*', a name which infers to the place they lived or came from. However, all of them were not *Gondares* because members of other ethnic groups were also among them. According to available sources Leeqaa-Naqamtee had accommodated only700 *Gondares* although some writers had exaggerated the figure.They were stationed in a village called Hajara in Naqamtee and the provision of *Gondare* troops, *Ya Gondare qallab*, was amounted to 18,000*MTT* annually.[39] The *Gondares* were highly rebellious that they had devastated the country by looting the marketeers' products-crops, animals, butter and honey.Therefore, there was no peace and security as a result of the continuous acts of robbery of the *Gondares* in the region. Every market day there was an outycry of people attacked by these soldiers. The robbery of the *Gondare* troops was worsened as a result of the hesitation of Gabraegzabher who had been patiently watching their rebellious character and deeds without any intervention for a long period of time.[40] The serious socio-economic problems created by the *Gondare* troops was eventually solved by *Lij* Iyyasu when he was informed of their cruel acts by *Sheik* Hojale al-Hasan who had observed their bad manners against the Leeqaa community causing great trouble to Gabraegzabher's administration. Both the *Sheik* and the Leeqaa ruler had suggested the removal of the *Gondare* troops from Naqamtee by any means and their provision to be covered by Gabraegzabher. *Lij* Iyyasu consented to the suggestions of both Hojale and Gabraegzabher and soon removed the *Gondares* to Arjoo, the territory of *Ras* Damissaw Nasibu where they could live in peace with the Amhara soldiers like them and as a result Gabraegzabher was relieved from the pains the *Gondares* had been causing to him.[41] The alien rule by the Amhara governors in Qellem and the causes of the spontaneous peasant uprising in Gidamii will be discussed in chapter four.

The popular revolution in Ethiopia which erupted in 1974 had its root causes in the problems of main political commodity of the nation, land. Thus, it seems fair to give a general overview of the land tenure system in Wallagga at least since 1909-1910 to put this chapter in perspective. By 1909-1910, a proclamation for the measurement of all land and its redistribution based on

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[38]Triulzi, Alessandro. "*Nekemte and Addis Ababa,* p.69; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C.p.207.
[39]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/Cp.165, 207.
[40]*Ibid.*p.166.
[41]*Ibid.*

military, political and religious services to the central government was issued. The proclamation seriously affected Wallagga as the *qabiyye* right of the indigenous people were cancelled, making them legally landless. Land was essential to their continued existence.[42] In this respect it is right to argue, "From the land comes sustenance, status and often political power".[43]Among the agricultural societies of Ethiopia to have rights over land is to be human, to be landless is to be subhuman"[44]The confiscation forced most people in Wallagga into tenancy, severely reducing their living standard.[45]

Before the proclamation of 1909-1910, there were three separate claims on the ownership of land in Horro-Guduruu, Arjoo and Leeqaa-Naqamtee and its dependencies. First, the indigenous Oromo peasantry had *qabiyyee* rights on vast tracts of still unmeasured land which they used for farming and herding. Second, Shawan administrators in Arjoo and Horro-Gudruu had been granted the full services of local Oromo families. Third, the official policy of proselytizing the Oromo to Orthodox Christianity needed land for the sustenance of the clergy who were to serve the new churches established throughout Wallagga.[46] It should be noted, however, that Qellem and Asossa were not affected by the proclamation.[47] The most obvious purpose of the land measurement proclamation was to identify and to put legal limits on the concrete claims of the local peasantry, the predominantly alien feudal hierarchy and the Orthodox Christian clergy in Wallagga. In addition to measurement, land was also classified interms of perceived fertility, which actually meant productivity. Based on the density of the population on each *gasha*, the land was classified into fertile, semi-fertile and poor for three reasons. One was to enable the *Balabats* to get *sisso* or freehold land from each of the land types. The second was to assign a certain proportion of the fertile, semi-fertile and poor land to the different legal categories.

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[42]Tesema Ta'a, "The Basis of Political Contradictions, p.184. *Qabiyyee* literally meanse possession or land holding necessarily recognized by others. For the details on the *qabiyyee* systems see, among others, Tesema Ta'a, *The Political Economy*, p. 37.

[43]C.Dunning, "Land Reform in Ethiopia: A Case Study in Non-development," U.C.L.A. Law Review 18, 2(1970), p.271 quoted in Tesema Ta'a, "The Basis of Political..."

[44]*Ibid.*

[45]*Ibid.*

[46]*Ibid*; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C pp.111-113,134-135 The *qabiyyee* system reflected the predominance of group right over individual prerogative. Land was transmitted through generations and was recognized as the collective property of the society at large, See Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wollega, pp.63, 87-90.

[47]*Ibid.*

The third was to determine the price of each type of land. A *gasha* of land from eight to ten occupants was classified as fertile, *lam* while four to seven occupants was the criterion for semi-fertile, *taf-lam* and lands without dwellings were classified as poor, *taf* even if they were farmed.[48]

Our sources state that assigning the land to the different legal categories was rarely done. Usually the *Balabats* bribed the measurers to get the highest proportion of his land in populated areas, or so-called fertile land. In general forest land with its potential for coffee and unoccupied land under fallow or grazing ended up being categorized as government land.[49] During this land redistribution the local peasants misunderstood the term *sisso* which Menilek's government employed simply to indicate together with the Church and the feudal hierarchy superimposed on them, the local people constituted one of the three elements with claims on the land. The local people, however, misunderstood it as if the land would be divided into three equal parts only, and that they would be left with a *sisso,* i.e. one-third of the land they occupied. Nevertheless, the government did not intend to divide the land into three equal parts, but instead confiscate vast tracts, declare them *Yamangist maret* (state or crown land), and make them ready for sale for anyone with his cash at hand.[50] *Sisso* was the freehold land granted to the indigenous *Balabats.* Literally *sisso* means one-third but the size of *sisso* land depended on the proportions of the *gasha* the officials assigned to the other four categories during land measurement.[51] The fourth factor was also involved. The Emperor was able to generate revenue from the sale of"superfluous" land. When the local people understood that the fourth factor was also added, they became very angry. They felt deceived by a government which they perceived promised

[48]WMTMAC, Abiy to Ministry of Interior, Hamle 7, 1934[July14, 1942, *Ya*Wallagga *gezat yarest maret*, folder 2165/44; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C, pp.131-134.

[49]WMTMAC, MLRA, Folder 2875, Blatta Waldakiros, "Memorandum to the Emperor," Miaziya 24, 1948, [May2, 1956], *Sela* Qellem *hizboch abetuta*; Informants: Emeru Gabre, Olaanaa Batii; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C, p.133.

[50]C.Dunning, "Land Reform in Ethiopia: A Case Study in Non-development," U.C.L.A. Law Review 18, 2(1970), p.271 quoted in Tesema Ta'a, "The Basis of Political..." p.186; WMTMAC, Ref.No.7562 A letter to the Ministry of Interior, from the *balabats* of Wallagga, Sene 14,1941E/C; The letter of Hidar 10,1945E/C [November 19,1952],Ref.No.1494/52,from Wallagga Governorate Office to Wallagga Governorate *Bajirond* Office, Petition of the *balabats* of Wallagga *taqlay* gezat.

[51]Gabrawald Engdawarq, *Ya Etyop'ya Maretena Geber Sem* (Addis Ababa,1948 E/C) , p.13; WMTMAC, Folder 2165/44, *Ya Wallagga gezat Yarest Maret*, Abiy to Ministry of Interior, Hamle 7,1934, [July 14,1942];MahtamasellasseWaldamasqal,*Zekra Nagar*, pp.107-108; Seenaa Warra Bakaree,1971E/C,p.131

them a *sisso* or a third portion, but had actually left them only the *irub* or one-fourth of their *qabiyye* land confiscating the remaining three-fourths.[52] When the proclamation was set out for implementation the local people were asked to identify the land on which they claimed *qabiyyee* right and the area was then measured into units of *gasha* or *qalad.*[53]

Some numbers of *gasha* depending on the settlement patterns of the people was declared to constitute the individual holding, *qabiyyee* on which the indigenous Oromo could continue to exercise their ancient communal rights. The amount was arbitrarily delimited simply based on what the officials on the spot felt would help for sustenance of the local people.[54] Some *gasha* or parts of one *gasha* were then demarcated and distributed as special tenure called *Maderia* and *Rista-gult* among the Shawan officials and soldiers settled in the area, the amounts depending on rank and position in the feudal hierarchy.[55]In return, the settlers served in judicial, military and administrative hierarchies. Some land was set aside for Church use regardless of whether there were churches in the locality. Finally, the extent of the "superfluous" land was ascertained, it was measured in *gasha*, carefully demarcated, and declared state land, also called *Gizh maret* (land for sale).[56] Since 1909-1910 all lands, except church holdings, in Wallagga, were taxed. On the other hand, the rate of taxation levied on all categories of land was not uniform. On every *gasha* of *lam (*fertile land), a tax of 15 *thallers* was paid annually; on *lam-taf* (semi-fertile land), 10 thallers, and on *taf* (non-fertile land), only 7 thallers.[57]

The land measurement proclamation of 1909-1910 is important for this study because of its long lasting consequences in Wallagga. It caused a basic transformation in the socio-economic and political relations of the people of Wallagga. The law became an additional source of dissatisfaction and discontent besides those generated by Shawan conquests and subsequent domination. The central government, which confiscated and sold vast tracts classified as "surplus," emerged a single largest beneficiary. This apparently led to increasing concentration of

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[52]*Ibid,* pp.186 -187.
[53]Tesema Ta'a, "The Basis of Political Contradictions, p.187.
[54]*Ibid.*
[55]WMTMAC, The Ministry of Land Reform Order No.R/9135 of January 26, 1959;, The letter of Ginbot 17,1948E/C Ref.No.5315/1/48, File 1/495, *Sela shalaqa maretoch*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance, to Arjo *awraja gezat* office.
[56]Tesema Ta'a, "The Basis of Political Contradictions, p. 187; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C pp.120-121
[57]Tesema Ta'a, "The Basis of Political Contradictions, pp.186–187.

ownership in the hands of a few began in earnest; it became the greatest single socio-political and economic problem in pre-revolutionary Wallagga in particular and in Ethiopia in general.[58]

Since land in Wallagga, as in other parts of Ethiopia, was a political commodity, its distribution and granting undoubtedly enhanced imperial control.[59] Even though Menilek died in 1913, his land tenure and taxation system lived until the mid 1970s even if modified by the birth of a written constitution and other decrees, proclamations, and institutions during the reign of Emperor Haile-Selassie (r.1930-1974)[60] Tesema wrote that:

> *The new Emperor increased taxation and thereby raised the price of land.Many more Oromo and others were forced off the land or became tenants.Land grants and the registration of land as private property and a comercial commodity conti nued unabated.In fact, the various tax reforms introduced by Haile-Selassie meant that most of the taxes were paid by the peasantry, and the landlords merely passed on part of them to the tax collectors.Expressed in analytical language, the land gra nt orders,(taxation and registrations) were an important vehicle or articulation lead ing to a mode of production apparently similar to Marx's Asiatic model.*[61]

This situation brought about a process of polarization in rural agricultural communities in Wallagga in particular and Ethiopia at large. The number of poor and landless people grew, comparatively slowly but the cumulative figure was significant, while the rich, who monopolized the vast estates, decreased as a percentage of population and increased in authority. Although the local peasants were obviously against the systematic exploitation of their land and its produces, and often attempted to resist, they proved unsuccessful owing to the tight control of the administration and the iron hands imposed by the government's soldiers.[62] By 1930, the Emperor intended to reform the land tenure system as part of his "modernization" schemes. The 1931 constitution vested in the Emperor the power and prerogative to undertake any reform measure.[63] The Emperor's plan for reform, however, was saddened by the Italian occupation (1936-1941).

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[58] *Ibid.*, p.187.
[59] *Ibid,* p.189.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] *Ibid,* p.190.
[62] *Ibid.* p.191.
[63] Addis Hiwot, Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution.London:1975, pp. 82-84.

The Italian Interlude: An Overview

The Italian intentions to colonize Ethiopia began long before the *Fascist* regime came to power in Italy. It was in the nineteenth century that Prime Minister Francesco Crispi anticipated the settlement of a large number of Italians in Ethiopia. Ethiopia had excellent agricultural resources and there is no doubt that its significant contributions to Italy's needs were agricultural products other than providing home for Italian farmers.[64] The Italian invasion of Ethiopia on October 3, 1935 resulted in the occupation of Addis Ababa on May 5, 1936.The years 1936-1941were full of crucial events that decided the fate of Ethiopia either to become a colony or to remain independent. The defeat of the Ethiopian troops at Maichaw not only subjected the country to foreign rule but also led to the flight of Emperor Hailesellase.[65]

The Italian occupation of Wallagga was carried out as part of the occupation of southwestern Ethiopia. Graziani was ordered by Mussolini to undertake the occupation by force. Informants relate that the occupation of the western part of Ethiopia by the Italians came later than the other parts. This was mainly because of lack of roads and airstrips and partly the presence of natural fortresses in the various localities that served the Ethiopian patriots with temporary shelter and food and as a center of defense in the anti-*fascist* resistance struggle that checked an easy penetration of the Italians into the area.[66] The British refusal of granting recognition to the 'Oromo Confederation', however, helped the Italians to seek local alliance with the Wallagga rulers rather than direct military attacks in their westward advance.[67] At the onset of the Italian occupation, the hereditary ruler of Naqamtee, *Dajazmach* Habtamariam Gabraegzabher, was the most important figure in Wallagga.[68]

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[64]Alberto Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness, Ethiopia and Fascist Italy,1935-1941*,The Red Sea Press, Inc. Asmara,1997,pp.103-104;Tekeste Nagash, *Italian Colonialism in Eritrea*, pp.13-15; Bahru Zewde. *"A History of Modern Ethiopia (1855-1974)."* London: James Currey, 1991.p.150.

[65]Angelo Del Boca, *The Ethiopian War1935-1941*, University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp.161-173;

[66]Informants: Kumsaa Boroo, Emeru Gabre.

[67]Alberto Sbacchi, *Ethiopia under Mussolini Fascism and Colonial Experience*, London 1985.p.181; Gilkes Patrick. *"The Dying Lion: Feudalism and Modernization in Ethiopia.* London: Julian Friedman, 1975. p.210; Tesema Ta'a, "*The Bonayyaa Incident and the Italian Occupation of Naqamtee: 1936-1941."* The XIII International Conference of Ethiopian Studies Vol. I Japan,1997. p.269; Alemu Shuyii, "Wallagga during the Italian Occupation (1936-1941)." M.A Thesis, AAU, History Department, 2002 pp.31, 54.

[68]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C.p.205; Informants: Emeru Gabre; Patrick Gilkes, *The Dying Lion*, p.211; Alemu Shuie, Wallagga during, p.29.

Dajjazmach Habtamariam (alias Hambisaa), son and successor of *Dajjach* Kumsaa Morodaa. Governor of Leeqaa-Naqamtee leader of Western [Oromo] Confederation. Source: Triulizi, A. and Tesema Ta'a, *Ya Wallaga Tarik Sanadoch ka 1880 wochu iska 1920wochu (Documents for Wallagga History, 1880s to 1920s E.C.)* Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2004, p.169.

Upon the death of Jootee Tulluu in 1918 Habtamariam went to Qellem for administrative assignment he was given from Addis Ababa and served for ten months (between November to September 1934). No sooner had he returned to Naqamtee than Habtamariam began hearing of

war rumours. Immediately afterwards he received, orders from the central government to raise a fund to be used in the war efforts.[69] The available literature states that Habtamariam mobilized three hundred soldiers and arrived in Addis Ababa and a military parade was made in front of Haile Selassie at Jan Meda. The Emperor ordered him to raise half a million *MTT* and submit to the central treasury. Habtamariam was so infuriated at the Emperor's decision that on an audience granted to him to discuss the half million *MTT* contributions from Wallagga he was heard to have said, "My earth is not so full of gold and may not even cost a buyer, half a million MTT if I were to sell the whole country." It was then decided that he collected 300,000 *MTT*.[70] After returning back to Wallagga Habtamariam compelled the *Balabats* to contribute 30*MTT* per *gasha* for the war effort. All *Balabats* agreed to his order except the Diggaa *Balabats* who proteseted under the pretext that it was beyond their capacity and appealed to Habtamariam through their representative named Diinnii Dabalee. Habtamariam who had already been raged by the Emperor's ruthless imposition of heavy sum became furious against the *Balabats* who resisted his orders and sentenced the representative of the Diggaa *Balabats* to corporal punishment. However, Habtamariam's notables persuaded him to avoid the corporal punishment of Diinnii after the *Balabats* soon covered the imposed sum of money.[71]

In June 18,1928E/C [June 25, 1936] when the Naqamtee officials became confused and were waiting to see what would happen, three *Fascist* war planes came over Naqamtee town and landed at Bonayyaa.[72] After establishing their administrative structure in various districts of Wallagga, the Italians continued eliminating all suspected personalities who opposed their rule.[73] To accomplish their objectives they carefully selected and appointed agents among the lesser chiefs who could serve them as local representatives and influence the people to accept the Italian rule and policy.The occupation was performed with relative ease initially, because there was no resistance against it. This was mainly because before the occupation the *Malkannas* had oppressed the people very much and when the Italians arrived the people considered them as liberators from the yoke of the *malkannas*. The *Fascist* rule induced a measure of social leveling

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[69]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971. pp.210-212; Informants: Emeru Gabre, Kumsaa Boroo.
[70]Kebede Kejela, "A Biography, pp.; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C.p.
[71]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971.pp.212-213.
[72]Seenaa Warra Bakaree,1971E/C.pp.214-16.
[73]Informants: Mamite Mandefro, Kumsaa Boroo; Atse Zara Yacob Secondary School. "Oliqa Dingil" *Ya Tarik Matsehet*, 1961 E/C pp.10-12.

as it dissolved status differentiation between the Oromo, the *Naftanna*, and the slaves which constituted the lowest stratum.[74] The *Fascists* stripped the *Naftanna* of all their privileges and required them to live by their own talents. Some of them became Italian collaborators to regain their lost privilege and status.[75] Thus, it seems that the Italian period was the occasion when the Oromo peasant began viewing his former *Naftanna* master on an equal footing as the freed slaves did the other two.

The Italian rule in Wallagga resulted in the disintegration of the *Gabbar-Nafxanya* system and the appointment of Oromo chiefs. This created resentment and discontent among the Amhara governors. The Italian employment of lesser Oromo chiefs had important political effects of influencing the people to accept the Italian rule. Indeed, the Italians did not uproot most of the Oromo chiefs in Wallagga except those who opposed their rule. However, the antagonism between the newly appointed Oromo chiefs and the deposed Amhara chiefs was exactly what the Italians wanted as part of their colonial policy. The Italians pursued a different land policy. They claimed to have found no definite instrument of establishing clearly the former land tenure system. This was the reason why the colonial government consequently set up a "Royal Commission" to deal with all problems pertaining to the ownership of land. The Commission was instituted to ascertain the actual *de facto* and *de jure* positions of all landed property to settle controversial points to reinstate the rightful owners. A detailed survey was started but never completed owing to continued resistance to Italian rule in Wallagga and almost everywhere in the country.[76] The Italian occupation gave the people respite from the numerous obligations of the pre-Italian *Naftanna* governors because they declared all land the property of the Italian crown.[77] The Italian policy accommodated the pre-conquest Oromo individual holding system and satisfied the people of Wallagga. In return for allowing individual holders to farm, the Italians imposed *tithe* on all crops of which one per cent was remitted to the headman in charge

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[74]Informants: Birru Nagarii, Kumsaa Boroo, Mamite Mandafro; Atse Zara Yacob Secondary School. "Oliqa Dingil" *Ya Tarik Matsehet*, 1961 E/C pp.10-12; Lewis, Herbert Samuel, Jimma Abba Jifar: A Despotic Galla Kingdom. Colombia University, 1963. p.67.
[75]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971.p.204.
[76]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971.p.204; J.A. Baker, *The Civilizing Mission*. New York: 1968, pp, 303-304; Amsalu Temesgen, "Italian Occupation, p.27; Kebede Kejela "The Biography, p.53.
[77]Sbacchi, Italian Colonialism, pp.384-428; Hailemariam Larebo, The Building of an Empire: Italian Land Policy in Ethiopia (Oxford University Press, 1994) p.; Informants: Kumsa Boroo, Emeru Gabre.

of collection. Particularly in the former *Naftanna* ruled areas such as Arjoo, Horro Gudruu and Qellem the former holders took back two of the three estates, *hudad* lands farmed for the successive *Naftanna* governors since the days of *Dajazmachs* Damissew Nassibu and Berru Woldegabriel.

Dajjach Damisaw Nasibu, later *Ras*, Governor of Arjoo (Southern Wallagga) and Emperor Menilek's trusted attendant of developments in Wallagga (Source: Bahru Zawde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*. Oxford: James Currey, 2002p. 90.)

In a similar manner the original holders reclaimed other agricultural lands the Amhara had confiscated in the pre-Italian period under the Italian jurisdiction.[78]

For all practical purposes land holding was reverted to its pre-conquest tenure during the five years of the Italian occupation which effected drastic changes in the political history of Wallagga.The *gabbars* were allowed to use the land which they earlier rented from the landlords. In addition to their abolishment of *corvee* services, the Italians gave compensations to those *gabbars* who had been exploited by the *Naftanna* administration.As a result the Oromo of Wallagga benefitted through the process. The Italians gave the right of ownership of land to the *gabbars* in order to win their support. Some sources reveal that the tax requested by the Italians was lighter than that of the *Naftanna*. The Italians charged the *gabbars* one Italian *lire* for an ox and wanted to exploit the hatred between the Oromo and the *Nafxanna* for their own objectives.

After consolidating their administration in Wallagga the Italians controlled Handaq and Sasigga, collecting tribute and levying taxes on farm lands and heads of cattle which charged less than fifteen *lires*. Towards the end of the Italian period, the pre-Italian hierarchical relationship between the *Naftanna* and the Oromo had almost vanished setting the stage for equality of access to land and local power. The Italians facilitated non-farming economic activity by reorganizing merchants, blacksmiths, weavers, and carpenters giving free land to the new settlers in the town which provided a break through with the traditional land tenure system.[79] Nevertheless, not everyone tolerated the Italian rule. There was resistance for which the peoples of Wallagga had their prominent heroes in the persons of Oliiqaa Dingil, Filee Mandaraa, Makonnen Jambare and others. With the end of the short period of silence the Italians effectively managed to control Naqamtee and its surroundings thereby divided the region into a number of localities and administrative units which were put under *Fitawraries* and *Qannazmachs* with many *Abbaa Qoroos* and several *chiqashums (*appointed village heads below a *natchlabash)* establishing administrative hierarchy for efficient collection of taxes.[80]

[78]Informants: Kumsaa Boroo, Mamite Mandefro, Emeru Gabre.
[79]Samuel Mamo "The Administration of Arjo (Southeastern Wallagga), M.A Thesis History Department AAU, 1998. pp.65-66; Alemu Shuie. "Wallagga during, p.62; Roland Horvath, The Process of Urban Agglomeration in Ethiopia" *Journal of Ethiopian Studies, VIII, 2(1970)*, pp. 45-46.
[80]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971.p; The hierarchy of Italian administrative system from top-down was: *Governor-Commissariato-Residenza-Vice-Residenza.*

The end of the fascist rule became imminent when Mussolini brought Italy into IIWW on the side of Nazi Germany.The Italian occupation of Ethiopia came to an end in 1941 with the assistance of a British expeditionary force which had the multiple objectives of dislodging the Italians from East Africa, strengthening the defense of the Middle East from the Axis Powers, and restoring the exiled Ethiopian Emperor to power. The participation of the British forces in most of the battles against the Italians in Ethiopia, with the support of the Ethiopian patriots has been the subject of many scholarly works.[81] However, fairly important but less known is the role of the Belgians. Above all less recognized by historians was the contribution of an African fighting force from Nigeria, Ghana, and the Congo. A.Mockler mentions the role of the Nigerians, the Ghanians, and the Congolese in the war. In the available official records more credit has been given to the British and the South African forces. But the Africans had probably paid the heaviest human sacrifice in the liberation of Ethiopia from the Italians.[82] In the jigsaw-like Allied military strategy different forces had different tasks to accomplish and their total success could have fulfilled the Allied war aims.To eliminate the *Facists* in east Africa, the British forces in the Sudan had to liberate the Italian stronghold of Eritrea. The Nigerians, Ghanians and the South African forces marched from Kenya and liberated Somalia, South and Southeastern Ethiopia and finally captured Addis Ababa from the Italians in April, 1941.[83]

In January 1933E/C [1941] Emperor Hailesellassie came through Gojjam from the Sudan and the collapse of the *Fascists* was eventually realized in central Wallagga when the British airforces attacked the Italian military garrisons at Qeejjoo, Suuqii Qeesii, and Aanno.[84] *Dajazmach* Dasta Eshete was sent from Gojjam and he marched to Aannoo and attacked it and many *bandas* were captured. Local traditions remark that there was heavy fighting in Annoo and the local *Balabats* like *Fitawrari* Olaanaa Dhinsa of Billo and Dasta Eshete of Bakko joined those of Horro chasing the Italian forces up to Cooraa in Illubabor. They undertook heavy fighting in Beddelle driving the enemy forces up to Gore and beyond. Our sources assert that the Italian forces were driven

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[81]Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War: The Italian Ethiopian Campaign 1935-1941*, (Oxford University Press, 1984); L.Mosley, *Gideon Goes to War* (A.Barker, 1955).
[82]Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War*, pp.360-83; H.Moyse-Bartlett, *The King's African Rifles* (Aldershot, Gale and Polden, 1956); Kenneth Gandar Dower, *Askaris at War in Abyssinia*, (Nairobi, 1941) *ibid* (ed.), *Abyssinian Patchwork: An Anthology*, (Frederick Muller, 1949).
[83]Anthony Mockler, *Haile Selassie's War*, pp.327-337, 360-380.
[84]Seenaa Warra Bakaree,1971E/C.pp.234-235.

out of Naqamtee by the forces of Mekonnen Jambare and Mesfin Sileshi. The forces of Makonnen drove the *Fascist* forces from Naqamtee up to Gimbii and beyond and it took them about six months to expel the enemy forces from Naqamtee completely.[85]

The *Fascist* garrisons in central Wallagga were gradually weakened because several *bandas* secretly escaped from them in favour of the Ethiopian patriots who became victorious by this time. However, the rest of the *Fascists* and the *bandas* strongly fought aginst the joint Ethio-British forces. When eventually the joint Ethio-British forces attacked the garrisons with heavy artilleries, the frustrated Italians and the *bandas* once and for all left the garrisons and escaped to Naqamtee and joined with the forces that stationed at Diggaa without any fighting.The rest of the *Fascist* forces moved forward and joined those in Gimbii demolishing the Dhidheessa bridge in order to prevent the advance of the Ethiopian troops.[86] After the fall of the *Fascist* garrison at Diggaa, the joint Ethio-British forces had driven out the retreating Italians up to western Wallagga. However, passage to Gimbii became impossible because of the destruction of the Dhidheessa Bridge. Therefore, the Ethiopian forces marched through Jimmaa-Arjoo *warada* and crossed the river by sailing on boats to follow the footstep of the enemies. After crossing the river which took one week, the Ethiopian infantry forces marched through Daaphoo Haannaa, Makoo and Noolee-Kaabbaa to Gimbii *awraja*.The *Fascists* who had realized the arrival of the joint Ethio-British forces soon left for Gimbii and marched further west or southwest to Qexoo river in Qellem *awrajja*. Meanwhile the Belgian-Congolese troops which had already penetrated western Ethiopia through Gambella, Sayyoo, and Anfillo had marched towards Qexoo River and the *Fascists* became sandwiched between the two advancing forces.[87](The Congolese from Sayyoo to the east direction and the joint Ethio-British forces from Naqamtee, Arjoo and Gimbii to the west). That was the end point of the *Fascist* forces which had been roaming up and down in Wallagga during the five years of their occupation.

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[85]Alemu Shuyii, Wallagga During, p.123, 115; Seenaa Warra Bakaree,1971E/C.p.234.
[86]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C.pp. 235-236.
[87]*Ibid*.pp.236-237.

Post-Italian Period: Process of Access to Land and Peasant Problems

In the years before the war it was evident that Leeqaa-Naqamtee was spared from the centralization drive. When Hailesellassie returned in 1941, however, it became the first region to lose its autonomy. The Emperor appointed his trusted loyalist *Fitawrari* (later *Dajazmach*) Kabada Tasama, as the new Governor. The next was Colonel Abiy Abebe, Emperor Haile Selassie's son-in-law, followed successively by Governor-Generals: *Dajazmach* (later *ras*) Asrate Kassa, Bitwadad Mangasha Jambare, *Dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta, *Dajazmach* Dereje Makonnen, *Blata* Waldakiros Gabramasqal, *Dajazmach* Fiqrasellassie Habtamariam, *Fitawrari* Sahlu Defaye, *Dajazmach* Berhane Masqal Dasta, *Dajazmach* Kasa Waldamariam, *Dajazmach* Waldasamayat Gabrawald and *Dajazmach* Fiqresellassie Habtamariam who ruled the hereditary province up to 1974.[88]

The period between 1941 and 1974 witnessed the entrenchment of the access to freehold right to the lands of the conquered south. From their lands were drawn government officials, field agents of the *Naftanna* and their descendants as the pillar of the political establishment with preferential ministries, judges, police officers, and priests. A series of decrees enacted during the two decades after 1941 alienated lands in the south in favor of the *Naftanna* essentially for the purpose of political integration. The politics of land rights were interpreted according to the perceived interests of the provincial *Naftanna* elites. Some of these were high government officials and absentee landlords. In general the political structure was based on the economic and political interests of this group so much so that reforming the land tenure became impossible.[89]

Following the Italian evacuation, Hailesellase pursued the old land granting policy and at the same time made an attempt to solve land tenure related problems. In 1941 the restored Emperor issued a proclamation in which he openly outlawed the *gabbar* system. He proclaimed that "...manual labour, firewood, grass contribution for annual feast days and miscellaneous dues and taxes are abolished."[90]

[88]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971 E/C.pp. 240-245; Debebe Taddese, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969.p.131.
[89]John Cohen and D.Weintrub, Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to a Revolution. (Ass En: 1975), pp.28-61, 71-93.
[90]Gebrewold Ingidaworq, "Ethiopia's Traditional System of Land Tenure and Taxation," Ethiopian Observer, Vol.V, No4, 1962, pp.325 p.326.

This, however, seems to have minimized the burden on a small scale cultivators who were subjected to give both tribute and personal services to government officials who were paid monthly salaries by the state. It is apparent that it had brought no change on the life of landless farmers (tenants) who had remained to be exploited and oppressed by their land lords until the demise of the imperial government in 1974. It has been the usual trend to overlook the landless farmers whose livelihood was tied to land that Hailesellase's land granting policy rested on those politically important individuals and groups. The policy of granting land was based not on economic development, but political orientation. "Priority would be given to those who have served the government for a considerable time in battle or in other ways." The Emperor unduly tended to give due emphasis to them because they had served the government either prior to the invasion or throughout the occupation period.There were procedural requirements to prove the applicants' participation in resisting the Italians, and to establish the presence or absence of claimants or occupants on land before issuing the grant. [91]

Our sources verify that the claimants cleared the liberty of the land from the *warada*, *mikitil warada* and from the *Balabats* or *Qoroo* before they obtained land.[92] After that a legal certificate was issued by the Public Administration Office for the recognized government *Balawulata*. A signed certificate was issued after full confirmation of the concerned authority which had taken into account detailed information of the claimant including: full name, the type of gift requested, location of the land [*kebele*, size] signature of the authorized person's status and reason of issuing the certificate. Moreover, the witnesses for the issuance of the certificate appeared before the three-man committee for the final verification of the *Balawulata's* detailed information of service years and previous jobs.[93] The declaration of land owned by the government often stated full detail: location, size of *gasha*, date of ownership, the reason why the land became government property[for instance as a result of *Balabat's hambifata*],who owned the land when the declaration was written and why?[for instance whether the *Balabat* failed to pay the tax and

[91]WMTMAC, Folder 118,File 22/8 and File 22/7, Inspectors Reports to Provincial Governor's Office, Miaziya 28,1942, [May6,1950],and Miaziya 30,1942,[May 8,1950], Folder 118, File 22/8 and File 22/7; Makonnen Dasta to the Minister of Interior, Maskaram 20,1943,[September 30,1950].
[92]WMTMAC, The letter of Miazia 7, 1934E/C [April 15, 1942], Folder 4679, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Defense, Ref. No./2655,*Sela balawuleta maret tiyaqe*,to Wallagga *awraja gezat*
[93]WMTMAC,The letter of Magabit 25,1937E/C [April 3, 1945] Ref. No.630/4, folder 4679, The Ethiopian Imperial Government Public Administration Office.

left the land as *gebratal*], status of the land, whether *lam*, *taf- lam* or *taf*, the wealth of the land with a clearly marked boundary, the number of tenants on the land, the type of *maggazo*, the productivity of the *gasha* and etc.[94] *Balawulata* was not allowed by any means to sale or exchange or grant a freehold obtained by law to any person. If such land was transferred even to a family member as gift, it could not be confirmed by the law. On the other hand, the edict of Hamle 16,1936 E/C[July 23,1944] permitted that government gift should be granted from *taf* whereas the edict of 1934E/C permitted that the gift should be *lam*, fertile vacant land without a claimant outside of the government *hudad*, *waraganu* or *madaria*.[95](See also Appendices 2,3,4&5)

Hailesellase's land granting policy devoted much attention to the privileged classes not only for the meritorious services they had contributed but it also considered security in the post-liberation administration. For Menilek, land used to be the means by which he had maintained the loyalty of the local governors to the central government. Like Menilek, the restored Emperor had to reactivate the old fashioned land granting policy to keep the allegiance and faithfulness of the military forces and government officials at different levels of government offices stretched hierarchically soon after the restoration. Nobody could impose on the Emperor any restriction not to favor the individuals whom he targeted to grant land at his pleasure. This is because of the fact that his power was absolute.[96] In order to effectively execute land granting policy, successive imperial orders were passed. The July 1942 and 1944 were the early imperial orders. An edict of July 1942, entitled a freehold of one *gasha* to those who had resisted the Italians during the five years of occupation, known as *Balawulata*, the refugees, wives and the children of the patriots and jobless town dwellers.Order of His Imperial Majesty July 23, 1942, maintenance for Patriots, Refugees and for Wives and Children of the Patriots. The edict of July, 1944 awarded a freehold

[94]WMTMAC, The letter of Tekemt 25,1946E/C Ref.No.1434, File 9/495 *Sela maret matawaqiya deklarasion*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance, Government Property *rist* Department
[95]WMTMAC, The letter of Tir 27,1946 E/C Ref.No.2/4267,File 1/495 *Hegawat yasetota maret shiyach*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Interior to *dajazmach* Dereje Makonnen, Governor General of Wallagga;The letter of Miazia 3,1944 E/C.Ref. No.1062/29/44, File 1/495, from Imperial Ethiopian Government Prime Minister to the Ministry of Interior.
[96]John W.Harbenson, "State and Social Transformation in Modern Ethiopia," Marina Ottaway (ed.), The Political economy of Ethiopia. NewYork; Preager Publisher, 1990, p.73. Eshetu Chole, "Taxation in Ethiopia: Analysis of Structures, Policy and Performance."M.Sc Thesis in Economics (University of Illinois, 1968), p.23.

of one *gasha* to those who had served the government before the Italaian invasion, were not collaborators with the Italians, and had not benefitted from the 1942 edict. Order was issued on July 23, 1944 to grant land to Pre-War and Post-War Government servants.[97]

As it was elsewhere in the southern provinces post-liberation Wallagga had experienced such grants of land in a similar manner. In our earlier discussion about the Italian interlude we have explained that three hundred soldiers were mobilized by *Dajazmach* Habtamariam and made the long march from Wallagga to Maichaw to fight against the Italian invaders.[98] Both records as well oral sources state that such soldiers had been granted one *gasha* each from the state land because of their participation in the Ethio-Italian war.*Balawulatas* came from Gondar, Gojjam and Shawa to receive land as *maderia* in accordance with the 1942 order. However, only few of them stayed while most of them clandestinely sold the land they had obtained to the *Abba Qoroo* and went back to their respective provinces.[99] Land was also granted to the civil servants and high government officials as reward for their services and loyalty. Nevertheless, it is far from the truth to assert that the beneficiaries of the 1942 imperial order were only soldiers who participated in the war of liberation. There were instances when criminals produced false evidences to get land. Sources confirmed that prisoners came back after liberation disguising that they were patriots to enjoy the benefits of the order. According to informants some people had been granted land in various *awrajas* on the basis of the 1942 order.Nevertheless, it was not clear how they were able to get land by producing false evidence since the real grantees were issued certificate of land grant by the Ministry of Interior.[100] From what has been reported by our informants it is probable that some grantees had connections with the corrupt government officials who had occupied land or tax administration posts and got land by corruption.

In the post-Italian period a common problem in Wallagga was the fact that some of the *Balabats* exchanged fertile state land for infertile freehold or doubled it illegally, *Baijamanagna* for their

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[97]Sheberu Takla Giorgis, "A Compilation and Translation of Ethiopian Government's Land Grant Orders." Faculty of Law, HSIU, 1969 (memeo), pp.2-5.
[98]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C. pp.212-213.
[99]Michael Stahl, *Ethiopia: Political Contradictions in Agricultural Development.* (Stockholm: Uppsala University, 1974), p.63; John Michael, Cohen and Dov Weintraub, *Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background to Revolution.* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975), p.60.
[100]Informants: Desta Yimam, Habte Mestesalim, Tadese Ejigu.

private use. Records affirmed that the officials of the land administration often supervised whether the state land was illegally owned by individuals or not. Therefore, knowledgeable informers locally known as *qanqany* were selected and assigned to investigate the state land. The spotters, *qanqanys* were found all over the province but they were mostly assigned in Arjoo and Horroo Gudruu *awrajas* where illegal owning of the state land was most common. The informers were men with good knowledge of the surrounding community and often such people had extraordinary ability of recalling who owned what, when, where and how. Documents assert that they usually investigated state land illegally owned and charged the individuals at court with the support of the *mikitil warada* or the *warada* governor.[101] Although we could not find a detailed record about their reward, after the *gasha* was returned to the state's hand they have obtained twenty per cent of the land or the property they recaptured from the illegal users.[102] (See also Appendices 6&7) The informers did the search with great secrecy to reinvestigate the whereabouts of the state properties in their respective localities because some individuals changed the tenure from *gizh* to freehold and others converted *samon* to freehold and vice-versa. Some people owned defaulters land, doubled a *gasha*, *baijamanagna* or exchanged fertile with infertile.land. In Arjoo and Horroo Gudruu *awrajas* alone such spotters have found out over 200 *gashas* of state land illegally owned by soldiers, *Balabats* and corrupt officials.[103] In Gidami *warada* of Qellem *awraja* an estimated 400 *gasha* formerly settled by the indigenous people and mostly owned by the successors of Jootee was expropriated by the state. Records indicated that one-third of the *gasha* was granted to the indigenous people and the remaining two-third of the land was expropriated by the state on which the *Naftanna* were planted.[104] It is important to note that one of the potential reasons for the proclamation of the land remeasurement (*Qalad indagana matal*) was the illegal exchange and doubling of government land.The issue of land remeasurement and the movement of Wallagga *Balabats* will be discussed in chapter four.

[101] WMTMAC, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance to Wallagga Province *bajirond*, File 1/495 Magabit 1, 1945 E/C *Bataqlay gezatu bayaawrajawochuna yalu balabatoch yamangestin maret basisso maretachew eyalawatu*. From Horo Gudruu *awraja* Treasury to Province *bajirond*, File 8/495, the letter of Sene 16,1956 E/C, *Sela Taqanaqagn Mercha*; To Ministry of State Domain from Alamu Shure, File 16/495,Megabit 8,1958 E/C; To Gimbi *awraja bajirond* official, File 9/495 ,Tir 7,1956E/C.

[102] *Ibid.*

[103] WMTMAC, Tikemt 21, 1944 E/C, File 1/495, 8/495, From the Ministry of Finance to Land Income Main Office; The letter of Tahsas 27,1954E/C [January 4, 1962].

[104] *Ibid.*

The November 3, 1952 imperial order promised the landless farmers and the unemployed Ethiopians with half *gasha* of land. The tenants who had lived on the state land were particularly promised to be entitled to the same plots they had been tilling.[105] Nevertheless, it is uncertain whether all landless peasants really benefitted from this order or not in the province. A closer investigation of the 1952 order, however, indicates that it did not serve the intended purpose. Archival and oral sources confirmed that rather non-farming groups had enjoyed the provisions of the 1952 order in Wallagga. The available records and informants remarked that in attempt to implement the edict of 1952 the province *bajirond* office distributed letters to all *awraja* governors for the realization of the scheme. However, it was not carried out by any one of the *awrajas*.[106]

An urgent appeal was sent to the land administration by the people's deputy, Tesema Dinsa regarding the realization of the edict. However, the office turned a deaf ear to both the edicts of 1945E/C [1952/53] which ordered the gift of half *gasha* for the jobless and landless and the 1953E/C [1960/61] edict which declared the right of *Rist* to those who settled on the leased land.[107] The appeal of the deputies of Wallagga Province, Simesso Dengaa, Kebede Anbesse, Namarra Dheeressa, *Qanyazmach* Abdissaa Mossaa and Tefera Obsii requested the land administration office to offer the leasees their own *Rist* according to the edict. In order to be recognized as a legal candidate the tenant was required to hold identity card which acknowledged him as regular land tax payer. However, the process of completing official formalities for the identity card became too long and tiresome and it compelled some of the applicants to drop the case. While those tenants who were admitted as legal owners completed formalities and were waiting for the land redistribution the new MLRA was established in 1966.[108]

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[105]The Ethiopian Herald (No.15, 1952), pp1-2; Stahl, *Ethiopia Political Contradictions*, p.63; Cohen and Weintraub, *Land and peasants*, p.60; Informants: Mannee Aagaa, Habte Mestesalim, Desta Yimam

[106]Informants:Mannee Aagaa,Habte Mestesalim,Desta Yimam, Tesfaye Haile-Mariam; WMTMAC, Folder No2178, File No2168; Bizuwark Zewde, "The Problems of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills with Particular Reference to Arsi," M.A Thesis AAU, Department of History, 1992.p.12.

[107]WMTMAC, The letter of Miazia 8, 1955E/C E/C Ref.No.6755/33/55, File 9/495, Folder 34186.Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance to *dajazmach* Fiqresellasse Habtamariam, Governor General of Wallagga.

[108] WMTMAC, Folder 34186, To Imperial Ethiopian Government Land Administration Ministry, Yekatit 22,1963E/C.

In 1960E/C [1967] the meeting of the Governorate Council was chaired by *Dajazmach* Berhanemasqal Dasta, *Endarase* of Wallagga province in Naqamtee. The conferees were: *Fitawrari* Yemane Gabraegzabher, Vice *Endarase*, Yashitila Neguse, Secretary of the Governorate Office, *Fitawrari* Mekonnen Jembere, Governor of Naqamtee *awraja*, *Qanyazmach* Beyene Tegegn, Governor of Horroo Gudruu, *Qannyazmach* Haile Beeraa, Governor of Arjoo, *Bajirond* Ketema Ayele, Governor of Gimbii, Tafara Estifanos, Governor of Asossa, Shiferaw Ali, Chief of Province *Bajirond* and Colonel Bekele Wagaye Commander of the Police Force. The main agenda of the meeting was about the imperial order of 1945E/C [1952] that declared a landless to get the half *gasha*. The existing record remarks that the meeting began with the question of the *Endarase* to the audience, "What hindered the implementation of the edict?" some of the participants of the meeting suggested that the problem was largely attributed to the lower workers and the MLRA office that delayed the implementation. The conferees remarked that certain officials were not interested to the edict under the pretext that the state income from land lease would fall to $20 and $10per *gasha* of *lam* and *taf* if the land was granted to the landless.[109]

However, it seems probable that as almost all of the governors were rich landlords owning several *gasha* of state land they were reluctant to implement the order. Records disclosed that the Emperor had already allowed the Ministry of State Domain (MSD) to use the income from the state land collected as lease, *maggazo* and *erbo* through the Ministry of Finance in 1954E/C [1961]. It is likely that the MSD was not devoted to the practical execution of the imperial order in redistributing the half *gasha* to the landless as it could have triggered a financial anxiety to the Ministry's work budget. Moreover, during the land remeasurement of 1942E/C [1949/1950] in Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii area vast acres of state land was wrongly registered as *madaria* and it remained idle for several years without supporting both the people and the state.[110] In Naqamtee *warada gezat*, Dhidheessa area for instance, there was 3718 unsettled *gasha*, 660 *gasha* home of wild animals, and 382 *gasha* held as lease (*maggazo*).[111] In Gimbi the default in *maggazo* (lease) was accumulated in *warada* and *mikitil warada gezats*. According to records

[109]WMTMAC, Meeting of Wallagga Province Governorate, File 9/495.
[110]*Ibid.*
[111]WMTMAC, From Lekempt *warada* Treasury to Wallagga Province *bajirond*, File 4/495 Meskerem 4, 1954 E/C, Ref. No.2/1/54E/C.

irresponsible *mikitil warada* governors delayed the tax collection and exposed the state income to the corrupt workers and officials.[112] The Ministry of Finance sent a secret memorandum to the provincial Governor reminding the presence of large amount of state land. According to the land tax assessment record of 1942E/C the state owned land in Naqamtee, Arjoo, Horroo Gudruu and Qellem was estimated to be 13484 *gasha*.[113] Our source further indicates that in Naqamtee, Arjoo, Horroo Gudruu, Gimbii and Qellem the state owned land was estimated to be 20507 *gasha madaria*, *rist* (gift) leased, *maggazo*, vacant and urban category in 1953 E/C.[114] The land under the MSD was granted to users when the official formalities were completed by the person requesting the land.The formalities often included: location of the land (*warada*, *kebele*) land size, boundary, number of tenants on the land, status of the land, previous owners of the land as *maggazo* or lease, the reason why the state owned the land, years of rent and amount of tax payment. Both the leasee and his guarantor should sign on the legal document.[115] Every new year the leasee was required to pay annual rent ahead and paid *atafeta,* double at deadline. A month before the end of the year the leasee would be notified to renew the agreement. The leasee should notify within sixty days before the expiration of the deadline to the office whether he decided to renew or cancel the agreement. If he failed to notify his decision on time the authority had all the right to demand the yearly future payment from the leasee. However, a substitute of land, *netaf* would be given to the leasee if the state wanted the land for a specific purpose.[116] The officials who owned the state land leased to the tenants.The sub-leasee often paid *erbo* or *sisso* to the original leasee. If the new leasee wanted to leave the land before the end of the deadline he should pay the agreed amount to the original leasee too. He had no right to demolish a house or cut trees which grew on the land without due permission of the chief owner.[117] (See also Appendices 8,9&10)

The half *gasha* land which the order of 1952 promised to each landless person occasioned a torrent of applications in which tenants, attempted to convince authorities about their problems.

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[112]WMTMAC, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance to Gimbii *awraja gezat* Office, File 4/495 Tekemt2, 1957E/C, Ref No.144/23/27/56.
[113]WMTMAC, The letter of Nehase 28,1943E/C,Ref.No.695/43, Folder1/495 *Sela* 1942E/C *Masarata Gemet*, From Ministry of Finance to *dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta, Governor General of Wallagga
[114]WMTMAC, Folder 2165/44.
[115] WMTMAC, File 3/495 *Sela mangest maret kiray*; Informants: Tadese Ejigu, Dhinaa Dikoo
[116]*Ibid.*
[117]*Ibid.*

The peasants in abject poverty did every thing possible to obtain land urgently because they found their conditions very difficult. One of the petitions of the landless to the Emperor for instance read:

> *Let it be known to your Excellency that, the land on which we presently live is cultivat ed well before many generations. Since the land has been farmed for several years, the soil became impoverished and gives too little harvest.Moreover,through the generations, our number has also been increasing and the number of users is outstripping the amount of land that is available.Most of the land is uncultivable poor land and the weather also has been changing from time to time, our crops being destroyed cold and pests our harv est be came inadequate to sustain our families and the situation has made our lives quite miserable from time to time.Therefore, we would beg your Excellency to give us a remedy for our misery.*[118]

On the other hand, both informants and records suggest that even some of those tenants who had obtained the half *gasha* were no longer established on the land as a result of the land's infertility and lack of oxen and other farm implements for cultivation. The destruction caused by wild animals to their poor farms and the constant pressure of the neighboring *Balabats* to persuade the peasants to settle on their more developed land promising less taxation and provision of seeds and other farm implements were additional reasons that had forced the poor tenants to abandon the half *gasha* in favor of the land owner's land.[119]

It is worthwhile to note here that the application process was very difficult for the peasants because the bureaucracy associated with land requesting procedure at different levels of government offices was prohibitive. Often the process commenced at a *warada* administrative level where an applicant appealed to the *warada* officials for certificate which shows that the individuals were really landless and unemployed. If the applicant was able to convince the *warada* officials about his position of landlessness and unemployment he would be admitted to apply for land registration by the workers at low level who communicated the case to the higher officials in the Ministry of Interior.[120] It was from the land registration department of the Ministry that an approval letter would be sent through a proper channel down to the *warada* office from where an order would pass to the *Abbaa Qoroo* of the area where land was available.

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[118]WMTMAC, The letter of Tekemt 1,1953E/C [October 11, 1960], from the peoples of Yubdo, Najjo, to the Light of Ethiopia, Girmawi Janhoy.
[119]Informants: Tadese Ejigu, Dhinaa Dikoo, Desta Yimam, Habte Mestesalim.
[120]*Ibid.*

The applicant has to be strong enough financially otherwise it was in vain. It has been necessary for such a person to break through a long chain of bureaucracy to reach his target.[121] Thus, the landless peasants had to go through a lengthy and costly process of claiming and getting the half *gasha* of land. The process requested a lot of bribing and time. In this respect, they had to wage a long and extensive struggle against the bureaucracy. Informants contend that many of them were frustrated by the lateness across the different levels of government offices and were compelled to withdraw their application while others did not want to apply at all for they have understood that they could hardly afford it.[122]

Archival and oral sources substantiate that Emperor Hailesellase made an official visit to Naqamtee, Gimbii and Qellem *awrajas* in 1963. When the news of the visit of the Emperor had spread to these *awrajas* and their respective *waradas* the landless peasants had hurried to the towns with appeals to inform him that his 1952 order had not been implemented.They demanded the promise to be fulfilled soon because the intricated bureaucratic system had hindered the registration for the half *gasha*. The landless peasants who rushed out of their houses carried stone on their heads and put yokes on their shoulders to make him clearly understand their miserable living conditions. The astonished Emperor who had watched the drama shown by the wretched tenants completed his regional visits soon and returned back to Addis Ababa with corpus of letters of application submitted either directly to the Emperor or to the Ministry of Interior and later to the MLRA to which he gave a deaf ear.[123]

As deputy, the parliamentarians who had observed the tenants conditions in their respective constituencies submitted appeals to the concerned departments exposing the problems of the landless peasants while the crisis was mounting on the eve of the revolution.[124] The appeals shed light on the process of land confiscation and alienation which reduced the appellants to their position of landlessness. This in turn reflected the long years of peasants demand for change in

[121]Stahl, Political Contradictions, pp.64-65; Informants: Tadese Ejigu, Olaanaa Batii.
[122]Informants: Mamo Tesema, Olaanaa Batii, Dhinaa Dikoo, Tadese Ejigu.
[123]*Addis Zaman*, Yekatit 1, 1955E/C (1963); OI: Olaanaa Batii, Mamite Mandefro; WMTMAC, The letter of Yekatit 4,1955E/C, Folder16/495 Dambi Dolloo *Katamaa Lay* Baatse Haila Sellassie *Yatanagare awaj*
[124]Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure and Taxation System in Gimbi 1941 to 1974 M.A Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 2010. pp.31-32.

the land tenure and an end to the oppressive system of land ownership.[125] It seems probable that the deputies produced such appeals perhaps to win the peoples' support for future in case the crisis brought about new changes in the status quo or out of sheer desire to expose the immoral action of the corrupt officials. One of the tenants' appeals submitted to the Emperor from Boojjii Coqorsaa *warada* in 1971 for instance, explains that they had been living on the state land since 1958 paying agricultural income tax on their respective plots for the past thirteen years. The appeal confirmed that they had also approved their status of landlessness and claimed land on the ground that they were landless in accordance with the provisions of the 1952 order. Nevertheless, their request was rejected and their land was transferred to a certain *Balambaras* Gammada Urgeessa, the assistant governor of Gimbii *awrajja* and other *Rist* holders. The tenants complained against such corruption and appealed to the Emperor which reads:

> *The land on which we have settled since1958 has been snatched away by the deputy Governor of Gimbii awraja Balambaras Gammadaa Urgeessaa join ed with officials from the awrajja land administration and other Rist-holders at our expense disguising that the land was vacant and have transferred it while we are still on the land.Therefore, we beg your Majesty to pass orders for us to be able to reclaim our land in accordance with the proclamation.*[126]

Records disclosed that the bureaucratic system in the newly established MLRA branch office further complicated the process of the completion of official formalities which required reinvestigation of the procedure of witnessing to obtain an identity card. While the indigenous people were hoping for the gift a sad news was heard that state land was to be distributed by auction to the wealthy, to the officials and to the town dwellers and hence they began dislodging the tenants. Even the infertile land on which tenants had settled was preserved to benefit the state for future use.[127] In many respects there was no determination and will on the part of the state to implement the 1952 order. The edict did not benefit the tenants because the high government officials and non-farming groups were privileged by the order. Both archival and oral sources stated that large tracts of land were accumulated in the hands of the high officials at the expense

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[125]Informants: Mamo Tesema, Habte Mestesalim, Maannee Aagaa.
[126]WMTMAC, letter dated 8, Nehase 1963 E/C (August16, 1971), Folder No2178, File No 2161.Tenants appeal from Gimbi *awrajja*, Boojjii Coqorsaa *warada* to Emperor Hailesellassie.
[127]WMTMAC, IEGMinistry of Finance to *dajazmach* Fiqresellasse Habtamariam, Governor General of Wallagga, File 9/495, Miazia 8, 1955 E/C Ref.No.6755/33/55.

of the landless tenants. Informants have unanimous view that officials particularly the *awrajja* and *warada* governors were noted for their land hunger making use of their positions.[128]

Records and informants stated that parliamentarians of various districts in Wallagga had written appeals regarding the socioeconomic conditions of their respective constituencies to the newly established MLRA and to the provincial administration requesting to solve particularly the tenants demand to obtain their fair share of land. However, the high officials often turned a deaf ear to such requests. For instance, in 1973 Namarraa Dheeressaa a parliamentarian from Gimbii *awrajja* wrote a letter to the MLRA pointing out that in Mandii (Manasibu) *warada* more than ten thousand tenants lived on state land. More than half of these tenants had proved their position of landlessness.The MLRA sent authorization letter to provincial and Gimbii *awraja* administrations and the officials of the Gimbii *awraja* MLRA and province administration went to the *warada* to grant land to the aforementioned tenants. However, the *warada* committee together with the *Abba Qoroo* produced false evidences and snatched away the land from the tenants who had been eagerly waiting for the return of their plots of land by distributing it to the higher officials, judges' lawyers, *Abba Qoroos* and wealthy dwellers of the town before they arrived in the area.[129]

The deputy's appeal further clarified that more than one hundred tenants had appealed to the Ministry complaining about the sabotage against them and requested the return of the land illegally handed over to non-farming groups. The record asserts that the Ministry gave another order to the concerned government bodies to reclaim the land to the tenants but was without any result. Eventually the deputy presented the case to the Ministry in 1973 for reconsideration but it failed again because some of the officials as well as the workers of the MLRA were against the Ministry's orders as well as orders from higher authorities. Although some of the officials and workers in the MLRA were supposed to have implemented the provision, they often hindered its

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[128]WMTMAC, letter dated 3, Hidar1966 E/C (November 12, 1973), Folder No 2178, File No2168 Application from tenants' representatives from Gimbii *awrajja*, Manasibu *warada* to the MLRA; Debebe Taddese, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969.p.148.

[129]WMTMAC, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Land Reform and Administration, to Wallagga *taqlay gezat* Ministry of Land Reform and Administration Office, Nehase 10,1966 E/C, Ref. No.10/12/727; Folder, 34186, Hamle 12,1966E/, To Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Land Reform and Administration.

execution. According to available sources there were conflict of interest among the officials and workers of the MLRA and administrative offices and hence they gave no attention to the grief of the tenants particularly at the lower administrative levels of both offices. This situation totally blocked tenants' accessibility to plots of land and as a result most of them remained landless until the outbreak of the 1974 revolution.[130]

It has already been discussed that patriots, civil servants, and high officials also acquired land through government grants besides purchasing. Land grant on *Rist* basis was, therefore, a common phenomenon in Wallagga.[131] The new land lords (high officials and soldiers, *naclabash*) requested freehold rights over inhabited and developed lands to get direct access to the produce and labor of the tenants whom they selectively evicted gradually to acquire particularly the developed coffee farms and threatened the remaining tenants thereby ensuring the maximum extraction of surplus from them.[132]

Archival sources and tenant informants asserted that in the 1950' many *gasha* of land was transferred in the coffee growing districts of Gimbii and Anfillo without fulfilling the legal formalities. However, land granted to officials was not vacant land but fertile land, *lam* on which indigenous farmers lived as tenants for several years. Most of the tenants lived on the ancestoral land which the state expropriated from their fathers and they hoped that the state might one day grant them. However, the new grantees selected the best land of the tenants and established themselves as new landlords over them demanding land rent. These landless people became tenants of the 'new landlords' who were prioritized by the state to be entitled to the land for their meritorious services.[133]

The new landlords requested rent from the newly acquired land. The tenants often refused to pay rent claiming the edict and this resulted in their imprisonment after court trials. It is misleading to assert that the process of land grant was smooth and fair even for the privileged groups. As we have discussed above the applicants' certificate of qualification was issued by the Ministry of Interior and transmitted to Gimbii *awraja* where the land was found. When the applicants

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[130] *Ibid.*
[131] WMTMAC, letter dated Tiqimt 24/1966E/C (Nov.3, 1973) Folder No 2178, File No2168.
[132] WMTMAC, Folder 2875, Sahlu Defaye to Minister of Interior, Hamle 1957[July 1965].
[133] WMTMAC, Ministry of Finance Archive, Reference No 50/47 Hedar 29, 1947.

submitted their certificate to the *awraja* secretary and chief of the *awraja* treasury they tactfully delayed the land transfer process and told them that the land was already leased to some one else. Once the deadline passed the frustrated applicants submitted their certificate to these officials for easy sum and went back home. The saboteurs then took the applicants certificate as a legal document to confiscate the land in the name of the state.[134] In reality the confiscation of the land was not for the advantage of the state rather it was for the corrupt officials own merit and this made the eviction of the tenants real in many localities. The tenants usually offered expected sum of money as bribe to the corrupt officials who fired them any time from the state land without mercy. It is evident that by dislodging some of the landless, the rich merchants and the corrupt officials found good opportunity to invest on the state land. Thus, the possibilities to lease the state land with little money proved to be high among the officials which opened the way for embezzlement.

The state land was some times leased by verbal agreements. In the absence of written agreements the lease-givers could get rid of the lease-takers before finishing the fixed time whenever they intentionally wished to do so. Even there were occasions when government land had been sold away by such corrupt officials without any legal order. A record for instance, asserted that in Billoo Boshee, the governor of the *warada gezat*,a certain *Balambaras* Feleke Waldayas, joined with the chief of the *warada* treasury, Tsegaye Abebe sold 35 *gasha*.[135] (See also Appendix11) It is apparent that land confiscated by the state on the peasants' failure to pay tax, *gebratal maret* was often grabbed by corrupt officials immediately and such land was the best source from which the state accumulated land for future grants or sale. For instance, in 1960 over 220 *gashas* of land in Gimbii *awraja*, Haruu *warada* was confiscated by the state for failing to pay tax and therefore, 227 peasants lost their plots. A similar measure was also taken against the tenant farmers in Boojjii Dirmajjii, Jaarsoo and Yuubdoo *waradas* respectively. This means that a total of 265 *gashas* of land was taken away as *gebratal* and registered under the government possession. Similarly in 1966, 390 *gasha* of land was registered as *gebratal* because 350 peasants

[134] WMTMAC, Folder No 2178, File No2168. letter from Achamyeleh Yifru (from Gimbii awraja rist section) to the *rist* and *Wul* section of the Ministry dated 9, Guinbot 1952E/C (May18, 1960).
[135] WMTMAC, letter of Miazia 30,1955E/C, File 9/495 Ref.No.2361//55 to Wallagga Governorate Office.

failed to pay taxes in three *waradas* namely Gimbii, Najjoo and Yuubdoo.[136] As compared to the other *awrajas* land tax of several *gasha* remained unpaid by the tenants in Gimbii. Available records stated that over 650 *gashas* of land was registered as *gebratal* in seven *waradas* of Gimbi *awraja* in the above mentioned years and 619 peasants lost their private land and this situation had exposed a number of peasants to landlessness as the government officials took away land from the peasants who were regarded as defaulters while they were in a position to pay their own taxes. For instance in Haruu *warada*, out of 227 peasants 74 peasants lost their private land in such a way. These peasants used to pay taxes and were even issued receipts by the tax collectors which were used as evidence for the payment of taxes. [137] It seems likely that this reflected collaboration between the *warada* treasury and the *warada* court which dislodged the tenants under a legal cover. They did this purposely to put the land under their control constantly putting the tenants under threat of the corrupt officials.

In Nehase 23,1960E/C in Gimbii *awraja*, Haru warada defaulters land was expropriated as *gebratal* by MLRA and the treasury. It is believed that various reasons had contributed to the tax default. According to sources some tax payers had financial and transportation problems during the pay seasons as they used to come from distant villages while part of the problem was attributed to the tax collectors who did not avail themselves on time.[138] The existing records affirmed that 1700 tenants were transferred from Qellem *awraja gezat* to Gimbii, Collii Tabarra *kebele* under Bookaa Karroo's *qoroo*.The tenants could not able to pay their taxes on time to Qellem *awraja* treasury because of lack of transportation. In each *gasha* lived 10 to 25 tenants as farmers and herders for many generations. Later on the local *Balabat* doubled the tax, $100 for *taf*, $200 for *lam-taf* $500 for *lam*. Moreover, he imprisoned some of them on the grounds that they resisted giving free labour service. Records stated that when the tenants' heared about the half *gasha* gift of land, Bookaa soon claimed some of the land as his own *sisso*, and some as *samon* and registered all the state's land on which the tenants had settled in the name of his children, relatives and his servants denying them the entitlement to the freehold.[139]

[136]WMTMAC Folder No21, File No 2165/47 and Folder No 2178, File No2167; *Sela gebratal maretoch gyday*; Bijiga pp.40-41.
[137]WMTMAC Folder No21, File 2165/47, Folder 2178, File No2167; *Sela gebratal maretoch gyday*
[138]WMTMAC Folder No21, File No 2165/47, Folder No 2178, File No2167.
[139]WMTMAC, File U-4 2167, IEG Ministry of Finance to Wallagga Bajirond Office, Tahsas 28,1961E/C.

In January 6, 1969 (Tahsas 28, 1961) the Ministry of Finance ordered its provincial office in Naqamtee to reclaim lands illegally confiscated as *gebratal* to the owners. Nonetheless, the provincial MLRA responded explaining that it was the court which took the land away from the peasants.[140] Records disclosed that an order was passed to register the tenants on government land by the MLRA where Shiferaw Banti the judge, *Atbia dagna* of Jaarsoo *warada gezat*, Sibuu Baabboo Gambel *kebele* was assigned as a new *Balabat*. Some of the most poverty-stricken tenants were not registered by unknown reasons while still they were on the land which was declared as "no man's land". The indigenous tenants who had lived on the land for over eighteen years were expropriated and the land was secretly granted to the wealthy people.[141]

It is evident that with the privatization of land the process of confiscation and alienation facilitated the concentration of land in the hands of few people whereas the number of landless tenants highly increased. Although the number of big land owners and the amount of land they owned was not exactly known informants asserted that as much as seventy to eighty *gasha* of land could be owned by the big lords.[142]

According to a study of land tenure system in Wallagga province in 1967 most landlords lived on their holdings while few of them were absentees.[143] Some of the absentee landlords were the descendants of the Leeqaa Oromo rulers. Absentee landlords from different *awrajas* lived mainly in Addis Ababa and Naqamtee, the capital of Wallagga province and they visited their farms during the harvest season to collect what was due to them. Informants assert that tenants on the land of absentee landlords offered presents to win their will upon the completion of their visits. It is apparent that the tenants had always lived in gloomy conditions as they had to handover the lion's share of their produce to the lords.[144]

The tenants were required to pay parts of their produce locally known as *erbo*. The word *erbo* originated from the Amharic term *irub* which means one-fourth. In fact the term was nominally

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[140]WMTMAC, Folder, 34186, Miazia 26, 1964E/C, To IEG MLRA.
[141]WMTMAC, Folder No21, File No 2165/47 and Folder No 2178, File No2167; Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure and Taxation System in Gimbi 1941 to 1974. M.A Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 2010. pp.40-43.
[142]Informants: Olaanaa Batii, Tadese Ejigu, Emeru Gabre.
[143]Ministry of Land Reform and Administration Report on Land Tenure of Wollega Province, p.16.
[144]Informants: Shuguxii Tolosaa, Qajeelaa Beyene, Galataa Tessoo.

used in Wallagga. In case some landlords were lenient few tenants were expected to pay one-fourth of their harvest. Otherwise the overwhelming majority of the tenants were forced to pay part of their produce varying from one-third to half or fifty-fifty basis. Being the main cash crop in Anfilloo and Gimbii, coffee harvests were shared between the landlords and the tenants equally. This was so particularly in the 1950s and 1960s when land became very precious commodity with rising price. Stahl summarizes:

> *The emerging landlords did not engage in agricultural production but collected rent from the landless peasants living on their land. The rate of exploitation can be indicated from the obligation imp osed on the tenants; they usually paid 1/3 or 1/2 of their harvest to the landlords but in the case of coffee the tenants shared equal ly with the landlords.*[145]

In most cases the landlords did not provide oxen whereas the most widely practiced tenancy agreement was share cropping. This meant that they had to provide their own oxen. It is evident from the sources that the peasants at large did not own oxen while they were accumulated by landlords, civil servants and merchants. Since oxen have been used as the most important means of production the tenants had to rent them from the rich owners. It seems that rent of oxen was another form of tenants' exploitation by their landlords. Most of the agreements between the landlords and tenants were concluded verbally. But verbal agreements were usually disregarded if the landlords were disheartened.[146]

The tenants were obliged to render free labour services to their lords in Wallagga. Despite the 1944 land tax proclamation which prohibited free labour services (taxes, services and fees) to be paid in cash the peasants continued to give labour services to their lords. These services were ploughing the landlord's field, harvesting and transporting grain crops to the home of the landlords, building cattle kraal, building houses and granaries and fencing the landlord's compound. These were the implicit obligations expected from the tenants and inculcated as personal rights in the minds of the landlords. In case any tenant refused to perform compulsory labour services the landlord could get rid of the tenant mercilessly and replace with a new one.

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[145] Stahil, New Seeds in old Soil, p.18.
[146] Informants: Getachew Margaa, Shuguxii Tolosaa, Sirriiqaa Galatee.

To avoid such eviction, therefore, it was up to tenants to fulfill the required obligations of their lords. The tenants on the *samon* land were also required to pay *tithe* (*Asrat*) and tribute to the church. Occasionally they had to perform labour services such as construction of churches and repairing of fences.[147]

The existing regulation on which landlord-tenant relation was framed had nothing to do with the well being of the latter other than supporting and fulfilling the interests of the former. For instance, the high rate of exploitation and arbitrary eviction of the tenants exercised by their landlords who became absolute in the last fifteen years of the imperial rule could be considered as the weakness of the 1960 civil code. The code standardized seventy five per cent as the maximum rent the landlords would have share from their tenants.[148] Though this amount of land rent was not practiced in the study area the code allowed the landlords so as to evict their tenants whenever they opposed such maximum rent. Along this the code did not limit or put the exact contract time. It was, therefore, the tenants who could be exposed to arbitrary eviction which the landlords exercised at their will.

In the mid-1960s and early 1970s the Ethiopian state was too busy preparing tenancy bills at least to amend the 1960 civil code which was supposed to be its weakness. The motive behind the Bills might have been the imperial concern for economic and social development based on modern ways of agricultural production by exploiting external aid and donating organizations. Hence, improving the landlord-tenant relation seemed to have been critical in the eyes of Emperor Hailesellase. It is surprising that the tenancy bills of the Ethiopian government was devoted to relief tenancy problems and aimed at reducing the maximum rent, avoiding arbitrary eviction, fixing contract time and prohibiting free labour service. In other words, the Bills gave due emphasis to improve landlord-tenant relations so as to enable the latter feel secured from high rent free labour services, and arbitrary eviction and engage themselves in surplus production. The Bills did not focus on the plausible landownership and land redistribution

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[147]Cohen and Dov Weintraub, Land and Peasants in Imperial Ethiopia: The Social Background...pp.79-80; Eshetu Chole and Teshome Mulat, Land Settlement in Ethiopia: a Review of Developments. Addis Ababa University, IES, 1984(Mimeographed), p.39; Bizuwark Zewde, "The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills with Particular Reference to Arsi." M.A Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 1992. pp.92-109.

[148]*Ibid*

questions. Hence, the remoteness of many peasants from owning land privately remained to be the fundamental obstacle to the agricultural progress in the country.[149]

In Wallagga after accumulating several *gashas* of land the state began to sell land to individuals who wanted to invest their money in coffee cultivation. Hence in Gimbii and Anfillo coffee growing areas government officials, *nac labash*, soldiers and merchants entered into the lucrative business of buying and selling land at the cost of the landless farmers. In the 1950s widespread coffee cultivation contributed to an immense increase in the price of land. The peasants were evicted from their lands once the land was purchased. So the expansion of coffee farms had great repercussions on the landless peasants. For this reason, the tenants on such *gasha* of land lived in a state of tension and desperation and were always at a disadvantage. Nevertheless, the tenants on the *sisso* and church land, *samon* did not encounter such difficulty. Relatively speaking the tenants favored to live on the *sisso* or *samon* land rather than living on the *gizh* meret. Those tenants on the *sisso* land were somewhat better than others. Eviction was unusual though it was not absolutely absent.[150]

The tenants who were saved from eviction sympathetically did not escape the consequences coffee cultivation was bringing. Due to the cash crop orientation of the well-to-do sections the land that was formerly used by the tenants to produce food crops began to be substituted by coffee trees. After sharing their grain harvests to the land lords the tenants were left with very little amount of food crops. The rent along with the reduction of food crops from time to time exposed majority of the peasants to starvation mainly during the rainy season. The tenants could not afford to buy food crops at soaring prices.The peasants' response to this seasonal food shortage was that they adopted copping strategies. One of these strategies was moving from highland areas to inhospitable lowland areas where land was relatively plentiful. In the late 1960s the concentration of land ownership in the hands of few individuals in the highland areas had desperately compelled some of the landless farmers to move down to the hostile lowlands seeking for agricultural land.[151]

[149]Cohen and Dov Weintraub, Land and Peasants, pp.79-80; Bizuwark Zewde, "The Problem of Tenancy and Tenancy Bills, pp.92-11.
[150]Informants: Birru Nagarii, Tadese Ejigu, Mamo Tesema.
[151]Daniel Ayana, "Coffee and Food Crop production for Self-Sufficiency, pp. 53-54; Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure and Taxation, pp.50-51.

For instance in 1959E/C (1967) alone more than1000 tenants requested the *awraja* Ministry of Interior to obtain land in lowland Gimbii. When access to land was restricted by the officials the aforementioned tenants moved down and began cultivation in the lowland without due recognition of the concerned authorities as of 1960E/C (1969). Moreover, around 2000 tenants also moved down to the lowland in search of farm land in the same year. In fact, this movement was very crucial for the tenants to satisfy their 'land hunger'and escape from the harsh treatment of the landlords. However, the tenants movement for food crop production was highly restricted by the officials of the MLRA. Available sources suggest that the poor tenants continued pushing into the malaria ridden unsettled lowlands to seek cultivable land for their survival until the eve of the outbreak of the 1974 revolution.[152] (See also Appendix 12)

Taxation System: Changes and Continuities

We have already discussed that after their annexation to the Ethiopian empire the autonomous regions of Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Qellem paid annual tributes of gold and ivory and unspecified amounts of grain and honey. In addition to the regular tax new taxes such as tobacco tax were imposed with new tax collectors and inspectors who levied unfair tax on the people. Arjoo and Horro-Gudruu which were under direct Amhara rule paid taxes to their respective governors. In the semi-autonomous region of Bela-Shangul (Asosa) the annual fixed tribute was paid in gold. Locally, the chiefs used to collect tribute from their respective areas mainly in gold, honey, ivory and slaves. *Shekih* Khojale and his successor, *Dajazmach* Ashafe Khojale had been paying *Waqets* of gold as a fixed tribute, *qurt gebir* to the central government until 1946.[153]

In 1941, Hailesellase reactivated the land granting policy. The *gabbar* system was abolished and privatization of land was further accelerated by the land grants. Hand in hand with these developments, the state issued new laws and regulations on land taxation.[154]

[152]WMTMAC, Folder, 34186, Miazia 26, 1964E/C, To Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Land Reform and Administration; Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure and Taxation, p.52.
[153]EWZAO, letter dated *Tikimt* 17, 1938 from *dajazmach* Asrate Kassa to His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I; Monthly Report from Assosa-Benishangul *awraja* to *dajazmach* Asrate Kassa Tashas, 1938; *Negarit Gazeta*, First year No. 8 of 1942; Atieb Ahmed. "Sheikh Khojale, p. 43; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.88.
[154]Stahl, Ethiopia Political Contradictions, p.68; Eshetu Chole, Underdevelopment in Ethiopia. Organization for Research of Social Sciences in Eastern Africa, Addis Ababa University, 2011, p.61.

In 1942, the first land tax after liberation was issued and it was the first attempt to legalize and modernize the land tax. This proclamation classified land into three categories-fertile, semi-fertile and unfertile, *lam*, *taf-lam* and *taf* respectively. On this basis the proclamation levied taxes of 15 birr for a fertile *gasha* of land, 10 birr for semi-fertile and 5birr for unfertile.[155] The Ministry of Finance ordered the collection of taxes which have been hitherto collected by the local governors, to be done only by its officers. The governors were compensated by salary payment.

Another reform was that taxpayers were to be given legal receipts from the *warada* Ministry of Interior's Office.[156] The Ministry of Interior was authorized to carry out the regulations providing for classification of land. For the purpose of effecting the proclamation the *Abba Qoroos* were chosen not only to classify land but also to assess land tax in their administrative areas. Before assessing the tax, taxable land should be classified into categories. Thus, the *Abba Qoroo* classified land into categories on which the subsequent land tax assessment and payment depended.They classified land by considering the fertility, the natural characteristics of the land or by comparing it with the neighboring lands. An area of agricultural land whose *tithe* was estimated over five *dawula* was categorized as fertile, between two to five *dawulas* was regarded as semi-fertile, and 10 *quintals* to one *dawula* was considered as unfertile land.[157] However, this sort of payment was not universal all over the empire. Payments of land tax varied from place to place according to customs and system of land tenure whether it was fertile or not, measured or not.

In Wallagga tenants had been paying a certain amount of their produce from agriculture to their land owners.The proportion of payment depended on their contract or *serit* (tenure). It could be half, one-third or two-thirds.The payment differed from place to place. Our sources state that a fixed tax was imposed on land E$43.50 on fertile, E$34.50 on semi-fertile and E$14 on infertile or arid land.[158] Tax was assessed or reassessed every five years and the tax payer paid the amount he owed yearly.Tax payers appealed to a committee formed for this purpose in protest against

[155] *Negarit Gazeta*, 1st Year, No.1, 1942.
[156] Gebrewolde Ingidaworq, Ethiopia' Traditional System, p.325.
[157] *Ibid* p.329.
[158] *Ibid.*

inappropriate assessment. To make an appeal the tax payer had to give a guarantee of 25 per cent of his taxable income as estimated by the committee.This appeal has to be made within 60 days from the date of assessment.[159] The committee which received the appeals was composed of *warada* governor who was the chairman, *warada* judge delegated by the *awraja* governor and three elders elected by the people. However, the appeals were very rare because they incurred more expense in the process. Our sources verify that taxes were delinquent in most *awrajas*. Gimbii *awraja* had the highest and Asosa the least amount of tax delinquency.[160]

Available records substantiated that tax was payable during the *bega* season between the months of December and April [Tahsas 1 to Miazia 30 Ethiopian Calendar] without *atafeta*, double. Often the *mikitil warada* governor announced the consequence of postponement publicly and passed orders to give awareness to tax payers and executed its payment through the *chiqa shum*. A delayed tax payer was expected to appear at least at the last deadline which started from April [Miazia 1] and ended on June [Sane 30] Ethiopian calendar.[161] When tax was not fully paid the *chiqa shum* charged the tax payer on the *mikitil warada* level. When it was beyond that level, the *mikitil warada* governor charged the defaulter on the *warada* governor or on any authorized court and the court often ordered the sale of any form of property of the debtor by auction. When land had nonpayer the *mikitil warada* governor reported the case to the *warada* governor and the *warada* governor in turn reported to the *warada* court. The *warada* governor and the court reported to the provincial governor who fixed the deadline for the appearance of the nonpayer.[162]

A court warrant was fixed every five months and if the nonpayer disappeared completely, the court would prepare charge against the nonpayer and passed decision for the sale of the land before the beginning of the upcoming taxation season. The *chiqa shum* announced land sale during market days for two or three consecutive weeks by the order of the *warada gezat*. The land sales were executed when the local elders estimated or decided the fertility of the land and ordered its transfer to the highest bidder by auction. Since 1940E/C the Ministry of Finance

[159]*Negarit Gazeta* 1st Year, No.1, 1942.
[160]Debebe Tadesse, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969, p.11; Informants: Gemechu Denu.
[161]Debebe Tadesse, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969, pp.12-13.
[162]WMTMAC, File 1/495 *Sela Geber asabasab huneta.*

charged defaulters and executed the sale of *gebratal maret*, land with no payers.[163] The Ministry of Finance often distributed attendance for tax collection supervision to the *mikitil warada* governors. When the *mikitil warada* governor failed to effectively execute the tax collection or supervision tasks or failed to fulfill every responsibility delegated to him he would be punished either financially or fired from job by the resolution of the Commission's meeting. The *warada* governor was the highest responsible body for the execution of the tax collection at all levels although the closest and most responsible body was the *mikitil warada* governor. The *chiqa shum*, *Balabat* and *Abbaa Qoroo* were all responsible tax collectors respectively. The Ministries of Interior and Finance often passed an order to *mikitil warada* governors and the *chiqa shums* and *Balabats* in turn ordered the *Abbaa Qoroos* to collect tax at the grass root level.[164] The land owner paid *asrat,* one-tenth of his produce in proportion to what he collected from his tenants to the treasury. However, tenants did not pay *tithe* at all. But the land owners as well as the tenants paid the income tax that replaced *tithe*.[165]

An attempt to make the divergent taxes uniform requested replacing the 1942 decree by another one. Relatively aimed at abolishing lack of uniformity another proclamation was issued in 1944. The land tax proclamation of November 1, 1944 fixed graded taxes to be paid in cash on the different classifications of measured lands.[166] The new proclamation abolished *tithe* payment in the form of kind and declared that it should henceforth be paid in cash. It is obvious that it was Menilek II who introduced *tithe* ordering the peasant cultivators in order to send a tenth of their gross produce to the government stock. The new proclamation also abolished free labour services. It fixed the rate of payment on the basis of measurement and classification of land. The provinces of Wallagga, Shawa Harar, Arsi, Wollo, Gamu Gofa Kaffa, Illubabor and Sidamo paid similar rates of land tax and *tithe* with very slight differences on fertile land tax. The rate imposed by the new land tax proclamation was much higher than that of 1942.The 1944 land proclamation fixed the rate of tax payable at 45 birr per *gasha* for fertile in the provinces of Wallagga, Sidamo, Illubabor, Gamu Gofa and Kaffa, 40 birr for semi fertile and 15 for poor.[167]

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[163] *Ibid.*
[164] *Ibid.*
[165] Debebe Tadesse, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969, p.11.
[166] Imperial Ethiopian Government, Decree No.70 of 1944, *Negarit Gazetta*, November 1, 1944.
[167] *Negarit Gazeta* 4th Year, No, 1and 2, 1944.

It is important to note here that the imposition of tax increasingly by the new proclamation on all categories of measured land was because of the *tithe* which became additional land tax. Accordingly, the rate of payment on each *gasha* was 35birr, 30 and 10 for fertile, semi fertile and unfertile respectively. The new land tax proclamation thus relatively universalized and monetized the payment of taxes on land.[168]

With the coming of *tithe* as additional tax, the *Abba Qoroos* were selected again to implement it. Their tasks were to measure the quantity of the produce by each peasant and determine the fertility of the land. However, informants asserted that the *Abba Qoroo* under assessed and under taxed the amount of harvest of their own lands on many occasions. For this responsibility, they were paid an allowance of two per cent of the total tax collected from his domain provided that they fulfilled their duty satisfactorily. However, there was no specific legal authority for the payments of such allowances.[169]

The *Abba Qoroo* held the responsibility of collecting taxes from all peasants in their areas of administration. The *Abbaa Qoroo* with the help of the *chiqa shum* collected taxes at the same time as they collected rent and other feudal dues from their tenants. The low political consciousness of the peasants together with the prevailing corruption among the government officials made possible for the *Abbaa Qoroo* to collect sum money for himself though he paid only a fixed amount of tax to the *warada* treasury. Sources asserted that Gurmeessaa Galataa who was an owner of a *gasha* of land in Ayira-Gulliso *warada* at Kolooboo Daalle observed clearly when the *Abbaa Qoroo* of the above mentioned *kebele* whose name was *Balambaras* Darasu Ujjukka collected additiona l0.50 cents from each peasant under his jurisdiction.[170] Similarly in Gimbii, Collii Tabarra *kebele*, the *Qoroo Balabat* Bookaa Karroo not only collected additional money from the tenants but also doubled tax on 1700 tenants transferred from Qellem *awraja gezat* to Gimbii.[171] (See also Appendix 13)

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[168] *Ibid.*
[169] Informants: Mizanu Kamisoo, Yigezu Binagaa, Raggaasaa Dhaabaa.
[170] Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure and Taxation, p.67.
[171] WMTMAC, Folder, 34186, Miazia 26, 1964E/C, To IEG Ministry of Land Reform and Administration.

It was evident that the system of taxation under the 1944 proclamation penalized and victimized the tenants and owner-cultivators, while rewarding the *Abbaa Qoroo* and other landlords. At the same time the state's income from1944 land tax proclamation was low. Lawrence and Man commented on the 1944 land tax proclamation:

> *It is clear from the land proclamation that the landowner is the person liable to pay land tax.It is quite clear that the intention of the legislation was that the burden of taxation should fall not on the farmer, but land owner only.This intention, however, has not been implemented.In Ethio pia, this shifting of the tax burden (from landowner to tenant farmer)has been tolerated by the government for many years.The custom would app ear to penalize farmers, both owner farmers and tenant farmers...*[172]

The prime motive of the government's decision to replace Decree No1, 1942 with proclamation No 70/1944 was to generate high revenue to its treasury. But the expectation of the state did not materialize. One potential reason for this problem was the fact that some land owners were not in a position to pay land tax disguising as if they were holders of *rista-gult* in the absence of real evidence that confirmed their present status. In fact, the new land tax proclamation of 1944 allowed certain exemptions from the land tax. This meant both the holders of *rista-gult* and *sisso-gult* were not liable for paying land tax. Apart from such exemptions some land owners were relieved of paying any land tax.[173]

Another problem that remained to be the major obstacle to tax collection was related to state lands which were not yet leased since they were considered as *taf.* In this case a *gasha* is registered under its owner and the *warada* treasury only knew the name of the *gasha* and the state expected the owners to pay land tax. Such state land was freely owned by the *Abba Qoroo* and was tax exempted. The *Abbaa Qoroo* simply appropriated the products of the land without paying taxes. He did not want to give reliable information regarding state land unless he received bribe and this situation helped him to retain more money to pay as land tax. The state was unable to derive high revenue from the 1944 Land Tax proclamation. It was since 1967 that Agricultural Land Tax was introduced, replacing the *tithe*. This was introduced after a protracted and bitter

[172]J.C.D Lawrence (Lawrence, J.C.D. and Mann, H.S., Land and Taxation in Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, F.A.O., 1963.p.
[173]Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure and Taxation, p.68.

dialogue between the government and the landlords in the parliament. *Tithe* which was operative since 1944 was believed to have been rigid and could not yield as much revenue as government expected. Therefore, the major reason for the abolishment of *tithe* and replacing it entirely with the new agricultural income tax was in order to increase the state revenue. Under the *tithe* arrangement the burden of tax payable was on the tenants and owner-cultivator. Agricultural income tax was stated to be paid by all persons exploiting the land either by cultivation, development or rent. Under the new agricultural income tax landlords were to pay income tax for the first time which could help the state to generate high revenue for its treasury. The agricultural income tax was assessed in accordance with the yield of the land by the tax assessment committee.The chairman of the committee was the representative of the Ministry of Finance or Interior and the members were the employees of these Ministries and two elders elected by the local people. The task of the committee was to assess and ascertain the gross income of each peasant by considering the output level.[174]

The gross income of the farmer was estimated by calculating the annual expense of the peasant plus what he paid as land tax to his landowner. An attendance of two *birr* fee was paid to each meeting a member had taken part. The number of assessment teams assigned to each *warada* to assess properly how much income each peasant obtained from the land was different from one *warada* to another. In some cases four assessment teams were assigned to some *waradas* while three assessment teams were assigned in other cases. Perhaps, this was made based on the size of the *warada*. Apart from this, most assessment teams who levied tax on the peasants delayed the assessment process and before the tax of the previous year was paid the current year came up and the taxpayers could not pay a double tax.It was not possible to collect the taxes of the previous year by taking to the court all of the tax evaders at the same time. Hence, in some cases very little tax was collected even after the court had passed its judgment since the tenants did not have much movable or immovable property.[175]

[174]Debebe Tadesse, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969, p.240, 11-12; *Negarit Gazeta*, Third Year,No. 70, 1944, November 1944 (Land Tax Proclamation); *Negarit Gazet*, Tenth Year, Proclamation No. 117 of 151 28th June, 1951(A Proclamation To Amend the Land Tax Proclamation of 1944); Peter, Schwab, "The Agricultural Income Tax and the Changing Role of the Parliament in Ethiopia."Geneva-African Journal, Vol.VIII, No 1, 1967, p.35; *Negarit Gazeta* 27th Year, No.4, 1967.
[175]ENALA, Wollega Governorate General, Folder No.266, File No115.

In 1967, aimed at improving the problems encountered in the implementation of the agricultural income tax proclamation and generating more revenue, *awraja* governors proposed to *Dajazmach* Berhane Masqal Dasta, the governor of Wallagga province that unless and otherwise an efficient system of agricultural income tax assessment and collection was made and a proper study of the problem was conducted, the amount and system of tax collection would be a long way from the government's anticipation. Sources stated that a meeting headed by *dajazmach* Berhane Masqal Dasta was held in Naqamtee on Tahsas 27, 1961(January 5,1968) to discuss about the problems encountered the implementation of the agricultural income tax proclamation. The majority of the members of the meeting were landowners who had owned many *gasha* of land in different parts of Wallagga. The landowners made use of their political positions and influenced the assessment committee at local levels because the genuine implementation of the proclamation would unquestionably become detrimental to their gross income. The landowners seemed to have had a positive attitude towards the proclamation but when it comes to the reality they were against its application. The inefficiency of the assessment committee and lack of necessary finance to run the work became a further obstacle to the implementation of the proclamation. Agricultural income tax was paid on all categories of land whether *lam*, *taf-lam* or *taf* and its calculation was based on the yield per person. Agricultural income tax was different from land tax. Land tax included education and health taxes while agricultural income tax was purely on produce from farming. Gimbii had the highest income tax and Asosa the least. Of the total assessment of one and half million for the province about half a million for 1960 and one-third for 1961 have been collected. Delinquent tax showed more in 1960. The delinquent tax for 1960 was the highest in Qellem.[176]

There were various reasons why the peasants paid little tax in most of the *awrajas*. Among others: crop pests such as ants that dried the land, wild animals like apes, monkeys and pigs, natural disasters such as heavy wind mixed with hailstones that hard hit most of the productive areas, wasteful method of harvesting the crops, the land tenure system and lack of interest by the farmers to produce more and cultural influences. Moreover, the farmers were disinterested to

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[176]Debebe Tadesse, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969, p.231; ENALA, Wollega Governorate General, Folder.266, File No115.

produce more because they could not find ample market for their excess products due to absence of roads and transportation facilities.Besides the above mentioned reasons there have been various obstacles to tax collection.The tax payers were charged more than what they owed when they appeared to pay tax. In the study region the major population of the tax payers was located in the amount E$1.50 to E$6.00. A person who owed E$1.50 was charged additional E$1 for stamp E$1 for receipt and E$2 for table.The excess amount was collected without any legal receipt.Therefore, the tax payers preferred to keep away from the treasury.The other problem was related to productivity of the land. When land became unproductive and failed to meet annual tax expense the owner preferred to lose the land which the treasury collected as *gebratal*.[177]

The other reason was economic. In 1969 people have been in depression as they were forced to contribute to Wallagga Development Project which aimed to build churches, schools, roads and bridges. The worst of all the problems for tax delinquency was the cattle disease which killed over 50,000 heads of cattle in 1968 in Gimbii *awraja* alone. (The impact of the recurrent cattle disease in the study region will be briefly elaborated in chapter 5.) There were many unsettled tax appeals because in certain areas assessments have been excessive and some tenants expected revised assessments. Besides the people had been in difficulty because their 1968 tax assessment exceeded the 1969 income.This was true with the owners of arid land. Moreover, many people expected tax exemption because of the depression and the excessive amount of tax delinquency. There was also a cultural problem associated with indirect payment called gift which actually meant bribe, *mataya* (for greetings). A tax payer greeted his lord with a fat sheep, a *quintal* of teff or a *feresula* of butter and some money. He offered the gift inorder to get protection in case he failed into trouble because his lord had some power over him and he may punish him indirectly. So every year when he showed up the tenant was expected to greet the land owner as well as the officials. But when he lacked money for the greeting he kept away from the town.[178]

The other problem is the location of the treasuries. The tenant who lived 40 or 50 kilometers

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[177] *Ibid.*

[178] Debebe Tadesse, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969, pp.16-17, 15; Informants: Mizanu Kamisoo.

away from the town was supposed to go there and pay tax to the treasury which incurred extra expense for travel and lodging for the night. His expenses almost come to some E$10. So the tenant retained the E$1.50 he owed and never appeared to the treasury. The tax payers were also ignorant of the taxes.They did not know why the treasuries collected tax. They believed that the state was the source of money. Therefore, they thought that the amount they owed individually was insignificant and the state would not bother them for it. Beside the people did not consider the obligation of paying the new agricultural income tax.They were not clear with the collection policy because it did not exist previously.[179]

Therefore, suing the defaulters was the only alternative open to the treasuries. The delinquent taxes could be collected by the prosecutor. But the problem was that the prosecutor could not sue all tenants who failed to pay tax. Most of them owed E$1.50. Should he take them individually to court for E$1.50 or should he give up the case? Even if they were sued, they never appeared to the court. A judgement would pass for E$1.50 and what should be done with it? The treasuries sued the people individually for E$1.50 each. Filling suit was previously the responsibility of the *warada gizat*. Thus, many applications and summons have to be written and taken to court before the delinquent tax payers could be called to the court. The treasuries hand on the summons to the *warada gizat*, the *warada gizat* to the *balabats*, the *balabats* to the *chiqa shum* and the *chiqa shum* finally to the tax payer.The handling takes time and the tax payers may appear at court or disappear before accepting the summons and the judgement passes and the sale of property was published in the news papers. Excess returns for the sale were given to the tax payer. When buyers did not show up, the property was transferred to the state and the person could regain on payment. Sometimes the tax payers could regain their sold land if they had reasonable cases for disappearance. The court reversed decisions in cases of sickness or order from supervisors or officials. The processes of suing and collection have become very frustrating to the *warada* treasuries when individual's case took a month or more. The treasuries collected the money from the person or the property from the *warada gizat* after all court cases were completed. [180]

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[179]Informants: Mizanu Kamisoo, Yigezu Binagaa, Raggaasaa Dhaabaa; Debebe Tadesse, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969, pp.24-25, 18-19.
[180]Debebe Tadesse, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969, pp.18-21, 24-25; Informants: Emeru Gabre, Mizanu Kamisoo, Nega Bekele.

Despite the massive accusations taken against tax payers by the *warada* treasuries, much remained uncollected. The *warada* treasuries often imposed court decision because the blame for non-collection was put up on them by the higher authorities who seem to be ignorant of the problem associated with suing tax payers for a minor amount. Agricultural income tax was also imposed on the heads of cattle a farmer had.The assessors added some money on the real tax assessment after estimating the annual income from cattle by the order of the Ministry of Finance. Therefore, E$2, $3 or more have been imposed on a farmer.[181]

When land was assessed and classified the land owners wanted the lowest classification in order to pay less tax. The only way they could do this was by putting pressure or bribing the assessors who did the job.Then fertile area was classified as semi-fertile or arid and assessed with less tax. There was problem between the tax assessors and *warada* treasurers. The treasurers earned E$30 to E$100 per month where as the tax assessors earned around E$200.The difference in their salary created jealousy between them and there was always disagreement between the two parties. Sources indicate that genuine check up did not take place upon the local assessment teams due to lack of man power from the Ministry of Finance. This situation could allow them freedom of judgment and much corruption took place by the assessors. The treasurers who often rejected the assessors calculation refused to comment on the receipt of the tax payer during tax collection. They handled large amount of government money. However, their salaries hardly covered their expenses because they were not trained people and they always had financial insecurity and no job guarantee and this led them to take bribes and developed inefficiency.[182]

However, the greatest problem to the tax collectors was the confrontations they faced while collecting taxes from lands owned by government officials. These people were not willing to pay tax because they always protested that the assessment was inappropriate. Such owners may be a *Balabat*, a judge, a governor, or vice-minister. Some owed about E$20000 some less and some more. Who would be the judiciary and the executive body? Many officials owned several *gashas* of land. Since they owned a lot of land, heavy tax was assessed on it. Delinquent tax was over

[181] *Ibid.*
[182] *Ibid.*

E$100,000 according to assessment. The assessors were taken to court under the pretext that their assessments were wrong. The court also passed judgement against them. A typical example was the case of a tax assessor, Debebe Mulat, who was imprisoned for the same problem in Dembi Doolloo. He assessed E$40000 on 500 *gasha* of fertile land which was E$80 per *gasha*. The other problem was the estimation of the tenant's annual expenses. The new agricultural income tax brought conflict between the tenants and the landowners.The peasants felt that the new system of tax collection was not good especially for poor farmers who were forced to pay the fixed amount even if there was a failure of crops. The land owners thought that they were superior over their tenants and protested that the tenants should not go to treasury to pay taxes for they do not own land and demanded that the payment should be made through them. Even though the amount the tenants paid was little, the new tax was additional burden to them because they paid to the land owners according to their former tenure. Therefore, the conflicts and misunderstandings resulted in the delay of more than half of the assessed tax.[183]

The agricultural income tax regulation came into effect soon after the bill was passed by the parliament. The collection became another problem and it was also associated with the tax assessors who had faint knowledge of the regulation. A tenant who was supposed to pay E$1.50 real tax was expected to pay E$10 or more. The new method of collecting tax made the tenants poor victims of the blood suckers-the officials from the Ministry of Finance, *Balabats*, *warada* governors and *chiqa shums*. It was by this group that the tax of a certain peasant was determined according to the size of his farms and the fertility of the land. Hence, they had means of cornering the tenants who were forced to give them bribe with the hope that their assessment of tax would be fair. When a farmer went to the treasury he was asked to pay what they called "*yeterebeza*", for table.If he could not pay, he would be imprisoned and forced to pay "*yesenselet*", for the hand cuffs and for the chains used to tie his feet. He thus finishes the money this way and that way and was left without money to pay for the tax. Hence, he was forced to sell his ox or any other animal or his corn which he kept for his food inorder to pay the tax. If he could not afford, he stayed in prison until he paid.[184]

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[183]ENALA, Wollega Governorate General, Folder No.256, File No115; Debebe Taddese, Provincial Administration in Nekemte, 1969.p.148, 24-25, 91.
[184]*Ibid.*

Chapter Four

Popular Grievances and the Commencement of Peasant Rebellions

In this chapter we will discuss in detail how over assessment and over taxation became obvious problems that had been toiling the peasants and instigated both the peasant rebellions and the *Balabats* demonstration in the study region. The chapter has three sectons.The first section attempts to reconstruct the Gidaamii peasant uprising. It investigates why the internal autonomy provided to Jootee was ended and how the severe socioeconomic conditions that led to the general discontent of the indigenous people was caused.The second section outlines why and how the Gumuz rebellion broke out, the governments reaction to the rebels and the significance of the rebellion.The final section analyzes the causes, the onset and the outcome of the *Balabats* demonstration in the study region.

The Gidaamii Peasant Uprising

One of the districts of Wallagga annexed to the Ethiopian empire as a result of Menilek's conquest of the late nineteenth century was Qellem governed by Jootee Tulluu. The advent of Menilek's forces into the region raised Jootee to regional dominance. Local tradition states that the advent of Ras Gobana, Menilek's general was preceded by the arrival of a reconnaissance group, a common pattern in the process of conquest led by *Qannazmach* Aboye who was sent by Gobana. Abba Daannoo met *Qannazmach* Aboye at Kuuchoo Mountain, east of Sayyo, and offered him tribute as a symbol of submission. Then Gobana arrived with Jootee, who took him to his headquarters at Gidamii and gave him a larger tribute in gold. Gobana in turn recognized Jootee's authority over what later came to be known as Qellem district. Abba Gimbii the ruler of Anfillo fought Gobana's forces for five days. However, dynastic struggle within the royal family of the Anfillo kings undercut their resistance. It is important to note that with the death of Diggaa Bookaa, Anfillo had been over run and the rival claimant to the throne have defected to Gobana.When Gobana asked him whether he preferred to be under the jurisdiction of Jootee or Morodaa he chose Jootee's territory, rather than Morodaa. After that Anfilloo had been governed by Jootee under whom the remaining Oromo kings of the conglomerate states were placed.[1]

[1]Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wollega, p.77; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C p.164; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.83-88; Harold Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menilek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), pp.65-66.

Gradually Qellem, the local name of Jootee's birth place, was adopted as the name of the area that he ruled on behalf of the Amhara. In accordance with an agreement made with Gobana, Jootee was allowed to rule his own and the territory placed under him with internal autonomy provided that he recognized Menilek's authority. In return, loyalty and the annual payment of tribute in gold was required from him.[2] Nonetheless, Jootee's seizure of Anfillo did not benefit him because it was due to Anfillo that Jootee suffered great crisis. Our sources substantiated that till then Jootee did not have an Amhara overseer for all administrative affairs. Later on Jootee thought that Shawa was far away from his domain and wanted to be assisted by the neighboring governor of Illubabor, *Dajazmzach* Tasama Nadaw. Jootee discussed over the matter with Morodaa who remarked that it was far better to contact Menilek independently than through a superintendent and that *Fitawrari* Yibsa had also been assigned to assist both of them. Jootee rejected Morodaa's comment and wrote to Menilek requesting Tasama as an overseer. It was an opportune moment for Tasama who for a long time had been persuading Menilek to promote him to '*Ras*'. Menilek who had earlier rejected the promotion of *Dajazmach* Tasama to the title of '*Ras*' under the pretext that he had been ruling over a small region Illubabor, eventually agreed to recognize him as '*Ras*' casting Jootee under Tasama's overlordship.[3]

It happened that when the Anfillo *Balabats* resisted Jootee's rule he was advised by *Ras* Tasama to take a serious measure against them. Having received Tasama's counsel Jootee soon marched to Anfillo and captured three outstanding rebels, all of whom were the brothers of his wife, Manqallii. Jootee turned a deaf ear to the pleading of the mother of the three rebel *Balabats* and his wife and executed all of them in the presence of public gathering. The capital punishment which Jootee took against the rebels was, however, a measure beyond the scope of his authority which only the Emperor should have done. Therefore, Joote was charged for his illegal action, condemned and imprisoned and finally dismissed from his post. Nevertheless, he was set free and enthroned by his son-in-law, *Lij* Iyyasu who had been visiting Gidamii in 1905E/C. With the

[2]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.83-88; Negasso Gidada, *"History of the Sayyo Oromo of Southwestern Wallaga, 1730 -1886.* Addis Ababa: Mega Printing Enterprise, 2001.pp.330-334; Mitiku Tucho. "Impacts of Pastoralism on the Oromo of Qellem, Wallaga," BA Thesis in History, AAU, 1983.p.6; Cerulli, Etiopia Occidentale, vol.II, p.100 Terefe Woldetsadik, "The Unification, p. 80.
[3]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C p.51, pp.78-79; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.83-88.

fall of *Lij* iyyasu, however, Jootee was dethroned once and for all time.[4] During Jootee's rule the settlement of the northern soldiers in Qellem led to the displacement of the indigenous people and they fled in mass to Begii. The people felt discontented after their land and property was given to the new settlers. The case disappointed Jootee in whose domain had settled 9,000 *Gondares* a figure that exceeded by far that of Naqamtee. Because of the allegation of Jootee's misrule Qellem was put under handpicked governors directly appointed from the central government. The governors came with their own soldiers' alien to the culture and society in the area.[5]

Thus, with the advent of the new administration severe socio-economic and political problems were faced by majority of the indigenous inhabitants. The system entailed a property tax payment in which family members were counted. Traditions asserted that this system of tax payment discouraged marriage and getting children particularly among the peasants. Moreover, the number of domestic animals owned by a household had also determined the amount of tax payment. The bigger the size of the family and domestic animals owned, the larger was the amount of tax payment. "Tax was paid on each house from which smoke comes out." Tax levied on each man could be from two to five *amole* annually.One *amole* was paid on each sheep and goat while two *amole* was paid on cattle and donkey annually. Such tremendous increase in tax payment aroused dissatisfaction and open rebellion against the Shawan overlordship.[6] Triulzi described the peasants, in 1908 have rebelled against the Amhara.The peasant revolt from 1909-1912 led by Mardasaa Jootee freed Qellem for a short period of time. However, the region was militarily occupied and governed brutally with the help of armed garrisons. Opposition against the new administration had resulted in unparalleled crushing measure by the Amhara governors. The discontent reached its climax and many peasants left the area to live in Begii, located to the north of Qellem. The peasant revolt around Gidamii rejected a direct Amhara rule.

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[4]*Ibid* pp.78-80.

[5]Triulzi, Alessandro. "*Nekemte and Addis Ababa: Dilemmas of Provincial Rule*, p.69; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C.p.207 ; Tesema Ta'a, *The Political Economy*, p.97.

[6]WMTMAC, Decree No.70 of 1944, Minutes of the *warada* Council, Dambi Doollo, Yekatit 27, 1937E/C [March1, 1945]; Raga Abdissa. "A Brief Survey of Land Tenure System in Qellem, Western wallaga, c.1880-1944," BA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1984. pp.50-51.

The revolt continued for three years during which tax remained uncollected.[7]

When Jootee was imprisoned one of his sons, Mardassa, went to Khartoum and appealed to the British to intervene on his father's behalf. Up on his return Mardassa was detained in Addis Ababa for contacting the British. In order to influence the rebels to submit, Mardassa was sent back with an Amhara governor. After Mardassa's influence stabilized the situation, the Amhara governor gradually stripped him of any administrative power.[8]

The first violation of local autonomy in Qellem began with the appointment of agents to collect customs from local traders. British occupation of the Sudan in 1898, and the beginning of the trade with the Sudan through the riverine port of Gambella in 1905, put additional attention on Sayyo as an important trade post. Besides, Gambella was under the domain of Jootee, although Tasama the Amhara governor of Illu Abba Bor eventually placed it under his control, appointing his own tax collector. Taking advantage of his closeness to Menilek, Hailagiyorgis, the *Nagadras* of Addis Ababa, appointed his own protégé, Sarsawald, as the head of customs of the region in 1905. The second impact emanated from the imposition of a five percent local tax by the customs agents in 1905, which affected cotton production and marketing.These customs officers established multiple taxation posts. In 1909 a British intelligence officer who was in the region described how the customs agents overcharged traders in excess of the amount legally permitted with impunity and that Jootee was not given the power to curb their exactions.[9]

In 1908 Sahlagiyorgis, appointed by Tasama, took over the administration of Jootee's domain and assigned an Amhara to administer it. At the center, as his incapacitation in progress since 1906 worsened, Menilek designated Iyyasu as his successor and *Ras* Tasama as regent. The appointment of Amhara governors had two impacts on Qellem.As soon as Jootee was detained in Addis Ababa, an Amhara, *Fitawrari* Neqa Tibeb, Tasama's agent at Bure, replaced Enoro,

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[7]Triulzi, "Social Protest and Rebellion in Some Gabbar Songs from Qellam, Wallagga," *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Rotterdam, 1980, 177-196.
[8]A.Triulzi "Social Protest and Rebellion in Some Gabbar Songs in Qellem, Wallagga", Modern Ethiopia: from the Accession of Menilek II to the Present.*Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies*. (Nice: December, 1977) pp.178-179.
[9]Peter Garretson, "The Nagadras, Trade, and Selected Towns in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Ethiopia," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol.12, No.3 (1979), pp.418, 431-433.

Jootee's son, as the governor of Sayyo. This was the first experience of direct Amhara rule and the people remember it as a brief and harsh period. Neqa Tibeb was then replaced by Sahlagiyorgis, Tasama's brother from whom they expected an improvement of their lot. But the people of Qellem were soon disappointed, and the misery was expressed as follows:

Oromo	*Gloss*
Naqqeen nugagabse	*Naqqee choked us*
Sahlee nuqaqqabdee?	*Sahle rescued us hastily?*
Hundumtuu Sidaama	*All of them are Amharas*
Hundumtuu nussaama.[10]	*All of them plundered us.*

The introduction of *tithe* and its method of assessment was a post-conquest phenomenon. *Tithe* was introduced by Menilek in 1892/1893 to provide sustenance for the soldiers who until then had been accommodated.[11] In Qellem the farmers were ordered to build granaries in different localities and a limited number of *Naftanna* were assigned to assess and enforce its collection and transportation.Our sources asserted that the farmers were prohibited from consuming the ripened maize during *kiremt* (summer) months until agent of the local *Naftanna* came and identified the best cobs. Moreover, the farmers should not touch the early ripening maize until their field was visited by the assessors. Many of the peasants suffered starvation as a result of delay of the few assessors who had visited several peasnt's maize farms. Yet it was the early ripening maize which was to relieve the poor farmers from starvation. During *baga* (winter) the *Naftanna* was assigned to collect the "*mert asrat*," "the best *tithe*"(quality maize cobs) of the harvest reserved for the upcoming season's seed. More than one-tenth was extracted and transported to the state granary for consumption by the *Naftanna* rulers. The available sources stated that in 1913 *Lij* Iyyasu, visited Gidamii and relieved the farmers from the problems associated to *mert asrat* assessment and collection. The farmers rushed to Iyyasu with appeals for relief from overcharged maize *tithe* payment and time spent on waiting *tithe* assessors. Iyyasu decreed the assessment to take place later and the peasants to consume their harvest without waiting for the assessors.The people expressed their gratitude combining Iyyasu's handsomeness as follows:

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[10]Raga Abdissa. "A Brief Survey, p.51.
[11]Mahtamasellasse Waldamasqal, *Zekra Nagar*, pp.332-333; Raga Abdissa, "A Brief Survey, pp.44-45.

Dajjach (later *Ras*) Birru Walda Gebriel, the most iron-handded ruler appointed over Qellem after *Dajjach* Jootee's death (1918-1920 and 1922-1927). (Source: Bahru Zawde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia, 1855-1991*. Oxford: James Currey, 2002 p. 91).

"Iyyasu yadonfolloo Koo siifan nyaadhe boqqolloo koo", "Iyyasu the handsome, it is thanks to you that I could eat my corn."[12]

As we have already discussed Iyyasu's visit to Gidaamii was decisive for the restoration of Jootee's position in 1913.While Iyyasu was in Qellem he took one of Jootee's daughters as wife in line with his policy of marrying into the various princely families. However, four years later in 1917, Jootee was removed when his son-in-law was deposed by the 1916 coup.[13] As a result of the coup Menelik's daughter, Zawditu was made Empress and Tafari, the son of Menilek's cousin, was made the regent.This change at the center had its effect in Qellem. In 1918 an Amhara governor, *Dajazmach* Birru, was appointed over Jootee's domain, with an army of between 7000-8000 bringing an end to the phase of the indirect rule. Berru was made *Dajazmach* after the 1916 coup and seems to have been favored to be appointed as the governor of Sayyo probably due to the presence of mineral resources of gold and platinum and the attractive customs revenue in Sayyo.[14]

Following the appointment of *Dajach* (later *Ras*) Birru Waldagabriel the state planned a new system of governance structured through governors, sub-governors, *mislene*, *Balabats*, *Abbaa Qoroo* and *chiqashum* (village headman). With the arrival of Birru the newly appointed governor, and the *malkanna*, Qellem experienced the most oppressive rule ever witnessed. Human beings irrespective of race, social status and other values were counted, registered and distributed among the retinue of the alien governors. The already existing political and socio-cultural conflicts between the Amhara settlers and the indigenous Oromo were reinforced. With this also new administrative machinery alien to the people was installed. The Oromo considered the period as the beginning of Amhara rule in the Oromo territory.[15]

[12]Informants: Baatii Hembelee, Kumsaa Boroo; Raga Abdissa. "A Brief Survey, p.44; Altaye Tadesse. "A Historical Survey of Dembi Dollo (1880-1941),"BA Thesis in History, Addis Ababa University, 1983.p.12; Alula and Ezekiel Gebissa, "*Lej* Iyyasu's Visit to Wallagga and the Removal of the Gondare from Naqamte," *Quaderni di Studi Etiopics*, viii-ix (1987-88), p.83.
[13]Bahru Zewde. "A Biography of *Dejazmach* JoteTullu, Abba Iggu (1855-1918)," BA Thesis in History, Haile Silasie I University, 1970.pp.47-49; Seenaa Warra Bakare, 1971E/C, pp.78-80.
[14]Bahru Zewde, A History, pp.126-128; *Ibid*, A Biography, pp.50-51; Mahtamasellasse Waldamasqal, *Zekra Nagar*, p.952.
[15]Raga Abdissa, A Brief Survey, p.47; Bahru Zewde. "A Biography,p; Kebede Kejela, "A Biography, p.31; Altaye Tadesse, "A Historical Survey, p.15.

Although a *Naftanna* garrison had been in Sayyo as early as the 1890's, Berru's arrival in 1918 was a landmark because it signaled a loss of independence and rule by outsiders. The new system organized a politico-military structure in which the indigenous population constituted the dominated class and the conquering *Naftanna* a ruling class. Sources affirmed that Oromo *gabbars* were forced to farm on Berru's estates at Fiinchoo, to the northeast of Dambi Doolloo town. Each locality cultivated the cereals and pulses suitable to the land. Women and children weeded the crops, tended animals, harvested, and carried to the granaries.[16]

The *gabbars* carried still further burdens in the form of an ecclesiastical tax. Between 1886 and1935 no fewer than 43 churches were built in Qellem, out of which less than a dozen were in Sayyo and Anfillo. Mass baptism and the tying of cross on the neck were ordered to symbolize conversion to Orthodox Christianity, although only the chiefs identified themselves as converts to curry favor from the system. The priests focused on attacking Oromo culture rather than teaching religious doctrine. The majority of the Oromo remained indifferent to Orthodox Christianity and later most of them adopted Protestantism or Catholicism. However, they had to pay the ecclesiastical tax. For the support of these churches the surrounding inhabitants annually paid for each priest 20*MTT* and 1 *dawlla* of grain, for each deacon 12*MTT* and 10 *qunna* of grain.[17] The year 1918 was a landmark in the history of the Oromo of Qellem because the imposition of direct *Naftanna* rule brought drastic socioeconomic changes in the society.[18] Jootee died in 1918 and it was the death of Jootee which eventually determined Qellem's loss of regional autonomy putting an end to the indirect phase of the *Naftanna* rule and its replacement by the more harsh system of direct rule.

The Gumuz Rebellion

In the 1950s and 1960s several peasant rebellions took place in Ethiopia against the feudal

[16]Informants: Kumsa Boroo, Baatii Hembelee.
[17]Bahru Zewde, A Biography, p.20; Nagasso Gidada. The Impact of Christianity on Qellem Awrajja, Western Wallagga, 1886-1941, BA Thesis in History, Haile Sellassie I University, 1971.pp.15-22; Bartels, Lambert, "*Oromo Religion, Myth and Rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia*, An attempt to Understand." Dietrich Reimer Verlag: Berlin 1990.p.25.
[18]Bahru Zewde, A Biography, p.51; Nagaso Gidada, The Impact of Christianity, pp5-6; Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, p.18.

regime of Emperor Hailesellase. There were several causes for the mounting grievances and rebellions. Among others: political subordination, economic domination, ethnic oppression and administrative injustices perpetrated against the peasant populations in many parts of the country had triggered the rebellions. Perham states that the peasants tried to resist systematic expropriation of their land. They often expressed discontent either through peaceful appeals or by resorting to uprisings, which were mostly isolated and spontaneous. They were unsuccessful because of the tight control of the administration and the repressive measures imposed by the government's soldiers who forced the peasants to obey the laws and respect the highly venerated authority of the Emperor. The rebellion staged by the marginalized peoples of the Nilo-Saharan in western Wallagga which openly resisted the administrative injustices of Hailesellase's feudal regime had not been recorded.[19]

To begin with there were periodic misunderstandings between the local Oromo tax collectors coming from highland Gimbii and the Gumuz who settled in the surrounding lowland. Our sources asserted that overcharged taxation during this period brought about continued hardship and sufferings on the life of this ethnic group which had a slight cultural difference with its neighbors. The local appointees and tax collectors sent to the Gumuz villages were not sympathetic towards them but they only run after their benefits. This was in fact the crucial factor that instigated the Gumuz to rebel against the officials. Inspite of its failure some politically conscious Oromo tenants who wanted to be delivered from the unjust taxation and feudal oppression were symphatetic to the Gumuz rebellion.[20] Although land was measured by this time lowland Gimbii which had been largely inhabited by this group had not been measured unlike the highland part, mainly because it was a waste land and sparsely populated. The inhabitants of lowland Gimbii were mainly the Gumuz people with various clans and sub-clans.[21] Each clan possessed its own land and area of jurisdiction. Clan property was expected to be recognized by other clans but their boundaries were not carefully delineated.

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[19]Defying the System, The Forgotten Rebellion of Abbaa Xoonee in Wallagga. *Ethiopian Journal of the Social Sciences and Humanities*, Vol. IV, No 2, December 2006. p.39; Margary Perham, *The Government of Ethiopia*. London, 1948, pp. 411-12.

[20]Informants: Emeru Gabre; Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure, p.83.

[21]MFED, The letter of Nehase 28,1943E/C,Ref.No.695/43, Folder1/495Sela 1942E/C *Masarata Gemet*, From Ministry of Finance to *dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta, Governor General of Wallagga; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/Cpp.327-328.

Each family member had the right to use the land for cultivation and grazing. A person claimed land simply by clearing and using it as much as he could within a clan territory since land was abundant.[22]

The underlying causes of the Gumuz rebellion in Gimbii, western Wallagga locally known as 'Duula abbaa Xoonee,' 'the rebellion of abbaa Xoonee' were: unjust taxation and ethnic oppression which resulted in economic subordination and violation of fundamental human rights of this Nilo-Saharan group.Taking into account the characterstic of the lowland and the economic capability of the residents a system of taxation which was quite different from the highland one was exercised. For the purpose of taxation, all taxpayers were categorized into five classes based on the farm produce. The number of domestic animals owned by the family also determined the classification and the amount of tax to be paid.Each peasant thus paid tax based on how well off he was. Tax was categorized and levied 32 birr for the first class, 27 birr for the second class 24 birr for the third, 16 and 8 for the fourth and fifth classes respectively. The poor peasants were required to pay 8 birr.[23] Tax assessments and collection was entrusted to the *warada* finance officers and the *Abba Qoroo*. Informants state that every year the assessment team went down to the lowland to assess the residents' farms in each village. The peasants were not allowed to harvest their crops before the arrival of the assessment team. It is worthwhile to note here that for the majority of the peasants the tax base proved to be high. The overwhelming majority of the people were poor, unable to meet the demands placed on the family. The taxation imposed on the household in the form of poll tax became burdensome and unbearable among the Gumuz.[24] (See also Appendix 14) The tax collectors overcharged the Gumuz peasants for their own advantages. In some cases they forced them to pay their taxes in gold in case they faced difficulty of obtaining cash. The tax collectors have also requested different forms of bribes to decrease the tax assessment. One of such wicked practices of the tax collectors was persuading the Gumuz women to sexual intercourse.

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[22]Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure, pp.82-83; Hailu, The Geographic, pp.29-30; Central Statistical Office: Report on Survey of Wollega Province, 1967, pp.9-10.

[23]WMTMAC, the letter of Hedar 27,1944E/C. Ref No.178/44, Folder 1/495, *Yabaraha Habt Geber Assabasab*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance to Wallagga province Treasury; Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure, pp.82-83.

[24]*Ibid*, WMTMAC, the letter of Hedar 27,1944E/C. Ref No.178/44, Folder 1/495, *Yabaraha Habt Geber Assabasab*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance to Wallagga province Treasury.

Thus, the peasants started to complain against the tax collectors and the unjust taxation system which harassed their lives for several years.[25] My informant Emeru remarked on this situation as follows:

> *In Najjoo, there were Kutalla, Gumuz at Darroo kebele.The Enamay ordered them to pay tax but the Abbaa Qoroo of the area,Abbaa Xoonee refused them to pay the tax.Then Captain Shifaraw Yadataa, a police officer from Najjoo was assigned to make them pay the tax.Earlier tax collector who went to the Gumuz villages touched the Gumuz women and persuaded them to sleep with them and it was reported to their husbands who were far away from home in the market.Fi tawrari Yemane wrote a letter to me ordering to make the Gumuzs pay their ta xes.I asked the nearest Abbaa Qoroo Leencaa Luunkoo who ignored the order I repeatedly sent to him to persuade Abbaa Xoonee to make his people pay the tax.Next to his Qoroo was Darroo village whose Abbaa Qoroo was Abbaa Xoo nee under Qumburii Qannoo's Qoroo.I ordered Qumburii to investigate the Gumuz under his jurisdiction whether they paid tax or not and also ordered him to stop their movement to the neighboring village.Moreover,I warned him that fitawrari was angry at the mess created by the Gumuz peoples.*[26]

Initially the Gumuz peasants expressed their discontents towards the tax burden imposed on them in the form of poll tax through peaceful appeals. To get relief from the heavy taxation they appealed to their Abba Xoonee who was the *Abba Qoroo* of the time. Abba Xoonee was from the Duisena or Darroo clan, one of the various Gumuz groups. His birth date and childhood is not clearly known. At the same time it is difficult to know when he became popular. Nevertheless, sources relate that Abba Xoonee was born at the close of the nineteenth century when Menilek II was busy incorporating western Wallagga. Tesema states that one of the Gumuz major clan which was historically very closely associated with the Oromo of Wallagga was the Darroo clan. Abba Xoonee belonged to the Darroo clan one of the major groups of the Nilo-Saharan speaking Gumuz peoples in western Wallagga. He and his family lived in Najjoo *warada* at a place called Tullu Lubbu. They were well known in agriculture and trading activities. Abba Xoonee's family had close relations with some Oromo families in Najjoo, Biilaa and Gimbii towns. He was respected among his clan members and the surrounding Oromo as well. Consequently, he was elected by a council of elders as an *Abba Qoroo* (head/chief of a sub-district) of the Darroo and other Gumuz clans of the area.

[25]Informants: Emeru Gabre; Bijiga Garba, Land Tenure, p.83.
[26]Informants: Emeru Gabre.

As a Gumuz *Abba Qoroo* he was accountable to the Oromo chief, Qumbi Qannoo of Darro. Sources substantiated that the peasants in his village often complained to him that the poll tax required of them was becoming burdensome and unbearable from year to year which in fact made Abba Xoonee himself very angry.[27]

The authorities in Najjoo and Gimbii were not in a position to solve the problem, though for quite some time, he reported the complaints of the peasants against heavy taxation to his immediate chief Qumburii. Abba Xoonee became disappointed at the misbehavior of the officials and took side with his people who were discontented against the tax collectors and the unjust taxation system. It was not only the burden of heavy taxation and mal-administration that sparked off the rebellion but more serious was the raping of the wives and daughters and at times the kidnapping of the Gumuz boys and girls by the merciless slave dealers and armed tax collectors which triggered the conflict.[28]

Our sources substantiated that the earliest clash between government forces and the Gumuz took place in 1945E/C [1952] in Gimbii *warada*, Laaloo Collii *mikitil warada*, Siliqaan *kebele* under the jurisdiction of *Grazmach* Etafaa Beyene. It happened that a Gumuz man offered money to an Oromo known as Amanu Walde to buy him bullets and Amanu refused to give back either the money or the bullet. The disappointed Gumuz man allied with his friend and killed Amanu. The sister of the deceased named Jalde Walde who had seen the act of killing appealed to Gimbii *awraja* governor, *Fiatawrari* Yemaneh who ordered *Qannazmach* Tafara Tuchoo, *mikitil warada* governor of the area to join with police force to arrest the assassins.When the chief *warada* governor, *Qannnazmach* Makonnen Eshete who came from Wollo province heared that Yemaneh ordered the *mikitil warada* governor for the task of arresting the assassins he rushed to the Gumuz village with police forces and captured the two Gumuz murderers and stayed there for few days roaming up and down through the Gumuz villages to collect some money by disarming the relatives of the murderers and others.The policemen who accompanied him had also squeezed the Gumuz men and soon the hard pressed villagers began shooting at them.

[27]Tesema Ta'a, Defying the System, pp.38-39.
[28]*Ibid.*, p.38;Informant: Emeru Gabre.

Around 100 Gumuz villagers were in the fighting and they killed 30 men including the *warada* governor. One of the soldiers killed during this time was Captain of the *balamadaria maret* soldiers, *Qannazmach* Fayisaa Dhiiree.[29]

When the news of the clash was heared a group of men including 15 police forces and other civilians hurried to the area and hard pressed the Gumuz *Abbaa Qoroo* to submit the murderers. In order to put things under control the government troops returned back to Gimbii rather than blindly venturing into the villages. As they returned back to Gimbii they reported the whole case to *Fitawrari* Yemane who reported to the Governor of Wallagga Province, *Dajazmach* Dereje Makonnen. Having received a telegram message, Dereje soon arrived in Gimbii *awraja* to investigate the cause of the rebellion. He ordered the Gumuz *Abbaa Qoroos* and the peaceful villagers to bring the corpse of the dead men including the chief *warada* governor to Gimbii and also ordered them to bring all the rebels. However, at the appointed date they brought the corpses leaving behind the rebels and the corpses were buried at Gimbii Madhanalam (Saviour of the World) Church.[30]

The available sources verified that according to the Gumuz tradition a matured young man was expected to kill a human being or one of the fiercest wild animals and get anointed with butter, flew trumpets (both during sorrow and happiness such as after killing human being or a beast) and danced and praised his throphy before marriage. Any Gumuz man should therefore, keep this tradition in order to be respected in the community and to get acquainted to his future to-be-wife. It is apparent that those Gumuz able-bodied who had been involved in the first clash which killed 30 men kept the long existing Gumuz tradition. On the appointed date the *Abbaa Qoroo* brought only 8 Gumuz able-bodied before Dereje.When the governor requested the Gumuz *Abbaa Qoroo* and his companions why the majority of the able-bodied who killed the 30 government soldiers were absent, they replied that, "we could not identify who the right murderers were because at that time all of the villagers were firing their guns and some of them were also throwing their poisoned arrows." Dereje well knew the trick of the *Abba Qoroo* and his companions that they did not want to expose the murderers, criticized them that they could easily identify those who were anointed butter, flew their trumpets and danced after the killing and should have handed

[29]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C.pp.327-328.
[30] *Ibid.*

over the murderers. The governor was infuriated at their reactions and ordered them for the second time to come back with all the criminals within few days. The Gumuz who promised the governor to do so totally disappeared at the appointed date.[31] However, Tesema relates the immediate cause with the assassination of Dheeressaa Kokkolfaa, an Oromo who had a sexual affair with the wife of a Gumuz man named Yambuu.The man killed Dheeressaa at Saaye Mi'ooftuu within the territory of Abbaa Xoonee's Qoroo. Upon hearing the death of her husband the wife of Dheeressaa soon went to Gimbii to appeal the assassination of her husband to the governor. *Dajazmach* Dereje received the application and ordered *Fitawrari* Yemane to send Emeru who was temporarily assigned as *awraja* secretary on behalf of *Fitawrarii* Biratuu who was ousted of his post for corruption.[32] Emeru received a warning letter from the office to Abbaa Xoonee, the Gumuz *Abbaa Qoroo* and went away accompanied by armed forces to capture the assassin. Regarding the situation Emeru noted:

> *I was a mislene and Qumburii was the Abbaa Qoroo and we were to capture the assassin and the rebel Gumuzs who refused to pay tax with 62armed nac labash forces.We agreed also to unite with the workers of the Ministry of Finance who had direct contact with the tax collection business.The Ministry ordered Grazmach Yadataa and we set out early in the morning.The Gumuzs were at Gombo village. When we arrived at the place they were dancing at a funeral ceremo ny.They sent us three chairs one for me, and the other two for Yada taa and Qumburii and ignored the others.Qumburii who well knew their behavior told us that they were not in good manners and advis ed us to interact peace fully and not to point guns at them soon.*[33]

When the armed forces arrived, Abba Xoonee was not at home. He had gone to Limmuu to the northeast of his village on a business trip. Moreover, most of the Gumuz males were also not in the village and the policemen only found women around the village. The policemen who understood the whereabouts of Abbaa Xoonee and the other males entered the local mead houses and drank local beer and *araqi* (locally made alcoholic drink).Soon they got intoxicated and began to flirt with the Gumuz women and girls and even raped some of them by force. The case was soon informed to the males who went for hunting in the nearby Saaye forest.With the return of the Gumuz men immediately to their villages an open clash broke out between the policemen

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[31]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/Cpp. 326-328.
[32]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/Cp.240; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.81.
[33]Informant: Emeru Gabre.

and the Gumuz.[34]

Meanwhile, Emeru and the *nac labash* soldiers who had survived the first clash went back to Gimbii and reported the incident to *Fitawrari* Yemaneh that the Gumuz refused to pay tax and opened fire.He reminded the officials the seriousness of the clash to take measure against the rebels. The news of the clash had reached Abbaa Xoonee who arrived from the trip on the very day the clash took place. Before he dismounted from his mule the policemen who were quite vexed at what had happened at his village shot his mule which died on the spot. Tesema remarked that the action of the policemen further infuriated him. Consequently, *Abbaa* Xoonee and his brother, Dorsaa passed orders to all Gumuz able-bodied men to get ready for any eventualities of a final showdown with the enemy forces.[35] Before eruption of the final clash Abbaa Xoonee called a meeting of the top council of elders from various villages to discuss what had actually happened in his village and to plan what course of action the Darroo and other Gumuz peasants should take. After a long discussion concerning the actions of the policemen, the poll tax collectors, the participants of the meeting reached a consensus that the system of governance was so evil that they were not in a position to accept any orders from authorities, be it poll tax payment or otherwise. They also agreed to take up arms against anyone who tried to enforce government orders in their villages. The council members and Abbaa Xoonee, the ring-leader of this venture, soon began to disseminate rumors and made a massive propaganda campaign in every Gumuz village not to pay poll taxes and to shoot at anyone who attempted to collect taxes for the state. Within a short time more or less the whole Gumuz clan and sub-clans were mobilized for an armed uprising against the local government officials.[36]

Although the Gumuz were for long disappointed at the appointees and some of the highland traders and policemen who usually raped their daughters and wives, their grievances were initially directed against the poll tax collectors and their supporters. Abbaa Xoonee and his people not only refused to pay taxes but also moved to a strategic area of Ennemay Boshe in Boojjii Dirmajjii and hid themselves in the dense forest of Kamashi. Moreover, killings of traders and some passersby in Darroo, the sub-district of Abbaa Xoonee's Qoroo were reported.

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[34]Tesema, Defying the System, p.39.
[35]Tesema, Defying the System, p.40; Informant: Emeru Gabre.
[36]*Ibid.*, P.41.

The situation soon grew into an open rebellion against the government leading to a general breakdown of law and order in the Gumuz villages, particularly in places like Gabaa Roobii and Tulluu Lubbuu where the first clash had occurred.[37] The Gumuz who were organized under Abbaa Xoonee were the first to refuse the payment of taxes which was soon followed by others. In the event of the initial combat between the government expeditionary forces and those of Abbaa Xoonee the latter had obtained the upper hand. Nevertheless, the government forces were soon reinforced with more weapons and manpower. Even some contingents of the Imperial Bodyguards were sent from Addis Ababa to support the provincial soldiers particularly making an effective use of artillery. The Gumuz were terrified, gave up a conventional warfare and resorted to guerrilla tactics.[38] Among the government contingents *Grazmach* Yaadataa Roorrisaa was a long time tax collector in the region and knew almost all the villages in the area. In addition to the 62 armed men there were also some peasant *militia* who were recruited from all districts of Gimbii *awraja* as well as some from Naqamtee, *awrajas* to join the campaign. But the Gumuz under their tactful leader, Abbaa Xoonee were already informed about the forces that were sent against them by the governor of Gimbii *awraja.* They had several firearms and ammunition and were ready to confront their enemies. By the time the government forces headed towards the domain of Abbaa Xoonee about 200 well armed Gumuz were eating, drinking and firing shots in the air making a military training to mobilize their forces.[39]

Our sources state that as a consequence of their rebellious character, *Dajazmach* Dereje ordered an all out offensive attack against the Gumuz villages. He ordered the police forces, soldiers of the *balamadariya maret, nac labash*, and a number of interested armed civilians of the different ministries, and private citizens to take part in the military campaign to hunt for the Gumuz rebels. Eventually an organized expeditionary force known as, '*Duula Abbaa Xoonee*' which literally means,'*The Expedition of Abbaa Xoonee*'was mobilized.When the reorganized government troops and civilians marched against the Gumuz villages the able-bodied men had already entered the nearby forest and the campaigners began burning the Gumuz villages and killing every one including women and children, wiped out the Gumuz farms, robbed their cattle

[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.* p.42; Informant: Emeru Gabre
[39] Tesema Ta'a, Defying the System, p.42.

and lit their huts on fire.[40]

The governor took a prompt action by sending more troops with enough firearms from Gimbii. In the meantime, the Gumuz moved into the junction of the Abbay and the Didheessaa River valleys where they hid in the inaccessible natural fortress. During this second campaign some of the Gumuz were captured. Within less than half a day the government troops managed to put the majority of the Gumuz under their control but still some of the strong ones escaped to far off places. Consequently, the Gumuz set the dense forest on fire and painted their rifles with charcoal to make it similar with their own color so that the enemy forces may not locate them easily. This tactic helped many Gumuz warriors to survive. Abba Xoonee was among those who had managed to escape the second campaign as well.[41] Following the second clash in which the Gumuz were completely defeated, Abbaa Xoonee was captured and brought to Gimbii. The governor passed order to *Fitawrari* Yemane to set Abbaa Xoonee free in spite of the criminal charges against him. Although Abba Xoonee was released, the civilians and peasant *militia* who were forced to fight against the rebels were not happy at his release. The surrounding Oromo expressed their dissatisfaction in the following folklore:

Oromo	Gloss
Abbaa Xoonee nama (garba)	*Abbaa Xoonee, a bad person (slave)*
gadhee gadaanii;	*of very low status;*
Yookaan loltee hinjabaanne	*You have neither fought and emerged*
Yookaan baddee hin fagaannee;	*strong enough;*
Ilma namaa tamsaafte	*Nor did you disappear and gone too far;*
Ganna gadhee kanaani.	*You dispersed (us) sons of human beings*
	in this bad rainy season.[42]

The folklore clearly reveals that the Oromo in the area seem to have favoured the victory of Abbaa Xoonee's rebellion which became futile. In fact hidden rumors among all the badly exploited and oppressed sections of the tenants had revealed that the peasants in Wallagga were sympathetic of the cause of the Gumuz rebellion against the feudal system. Even though the rebellion was short-lived; it reflected the inherent desire of the exploited classes to take serious actions against the regime.

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[40] *Ibid.* p.42; Informant: Emeru Gabre; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/Cpp.327-328.
[41] Tesema T'a'a, Defying the System, p.43.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

The significance of the Gumuz rebellion of 1952[1945E/C] lies in the fact that the Gumuz being a marginalized ethnic group with a very poor economy and small population situated in the midst of both numerically superior and economically better off neighboring Oromo peoples was determined to confront the well organized punitive military expedition dispatched against them by the Ethiopian government with an ill-coordinated and poorly armed forces though the rebellion had not soon brought about a major socioeconomic change to the Gumuz in particular and the peoples of Wallagga in general.In sum it is interesting to note that the Gidamii peasant uprising and the Gumuz rebellion (both in west Wallagga) directed against the officials of Emperors Menilek and Hailesellassie were triggered by unjust taxation, ethnic oppression, as well as administrative injustices of great magnitude. The rebellions had a far reaching consequence in mobilizing generations of the oppressed strata of the peoples of Wallagga to play a pivotal role in the eventual outbreak of the Ethiopian popular revolution of 1974.

The *Balabats* Demonstration

The movement of the *Balabats* was the direct outcome of the intricated land tenure system that had prevailed in Wallagga since Menilek's conquest of the region. Among the underlying causes of the demonstration were: complication of land administration, unfair tax assessment and collection. However, the land remeasurement of 1960 was believed to be the immediate cause of the demonstration.

The Underlying Causes

1)Complication of Land Administration- It is evident that following the conquest of Wallagga, Morodaa Bakaree submitted to the lordship of Menilek and his land became *mad bet*, literally kichen in which he agreed to pay *qurt geber,* fixed tribute of 1000 *waqet* of gold annually. Documents revealed that after the death of his father, Kumsaa, alias Gabraegzabher and his right-hand officials have prepared two different records when he ordered the land measurement of 1942 E/C[1950]. The unofficial register, *godolo mazgab* listed all *gasha* owned by the *Balabats*, *Abbaa Qoroos* and individual owners and it served him to collect his private tax arears. He made this register very secret even to some of his relatives and trusted notables. The other one was the official record in which Gabraegzabher registered the total number of *gasha* on which he paid *qurt geber* for Menilek. In 1934E/C [1942] the official register was sent to Addis

Ababa by the *Rist* department official *Fitawrari* Estifanos Bashah inspected and got official recognition of the stamp of *Tsehafe Tizaz* Gabrasellasse and returned back to Naqamtee in Yekatit 22, 1937 [February 29, 1944] and functioned until *Ginbot* 27,1941E/C[June 5,1949].[43] Documents asserted that his official record listed the total measured *gasha*, identified the status of the land (whether the land was *lam*, *lam-taf*, and *taf*), the tax assessment, the existing tenures (*sisso*, *gabar*, *samon*, *madaria, gizh*) and what Gabraegzabher owned as his own *hambifata,* freehold. In 1942E/C when Gabraegzabher paid fixed tribute he had not mentioned the names of all the *sisso* holders on the official register which was sent to Addis Ababa and approved by the Ministry of Pen. The Official register, however, listed 252 *Abbaa Qoroos* with 7642 *gasha* while the unofficial record mentioned 109 *Abbaa Qoroos* with 3923 *gasha*. The 109 *Qoroos* and 3923 *gasha* which was secretly excluded from the official record was unknown by the central government's land administration office. Therefore, collection of tax from all *Rist* owners became impossible making use of the official record as some of the *rist* owners were missing from this list. In 1937E/C [1944/1945] land tax assessment and collection was done according to the unofficial record which was not recognized by the Ministry of Interior. All *awraja* governors and the provincial *bajirond* and *Rist* department officials were ordered to execute the tax assessment and collection based on the official register.[44]

Gabraegzabher did not worry about the land measurement whether there was more *gasha* or less as he paid fixed tribute annually. However, the *Balabats* became victims of the chaos caused by his wrong registry in one way or another. The distressed *Balabats* remarked that they obtained *sisso* and submitted the rest of their land to the state which declared its own and made ready for sale, *gizh* for anybody with ready cash.[45]

[43]WMTMAC, letter from Wallagga Province to Ras Andargachew Masay, Minister of Interior, Ref No.583/4, September 20, 1953[September 29, 1960] Gabraegzabher assigned surveyors, judges and secretaries who remeasured and registered the *gasha*. The *balabats* received their *sisso* [1/4] and the rest was declared as *madaria*, *samon* and *gizh*. The *balabats* did not show any outright resistance but accepted the new land regulation and completed formalities and began paying their taxes on their freehold. WMTMAC, The letter of Hidar 20,1948E/C [November 29, 1955], Fitawrari Bizuwarq Gabre to the Endarase of Wallagga Province, Ref. No 17/9466; A letter of Sene 14,1941E/C [June 21, 1949] Ref.No.7562, from the *Balabats* of Wallagga to the Ministry of Interior.

[44] WMTMAC, The letter of Yekatit 7, 1944 E/C [February 14, 1952], Ref.No.1/3850, from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Finance, *Yamaret Gabi Wanna Tsifet bet.*

[45]*Ibid.*

The archival sources at our disposal point out that since some *Balabats gasha* was not mentioned in the official register (because Gabraegzabher did not mention the owners of the total *gasha* in his domain in this record), they were declared illegal and dislodged from their *sisso*. So the unofficial register became the source of confusion among the *Balabats,* the *Rist* holders and the authorities though it served as guide to the tax assessors and collectors. Of the total 11565 *gasha* ,Gabraegzabher made official 7642 *gasha* reducing 3923 out of his sheer desire probably to get private income unnoticed by Menilek and this situation totally left the *Balabats* and *Abbaa Qoroos* helpless before the law because the Commission's meeting accepted the official register as the only legal document to function instead of the disqualified record rejected by the Ministry of Interior and the director of the *Rist* and *Wul* department which dispossessed those *Balabats* and *Rist* holders whose names were not found on the official register. This situation worsened the problem more than ever and directly forced the perplexed *Balabats* to start the demonstration.[46]

Why did Gabraegzabher prepare two entirely different registers for the land under his domain? It seems probable that he schemed to gain more economic advantage failing to consider the consequences of his wrong registry on the land management in the subsequent years which complicated land administration instigating the *Balabats* demonstration of 1960.[47]

Gabraegzabher deliberately reduced certain amount of *gasha* and *Qoroo* from the official register to avoid future heavy imposition of tax. Moreover, he sold away several *gasha* inexplicably and submitted half of the cash to the treasury and confiscated rest of the money for himself. Particularly most of the land in the districts of Naqamtee and Gimbii was not recorded in the official register of the Ministry of Pen as he deliberately excluded some *gasha* as if it was sold away. Both Wallagga *Balabats* and the Emperor did not have any information about Gabraegzabher's maneuver to gain his own advantage. Nevertheless, the maneuver remained to be the source of great chaos throughout the 1950s and 1960s which instigated the movement of the *Balabats* in Wallagga.[48]

[46]WMTMAC, The letter of Hidar 17, 1942 E/C [November 24, 1949].
[47]WMTMAC, The letter of Yekatit 7, 1944 E/C [February 14, 1952], Ref.No.1/3850, from the Ministry of Interior to the Ministry of Finance, *Yamaret Gabi Wanna Tsifet bet.*
[48]WMTMAC, The letter of Sene 14, 1941E/C [June 21, 1949], Ref.No.7562, from the *balabats* of Wallagga to the Ministry of Interior.

Gabraegzabher's maneuver had been discovered by the peoples of Naqamtee and Gimbii when a certain Gimbii *Balabat* from Haruu, Gibe *mikitil warada*, *Qannazmach* Fidoo Sharke a *Balabat* who administered 196 *gasha* set out to complete formalities for the legalization of his *sisso* over the mentioned *gasha* (his *balabatinat*). Fidoo ordered his own son *Grazmach* Fufaa Fidoo to execute the task by contacting the concerned officials at *warada* and *awraja* level in reference to Gabraegzabher's register. It was found out that from the total of 196 *gasha* only 80 *gasha* had been registered for Fidoo. When the surprising news had been heard by the *Balabats* and the peoples of Gimbii and Naqamtee areas every *Balabat* and *Abbaa Qoroo* hurried to the land administration office of Naqamtee to check if anything was wrong with the register.After consultation of the register many *Balabats* understood that only half or one-fourth of their *gasha* was recorded on the official record in 1941E/C. So Gimbii and Naqamtee *Balabats* who had become the victims of this crisis soon selected their representative in the person of *Grazmach* Dessisa Ayansa to take their petition to the Emperor in Addis Ababa for the mishap.[49]

In November,1955[Hedar 20,1948E/C] the province Administrative Commission convened a brain storming meeting in Naqamtee whose main agenda was the investigation of the nature of Gabraegzabher's land register so as to carry out the confirmation of *Balabats'* freehold in the *awrajas* and *waradas* of Naqamtee and Gimbii. The investigation of the Commission found out that the registers were quite different from each other in terms of their contents. The officially recognized record carried the seal of the Ministry of Pen signed by *Tsehafe Tizaz* Gabrasellasse whereas the unofficial record also known as, *godolo mazgab* had no signature or seal of the Ministry of Pen. The main difference between the two records was the fact that the official list held the number of *Balabats* and the total number of *gasha* they owned whereas the unofficial register had mentioned details of owner's *Rist* and the total number of *Qoroos* found in these areas. Once the *Balabats* and *Abba Qoroos* discovered that Gabraegzabher had another secret list[*godolo mazgab*] they began petitioning to higher authorities particularly after 1941 when the restored government permitted all *sisso* holders to reclaim their former holdings in a legal procedure.Until 1944E/C [1951] *Dajazmach* Gabraegzabher's register was recognized as legal record that *Balabats* completed formalities and legalized their *sisso* and obtained payment of

[49]WMTMAC, A letter of Sene 14,1941E/C [June 21, 1949] Ref.No.7562, from the *balabats* of Wallagga to the Ministry of Interior.

their allowance. However, few *Balabats* were undergoing this process when it was eventually discovered that the record had a serious problem, *gudlat* and hence it was declared illegal by the Ministry of Interior which refused granting allowance to the owners. Therefore, the governorate office in support of the *Balabats* claiming *rista-gult* or *sisso-gult* ordered that they should complete the legal procedure with the confirmation of three witnesses in addition to their past tax receipt.[50]

Our sources indicate that *Dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta, the Governor of Wallagga province ordered to use the two registers as legal reference for the rearrangement of land access and debate on *sisso* among the peoples of Naqamtee, Gimbii and Arjoo.[51] The Commission disqualified the unofficial registry of Gabraegzabher which became the source of great chaos of the *Balabats* and *Abbaa Qoros* as an illegal document when Jemaneh, the provincial *Rist* director released a circular letter that declared the denouncement of the secret record that falsified the full tax assessment of 1937E/C [1944/1945 to the provincial court and to the *awraja* administrators. Documents stated that the unofficial record made the provincial land administration problematic on one hand and it harassed particularly Leeqaa, Gimbii and Arjoo *Balabats* on the other hand and forced them to send petition to the Emperor through the Ministry of Interior. Records further verified that around 500 people were dislodged from their own *rista gult*, *sisso gult* and *gizh* land from Gimbii and Najjoo *waradas* in a legal decision.[52] (See also Appendix 15)

2) Unfair Tax Assessment and Collection- In the pre-war days it was common in Horroo Gudruu and Arjoo that soldiers sold away their *madaria* without government permission. The soldiers did not give any legal evidence of the land they sold and those who bought the land faced serious problems to legalize it as their own possession. Moreover, the collection of such land taxes from the claimants was forbidden by the state unless they brought a legal permit for

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[50]WMTMAC, The letter of Hidar 10, 1945 E/C [November 19, 1952],from Wallagga Governorate Office to Wallagga Governorate *bajirond* Office Tikemt 21, 1944 E/C, File 1/495, From the Ministry of Finance to Land Income Main Office; The letter of Tahsas 27,1954E/C [January 4, 1962].
[51]WMTMAC, Makonnen Dasta, Governor General of Wallagga, the letter of Hidar 17/1942E/C [November 26, 1949].
[52]WMTMAC, The letter of Sene 14,1941E/C [June 21, 1949], Ref.No.7562, from the *balabats* of Wallagga to the Ministry of Interior.

the sale of the land particularly after 1941. *Nagadras* Jemaneh, the director of *Rist* and *Wul* department of the province prohibited the collection of such taxes by sending a circular letter to the concerned departments.[53] During this period some *Balabats* were suspected to have transferred state land to their own possession illegally, *baijamanagna*.[54] In Arjoo and Horroo Gudruu the land register had probably been destroyed by the *Fascists* that after their withdrawal the local *Balabats* were permitted to confirm through witnesses and complete the legal formalities to reclaim their holdings.[55]

Earlier the *Balabats* of Naqamtee, Gimbii and Arjoo completed the official formalities to legalize their *sisso*, in reference to Gabraegzabher's register. However, the unofficial [disqualified] register had complicated the tax assessment of 1937E/C [1944/45] and made the land administration problematic.

When this situation obstructed the smooth running of government duty the governor of the province ordered approval of the *Balabat's sisso* based on the receipt of the past land tax assessment, and the application of the *sisso* owners. Records disclosed that even the 1937E/C land tax assessment was ratified depending on the information offered by the holders without any actual supervision of the past tax receipt by the concerned government bodies.[56] However, the formal procedure was later on rejected by the Ministry of Finance because the Ministry of Pen [*Tsifet Minister*] refused to recognize Gabraegzabher's unofficial register [*godolo mazgab*]. Those *Rist* holders whose names were missed from the register were totally dislodged from their holdings and this created great chaos to those land owners who were already permitted to reclaim their *sisso* by the higher officials. Therefore, after 1941 the Emperor had passed an order to the governor to grant them permission to complete the formalities for the legalization of the *Balabats*

[53]WMTMAC, Sene 6,1955E/C [June 14, 1963], Memorandum of *Dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta, Governor General of Wallagga Province, to Emperor Hailesellasse.
[54]WMTMAC, The letter of Tahsas 24,1943E/C [January 2, 1951] Ref.No.2051/from Gimbi *awraja gezat* to Wallagga Governorate Office; The letter of Meskerem 6,1945E/C [September 16, 1952].
[55]WMTMAC, Tikemt 21, 1944 E/C, Ref. No. 910/44, File 1/495, from the Ministry of Finance to Land Income Main Office; The letter of Tahsas 27,1954E/C [January 4, 1962].
[56]WMTMAC, The letter of Meskerem 6,1945E/C [September 16, 1952].

holdings who complained that:

> *The Ministry of Finance attacked and dislodged us from our sisso which we legally held by the imperial order and made our livelihood[tidar]unful filled and made us suffer in vain while we are devoted to the government work moving here and there to execute government orders.Our condition became quite saddening, our children lacked something to eat and wear, we also lacked the foods and drinks that we had been enjoying and the clo thes we had been wearing and we are humiliated.*[57]

Available records disclosed that during the war period the Italians introduced their own taxation system abolishing the former one. From 1937E/C to 1941E/C land tax assessment was carried out and the *Balabats* paid their taxes on their *sisso* and *gizh* land and in 1942E/C land remeasurement was ordered and the remeasurement took place particularly in Naqamtee-Gimbii and Arjoo areas. In 1937E/C [1944/45] the Ministries of Interior and Finance formed a Commission that assessed a new land tax. In 1942E/C [1949/50] another edict was introduced to reassess the land tax. By this edict land formerly designated *lam* though it became *taf* was reassessed and designated *lam*.[58]

Tenants were forced to pay more tax and because of this some tenants left the land and it became *gebratal,* abandoned. In 1948E/C [1955/1956] the *Balabats* blamed the Ministry of Finance that, while they were paying the regular tax on their *sisso* the Ministry forced them to pay as *gabbar* land raising the *sisso* tax payment. They appealed to the Emperor who ordered reinvestigation by *Ras* Abebe Aragay who ordered the protection of their rights by law. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Finance defied the order and forced them to pay the former amount.[59]

In 1937E/C when land tax was assessed the assessors did a rather guesswork to speculate the productivity of the land. Many tenants abandoned their lands due to unfair assessment and hence tax collection became very problematic both to the tax payers and to the tax collectors. Some tax payers sold their livestock to pay their taxes and others were forced to abandon the land. Higher

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[57]WMTMAC, The letter of Hidar 10,1945E/C [November 19,1952],Ref.No.1494/52,from Wallagga Governorate Office to Wallagga Governorate *bajirond*, Petition of *balabats* of Wallagga *taqlay gezat*
[58]WMTMAC, The letter of Hidar 20,1948E/C [November 29, 1955], *fitawrari* Bizuwarq Gabre to the *endarase* of Wallagga Province, The letter of Tekemt 3,1942E/C [October 13, 1950] from Gimbi *balabats* to the Ministry of Interior.
[59]WMTMAC, The letter of Meskerem 23, 1953E/C [October 3, 1960], Petition of the Demonstrators.

officials suggested those nonpayers to be relieved or the land to get its real tax estimate and as a result *chiqa shums*, *Qoroos* and *mikitil warada* governors were under strict criticism. Defaulters were imprisoned and others abandoned the land as *gebratal*. Tax payers and tax collectors were constantly under pressure because of default. So as a measure of improving the taxation problem the *awraja* officials reported the matter to the provincial authorities who finally suggested to the central government the implementation of the new land tax assessment of 1942E/C [1949/50].[60] The gap which was created by the unresolved conflict between the *Balabats* and the Ministry of Finance with regard to the unfair land tax assessment and collection was further widened and became extremely complicated by the secret register of Gabraegzabher. As a temporary measure to solve the prevailing complication the Minister of Pen informed those *Balabats* who could not get a definite answer from the lower authorities to refer to the unofficial register of Gabraegzabher about their *sisso* tax payment while those *Balabats* whose names were missed from the recognized list were advised to pay depending on the official register of the Ministry of Pen.[61]

The peoples of Gimbii, Yuubdoo and Najjoo who appealed to the Emperor through Wallagga Governorate office specified their miserable living conditions. According to our sources the appealants explained that since the reign of Menilek their fathers and forefathers served the Emperor in war and peace and they collected the tribute they deserved and accomplished tasks that pleased him as loyal servants without any reservation. Moreover, they stated that before the Italian occupation the *sisso* they deserved was not properly measured for them and the allowance they deserved was not appropriately handed over to them by the treasury.Furthermore, they described that those who were under the jurisdiction of *Dajazmach* Gabraegzabher were made to suffer the consequence of his wrong registries which was declared illegal by the Ministries of Interior and Pen. Therefore, they lost their *sisso* right and were forced to pay land tax on all of their possessions as if they had been paying *gabar* tax.[62]

A broadly similar description in distress appears in another petition which the *Balabats* and

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[60] *Ibid.*
[61] WMTMAC, A letter to *dajazmach* Fiqresellasse Habtamariam, Governor General of Wallagga, from Ras Andargachew Masay, Minister of Interior, Maskaram 6,1953E/C. [September,16,1960].
[62] WMTMAC, A letter of Yekatit 30, 1946E/C, from the *balabats* of Wallaggato the Ministry of Interior.

peoples addressed the Emperor in 1942E/C asking for tax relief. They appealed that officials classified the forest as *lam-taf*. Moreover, they pleaded for liberty from the land tax of 1942E/C as they became empty-handed due to livestock disease locally known as *qooqsaa*. They reported that their livestocks perished away which grazed on a poisonous grass and it resulted in the devastation of their economies.[63] The *Balabats* around Naqamtee also appealed expressing their inability to pay government tax and *asrat, tithe* because most of the land being *taf* [uncultivable land, the home of wild animals-baboons and monkeys], and most of their tenants became poorer, without sufficient knowledge of farming, and the land also became unproductive. They pointed out that before they were cleared of the previous year's debt the current tax appeared and that they were suffering from imprisonment since February 1941E/C.[64]

In 1960 the people of Yubdoo and Najjoo addressed their complaints directly to the Emperor: We hear from the people again through their petitions to the Ministry of Interior, in which they described the failure of their harvest and the devastation of their cattle by reinderpest. They told the Emperor that, a heavy yoke of starvation was upon them, having finished what they had yet stored away for food they suffered from famine..."

> *The Light of Ethiopia, Girmawi Janhoy [Your Majesty]*
> *We would set forth our recurring problems as follows: 1st Your Ministry of Fina nce dislodged us from our sisso gult which we defended for five years at court and you saved us by returning our sisso right by court decision but then the governor of Gimbii awraja Kassa Techane forced us to pay the amount of gabar tax on our sisso imposing on us $75 to lam, and $64 to lam-taf. 2nd In 1953E/C because of rain shortfall our crops became fruitless and in the following year 1954 E/C we suffered from famine and many of our relatives and families passed away. 3rd whereas it is known that the land of Wallagga is mountainous and the soil very thin and uncomfortable for crop production, our officials in the contrary considered farming improved while we are still digging with a hoe and only few of us using oxen, we are not even sufficient for our mouth, we are suffering from starvation. Your Ministry of Finance is pushing us into abject povertybyovertaxing us, separateing Ethiopian from an Ethiopian and dispatched its surveyors into our country to remeasure our land.*[65]

[63] WMTMAC, The letter of Yekatit 14,1942E/C [February 21, 1950], from the *balabats* and peoples of Gimbii, Najjoo and Yubdoo *waradas*, to *dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta, Governor General of Wallagga Province.
[64] WMTMAC, The letter of Miazia 26,1941E/C [May 4, 1949], from the *balabats* around Naqamtee to the Ministry of Interior.
[65] WMTMAC, The letter of Tekemt 1,1953E/C [October 11, 1960], from the peoples of Yubdo, Najjo, to the Light of Ethiopia, Girmawi Janhoy.

They went on describing their condition that

> The heavy yoke put on us forced us to leave the country. But because you are God's steward we appeal our case to you. When your charitable hand issupport ing overseas nations such as Asia and Europe, supporting Somalia and Africa why does your Ministry of Finance put a heavy yoke on us by remeasuring our land while our neighbors are at peace?[66]

In another letter they went on describing that they suffered from cattle epidemic by which ninety per cent of their stocks perished away in 1957 and 1958E/C.[1964 and1965] Even their sheep, goats and chicks perished while they were under treatment. They continued pointing out that, in1958E/C [1964] because of rain shortfall their crops were destroyed. While they were in this tribulation, having paid most of their current tax little amount remained on them and when they got the money and went to pay the tax the treasury forced them to pay *atafeta*, double tax for passing the deadline. They stated that their officials brought court charges against them and some of them were already imprisoned and those who had no money left the country and escaped to Assosa.[67] (See also Appendix 16) The *Balabats* remarked that their *sisso* right was forbidden by the provincial land administration although they have been receiving its allowance since 1934E/C. The repeated appeals and petitions eventually forced the Governor who reminded the treasury,*bajirond* to allow them to obtain their *sisso* allowance because the *Balabats* served the government by collecting tax, keeping security of the country and other routine works.[68]

3) Immediate Cause- The immediate cause of the *Balabats* demonstration in 1960 was land remeasurement. As we have already discussed *qalad* measurement of land took place in 1909/10 in Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii areas. During the land measurement the actual proportion of *Balabat's mert,* freehold was one *gasha* out of four (1/4). Thus, every *Balabat* obtained as *hambifata,* one-fourth of the ancestral land which the pioneer settlers claimed for the lineage. The remaining was apportioned among the three categories: *madaria*, *samon*, and state. The state and *madaria* category comprised three-fourth and were registered as government land.[69]

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[66]*Ibid.*

[67]WMTMAC, The letter of Hamle 6, 1958E/C [July13, 1966], from the peoples and *balabats* of Sibuu Siree, to the Ministry of Interior.

[68]WMTMAC, The letter of Meskerem 2,1942E/C [September 12, 1950] appeal from the *balabats* of Naqamtee *awraja* to Wallagga Governorate General, Report to the Ministry of Interior.

[69]WMTMAC, The letter of Tir 2,1955E/C [January 10, 1962], from Wallagga Governorate General Office, *dajazmach* Fiqresellasse Habtamariam to the Ministry of Interior *rist* and *wul* Department.

However, the *Balabats* retained an overright of tax collection to these lands until the officials transferred them by sale or grant.[70] Because of the absence of *Naftanna* in their districts the Oromo *balabats* bought almost all of the state's land after the expropriation by Menilek. Gabraegzabher arranged for a two year purchase on credit which enabled the better-off peasants and the *Balabats* to acquire freehold land. In most cases peasants contributed money and purchased land which they shared among themselves. Gabraegzabher himself accumulated more land than anyone in the district. By 1941 the Oromo *Balabats* in these districts were better off than those in Qellem, Arjoo and Horro Gudruu. Although the district and provincial governors enticed the Oromo *Balabats* with the Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii type of *qalad* measurement, they were determined not to replicate those conditions in Qellem. Yet the *qalad* system in the neighbouring of Arjoo and Horro Gudruu accumulated land in the hands of the Amhara, and only few Oromo *Balabats*, at the expense of the indigenous tenants.However, Beni-Shangul region remained unmeasured, *qalad yalwedeqebet* and it continued so unitl 1946.[71] It is evident that following the land measurement, Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii districts had experienced landlord-tenant relationship which was also revived and formed the basis of the feudal relations of production in Wallagga until 1974.

In the 1950s the reasons for the pressing need of "land remeasurement" in wallagga were diverse and complicated. The available oral and archival sources substantiated that since the Italian period some *Balabats* held large amount of *gasha* illegally by converting its tenure. *Sisso* was exchanged for state land or *samon* and vice-versa. Therefore, the state had embarked on recapturing such vast tracts of virgin land the income of which would strengthen its deteriorated finance through spotters locally known as *qanqan*. Moreover, the past measurement was considered faulty particularly by the *Balabats* of Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii. Therefore, Gabraegzabher ordered the remeasurement but refused to transfer the remeasured land in the official register recognized by the Ministry of Pen [*Tsifet Minister*]. The land remeasurement was also partly geared to look for a lasting solution to the *Balabats* chaos connected with unfair land tax assessment and collection further complicated by Gabraegzabher's disqualified register

[70]Seenaa Warra Bakaree,1971E/C.pp.133-135; *YaWallagga Taqlay Gezat Lemat Sera Akwahan*, Folder 263, File 115/2, *Yaqellem awrajja gezat Ya arba hulat amata mehirat masarata gemet.*
[71]Mahtama Sellassie Weldemesqel, *Zikre Neger* p.164.

which became the source of the *Balabats* confusion in wallagga throughout the reigns of Habta Mariam and Emperor Haila Sellassie I.[72]

The state intended to calculate appropriately the total land size and tax assessment of this economically prosperous region so that it could settle as much Amharas as possible whom it considered as '*Balawulata*' on the superfluous land by relocating the indigenous population. While on the otherhand, the indigenous tenants supported the land remeasurement edict in order to obtain the half *gasha* promised by the imperial decree of 1945E/C. Records affirmed that those *Balabats* who had doubled *gasha* illegally, *baija managna* feared that if surplus land was found out the Ministry of Finance would charge them and they would be forced to pay all the debts and lose much money in court litigation. Moreover, they feared lest they lose their *Rist* either to the Amharas or the indigenous tenants who were their vital sources of agricultural labour in the farms.Therefore, such *Balabats* strongly resisted the land remeasurement at all.[73] The Ministries of Finance and Pen proposed land remeasurement for confirmation of holder's legal possession and to ensure the appropriate collection of state tax which would enable these ministries to determine the amount of superfluous land ready to be redistributed to the landless as demanded by the edict of 1945E/C. The intention of these ministries was to practicalize the imperial order but not to attack the economic interest of the *Balabats* who condemned them for chaos that took place in the aftermath of the land remeasurement. The *Balabats* were equally disappointed at the Ministry of Finance and those "unknown agents" who announced themselves as the "representatives", *wakils* of the *Balabats* who had requested land remeasurement in their top-secret memorandums. In his letter to the governor of Wallagga *Ras* Andargachew explained that the *Balabats* of Wallagga demanded cancellation of the land remeasurement edict which they appealed to the Emperor pointing out that tenants who settled on the leased land were dislodged by officials and wealthy merchants and the concerned officials gave deaf ear to the situation.[74]

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[72]MFED, Letter dated *Tikimt* 17, 1938 from *dejazmach* Asrate Kassa to His Imperial Majesty Haile Sellassie I, File 10896, Folder, 150.
[73]WMTMAC, A letter to *dajazmach* Fiqresellasse Habtamariam, Governor General of Wallagga, from *ras* Andargachew Masay, Minister of Interior, Maskaram 6, 1953E/C [September, 16, 1960].
[74]*Ibid.*; WMTMAC, Letter from Wallagga Province to *ras* Andargachew Masay, Minister of Interior, September 20, 1953[September 29, 1960]

According to sources in Qellem the underlying motive for the "land measurement" recommended by some of the district and provincial authorities was a definition of right to land favoring the *Naftanna* which had a superior position over the indigenous tenants. However, in Naqamtee and Gimbii the contest was for "remeasurement". In the pre-war period few *Balabats* secretly proposed land measurement in Qellem *awraja*. In the summer of 1934 they wrote to Emperor Hailesellassie requesting land measurement. After the end of the rainy season when the approval to measure the land arrived from the Emperor Italian aggression hindered its implementation.[75] It is apparent that the *Balabats* expected some socioeconomic and political gains from the 'land measurement' like the *Balabats* of Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii. Records disclosed that until 1941 the *Balabats* of Anfillo consistently opposed the introduction of *qalad*. The Anfillo *Balabats* claimed all land as their own and they annually delivered fixed tribute on their land which was transfered to the government treasury. In1942 few *Balabats* rejected land measurement which reemerged in Sayyo. By 1944 although their large individual holdings were not threatened, the status of the Oromo *Balabats* had become uncertain due to the pressures of both the Oromo tenants and the Amhara land seekers which compelled them to insist land measurement.[76]

Ever since the introduction of *qalad* into the neighboring districts, various governors had attempted to measure land in Qellem. Records affirmed that the Anfillo *Balabats* led by Gimbii Qajeelaa, the influential Anfillo *Balabat* sent several appeals to the Emperor and he eventually responded positively not only to the appeals of the Anfillo *Balabats* but also to the whole of Qellem *awraja*. In a letter dated January 3, 1947, the Ministry of Interior sent an imperial order to Wallagga provincial governor that Qellem land should not be granted or sold to anyone and that the inhabitants should continue paying tax on their holdings. The provincial governor in turn passed on the order which paved the way for the individual holding rights to *dajazmch* Shiferaw Balcha, the governor of Qellem *awraja* who had been arranging sales and grants of plantation coffee in Anfillo for the Amharas and the *nac labash*, soldiers disregarding its

[75]WMTMAC, Folder 1, File 1/1 Wallagga *awraja gezat*, Abiy Abebe to Ministry of Interior, Ter 21, 1935 [January 29, 1943], "Report on a Tour of Wallagga Province,"Ter 21 1935 [January29, 1943]; Ministry of Pen to Ministry of Interior, Hamle 24, 1927 [July1, 1935]

[76]Informants: Kena Ayyaanaa; WMTMAC, Folder 1, File 1/1 *Yawallagga agar gezat yasost war rapor*, Wallagga *awrajja gezat* to Minister of Interior, Ginbot 30, 1935[June 7, 1943].

previous owners.[77]

The governor of Wallagga province, *Dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta who have strongly pushed for the execution of *qalad* measurement remained determined to undermine systematically the imperial order. Makonnen attempted to reverse the imperial order subtly by using the cover of religion. In September 1950, he presented a memorandum to the Emperor which recommended the extension of Christian religion to the sub-districts of Gidamii even though it had already embraced Orthodox Christianity as we have mentioned earlier. He proposed the imposition of *qalad*, since the Orthodox church also needed sustenance, which would have only come from land.[78] In December 1950 he chaired the meeting of the Council of Wallagga Governors which was held in Naqamtee. The meeting considered a variety of reasons to propose the reintroduction of *qalad* to all districts. One cause was the inaccuracy of land measurement hitherto undertaken, including land in Qellem. Another justification was that the registers for Arjoo and Horroo Gudruu had been destroyed during the Italian occupation and individuals had trespassed boundaries of land, doubled *gasha* illegally, or exchanged fertile for semi-fertile. In Qellem *awraja*, Daallee and Laaloo *waradas* government land was also seized or doubled illegally.[79] In Arjoo, the territory of *Ras* Damissaw Nasibu tax payment receipt and the land registry book had been burned down during the occupation period probably by the Italian *Fascists*.[80] In the case of Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii the Council suspected the validity of Gabraegzabher's register which complicated the land administration. In January 1950 Makonnen went to Addis Ababa to meet the Emperor with the recommendation of the Council to remeasure all land in Wallagga province.[81]

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[77]Informants: Solomon Igguu.

[78]WMTMAC, Folder 118, File 22/13, Makonnen Dasta, Memorandum to the Emperor," Maskaram 1943E/C Wallagga *sela hagar astadadar*; Nagaso Gidada, The Impact of Christianity, pp.15-18.

[79]WMTMAC, Tikemt 21, 1944 E/C, Ref. No. 910/44, File 1/495, From the Ministry of Finance to Land Income Main Office; The letter of Tahsas 27,1954E/C [January 4, 1962]; The letter of Tahsas 24,1943E/C [January 2, 1951]from Gimbi *awraja gezat* to Wallagga Governorate Office; The letter of Meskerem 6,1945E/C [September 16, 1952].

[80]WMTMAC, The letter of Nehase 22,1950E/C, File2/495 *Sela tadabaqu yamangest maretoch*, I/E/G Ministry of Finance to Wallagga *taqlay gezat* office; The letter of Tahsas 27,1954E/C [January 5, 1962] to the Ministry of Interior; The letter of Hidar 10, 1945 E/C [November 19, 1952],from Wallagga Governorate Office to Wallagga Governorate *bajirond* Office, Petition of *balabats* of Wallagga *taqlay*

[81]WMTMAC, Folder 263, File 115/2, *yaWallagga taqlay gezat meker bet qala gubae*, yaWallagga *taqlay gezat lemat sera akwahan*, Tikemt 27, 1943-Tahsas 7, 1943,[November6-December 17,1950].

The introduction of *qalad* meant the measurement of land with a rope 134 cubits long. One *qalad* of land equaled 11x134 cubits in its length and 8x134 in its width. Sometimes this would be increased if the land was considered infertile. Measured land was also referred to in *gasha*. (1*gasha*=1*qalad*=40 hectares) Overtime these units have been considered as the standardized measurement such that one *gasha* was considered as equivalent to one *qalad* and both *gasha* and *qalad* as equivalent to 40 hectares. However, standardization was never complete and the units did vary in size. It was stated that, "a *qalad* or a *gasha* is the area of land needed for the support of one family.[82] The proportion assigned to the state and *madaria* formed the largest share of the measured land. It is important to note that the shape and actual size of the measured land were considered seriously because the size and shape of the land were not always equally right-angeled and this often became the basis for faulty measurement. The measurers applied an "eye-measurement" which assisted them to measure abundantly for individuals they favored on promised or accepted bribes. It was not unusual for a land measured as one *gasha* to become more than two or more later on.[83] It seems likely that this inaccurate 'measurement' formed one of the justifications for the Amhara officials to subsequently push for the 'remeasurement' of land in Wallagga.

On Nehase 14, 1937E/C [August21, 1945] the Ministry of Interior ordered Wallagga Governorate on the measurement of *qalad* in Qellem. One week later the Governorate sent a letter to Qellem *awraja* Governor *Dajazmach* Shiferaw Balcha a copy of the letter sent by the Ministry of Interior numbered 1205/2 regarding the land measurement. Selected *qalad* veterans from Naqamtee and Gimbii led by Mismaku Workineh, the *Rist* department official of the province went to Qellem. The Anfillo *Balabats* led by Gimbii Qajeelaa were called to participate in the *awraja* Council's meeting. Before the meeting Shiferaw tactfully persuaded Gimbii Qajeelaa, to agree to land measurement citing as model Gabraegziabeher's registration of his freehold in Leeqaa-Naqamtee advising him about the importance of recording the size of one's

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[82]Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971E/C.pp.133-135; Department of Overseas Trade, Economic Conditions in Ethiopia (Abyssinia) (London: 1932), p.6.

[83]Mahtamasellasse Waldamasqal, *Zekra Nagar* pp.105-107; Seenaa Warra Bakaree, 1971 E/C.pp.133-134;WMTMAC, File 3875/42, *Sela Qellem hezboch abetuta*, Blatta Waldakiros, Memorandum to the Emperor, Miaziya 24, 1948 [May 2 1956]; File 3875/42 [MLRAA; *Yagar gezat Masihet*, 1st year, No 7, p.25; Mc Clellan, State Transformation, p.90.

land in a recognized government register.[84] The convinced Anfillo *Balabats* were offered two options. Firstly, the *Balabats* were granted freehold right, *sisso* and the rest was registered as government land. Secondly, in case they refused to take *sisso* (1/4) they were allowed to pay full tax as *gabar* land. Moreover, they were given priority to purchase the state's land.Then land was measured and three-fourth was taken over by the state and one-fourth remained the pioneer *Balabats* freehold.Gimbii Qajeelaa and the rest of the *Balabats* agreed to obtain *sisso* like their neighbors Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii and received their allowance for many years. Later on, after the death of Gimbii Qajeelaa the Anfillo *Balabats* headed by Bantii Waggaa, grand-son of Gimbii Qajeelaa protested that "in our *balabatinat* (jurisdiction) the government does not have any share."[85]

In the Provincial Commission meeting held in Naqamtee, representative of the Ministry of Finance explained the root cause of the conflict between the Anfillo *Balabats* led by Bantii Waggaa and the Ministry arguing that Bantii violated the earlier agreement conducted between the Anfillo *Balabats* led by his grand-father, Gimbii Qajeelaa and the authorities of the province during the land measurement. He explained that the *Balabats* agreed to obtain freehold, *sisso* and the rest was registered as government property divided into *madaria*, *samon* and *gizh* leased to landless farmers and herders as *maggazzo*.The agent of the Ministry defended against Bantii's claim to expropriate all the state land dislodging the tenants who had taken land as *magazzo* and uprooting the *madaria* owners and the church *samon* to redistribute it to his favorites with prices he desired. The problem between the two parties remained unsolved until the eve of the 1974 revolution which ended the torturous land tenure system in Wallagga in particular and in Ethiopia in general. (See also Appendix 17) Sources state that a certain *Balabat* from Gimbii *awraja*, Yuubdoo *mikitil warada*, who followed Bantii's footstep, claimed freehold right enjoyed by the Anfillo *Balabats* brought an imperial order to Wallagga Governorate office. However, it is difficult to obtain clear information from the records regarding the final decision of the authorities on this subject as pertinent documents are not available.[86]

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[84]WMTMAC, Folder 2165/44,*yawallagga gezat maret*,Abiy Abebe to Ministry of Interior, Hamle 7,1934[July 14,1942]; File 3875/72,*sela Qellem hezboch abetuta*, "Memorandum to the Emperor," by Blata Waldakiros, Miaziya 24,1948[May2,1956]; OI: Solomon Igguu.
[85]WMTMAC, File 2/495, to the Ministry of Finance Land Income main Office, Ginbot 16, 1948 E/C, Ref. No. S/5766/1/48.
[86]*Ibid.*

It is apparent that the opposition of the Anfillo *Balabats* led by Bantii and his companions' against the succeeding governors of Qellem had inspired the *Balabats* outside of Qellem *awraja* to reclaim freehold right which Shiferaw Balcha and other Amhara governors strongly resisted.

In 1942E/C in order to open the way for the Amhara land seekers, Shiferaw wrote to *Dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta, Governor of Walllagga province requesting land sale in Qellem. Accordingly an estimated 4495 3/4 *taf gasha* was identified and sold as per the following status: highland *lam*$300, *lam-taf* $250 and *taf* $150; lowland *lam*$250, *lam-taf* $150 and *taf* $100. Those tenants who settled on the government land used to pay *erbo*. (1/3) The state land was mostly *taf* and it was probably as a result of the presence of vast acres of vacant land that the state attempted to settle the Amharas in the name of developing the land. Sayyo and Anfillo *Balabats* and tenants protested against the government's action to expropriate their land to be offered to what the state considered as *Balawulata*.[87] In Sayyoo *warada gizat*, Shanee and Dheekkoo *mikitil warada* the *Balabats* and peoples requested unmeasured land for farm association to be established on approximately 400 *gasha*. But the request was forbidden under the facade that it was government property.[88] In 1958E/C, however, *Dajazmach* Zewde Gabrasellasse claimed 800 *gasha Rist* in Qellem *awraja*, Sayyo *mikitil warada*, Karroo *kebele*. The letter sent by *Fitawrari* Hailemichael Zewde, Vice Minister of the Ministry of State Domain requested the urgent execution of the order for Zewde. It is quite surprising that the indigenous people were even denied the declared half *gasha* for sustenance while one high government official had claimed 800 *gasha* as private property. It is likely that district and provincial authorities introduced a system that reduced the indigenous farmers to tenants, transfered the larger share of the land to the *Naftanna*, and a smaller share to the *Balabats*.[89] (See also Appendix 18)

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[87]WMTMAC, The letter of Tir 27, 1942E/C, Folder 2170 *Sela Qellem Maret Shiyach*, from *dajazmach* Shiferaw Balcha, to *dajazmach* Makonnen Dasta, Governor General of Wallagga ; A letter from Wallagga Province to the Ministry of Interior, Yekatit 21,1953E/C [February 29, 1960].

[88]WMTMAC, The letter of Tekemt 21,1949E/C Ref.No.86311/49,File 2.495 *Ya*qellem *hizb maret tiyaqe*, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Finance to Qellem *awraja gezat* treasury.

[89]Informants: Kena Ayyaanaa, Mamo Tesema; WMTMAC, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of State Domain to Wallagga Governorate office, File 16/495, Ginbot 4, 1957 E/C; Folder 35, File 38 Shiferaw Balcha, Qellem *awraja gezat sera guday* "Memorandum to the Emperor," Sene18, 1937 [June25, 1945]; Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Interior to *fitawrari* Hailemichael Zewde, Vice Minister of the Ministry of State Domain, File 2/495, Meskerem 25,1955E/C, *Sela Maret abetuta*.

Documents remarked that the Ministry of Finance sent a letter to the Ministry of State Domain requesting the transfer of state land to individuals in the form of lease. Some of the land had sub-leasee who developed it with his own expense paying *erbo* and pasture rent for the original leasee. The Provincial Commission also passed a decision in which land was leased for a specific year as per the following status: crop land *lam* granted for 10 years, *lam-taf* for 15 years and *taf* for 20 years submitted the land to the highest bidder with the agreement that after the termination of the date, the bidder renewed adding five per cent rent increase.[90] Moreover, the province *bajirond* ordered land rent *lam* for $70, *lam-taf* for $50 and *taf* for $25. Later land was leased in *maggazzo* instead of rent and the price increased in Qellem and Gimbii *awrajas* where one *gasha* was raised to $900 in Qellem and $1600 in coffee producing Gimbii. In the same way several *gasha* of crop and coffee lands were rented in auction according to the productivity of the land. With further increase of land price, the Ministry of State Domain forbade giving the best land expected to bring high income to the leasee or *Balawulata* in all *awrajas* of Wallagga.[91]

The province State Domain official Lema Mamaru reported that government land administered in Wallagga was registered in model 78 and were categorized as *lam* taxed $70, *lam-taf* $50 and *taf* $ 25.Sources remarked that the underlying objective of the land "remeasurement" of the 1950's was the goal of planting more Amharas considerd as "*Balawulata,*" service-givers in the province than had been done until then. Nonetheless, a committee composed of representatives of the Ministries of Interior and Finance rejected the recommendation on the grounds of the absence of the surveyors needed to measure the land and above all because such an edict might trigger a "*Balabats* demonstration" in the region.[92]

[90]WMTMAC, Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of Interior to *fitawrari* Sahlu Defaye Wollega *taqlay gezat Endarase,Sela Qellem awraja gezat yamaret yezota*,File 9/495 Tekemt 28,1952E/C 1792/4; The letter of Sene 20,1951E/C, File 1/495 *Yamangest maret kiray*, IEG, Ministry of Finance to State Domain Main Office.

[91]WMTMAC, File 16/495 Wallagga Province State Domain to Imperial Ethiopian Government Ministry of State Domain, Sene 13, 1958 E/C, Ref. No 277/27/58, The letter of Lemma Mamaru, Wallagga Province State Domain official.

[92]MFED, Ministry of Finance to Ministry of State Domain, File 16/495, Hamle 11,1958 E/C Ref.No.303/27/58 ;WMTMAC, Folder 263, File 115/2, "*Leyyu Sebseba*,"Ter 1943[January 1951]; The letter of Hidar 10,1945E/C [November 19,1952],Ref.No.1494/52,from Wallagga Governorate Office to Wallagga Governorate *Bajirond* Office, Petition of *balabats* of Wallagga *taqlay gezat.*

The Onset of the Demonstration

As the protest for land remeasurement became acute the demonstrators' underlined that, "unless their demand was answered they would not stop petitioning the Emperor," and further warned that, "the state should quit passing any order to allot land to the 'service-givers', *Balawuleta* at their expense." Meanwhile, around 770 tenants from Boojji Coqorsa and Boojji Dirmajji *mikitil waradas* demanded the half *gasha* proclaimed by the good will of the Emperor in 1945E/C. The tenants appealed to the provincial governor where as the *Balabats* who owned excess land totally refused land remeasurement because if superfluous land is found out it would be taken away by the landless tenants and the '*Balewuleta'*. Therefore, those *Balabats* who owned more *gasha* became the vanguard of the protest against land remeasurement. The *Balabats* response to the edict of land remeasurement was commented by a certain *Balabat*, "Baqumanachin kaminimot motan biniqabqar yishalanal", "We prefer to die and get burried actually rather than dying alive."[93]

One of the *Balabats* petition to the Emperor reads as follows:

> *Since long time ago we cleared the forest, cultivated the land and settled on it which we inherited from our forefathers as our inheritance(asma rist).We paid its tribute toEmperor Menilek in ivory,in gold and later in cash without resisting our Emperor's orders.In1902E/C,our land was measured and balabats received sisso (1/4)then madaria(shalaqa and watadarmatkaya and manqaya)and samon land were redistributed and the rest was classified as gizh (land for sale) and accordingly lam was sold to$50,lam-taf $25,and taf $10.Those of us who had no money were left with our sisso only and those who had the money bought their father's land and the rest of our land was purchased by any moneyholder,includ ing the Amhara and the muslims.*[94]

Therefore, the *Balabats* did everything to instigate all strata of the society to participate in presenting petition to the higher officials. On the other hand the peasants demanded their own freehold to get rid of tenancy. The Oromo *Balabats* questioned why the Amharas and the *Balewuleta* got hold of their land at their expense? Why did they overran their father's land? They protested that: "If surplus land is found out are we going to hand over to them? When it

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[93]WMTMAC, The letter of Hidar7, 1953[November16, 1960], from Wallagga provincial office to Ras Andargachew Masay.

[94]WMTMAC, A letter to the Ministry of Interior, from the *balabats* of Wallagga, Sene 14,1941E/C.

was well known that the land belonged to our ancestors, our neighbors Shawa and Gojjam established on their holdings, why did the state proclaim land remeasurement on us? They say that Wallagga has no *Ristegna* (rist-owner) why do they give away our land to non-Oromo whom they considered as '*Balewuleta*'?" Since land was not being remeasured in their neighbors, the demonstrators concluded that it should neither be remeasured in Wallagga.[95] The demonstrators reported to the *awraja* governors of their respective localities to take care of their properties while they were away from their homes to Addis Ababa to appeal to the Emperor.[96] The petitioners reminded the Emperor that while their neighbors, the rest of the Ethiopian peoples, established on their holdings, it was not fair for them to suffer from land remeasurement which caused great chaos among peaceful subjects and hence they demanded the cancellation of the edict before the surveyors were dispatched into their territory.[97]

One of the peasant demonstrators' petitions remarked:

> *One part of independent and united Ethiopia is Wallagga whose people respected the Emperor and paid every sacrifice to defend the country from foreign invasion including theMahdist incursion in Western Wallagga.We[The people of Wallagga] are loyal to our country and servant for ourKing and respecter of the constitution. By your good will you declared half gasha for our sustenance in 1945E/C.But the law was not implemented and we were forced to remain on the government land which we developed as gabbars and the officials and wealthy people snatched away our land by force.*[98]

Records verified that the demonstration staged in Naqamtee did not gather more than 300 people. Before the demonstrators departed from Naqamtee they convened a half day's meeting in the compound of Saint Mary church where they drafted the petition which was to be presented to the Emperor in Addis Ababa.[99]

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[95]WMTMAC, The letter of Hidar7, 1953 [November16, 1960], from Wallagga provincial office to Ras Andargachew Masay; A letter from Wallagga Province to the Ministry of Interior, Yekatit 21,1953E/C [February 29, 1960]; Letter of Nehase 23, 1952,[August 30,1960],from Governor of Wallagga Province, *dajazmach* Fiqresellasse Habtamariam to *ras* Andargachew Masay.

[96]WMTMAC, The letters of Meskerem 24,1953E/C [October 4, 1960]; Meskerm 21,1953E/C [September 30, 1960].

[97]WMTMAC, The letter of Meskerem 23, 1953 E/C [October 3, 1960], Demonstrators Petition.

[98]WMTMAC, The letter of Meskerm 23,1953E/C [October 3, 1960], Petition of the demonstrators

[99]WMTMAC, From Qellem *awraja gezat*, to Ras Andargachew Masay, Minister of Interior, Number 20/28, Maskaram 30,1953E/C [October 10, 1960].

Fitawrari Bizuwarq Gabre, the *Endarase* of Wallagga province, sent a secret report to the Emperor on September 17/1953E/C [September 28, 1960] two days before the onset of the *Balabats* demonstration in Addis Ababa. As a reaction to this demonstration the Emperor sent an imperial order to Wallagga governor general, *Dajazmach* Fiqresellasse Habtamariam [his son-in law] a message that addressed the people to put forward their grievances through their representatives rather than an open violence against him.[100]

Most of the participants of the Naqamtee meeting were teachers of Hailesellasse I school and students and some of the town dwellers. Among the outstanding organizers of the demonstration in Naqamtee were: Tefera Ciibsaa and Haile Beera a school teachers and Makonnen Jambare a self-elected spokesperson of the meeting. The *Endarase* of Wallagga province remarked about *Fitawrari* Makonnen as follows, "We do not think that this Fitawrari Makonnen is a cunning and deceitful person but naïve and frank and incautious in his manners, who boldly speak in public what others rumored only in their safe corners." In his memorandum *Fitawrari* Bizuwarq underlined Makonnen's speech delivered in the midst of an angry crowd who remarked sternly that, "Gojames and Gondares should not enter our country and dislodge us from our land!" The *nac labash*, soldiers who were secretly attending the meeting had carefully noticed Makonnen's speech which had incited many of the participants of the meeting for further violent action. After the Governor ended his message Bizuwarq tried to persuade and calm down the mob by redirecting them to follow up a legal procedure to proceed with their petition through a "representative", but the mob screamed at once exclaiming "Nobody can be a representative of another one in such a serious case as one's own 'country' and one's own '*Rist*', "everybody is the representative of himself and all of us would go to Addis Ababa to present our petition to the Emperor! [101] Bizuwarq having obviously read the spirit of the crowd who failed to heed his notice adjourned the meeting by sending an urgent memorandum to the *awraja* governors to pacify their respective areas. As a counter against the demonstration Bizuwarq recommended in his report to the Emperor the removal of the leading figures of the demonstration from Naqamtee town.

[100]WMTMAC, A letter of Sene 14,1941E/C [June 21, 1949] Ref.No.7562, from the *balabats* of Wallagga. to the Ministry of Interior.
[101]*Ibid.*

Accordingly, Tefera Ciibsa, secretary of the Province Educational Office, was transfered from Naqamtee with the consent of *Balambaras* Mahtamasellasse and that of Haile Beera to another province in the name of promotion. A similar measure had been taken against Abate Jambare, the secretary of the province record office, *mazgab bet*.[102] When a serious persecution against the demonstrators broke out in the town; some of the organizers have been dispersed in remote rural areas. Our sources disclose that some of the organizers were gathered together and convened their meeting in Horroo Gudruu, Abe *mikitil warada* in the far off mountainous area known as Darballe where the local *Balabats* met and discussed on memorandums sent by the Naqamtee and Arjoo *Balabats* brought by a local *chiqa shum*, Gurmeessa Deessa. Sources at our disposal verified that representatives of the *Balabats* elected to the parliament secretly agitated them to get united and raise the question of *sisso* right as they returned back to their respective areas for short vacations. The representatives of the *Balabats* delivered a speech that inspired them, "the Balabats of Wallagga why do you sit idly? Why don't you swear and rise up together to oppose land remeasurement?"[103] Among the leading parliamentarians who agitated the *Balabats* were: Taddese Tesema, Bantii Boosan, Haile Beera(drafted and typed the final version of the petition presented to the Emperor) and other members of the parliamentarians such as Bantii Waggaa, Kabada Waggaa, and Bayisaa Jamoo.[104]

Other leading figures of the demonstration included: *Grazmach* Abdissa Moosaa, former governor of Naqamtee *warada*, Tarfasaa Morkaa, secretary of Naqamtee *awraja gezat*, Makonnen Jambare, former governor of Naqamtee *awraja gezat*. Each *sisso* holder (*Balasisso Balabat*) pledged money to help fund their representatives who lived in Addis Ababa contributed $2 for *lam*, $1 for *lam-taf* and $0.50 for *taf*. They were required to collect up to $100 from each *mikitil warada gezat* to sponsor those parliamentarians who debated on the agenda of the *Balabats sisso* right during the parliamentary meetings.[105] One report to the *Endarase* of Wallagga disclosed that Bantii Boosan, the *balabat* of Gudayya Biilaa who was elected to the parliament was one of the leading figures of the demonstration on whom a police investigation was carried out under the command of Leutenant Colonel Abate Beza.

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[102] *Ibid.*
[103] WMTMAC, Folder 16/495, The anonymous letter.
[104] *Ibid.*
[105] WMTMAC, The letter of Hamle 5,1950E/C [July 12, 1958], to Najjoo and Yubdoo *balabats*.

According to records Bantii delivered a message in a public meeting remarking that, "If land is remeasured and excess land is found out it would be given to the Amharas," and he further commented that, "rather than losing our land to the Amharas we Oromo Balabats should decrease land tax to$5 for lam and $4 for lam-taf for the Oromo tenants," and agitated the local tenants to side with the Oromo *Balabats* to oppose the land remeasurement edict.[106] Taddese Tesema had been agitating the Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Gimbii *Balabats* for the demonstration. Records further revealed that Gabbisaa Baaroo, a resident of Naqamtee town had taken flight to Dambi Dolloo for political agitation in September 10, 1953E/C and the involvement of Qellem *Balabats* and Qellem residents in Addis Ababa had further strengthened the demonstration.[107] According to records *Fitawrari* Makonnen Jambare one of the organizers of the movement in Naqamtee was one of the men who presented petition to the *Enderase* of Wallagga province. Makonnen who doubled illegally the five *gasha* he got as gift from Emperor Haile Sellasse as *Balawulata'* (service-giver) soon joined hand with Mogga Engida, the *afa gubae* '(spokesperson) of Arjoo *awraja* who had also obtained several *gasha* of land illegally. Formerly Makonnen and Mogga had been in conflict over border land. But later they were united and became active participants of the demonstration and began agitating the peoples of their respective localities, ie. Naqamtee and Arjoo *awrajas* and remarked that "Wallagga Wallagga naw yamilayyan yallam", "Wallagga is Wallagga there is no one to detach us from each other". At its onset the demonstration had been able to attract the attention of the concerned government bodies. The Ministry of Public Security notified the commander-in-chief of the Police Army Brigadier General Dires Dubale to strictly follow up the demonstrators who had already acted in Naqamtee and also resolved to reiterate in Addis Ababa.[108] Documents testified that the demonstrators who staged in Naqamtee were mostly from Naqamtee, Gimbii, Arjoo and Horroo-Gudruu *awrajas*.[109]

Located far off in western Wallagga the Qellem *Balabats* did not participate in the first *Balabats'* demonstration staged in Naqamtee on Nehase 23,1952E/C [August 30, 1960] probably as a result

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[106]WMTMAC, A letter to the *endarase* of Wallagga province, Ref.No.22/6/10,Tekemt 14, 1953E/C [October 23, 1960]; Secret Memorandum, to Brigadier General Dires Dubale, commander-in-chief of the Police Army, Addis Ababa, Ref. No/11805/52, Magabit 20,1953E/C [March 28, 1960].
[107]WMTMAC, From Qellem *awraja gezat*, to *ras* Andargachew Masay, Minister of Interior.
[108]*Ibid.*
[109]WMTMAC, Secret Memorandum, to *nagadras* Berhanesellasse Abba Yere, Vice Minister.

of lack of transportation and communication.[110] But having received political agitation by the protagonists such as Bantii Waggaa who had assigned his junior brother Kabada Waggaa to agitate the Sayyo and Anfillo *Balabats* and elders they have been involved in the demonstration that took place in Addis Ababa on *Meskerem* 19,1953E/C [September 30, 1960].[111] Colonel Teshome Ergetu, governor of Qellem *awraja* sent a memorandum and a telegram message on *Meskerem* 1,1953E/C to *Ras* Andargachew Masay that the *Balabats* of Qellem have also marched to Addis Ababa to present their petition.[112] The *Ras* explained in his memorandum to the Emperor that he made an urgent meeting with *Dajazmach* Kabada Tasama, Commander of the National Army, *Afanegus* Eshete, Vice Minister of the Ministry of Security, *Liqamaquas* Kabada Makonnen, Administration vice Minister and *Fitawrari* Bizuwarq Gabre, *Endarase* of Wallagga Governorate and discussed what to do before taking any measure against the demonstrators in case of hazardous situation. It is important to note that *Ras* Andargachew was ready and committed to take a serious measure to disband the demonstrators by any means possible had the Emperor showed him green light from his palace.[113]

Documents revealed that more than 2000 people from all *awrajas* of Wallagga including residents in the capital had participated in the demonstration which was held in Addis Ababa in which the participants have pledged to continue the peaceful demonstration until they got audience of the Emperor himself. The report of the Police Crime Investigation Section to the Ministry of Interior pointed out that the demonstration staged by Wallagga *Balabats* who resisted the land remeasurement edict was under careful follow up of the police army. The report further indicated that the *Balabats* eventually gained audience of the Emperor who cunningly answered them, "...Leleloch yewasanawu lenantem indifatsamilachihu azenal," "...We have passed an order for you to be treated in the same way as others are treated."[114]

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[110]WMTMAC, From Qellem *awraja gezat*, to *ras* Andargachew Masay, Minister of Interior, Number 20/28,Maskaram 30,1953E/C[October 10,1960];Secret Memorandum, to Brigadier General Dires Dubale, commander-in-chief of the Police Army, Addis Ababa, Magabit 20,1953E/C [March 28, 1960]; Secret Memorandum, to *nagadras* Berhanesellasse Abba Yere, Vice Minister of *rist* and *wul* and Municipalities.
[111]WMTMAC, *ras* Andargachew Masay, *yagar gezat* Minister to *fitawrari* Bizuwarq Gabre, *endarase* of Wallagga Province, Ginbot 14/1953[May 22, 1961]; Memorandum from *ras* Andargachew Masay.
[112]WMTMAC, Memorandum from *ras* Andargachew Masay to Emperor Hailesellasse, Maskaram 7,1953E/C [September 17, 1960]
[113]*Ibid.*
[114]*Ibid.*

He addressed the demonstrators who had been waiting to receive an instant solution to their long standing problems with a vain hope which completely barred them from taking any other violent action, hence they soon returned back to Wallagga humiliated.[115] It is important to note that anonymous persons were sending secret memorandums to the Emperor by exposing the organizers of the demonstration and the agenda of the movement further pushing him to follow up the whereabouts of the protagonists by mentioning particularly the names of those leading parliamentary figures who had been secretly agitating the people to oppose the land remeasurement.[116] (See also Appendices 19,20,21,22&23) Therefore, it is not far from the truth if we say that the demonstration was quite spontaneous to bring a quick positive response from the government.[117] Although the demonstration was easily suppressed without any tangible fruit, it had proved to be one of the serious challenges of the imperial government in1960.The *Balabats* movement which had also involved the tenants and other exploited and oppressed masses of the peoples of Wallagga had its own impact in stimulating and arousing their consciousness to be involved in the subsequent popular revolution which had overthrown the corrupt regime of Emperor Haile Sellassie in 1974.

[115]WMTMAC, The letter of Ginbot 4, 1953 [May 11, 1961], from the Police Army Crime Investigation Section to the Ministry of Interior Public Security Control.
[116]WMTMAC, The letter of an anonymous writer.
[117]WMTMAC, Memorandum from Ras Andargachew Masay to Emperor Haile Sellasse, Maskaram 7,1953E/C [September 18, 1960].

Chapter Five

Agriculture in Wallagga

The chapter has six sections.The first section is an introduction and it attempts to outline the economic activities of the Maccaa Oromo of Wallagga, the way they accessed arable land, the universal impliments of cultivation, the socio-cultural factors that contributed to the unproductive use of time and resources, major handicaps and problems of agricultural development,why and how the peasants were cast into an endless cycle of poverty and the general conditions of the peasants and agriculture in the region from 1941 to 1991. The second section recounts the land use. It discusses the value of land to an Oromo, how land was selected and put to different uses. The third section deals with the traditional fertility management practices. Here it explains how the farmers classified soil and maintained its fertility and the distinction between soil types and their varying effects on crops. Moreover, it points out the farmers traditional soil and water conservation practices. The fourth section deals with the farming system, the farming practices, cropping patterns, division of labor, and the major agricultural constraints. The fifth section is devoted to the traditional coffee production and marketing in the region. It illustrates the development activities carried out to improve coffee production by the MTCD. The final section discusses animal husbandry, why and how the people resorted to mixed economy and the role of pastoralism in the development of Wallagga economy.

Introduction

Agriculture is the oldest occupation in the world and even today the largest. The majority of the population of the world probably nearly two-third of the total is dependent upon it for living. So in terms of numbers engaged in it and even in its value of net output, agriculture has been the most important industry.[1] Agriculture subsisted hunting and gathering of the earliest human societies. It was ten thousand years ago that primitive agriculture through the domestication of plants and animals began in the Near East.

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[1]A.T. Mosher, *Getting Agriculture Moving.* (New York: Frederick A.praeger, 1966), p.53.

From the time that division of labour and exchange began to characterize organized society, agriculture has been accorded an important place.[2] "Agriculture has been defined as the science and the art of cultivating the soil."[3] But this is too narrow an interpretation. The growing of crops and the rearing of livestock are as much a part of agriculture as the original cultivation of soil. The final output of agriculture, whether it be plants or livestock products may be put to three chief uses; it may be consumed as food stuff by humans, or as fuel or it may serve as the raw materials of industrial production. Of these three uses human food is by far the most important.[4]Agriculture is a special type of production which is based on the growth processes of plants and animals.[5]

Agriculture was the dominant occupation in the developing countries. There were four times as many people occupied in agriculture in some developing countries as there were in advanced countries. In 1950 for instance, seventy-four percent of the population of Africa and seventy percent of the population of Asia worked on land compared with only twenty percent in North America and thirty-three percent in Europe.[6]

As stated earlier developing countries being predominantly agricultural, have a greater portion of their population in agriculture. But unfortunately productivity in the developing world appeared to vary inversely with the importance of its share in the economy. Thus, in 1934-38 yield per person employed in agriculture was 1.8 metric tons of rice in North America, 1.94 in Canada and1.0 in Europe but only 0.24 tons in Asia and 0.12 in Africa.[7] Their low productivity was largely due to general factors that were inherent in the situation of the developing countries such as low capital intensity, primitive tools and equipment, insufficient use of fertilizers, lack of efficient production techniques and fragmented land holdings. Therefore, it is significant to note that yields for similar crops were far higher in the industrialized than nonindustrialized countries, even when natural conditions were more favorable in the latter. Thus, in 1958 the yield for rice

[2]E.C Bishop and W.D. Toussaint, *Introduction to Agricultural Economic Analysis*, New York, 1958.p.13.
[3]R.L. Cohen, *The Economics of Agriculture*, (London 1954), p.7.
[4]*Ibid.*
[5]A.T. Mosher, *Getting Agriculture Moving.* (New York: Frederick A.praeger, 1966), p.53.
[6]FAO, *Year Book of Food and Agricultural Statistics*, (Rome, 1952), p.15.
[7]Paul Alpert, *Economic Development*. London, 1963, p.110.

amounted to 1.7 tons in Indonesia compared with 4.2 tons in Japan, although Japanese conditions of soil and moisture were far less advantageous than in Indonesia.[8]

In the developing countries, beginning in the 1960s, the Green revolution, a variation of the contemporary agricultural revolution without the use of mechanized equipment, was more widely developed. It was based on the selection of certain potentially high yield varieties of rice, corn, wheat, soy and other important export crops, and on the wide use of chemical fertilizers, processing aids and where necessary, an efficient use of water. The Green revolution was adopted by farmers capable of acquiring these new means of production, and possessing land in privileged regions where it was possible to make profits from this type of farming. In many countries, the authorities had largely favored the spread of this revolution. They devised supportive policies on farm price, input subsidies, low interest rate loans and investments in irrigation, drainage and transportation infrastructure. A farmer who took full advantage of the Green revolution and with the use of additional equipment could reach a gross labor productivity of approximately100 (1ha/worker x 100q/ha), quintals of grain. If he used animal traction his productivity would increase fivefold to approximately 500 quintals. (5ha/worker x 100q/hs), and even more if he could make several harvests per year. Unfortunately, many farmers in developing countries have never had access to the means of production of any of these farming revolutions. Any use of mechanized equipment was practically non-existent. In Africa, Asia, and Latin America the selection of high quality stock seed, use of fertilizers and processing aids were hardly used in very large wetlands or partially irrigated cultivation zones. Therefore, farmers in these regions did not see increase in productivity and the actual yields became impoverished by the fall in actual farming prices.[9]

Agriculture around the world was mostly manual. For a total world farming population of 1.3 billion people, there were only twenty-eight million tractors. According to FAO Stat of 1999, this was just for some two percent of the farming population. Moreover, we could estimate that

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[8] *Ibid* p.141.

[9] Marcel Mazoyer L. R, *History of Agriculture, in Ethiopian Economic Policy Research Institute, the Role of Urbanization in the socio-Economic Development Process*, edited by Berhanu Nega and Befekadu Degefe p.23.

approximately two-thirds of this farming population benefited from the Green revolution. Approximately half of them had access to animal traction power, while the others still used manual labor only. The remaining third of the world's farmers, more than four hundred million workers (equaling more than one billion mouths to feed),worked not only exclusively with manual equipment but also without fertilizers, animal feed, processing aids, or selected plant varieties and animal breeds.[10]

Food production was Africa's most important activity; the vast majority of African peoples, regardless of physical, social or political, environment, devoted most of their effort to production of their basic food supply, though they may have other economic activities as well; they lived in what were called subsistence societies.[11] It is often stated that Ethiopia is a fertile country with a favorable climate for a variety of agricultural production. Nevertheless, its agriculture was for the most part a subsistence one.[12] Although the country has favorable topography and climate to produce a wide variety of crops, coffee, pulses, and oilseeds and others the capacity of agricultural sector in generating increased production to meet domestic and export requirements had been handicapped by the poor performance of the peasants. This was among other things, a result of insufficient distribution of major inputs to all regions of the country including agricultural research institutions, extension services, marketing and credit facilities, supply of modern inputs such as fertilizers, improved seeds, etc.[13] Peasant farmers possessed high level of traditional agricultural skill but lacked adequate supporting factors which promoted optimum production such as infrastructure, institutional facilities and farm inputs among others.[14]

Ethiopia had been net exporter of food grains until the mid fifties. Due to frequent occurrences of drought, famine and demographic growth, the country started to face serious food shortages as of late fifties. In response to food shortages and with the aim of increasing food production it was found necessary to introduce new agricultural technologies.

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[10] *Ibid.*p.24.
[11] P.F.M. Mcloughlin, *African Food Production System, Cases and Theory*, 1970.p.3.
[12] PMAC, Ten Years Perspective Plan, Addis Ababa, 1984.p.22.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Central planning Supreme Council, Ten Year Development Plan, Addis Ababa, 1983.p.14.

Consequently, the use of commercial inputs became essential.[15] Ethiopia had realized the need of this new system of agricultural production in the 1950s. Assistant agencies like the World Bank and the USA also advised Ethiopia to give high priority to the agricultural sector and requested the country to use "the package approach" concentrating on the more promising regions.[16] But the option was not made clear until the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) responded to the Ethiopian request for agricultural assistance, in 1965.This was because the imperial government of Ethiopia during the two First Five Year Plans (1957-62 and 1963-68),gave high priority to large scale commercial farms influenced by the 1950 economic development approach.[17]

As a result peasant agriculture was given little or no attention though; it had remained the backbone of the country in terms of its contribution to food and foreign exchange earnings. Progress was made during the Third Five Year Plan (1968-73), at least in identifying the constraints that impeded the productivity of small farm producers.[18] The aim of the package approach was not to cover all farmers in all regions in the country but to introduce packages of inputs with extension services to selected farmers in more promising areas and to concentrate the limited resources in these areas and then to expand demonstrations results gradually to other new areas. Hence, after several reports by the preparatory mission which made a preliminary study to choose a region, the Ethiopian government and the Swedish agency agreed to implement the project in Chilalo *awraja*, Arsi. Thus, in 1967 the Chilalo Agricultural Development Unit (CADU), which was the first to introduce the program in the country, was established in collaboration with the efforts of SIDA and the Imperial Ethiopian Government.[19]

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[15]FAO, *Year Book of Food and Agricultural Statistics*, Rome, 1992.p.15.
[16]Bengt, M., CADU: *An Ethiopian Experiment in Developing Peasant Farming*.Stockholm, Prisma Publishers: 1971.p.9.
[17]J.M.Cohen, *Integrated Rural Development.The Ethiopian Experience and the Debate*.Upsala, Scandinavian African Studies, 1987, p.42.
[18]*Ibid* p.43.
[19]Gebreyohannis Keieta, Package Programs: Approaches in Transforming Peasant Agriculture in Ethiopia. B.A Thesis, Department of Economics, AAU, 1972.p.15.

The second package program was established in Walayta area known as the Walayta Agricultural Development Unit (WADU).This project, like CADU followed an integrated package approach and aimed at regional development of the area through extension support schemes given to small farm producers. However, WADU's financial source came from the World Bank. Even though there was regional bias in agricultural development of peasant agriculture, through efforts made by the two projects, at the end of 1967,analysis of the results of both CADU and WADU showed that the attempts were promising and the profitability of the two projects increased demands for agricultural package inputs particularly fertilizers. In June of 1970 there were a total of thirty credit schemes established to meet this growing demand of farmers.[20] However, CADU and WADU were unable to meet the growing demand for agricultural inputs; besides the concentration of the projects in selected areas might have had certain political implications. To solve these problems, it was suggested that similar projects be established in some other places. Projects to be established had to be less comprehensive and involve as many farmers as possible. Then the idea of Minimum Package Projects (MPP) was recommended. A separate department known as Extension and Project Implementation Department (EPID) within the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) was established in 1971.

As we have already discussed in chapter two in the early years after their mass movement, the Macca Oromo of Wallagga were predominantly pastoralists keeping large herds of cattle, sheep and goats, which formed the backbone of their socioeconomic organization. They settled in the more fertile and salubrious highlands, rich in minerals, dense forest, and natural resources. Once settled, the Macca Oromo did not concentrate solely on cattle rearing but became sedentary cultivators practicing mixed farming.[21] Scholars agree that the Macca Oromo practiced sedentary agriculture long before the nineteenth century.Tesema Ta'a argues that significant improvements in Oromo agricultural technology took place more than two hundred years before the nineteenth

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[20]Desta Hamito, The Status of Soil Fertility in Ethiopia. Addis Ababa 1982.p.43.
[21]Yilma Derssa, *Ya Ityopia Tarik Be Asrasidistegnaw Kefle Zaman* (Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1959E/C), pp.213-15; Bribing the Land: An appraisal of the Farming Systems of the Maccaa Oromo in Wallagga", in *Contested Terrain, Essays on Oromo Studies, Ethiopianist Discourse, and Politically Engaged Scholarship*, edited by Ezekiel Gebissa, the Red Sea Press Inc. 2009.pp.127-146, 134; *Bewelega kiflahagar wust yamigagnu biherasaboch yatinat dokumant*, 1974E.C.p.5.

century.[22] In the early days after their movement to and settlement in today's western Ethiopia, arable land has been more plentiful, and the exercise of communal rights by all clansmen did not create problems of access to arable land. Every male member of the community was entitled to his *dhoqqee*, literally one's piece of dirt, which he could cultivate and on which he could raise herds of cattle, sheep, goats, mules, horses, and donkeys.[23] Gradually, however, sedentarization engendered a pressing need for more arable land. The Macca then began to regulate land rights and land allocation through the mechanisms of *qabiyye* and *qubsiisa* (settlement rights).[24]

Agricultural development had many handicaps and problems in Wallagga. Farming has been simply for many the only way of survival and it was not meant for marketing. Ideally the farmer was supposed to produce everything that he required for himself. With the help of his family he produced almost all what he required to satisfy his minimum needs. Whatever cash he obtained from the farm by selling some of his products he primarily used to pay his tax and what ever little was left he spent on a few manufactured goods.[25] The type of farm implements and the nature of their cultivating practices did not vary among the peasants. The universal implements of cultivation were hoes and axes. A considerable number of farmers were using oxen-drawn ploughs for cultivation. Their economy was based almost exclusively on agriculture. Farming was carried on mostly by traditional methods. Farm land was for the most part subject to considerable fragmentation and crops were generally intermixed.[26]

Despite generally good soil, crop yields were very low owing to the crude farming methods employed.[27] The farmers were not accustomed with row seeding. The practice was to broadcast the seeds on the bare ground, letting them fall where they may and plowing them again. It was usual to plow the land two or more times to eliminate weeds after sowing and when the crop

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[22]Tesema Ta'a. "The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Study to 1910." M.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1980. pp.10-20.
[23]*Ibid*, pp.29-30.
[24]Tesema Ta'a, The Political economy of Western Central Ethiopia: from the Mid-16th to the early 20th Centuries" (Ph.D Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1986), pp.44-50.
[25]*Bewelega kiflahagar wust yamigagnu biherasaboch yatinat dokumant*, pp.4-6.
[26]*Ibid.*
[27]*Ibid.*

started to grow (*Babbaqaa*). The plow was used as a digging tool. However, it did not turn the soil but merely broke it so that plowing must be repeated three or four times before an adequate seed bed could be formed.[28]

The Feudo-bourgeois regime did not take any measure to introduce better farming methods and modern equipments. Therefore, primitive farming was practiced widely by the farmers. The peasants did not know the advantages that modern farming methods benefitted them due to lack of sufficient knowledge.[29] As we have discussed in chapter three one major problem to the agricultural development of the region was the land tenure system. Large estates owned by few landlords prevailed in the region. However, the absentee ownership of land reduced the incentives of the farmers to produce more and improve the quality of their products because a large part of their produce had to go to the landlords. Moreover, the peasants could not feel secure on the land because they could be evicted at any time. The land tenure system was also complicated by the absence of land laws as a result of which boundary disputes were very common. Land disputes (*Mugutii lafaa*) took a long period to settle during which time the farmers became unproductive.[30]

Another drawback to agricultural development was absence of communication. All-weather roads for the transportation of agricultural products to the market were not available. The existing roads did not reach the production centers but were limited to some major coffee producing areas in western Wallagga. This means that the products of the farmers were not sent for marketing and this situation discouraged the farmers from producing for the market and thus led to the prevalence of subsistence production. Agricultural cooperatives, training and experiment centers were non-existent. For centuries the peasants have been producing and obtaining small yields due to backward farming system.[31] It was only during the last years of the *Darg* period that the production and distribution of better seeds by plant breeding stations had been organized in the region. Even then very little experimental work was done by the

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[28]Informants: Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee, Nagasaa Jarboo, Shuguxii Tolasaa.
[29]*Bewelega kiflahagar wust yamigagnu biherasaboch yatinat dokumant*, pp.4-6.
[30]Informants: Dhinaa Dikoo, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee, Mizanuu Kamisoo.
[31]Informants: Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee, Berhanu Galataa.

government. The peasants did not desire to use it owing to lack of education. The incentive to increase production was severely limited and the peasant's wealth was based on the number of heads of cattle owned or the amount of land they held.[32] The outlook of the farmers towards agriculture was not changed. It is apparent that they had not been persuaded by the need of producing surplus crops which they could sell in the market. Their technical knowledge was not improved and generally methods of cultivation were revolutionized.

In the post imperial regime in spite of the government's little effort to supply a network of extension services and technicians, there had been a permanent shortage of technical, managerial and administrative staffs to conduct the program.[33] Moreover, the farmers were tied to a traditional system of exchange which was not monetized and did not care about saving for future investment but were concerned with the day to day consumption. Therefore, they had very little margin for saving to expand agricultural production.

It is important to note that there was unproductive use of time due to socio-cultural factors among the farmers.There were numerous church holidays observed in the name of the Saints among the Orthodox Christians of Wallagga. The major religious occasions such as the Timket (Epiphany), Masqal (True Cross), Abbo, Lideta, Bahta, Balewald, Kidanemehret, Gabriel, Michael, Rufael, Mariam (Saint Mary),Sellassie (Trinity) Giorgis, Teklehaimanot and Medhanealem (Savior of the World) were Saint days during which the Orthodox Christians did not work. Most of these were regular Saint days which were celebrated among the Orthodox communities in the study area. Informants state that public pressure was brought about to control those who had the courage to work on holidays. Such calamities as hail storm, flood, and lightening which destroyed crops were associated with the anger of God against those who failed to refrain from working on holidays. The clergy often led the public to believe that the more a person refrained from working on holidays, the greater would God bless such a person and make him rich.Therefore,each household had to spend nearly one third of the annual workday to the observance of the various Saint days and spent a great deal of their meagre agricultural products

[32] *Ibid.*; *Bewelega kiflahagar wust yamigagnu biherasaboch yatinat dokumant*, pp.5-8.
[33] *Begibrinaw kifleikonomi yagabare sabil limatina yagatar masaratalimat yaasrazatagn samaniyaandi ikid1980.* pp.1, 58, 76, 79-81.

on the numerous feasts of celebration throughout the year.[34]

The farmers produced all their needs neglecting specialization of production and this casted them into the endless cycle of poverty for centuries. In the pre-*Darg* period tenants had limited rights to choose what to produce. The choice was influenced by the landlords. After the land reform of 1975, however, peasants were free to choose and produce the crops that they preferred.

Their first priority being food self-sufficiency and there had been a shift in land use towards the cereals, staple food production.[35] Since the 1970s, food production had lagged far behind total food requirement; this was because of vast number of new settlers in the region and low productivity in agriculture. Hence there was no sufficient food to meet the full demand particularly cereals to support the settlers in the region.[36]

Following the 1974 revolution, many structural and policy changes were introduced. The new rural institutions such as peasant associations were not capable of implementing the objectives of Minimum Package Projects (MPP).[37] The government was much concerned with political matters than the adoption of modern agricultural inputs and management practices that would have increased farm productivity and hence it was neglected and remained unanswered by the land reform.[38]

But after the reorganization of MoA and Rural Development Programs (RDP), the MPP phase II got underway with the objective of raising agricultural productivity in highland *waradas*. This objective was to be achieved through the provision of materials needed for adopting improved

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[34]Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Dhinaa Dikoo, Bantii Amanuu, Emiru Waaqjiraa; *Begibrinaw kifleikonomi yagabare sabil limatina yagatar masaratalimat yaasrazatagn samaniyaandi ikid1980.* pp.1, 58, 76, 79-81

[35]Ethiopia, An Export Action Programme. Document of the World Bank, 1987 p.15; Informants: Berhanu Galataa, Dabalee Tolaa.

[36]*Yaasrazatagn sabaamist ina yaasrazatagn sabasidist amatamihrat yazinab etirat bahagaritu yaskatalaw chigir zagaba.*1976E.C. pp.21-25.; *Yabiherawi Abiyotawi Yamirt Zamachana Yamaikalawi Pilan Taklai Mamiriya Yaasrazatagn sabaarat Yamirtina Yabahil idgat Zamacha Ikid Yainvastimanti Pirojektochina Mangist Yamisatachaw Agalgilotoch Kiflahagarawi Sirichit 1974.* P.2, 11, 25; Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Abara Dasta, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee.

[37]*Begibrinaw kifleikonomi yagabare sabil limatina yagatar masaratalimat yaasrazatagn samaniyaandi ikid1980.*pp.67-69.

[38]Informants: Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee.

seeds, fertilizers and other technologies equipped with extension advices. But a mid term evaluation of MPP phase II showed limited agricultural impact because of the high cost incurred as emphasis was also given to additional task of organizing peasants into socio-political institutions.The agricultural development projects attempted before 1974 like CADU, WADU, and MPP, despite their initial success, did not attract the attention of large majority of farmers in the other regions and places. The initial plan of CADU and WADU was to expand demonstration results to other remaining regions; but this failed because of high project costs.[39]

On top of this even farmer in project areas did not benefit much as the existing political and social climate was not conducive. Available sources showed that farmers' attitudes towards the adoption of modern agricultural inputs were negatively affected by the existing complex system of land tenure, share cropping arrangement and problems related to market conditions. Subsequent agricultural policy measures undertaken by the *Darg* regime were not encouraging for the private peasant sector. Peasant associations and cooperatives did not benefit the farming population. It served the political machinery to control peasants and their subsistence economy. Because of this and other problems the peasant sector was almost neglected.[40] In addition to the above institutional constraints many complicated factors affected the adoption of modern inputs by the farmers.

Our knowledgeable informants remarked that factors related to the general conditions of agriculture included: security problems, lack of roads, uncertain weather conditions and the limited development of improved seed varieties, access to credit, and high price of inputs. These factors and the general neglect of the peasant sector have been the major disincentives for farmers. Owing to this not much improvement was made to increase the productivity of agriculture. Therefore, food deficit and rural poverty remained priority issues of economic development throughout the period.[41]

According to sources the agricultural bureau had encountered various problems of physical and

[39]Gebreyohannis Keieta, Package Programs: Approaches in Transforming Peasant Agriculture in Ethiopia. B.A Thesis, Department of Economics, AAU, 1972.p.15; *Begibrinaw kifleikonomi yagabare sabil limatina yagatar masaratalimat yaasrazatagn samaniyaandi ikid1980*.pp.67-69.
[40]Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee, Berhanu Galataa.
[41]*Ibid.*

social nature in implementing the New Extension Package Program (NEPP). The study region was one of those areas where wild animal varieties like monkeys, baboons, pigs, etc were very common. Therefore, the farmers were always at risk to adopt new innovations. This was because the farmers grew crops on fragmented plots which were vulnerable to destruction by wild animals. Informants remarked that hybrid varieties of crops like sorghum and maize were highly susceptible to animal destruction. Secondly, majority of the farmers were unable to adopt new innovations because of lack of cash for down payment. Thirdly, absence of any agricultural insurance against crop failures as a result of unexpected problems like bad weather and pest infestation created another risk for farmers to adopt NEPP innovations. Fourthly, there was inadequacy of trained Development Agent (DA). On the average one DA served for about 500-700 farmers in a *warada* which was very difficult to reach all these farmers for extension support. Furthermore, the selection of DAs was based on political loyalty than ability or skill. As a result, most of the DAs lacked basic understanding of the skills needed to implement the NEPP.[42]

The application of modern inputs on peasant farms obviously increased production of crops. However, the application of inputs brought additional costs to the farmers. Furthermore, the inputs were not produced domestically; they were imported using the country's limited foreign currency and this made the price of the inputs very high. As a result, the increase in the production of crops through the application of modern inputs was often not profitable for the farmers as the net return at prevailing prices of crops would be low.[43] This situation became very serious since markets were suffering from price distortion and producers' and consumers lacked the necessary information in order to carry out efficient production and distribution activities. It has been stated that there was low level of adoption of NEPP. According to informants' farmers participating in NEPP had to own at least half hectare of land. Farmers whose plot was less than this did not have the chance to participate in NEPP. So their possible alternative may be to come together and adopt inputs in group and apply it on their separate fields. But this was tedious as they wasted time in organizing themselves in groups.[44]

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[42]Informants: Dabalee Tolaa, Berhanu Galataa, Gammachuu Shonee; *Begibrinaw kifleikonomi yagabare sabil limatina yagatar masaratalimat yaasrazatagn samaniyaandi ikid1980*.p.139.
[43]*Ibid.*
[44]Informants:: Gammachuu Shonee, Dabalee Tolaa, Berhanu Galataa.

Transportation facilities were crucial factors in accelerating agricultural development as they facilitated an easy movement of agricultural commodities to market centers and agricultural inputs to peripheral areas. As we have already discussed there were no all weather roads leading to all the PAs. Many of the PAs did not have even dry weather roads. As a result, the farmers in the remote areas walked on average 30kms on foot to reach a supplying centre or market places and even this alternative itself was only for those who had pack animals to use as means of transportation.[45] The relationship between prices of agricultural inputs and prices farmers received for their products was one of the essential factors affecting the adoption of modern agricultural inputs. The use of inorganic fertilizers obviously increased productivity of land by two or more folds compared to the traditional methods. But the profitability of this increase in production depended on the prevailing local market prices of crops.This means there should be attractive or good prices for crops that could cover the additional costs of inputs and profit for farmers.[46]

Apart from the above mentioned problems farmers' use of modern system of farming was affected by uncertainty because of many hazards like crop failures as a result of unexpected conditions like climate change and destruction of crops by wild animals. There was no agricultural insurance which could play an important role in reducing the uncertainty of farmers by providing compensation for crop failures. The farmers were always at risk to use the new innovations as they may not get the expected level of output due to destructive wild animals such as monkeys, baboons and pigs that destroyed crops particularly maize and sorghum as they were ripe.[47] The system of input supply according to our informants also affected the extent to which farmers participated in the adoption of these inputs. This was mainly related to the minimum input to be supplied for a farmer at once and the time of its delivery. The system of input supply was arranged in a manner that interested farmers were made to organize into a group of ten men. One person became the representative of the group who was assigned to take responsibility of taking out inputs on behalf of his group members.

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[45] *Ibid*; Begibrinaw *kifleikonomi yagabare sabil limatina yagatar masaratalimat yaasrazatagn samaniyaandi ikid1980*.p.10, 36.
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Dabalee Tolaa, Sirriiqaa Galatee, Shuguxii Tolasaa.

The same person was responsible to recollect repayments of inputs which were received on credit basis and pay back to the agricultural office. This method was devised by the office to avoid the monotonous tasks of dealing with each farmer in inputs delivery. However, although the method may ease the procedures of input supply to farmers, it was found out to be very tedious for farmers and had discouraged their interest towards NEPP. This was because they could not get the inputs at appropriate time they needed.[48]

It is important to note that from what the researcher had observed and informants pointed out, the application of new agricultural inputs such as fertilizers and selected seeds had increased farm output at household level. However, there was low level of adoption of new innovations by the farmers.The main reasons included: lack of transportation facilities coupled with difficult topography of the study region, uncertainty factors related to crop failures due to bad weather conditions and crop destruction by wild animals and pests, low and unstable prices of crops mainly during harvesting seasons, and inadequate inputs retailing outlets. Moreover, no supportive activities related to the supply of inputs and marketing of output were carried out by the government.

Land Use

Among the agricultural societies of the study region land whether it was inherited, purchased or seized was the most basic resource in agriculture. Land was/is highly valued since it is on the land that crops are produced and livestocks are kept. The Oromo proverb clearly explains the role of land as the source of wealth that sustains human life. For instance, the following proverb explains this situation. "Kan irratti kufan lafa, kan qabatanii ka'anis lafa", that means "What you fall on is ground/ land, what supports you to get up is also land". Another proverb also explains the extraordinary value of land to sustain human life as it says, "Lafaa fi haadhatu nama danda'a" that means, "Only the earth and the mother never gets tired of someone".[49]

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[48]*Ibid.*

[49]Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Nega Bekele, Emiru Gabre.

The incomparable value of land to the Wallagga Oromo society was well explained by the following couplets.

Oromoo	*Gloss*
Dachee Yaadhajomoree	*Land, you the mother of Jomoree*
Kanahunda sithoree	*It is you who produced all these*
Garaballeettiikoo	*you are quite tolerant*
Amalqabeettiikoo	*and have a good conduct*
Sumarra qotanna	*we farm on you and*
Sumarratti horanna	*we multiply on you*
Jiraa keenya baatta	*you support our life*
Du'aa keenya nyaatta	*you eat our dead*
Leensaa magarsita	*you grow all green plants*
Namaa dabarsita	*you bring well being to humans*
Horree sirra yaafna	*we graze our herds on you*
Qonnee sirraa nyaanna	*we farm and feed ourselves on you*
Jalaan bishaan baatta	*you hold water underneath*
Irraan midhaan baaftaa	*you grow grain on the surface*
Yoo sirra qotanii nanmadaa'e hinjettu	*you dont complain of being wounded when ploughed*
Yoo sirratti haganii natti ajaa'e hinjettu.	*Nor of being polluted when defecated on.*[50]

Land is the source of food, pasture and different forest products and it would be difficult to discuss agriculture without discussing the land use practices. The Oromo in Wallagga traditionally classified their land into four categories: 1) Forest land covered with trees and bushes 2) Land under cultivation, producing coffee, grain and root crops 3) Land for thatch used to cover houses and 4) Land for grazing.[51] Forest lands were usually covered with trees. It could be a large forest area or a small tree-covered river valley. Such lands were either under coffee farm in which case they remain under coffee for many years, or they were reserved for future coffee farms. Sometimes the forest was cleared to grow food crops. The other category of land was that which was reserved for grazing. The land under grazing increased or decreased in size depending on the time. But the overall trend was towards decreasing. The increase in size takes place when at some stage some of the lands under cultivation were left to remain fallow. Such fallow lands were gradually changed into grazing land since grasses grew over them.

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[50]Asefa Tolera, Ethnic Integration and Conflict:The case of Indigenous Oromo and Amhara Settlers in Aaroo Addis Alem,Kiramu Area,Northeastern Wallagga. M.A Thesis, Department of Social Anthropology, AAU, 1995.P.96; Informants: Galataa Dheeressaa, Sirriiqaa Galatee.

[51]Daniel Ayana, "Coffee and Food Crop production for Self-Sufficiency, the case of Western Wollega: An Outline," *Proceedings of the Third Annual Seminar* of the Department of History (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University, 1986 pp53-54

The decrease in size was mainly due to population pressure which turned the grazing areas into residential areas. Whenever a young man formed a household, he was supposed to have a plot of land for residence and land that he had to cultivate. In such processes land under grazing was changed into land under cultivation. The land under cultivation could still be divided into land under permanent cultivation and land that could be left fallow after being cultivated for some years.The land under permanent cultivation was the residential area, over which the inhabitants of a village lived. Such lands were parceled among the inhabitants to grow maize, coffee, potatoes, sweet potatoes, etc. Such plots of land usually got manure as fertilizer. Swampy areas which were not covered with trees were also under permanent cultivation. If the valley was swampy it was drained for the cultivation of maize to ripe early by irrigation (*bonee*) or by the humidity of the soil. In this case maize was sown during the dry season, March or April, to ripe for the lean months of June, July and August. In addition to the appropriate utilization of these different categories of land, the farmers developed a sophisticated system of land use techniques in order to grow different short-term crops. *Bonee*, literally summer crop, was the most extensively used technique for dry season cropping.[52]

Our sources confirmed that similar agricultural patterns were prevalent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Local elders state that a farmer selected his farm site consulting beforehand a knowledgeable old man, *Jaarsa bule* among his kinsmen or a nearest old man in his neighbor who was supposed to have good knowledge of the immediate environment and the routine agricultural tasks. Before selecting his new farm with his 'consultants' the farmer has observed certain issues related to topographical, ecological and distance of the farm site. Informants have unanimous view that the ecological criterion was the most important factor that restricted site selection. The farmer excluded land considered unsuitable such as land which is too rocky or impossibly steep but looked at fields covered with long grass and shrubs because natural vegetation was considered as an important sign of the land's suitability for farming. In general dense forest was considered to be bad for farming while the presence of grassland with sparse trees and shrubs were considered to be good since it indicated that the land was left fallow for a long period of time.[53]

[52] *Ibid.* p.51-52; Tesema Ta'a, Bribing the Land, P.136; *Bewelega kiflahagar wust* yamigagnu, p.6.
[53] Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Tamiru Makonnen, Shuguxii Tolasaa.

The selection of a new farm field was followed by the land preparation ie. clearing of the land for cultivation.[54] Informants point out that the preparation of the new field for cultivation involved a very laborious process. First the land was cleared off the natural vegetation cover by cutting the trees with axes and burning the undergrowth and the grass cover. Most often the first step in starting a new farm that had big trees was either to prune all the branches or totally cut down a tree in the middle of the field. The men performed the physically demanding work and the women and the boys the lighter work. Thus, the men cut trees, burned down branches and also dug out shrubs and cleared the land to be used for cropping while the women and the boys mostly removed the unwanted wild grass from the farm field.[55] It is likely that the farmer would tell to his neighbors about his new farm field requesting friendship and cooperation among them for their respective farms.

Our Qellem, Arjoo, Naqamtee and Horro Gudruu informants confirmed that in the hot lowland areas of their respective localities farmers preferred sites where the trees were small and undergrowth sparse. The farmers preferred such sites as they used to get farm implements and firewood. According to the farmers the index of the soil fertility was the type of vegetation cover on the land. However, the informants have the opinion that land surrounding forest vegetation would be disadvantageous for cultivation though it yielded larger amount of production after it was developed.[56] The farmers looked for a new field when the farm started to get old and the yield decreased. A plot could be used for three to five years depending on the yielding capacity of the soil. If the soil was good it remained usable for long time. In most cases four years was the norm, and the farmer would then start to look for a new piece of land.[57]

Soil Fertility Management

A key feature of the traditional farming was to make the cropping system support the agricultural capabilities of the land. Therefore, farmers classified the soil since farming was practiced on

[54]Informants: Tamiru Makonnen, Sirriiqaa Galatee, Bantii Amanuu.
[55]*Ibid.*
[56]Informants: Baajaa Bulguu, Ayyaanaa Galataa, Shuguxii Tolasaa, Sirriiqaa Galatee.
[57]*Ibid.*

many kinds of land in terms of location as well as suitability. From their common knowledge the farmers recognized the distinctions between soil types and their varying effects on vegetation and crops. It was not the difference between soil series that mattered so much to the farmers. What was agronomically significant according to informants was the difference that could be expected to affect the growth of crops, the ease of working the land and the erodibility of the soil. Hence the classification system used by the farmers was more of practical than theoretical basis. Informants have unanimous view that even though farmers could identify generally three soil series based on their physical characteristics and suitability for different kinds of crops they also recognized such criteria for soil quality as: organic matter content, color, soil depth, texture (clay and sand content), frequency of cultivation and the type of natural vegetation cover upon the soil.[58]

The Anfillo and Gimbii coffee growing informants have pointed out that land covered with forests was ideal for preparing fertile soil. This is because it could largely add organic matter to the soil in the form of humus. In the highland parts of the study region such as in the highlands of Arjoo, Tullu Walal in Yamaloogi (Qellem), Tullu Amaara in Jimma Ganatii, Dagar in Jaartee Jaardagaa, Galdaria in Gudruu (Horro Gudruu), Caalchis in Waayyuu Tuqaa and Lookoo and Daaloo in Guutoo Giddaa (Naqamtee), Biqilaal in Gimbii *warada* and Tulluu Jorgoo in Noolee Kaabbaa (Gimbii) our informants state that naturally the soil was very fertile. Moreover, the soil covered by leguminous plants and shrubs and land treaded by animal manure had prepared good fertile soil. Such fertile soil was devoted to the cultivation of cereals.[59] In terms of color the dark to black soil was considered to be more fertile than the red and light colored soil. It has an increased amount of organic matter. It is loamy in texture and has high water holding capacity. Red soil is largely found on the hill sides and such degraded land was highly exposed to erosion. It was rarely used for cultivation of crops unless there was shortage of land in an area. In case such land cultivated teff was grown on the farm.[60]

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[58]Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Tamiru Makonnen, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Geremew Bayyataa.
[59]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C.pp.98-104; Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa.
[60]Informants: Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee, Geremew Bayyataa.

Our knowledgeable informants confirmed that:

> *A fine textured soil is considered more fertile than sandy or coarse soil. A sandy soil can be used in some areas for crops but the farmers do not consider it very good since its water and moisture holding capacity is low and the fine soil particles are easily washed away by running water.Though clay soil is hard to work it is potentially considered good. But it has to be ploughed frequently during the dry season. Thus, clay soil is largely used for root crops like potatoes, garlic and in some areas for ground nut. Clay soil is used for crops that have thin root system like teff and millet, while soft soil is typical for cereals like wheat barley, rye and always for maize.*[61]

According to informants the degree of stickiness which reflects clay content was also used to evaluate soil fertility. They suggested that any plot of land that required more labour was considered more fertile and productive. However, the farmer has to be aware of it and begin the cultivation earlier than the others. Sandy soil, though known for the damage it rendered on the plow (*marasha*), it was easy to cultivate but less productive. The moisture content could be used to determine the fertility level and the type of crop that was suitable for a particular soil. My informants unanimously state that:

> *The soil with low moisture content is considered to have low fertility and can not be used to grow crops that have high moisture and nutrient requirement like maize while the soil with high moisture holding capacity soils are fertile and suitable for most crops.The moisture holding capacity of soil has relation with texture, depth, color, organic matter content and slope. Thus, fertile and black and thick soils and soils at low lying plains are considered to be all year round moist.*[62]

The depth of a soil is a guarantee for the potential productivity of the soil. The thicker and deepest soil has a depth of about twenty centimeters and the shallowest soil has a depth less than ten centimeters. A deep soil could be cultivated for more than five years under good drainage condition without exhaustion. Soil which was exhausted within three or less years was generally considered to be shallow and infertile. Thin and shallow soils were mainly used for cultivation of short root cereals like noug, teff, millet and root crops like potatoes.[63] In addition to the

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[61]Informants: Geremew Bayyataa, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Berhanu Galataa.
[62]Informants: Berhanu Galataa, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gamachuu Shonee.
[63]Informants: Geremew Bayyataa, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Berhanu Galataa.

aforementioned criteria the farmers also distinguished and classified soils in terms of the type of natural vegetation grown on them. Thus, soils upon which long-rooted trees like eucalyptus and birbirsa are regarded poor in fertility. They are dry, shallow and hard to plough and generally infertile (*Borqii*). Soils upon which short-rooted, trees like *accasia*, *doddota*, and *makkanniisa* grow were considered to be fertile, dark, thick, and moist. So that wherever these trees grew the farmers could be sure that the soil is fertile enough to cultivate many kinds of crop. Where shrubs like *kusaayee*, *hiddii*, *hincinnii* and *doobbii* grew any farmer could tell that the soil is typical for cultivation of teff, noug and millet with a good yield. These groups intermediate between the first nutrient depleting trees and the second, fertility improving trees.[64]

The farmers not only had considerable cognition of the surrounding soil and land upon which their livelihood depended, but also had a considerable knowledge of all the elements of the ecosystem. They could respond to the seasonal and annual climatic and weather changes. They were able to classify and manage the natural vegetation in accordance with their impact on the production potential of their lands and they have also a valuable knowledge of water and soil conservation in terms of their effect on agricultural productivity and sustainable production. The farmers developed the ability to read the environmental conditions by observing the clouds, *Garaa waaqaa*, wind direction and the natural vegetation and animals. Their response to various weather and climatic changes were the most important parameters of their traditional meteorological observations and perceptions. They adjusted their systems of agricultural production either by modifying the time framework of different activities or by changing the type of crops based on their data of weather or climatic observations.[65] Their belief system accompanied by the long accumulated knowledge of the environment had played a role in conservation and preservation of the natural vegetation. They not only recognized the positive impact of the fauna but also classified the flora based on their impact on the overall ecology and on the productivity potential of their land and soil. With this perception, they favored trees like *accasia, makkanniisa* and *doddota* and shrubs like *kusaayee*, *hincinnii* and *hiddii* for their significant role in improving the soil fertility and preserving soil moisture.[66]

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[64]Informants: Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Berhanuu Galataa, Geremew Bayyataa.
[65]Informants: Tamiru Mekonnen, Sirriiqaa Galatee, Bantii Amanuu.
[66]Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Berhanu Galata, Daniel Tilahun.

In terms of soil classification they used such criteria like color, depth, and texture as the base of classification and came up with three basic soil series; *gaawwaa*, *kootichaa* and *boolalee*. The natural characteristics of these soils were not only associated with their physical properties but also on their response in crop production. Thus, the *gaawwaa* soil was considered to be the most fertile and ideally devoted for the production of nutrient dependent crops like maize, while the *boolalee* the most infertile and degraded soil was used for the production of high hazard resistant crops like teff, millet and noug.[67] In soil fertility management they not only evaluated the potential fertility of soils and the maximum duration for soils to get depleted of their natural fertility, they have also adopted different mechanisms to maintain its fertility. Thus, they practiced such activities like animal manuring (*diddiirraa/ ciicataa*), green manuring (clearing), application of compost (*kosii ittigatuu*), fallowing (*lafa bulchuu*),crop rotation (*jijjiirraa midhaanii*) for increasing the fertility of which clearing and burning and animal manuring practices were the most important measures in increasing the soil fertility and in preventing the expected risks.[68]

Traditionally farm manuring was one of the practices done to increase soil fertility through the use of animal dung and urine. Farm manuring as an aid in the maintenance of soil fertility was well so generally recognized by the farmers of the study area. Therefore, animal manure was to be used whenever available without wastage. Among the Oromo of Wallagga the manure production of animals differed based on their type. The amount of manure expected from cattle (*loon*) was higher than all others, followed by pack animals, sheep and goats. That was why the animal manure was called *dhoqqee sa'aa* (cow's dung) in general. Therefore, to have large number of cattle was not important only for their direct economic and prestige values but also for their manure. As a result lending and borrowing cattle to and from each other for some period of time during the year became the custom of the indigenous population.[69]

The accumulation and spread of dung and urine throughout the farm land was maintained by the use of stable (*dallaa sa'aa*). The farmer constructed a rectangular enclosure on the land which he

[67]Informants: Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gamachuu Shonee, Geremew Bayyataa.
[68]*Ibid.*
[69]Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Bantii Amanuu, Tamiru Makonnen, Daniel Tilahun.

needed to fertilize for use in the next year's cultivation. The cattle and sometimes pack animals spent five to seven nights in a stable and then the stable shifted. To make the shift, the three sides of the stable were pulled apart while the fourth side was left to be used as a base or frame in the extension of the stable along that side. The construction was done with the help of poles pegged into the ground and interlaced with branches. The activity was accomplished within a day employing members of the family and constructing the stable in this method continued till the new arable land called *bajjii* was thoroughly covered. On the plots planned to be cultivated with maize the enclosure would again be constructed after some time. This method of manure spreading was not limited to some localities but was practiced all over the region.[70] The fertilizing effect of the manure was determined by the amount received by the land which in turn was a function of the number of cattle, the duration of time that a stable was left to stay in a position and the seasons of the year. Though, a large amount of manure was accumulated during the dry season, the rainy season was the most favorable time for the soil to use the manure. In Wallagga animals' dung was not used as a fuel because of the presence of ample firewood in the nearby forests. Nevertheless, insignificant number of the population used little amount of dung for cementing their house floor.[71]

The farmers had a mature knowledge of soil and water conservation practices. Most of the practices applicable in various areas mainly in the tropical countries were well known in most localities of Wallagga. These practices included enclosing the field with live fences (*dallaa marsuu*), allowing some trees to grow on farmlands (*muka gaaddisaa*), different kinds of channeling around and across the farmland (*lolaa cabsuu fi yaa'a baqaqsuu*), establishing ridges in the cultivated land (*diddiqa tuuluu)*. Moreover, weeding and hoeing (*aramaa fi kokkotaa*), frequent cultivation of land (*lafa bulleessuu*) and mixed cropping (*walkeessa facaasuu*) were practiced. Each method was applicable based on the fertility of the soil, the type of crop grown and the topography of the farm land.[72]

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[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] Informants: Tamiru Makonnen, Sirriiqaa Galatee, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gamachuu Shonee.

The Farming System

The rural peoples of Wallagga, as we have discussed, had indigenous knowledge of maintaining their land/soil and water in order to ensure their livelihood which was dependent mainly upon agriculture. This was carried out through different farming practices and routine activities. Next we are going to look into the ways in which the farmers utilized their land in agricultural activities, cropping patterns, the division of labour within the families and the major constraints of agricultural activities. The farming system in the study area was entirely dominated by single cropping except for barley production and some home garden crops like cabbage.[73]All activities of farming were carried out by manual labour. The plowing (*Qotiisa*) in which oxen driven ploughing was the dominant practice accompanied by hoeing with the help of implements like, hoe (*gasoo*), digging stick (*hordaa*), and *qoonfarroo*. Fallow or shifting cultivation was also practiced in some areas where the population pressure was quite low, though gradually all land was penetrated in response to the high population growth and increased demand for the agricultural products of the region.[74]

Even though the region was generally categorized under the tropical climate there are three main agro climatic zones. These are locally recognized and termed as cool highland (*baddaa*), sub-tropical (*badda daree*), and hotter lowland (*gammoojjii*) zones. These zones were differentiated in terms of altitude, local climate, type of plant and animal life. The farmers' way of life was characterized by farming small plots. They also spent time hunting and raising domestic animals. The highland areas we have earlier mentioned with the cool agro climatic condition was typical for the cultivation of teff, barley, wheat,oats, beans and peas; in the sub-tropical areas all crops could be cultivated but teff, noug, millet, sorghum(daphoo), maize, sugar cane were typical. In the lowland zone the typical crops were maize, sorghum and coffee, but teff, millet and noug could also be cultivated with relatively lower yields. The cropping pattern and the associated yield varied even within the same agro climatic zone. The cool highland crops tended to grow on higher altitudes while the sub-tropical and tropical crops grew in medium and lower altitudes

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[73]Informants: Dabalee Tolaa, Berhanu Galataa, Sirriiqaa Galatee, Tesfaye Ayana.
[74]Informants: Nega Bekele, Ambaw Lamuu, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Gammachuu Shonee; *Bewelega kiflahagar wust yamigagnu biherasaboch yatinat dokumant*.pp.5-6.

respectively.The major food crops were also the major cash-earnings of the farmers. Cash could also be gained from home garden crops like potatoes, cabbage, onions, pepper, and also coffee in some areas.[75]

In most of the study region, the peasants preferred to grow maize (Boqqolloo), the main staple crop for different reasons. According to the researcher's observation and our knowledgeable informants' maize reached maturity early when the previous season's harvest had almost been consumed. It was planted and reached maturity within four months on average. It can also be grown at high and low altitudes and on a variety of soils. Moreover, the farmers had also practiced dry season maize farming known as *bonee*, derived from the Oromo word *bona* (dry season). Maize has a relatively higher yield than sorghum or millet, and maize husking needed less labor during harvest. Unlike teff, sorghum or millet the after-harvest threshing of maize does not require adult labor because children or adults could easily shell the crop. Maize can also be consumed in a wider variety of ways than sorghum or millet. However, in addition to maize, sorghum, millet, barley and teff have also been retained as secondary crops.[76]

In the 1950s and early 1960s gradually shortage of food was becoming a serious problem particularly in the coffee growing areas such as Anfilloo and Gimbii. Our informants point out that in Sayyo area cattle epidemic caused by local trypanosomiasis widely known among the Oromo as *gandii* which annually killed a large number of cattle, reduced the size of herds and thereby the stock of oxen, the chief means of production. This may have resulted in food shortages and increase in grain prices in the coffee growing areas with large number of seasonal migrant labourers. In Qellem *awraja* the main grain producing *waradas* that fed Anfillo, Gore, Gambeella and its vicinity were: Sayyo, Haawwaa Galaan, Daallee-Waabaraa, and Gidaamii. In times of chronic food shortage Gimbii merchants also bought grain from Qellem areas. Therefore, the combined effect of food shortage as a result of cattle diseases, population increase, and the absence of transportation to supply food crops from surplus producing areas intensified the demand for grain production and this made technological change in farming imperative. Initially it was the absence of oxen which prompted them to use tractors, not

[75] *Ibid.*
[76] Informants: Nagaasaa Jarboo, Sirriiqaa Galatee, Nega Bekele, Bantii Amanuu, Shuguxii Tolasaa.

business interest. However, gradually they invested more and more money obtained from trade in leasing or buying enough land devoted to maize production and plantation of coffee trees.[77]

Since the late 1950s to the early 1970s the commercial farmers stabilized grain prices in Qellem as they sold a *quintal* of maize for 5ETB providing access to ample grain and rural employment throughout the year. It is apparent that the use of tractors for commercial maize production had transformed a section of the land lord, merchants and rich peasants into commercial farmers. The well known commercial maize farmers, who owned tractors in Sayyoo, were Dureessoo Boonaa, Birritu Abagaz and her son Phawlos Ambaw, Gabramichael Tesema, and Galataa Noonnisee who have developed around 80-120 hectares each in Qalqalcha, Bubuka and Shukkoo areas of Sayyo. In the early 1970s with the Bolloqqee boom (Soyabean), Galataa Noonnisee and Makonnen Tarfaasaa, a trader-planter were involved in Bolloqqee farming. In Haawwaa Galaan and Daallee Waabaraa *waradas* land lords, *Balambarases* Dasta Wayyeessaa and Getachew Haile who owned tractors were engaged in commercial maize farming. Tadese Lamuu was also one of such commercial farmers in the area who inherited vast land and transformed himself from a land lord into a successful commercial farmer and later business man in Addis Ababa.

In Anfilloo, in the vicinity of the small town of Muggii, Asegid Yimer, a trader-planter had a coffee plantation and the Anfilloo *balabat*, Bantii Waggaa developed both coffee and maize commercial farms in Waabaa. Our informants affirm that although they were few in number and the production was of small size, agriculturalists specialized in holticulture were also found in the study region. For instance, Wandimu Bashah (Abbaa Jiniinaa) who developed around 40-50ha for the commercial production of fruits and sugar cane located at a distance of 15 kilometers to the south west of Dambi Doolloo town, was a typical commercial farmer. In Naqamtee *awraja,* Ephraim Kabaa was another agriculturalist worth mentioning who developed around 20-30ha devoted to the plantation of large number of mango trees in the Dhidheessaa valley.[78]

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[77]Informants: Galataa Noonnisee, Derje Gabramichael, Getachew Haile, Fiqirtee Koorii.

[78]*Ibid.*

It is important to note that from the 1970 onwards the expansion of agriculture at the expense of the natural forest cover was becoming a necessity to be compensated by the society and the food shortage that had been created due to population increase was significantly carried out under the *Darg* regime which proclaimed the "Green campaign" (*"Aranguade yamirt zamacha"*).[79] One tangible consequence of the high rate of decline in forest cover and grass land was the alarming decline in the number of livestock, the main source of protein and other nutrients for a common country man. As a result dairy products which were formerly the main source of protein consumed daily by a household were rather categorized as a "luxury" food items obtained seasonally. Gradually but surely diversity of cropping in the field (*maasii*) as well as home garden (*naannoo qe'ee*) increased because probability of the farmers risk to a low income became higher with the restriction of their production only to the aforementioned main crops for the fact that the price of these crops was frequently fluctuating from time to time.[80]

The major constraint for agriculture in the region was the incidence and amount of rainfall. Even though, the overall amount of rainfall was nearly sufficient for production, the temporal distribution was poor and irregular, the largest proportion occurred within three months namely June, July and August. Associated with this aspect the quality of the soil especially the clay soil having small water holding capacity was also another constraint. Thus, the yield was dependent upon the soil moisture which in turn was largely affected by the short duration of the main rainy season.[81]

The total agricultural production was determined by the land size, productivity of the land, the workforce, the number of oxen owned by the farmer. The average family size in most of the localities reached roughly five to seven. But all the members, both male and female except children under five years, old and elders above seventy or more contributed a lot to the family based on the traditionally accepted division of labour. Thus, male children below ten were typically considered herders (*tikee*) while the female equivalents were responsible to fetch water

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[79] *Yabiherawi Abiyotawi Yamirt Zamachana Yamaikalawi Pilan Taklai Mamiriya Yaasrazatagn sabaarat Yamirtina Yabahil idgat Zamacha Ikid Yainvastimanti Pirojektochina Mangist Yamisatachaw Agalgilotoch Kiflahagarawi Sirichit 1974.* pp.1-2.
[80] Informants: Gammachuu Shonee, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Berhanu Galataa.
[81] *Ibid.*

and collect firewood. Young males of above ten were responsible for cultivation (ploughing, harvesting), shifting stable with elders and guarding crop fields against birds, monkeys and baboons. The female equivalents were responsible for all kinds of household activities mainly grinding grains, preparation of foods and drinks, fetching water and gathering firewood and they were typically responsible for weeding (*aramaa*) and hoeing (*qoonfaraa/kokkotaa*) in the farm.[82] Besides, the division of labour at the household level there was a reciprocal labour exchange known as "*daboo*". Such mutual assistance covered an entire village and kinship relations and dominated the traditional agricultural production. With the gradual increase in market-oriented production, labour had also become a marketable commodity. Hence, farmers who had insufficient farmland and oxen tended to serve other farmers for either contractual or daily wage (*Qansira*) or were engaged in share farming. As far as the routine work of the farmers was concerned, land preparation was a critical factor for farmers to achieve a better yield. This was largely because of the soil constraint and weeds which tended to grow rapidly. Therefore, the annual calendar was divided into four stages of activities: clearing (*ciraa*), ploughing (*qonnaa*), sowing or planting (*facaasuu/dhaabuu*) and harvesting (*makara*).[83]

The size of the farm land was one of the basic units of wealth. Therefore, a good farmer was evaluated in terms of his willingness and ability in adopting a marginal land into a cultivated field. Marginal land was in fact, a communal property but once the land was held by a farmer it would become a private property. Nevertheless, it should be affirmed through successive cultivation and by establishing either a homestead or a small hut on the farm which often served as a check point.The type and amount of crops produced was decided in terms of the need and production potential of the member of the family. The decision on marketing of the production was passed only after meeting the family needs.The farmers had little or no knowledge of market oriented economy and had no suitable stores. As a result the largest proportion of their production was lavishly consumed and the rest was sold as a distress sale, just immediately after the harvest for priceless than what it should be if retained. This lack of storage and retention power of the peasant did not allow them to earn benefit of the market. Thus, the consecutive governments' effort went to the favor of the merchants and the urban consumers than to the

[82]Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Bantii Amanuu, Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa, Shuguxii Tolasaa.
[83]Informants: Gammachuu Shonee, Ejjetaa Tolasaa, Berhanu Galataa.

producers (*qotee bulaa*).[84]

In spite of the many strengths of the society, there were also problems that affected the natural ecology which resulted owing to both lack of knowledge and the need to maximize production. Among others, the increasing rate of deforestation in response to the fast growing population and absence of some strategic soil conservation practices like terracing and check dams could be mentioned. The age old low level of farm technology and the limited agricultural potential had obliged most of the farmers to select only one way of escaping from the problem i.e. expanding the agricultural land to the margin lands at the expense of the natural forest cover. The poor infrastructural development and absence of efforts to introduce scientific agricultural system on the part of the government and the concerned organizations had further worsened the situation which hindered the overall development of the region in general and the transformation of the traditionally bounded agriculture in particular.[85]

Our sources verify that work groups were common among the farmers. After clearing grass and trees from the farm field they built small hut, *godoo* at the bottom edge of the farm. In the distant farm fields family work group moved out to the farmstead in late April and stayed there until the maize or sorghum was harvested. Members of the family work group could move back to the main settlement after deciding who would remain behind to guard the farm permanently. As we have discussed earlier, the study region was characterized by farming small plots. In some difficult terrains such as the hot lowlands of Beni Shangul adjacent to Dabbus and Hoha Rivers, the rugged mountainous ridges of Qobboo kebele in Arjoo adjoining the hot lowland of Naqamtee in the Dhidheessa valley, the lowland parts of Boojjii,Najjoo,Mandii *waradas* in Gimbii, Angar-Guttin, Ebaantuu, Haroo-Limmuu, Jiddaa-Ayyaanaa, and Abe Dongoro in Horo Gudruu, adjacent to the,Dhidheessa, Daabbus and Angar valleys and the Qellem hot lowland areas adjoining the Jawwee, Qexoo, Sakkoo and Birbir Rivers and the surrounding areas, for instance, shifting cultivation was generally believed to be the main farming strategy in which fields were cropped for fewer years and remained fallow. The duration of the shifting system was based on the fertility of the land and its yield and the intensification of weeds.

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[84]Informants: Galataa Dheeressaa, Gammachuu Shonee, Emeru Gabre, Sirriqaa Galatee.
[85]*Ibid.*

The farmers moved frequently in search of virgin land in response to the decline in fertility of the soil. In these areas farms were small patches of plot; often located around river banks. Traditionally the shifting cultivators did not intend to practice the use of oxen for plowing because oxen could not survive animal diseases, Trypanosomiasis, *Gandii* prevalent in the area. Therefore, there was no ploughing of the land but they simply dug the field using the hoe or sharpened long stick called *hordaa* to cover the seeds.[86]

As mentioned above, when the soil lost its fertility, farm fields were shifted to new grounds but not very far away from the farmstead. This was mainly because of the presence of predatory animals such as, monkeys, porcupines' and wild pigs that destroyed crops. A village usually moved together to a new cultivable land as a family never farmed alone since all depended on their neighbors. Reclearing of field was an important activity done on previously cultivated fields. For most households this was the first act in the annual process of cultivation. Old straw and stubble left from the previous harvests were dug out with a hoe and a wooden rake into heaps which were soon burned on the field. The reclearing of fields facilitated later weeding but often it was not done. After ploughing when the rain comes early the field was sown without being cleared because sowing would be performed immediately after the first rains.[87] In the hot lowlands of Dhidheessa, Waamaa, Daabbus, Angar,Qexoo and Birbir river valleys where maize, sorghum, and millet were grown widely as staple crops, the reclearing of a field usually began towards the end of February or the middle of April, about one month or so before the rains were expected. Reclearing of the field was usually left to old people and small boys to participate fully in agricultural work. Although reclearing was important as it later simplified weeding, it was not as essential as weeding. If a field was not weeded properly and on time the crop would be destroyed easily by fast-growing grass that would choke the grain.[88]

The basic unit of agricultural production was the household. Members of the household were involved in different aspects of agricultural production. They fulfilled most of their tasks in

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[85]Informants: Daniel Tilahun, Shuguxii Tolasaa, Sirriiqaa Galatee.
[86]Informants: Emeru Gabre, Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Nega Bekele, Gamachuu Shonee, Sirriiqaa Galatee.
[87]Informants: Shuguxii Tolasaa, Gamachuu Shonee, Sirriiqaa Galatee.
[88] Informants: Emeru Gabre, Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Nega Bekele, Gamachuu Shonee, Sirriiqaa Galatee.

production having a division of labour predominantly based on age and sex. During the worst period of food shortage, families tended to apply different survival coping mechanisms. According to informants' families that suffered from food shortages during the rainy season compensated for their food shortage by eating shoots and roots of edible plants. Moreover, some of these starving farmers sold their labour daily on farms (*Qansira*) and some of them sold animals and fixed assets while small proportion depended on neighbors or kins assistance. The main reasons attributed to the occurrences of family food shortages were: crop diseases (pest), rain shortfall or excessive rainfall which resulted in low production and large number of feeding mouths in each household.[89]

In most parts of the region sowing which was a relatively easy work was exclusively the work of men including sometimes boys of ten to fifteen years of age. Maize, sorghum and millet were sown first in the field, *maasii* and then other crops were planted or sown on the remaining small beds in the home gardens. All work in and around the house was usually women's domain. The first rains often signaled the time to plant after the burning of the field. Planting extended from March to May and that except for certain areas reserved for root crops, the entire field area was planted with maize and sorghum.[90] Weeding begins about a month after sowing and lasted for about fourty-five days. However, this did not mean that fields were weeded for full fourty-five days. Among some groups of the population fields were not weeded on Wednesdays and Fridays which were considered unworkable days, *cagginoo* among the indigenous people. If weeding activity was done it was believed to have caused God's wrath against production. Therefore, during the period of weeding unworkable days were strictly observed. So during these days instead other non-agricultural works such as gathering firewood and constructing fences were done around houses.[91] Weeding carried out later than about two months and a half after sowing was useless because the wild plants competing against the crop would make it so stunted that it could not ripen even if the weeds were removed. Weeding was thus strictly scheduled. Each household thus had its entire labour force at its disposal for the weeding of fields.

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[89] *Ibid.*
[90] Informants: Ayyaanaa Galataa, Alamitu Guutaa, Bantii Amanuu.
[91] Informants: Liilluu Namarraa, Atsede Wadaajoo, Laakkaa Gamachuu.

Weeding was a much more difficult task which many households could not do without any assistance.[92] In order to weed successfully and in time working groups called *daadoo* were formed on the basis of neighborly assistance. Anyone who organized a larger working group, *daboo* supplied its participants with sufficient food and local beer (*farsoo*) as long as the work was performed and when it was finished he entertained them again with additional feast. A large group of people was invited by the organizer some of them neighbors, friends and kinsmen.[93]

Crops were destroyed by wild animals. For instance, baboons' and monkeys mostly destroyed maize, sorghum and millet. They were usually troublesome because they travelled in large bands. Wild pigs (boyyee) and porcupines (Karkarroo) not only had eaten a lot but also damaged much more than the amount they consumed. Immediately after planting, the fields were guarded against monkeys, baboons and birds unearthing the seeds. After it germinated and emerged from the ground, the maize and sorghum needed watching for about a month. Later after the young plant increased a certain height it becomes vulnerable to baboons and monkeys who liked to chew it for sugar. Hence the Oromo proverb, "cimnaan nyaanne miti, dhibnaan nyaanne malee jedhe jaldeessi," that means "we ate it not because it was ripe but because we lacked".[94] As the maize slowly developed ears, it too became target for other wild animals. During the last two months before harvesting, boys guarded fields (*eeguu laga boqqolloo*) against monkeys and pigs constantly day and night. They built a fire place outside the fields and chased particularly baboons and monkeys by beating sticks, shouting and whistling the whole night to drive away wild pigs and porcupines. The men tried to kill pigs and porcupines and other wild animals that destroyed or damaged crops with rifle and spears. They also used various traps against these wild animals. So the farmers were compelled to cooperate with the other farmers to guard their fields from destruction by wild animals' day and night.[95] Moreover, insects were very harmful to all crops. Termites, locusts, caterpillars and worms (*qurxaa*) were troublesome as they caused great damage to crops both in the field and in the storage bins (*Gombisaa)*.

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[92]*Ibid.*

[93]Informants: Ayyaanaa Galataa, Bantii Amanuu; See also Tesema Taa, "Traditional and Modern Cooperatives among the Oromo", in *Being and Becoming Oromo. Historical and Anthropological Enquiries*, edited by P.T.W. Baxter, Jan Haultin and Alessandro Triulzi,Uppsala Nordiska Afrika Institutet, 1996.p.

[94]Informants: Ayyaanaa Galataa, Bantii Amanuu, Shuguxii Tolasaa.

[95]Informants: Shuguxii Tolasaa, Emiruu Waaqjiraa, Bantii Amanuu, Nagaasaa Jarboo.

The farmers had no protection against insects and pests which destroyed the production immediately after the end of the harvest season. In the highlands where barley, wheat and oats were widely cultivated it was mostly the duty of children above seven years of age to guard the barley and wheat fields against birds being on a raised stage (*siree)* chasing away birds with a sling (*furrisa*) and with a stone. Fields lose some of the crop to predatory animals if they were constantly left unguarded and even the whole crop could be destroyed. Therefore, farmers were forced to protect their fields from destructive wild animals by different methods. They built fences (*diilloo buusuu*) to protect fields from pigs and porcupines to some extent. However; this method was useless against monkeys' and baboons. In some areas farmers made doll-like structure which looked like human beings and hung them inside the farms in order to frighten the wild animals.[96]

Once the major work of preparing and sowing was done and weeding completed, farmers simply waited while the crop was grown. When the plants grew to maturity another busy season of harvesting, threshing and winnowing begins. Harvesting took place about four months after sowing and usually lasted one or two months depending on the size of the farm. In some areas harvesting was considered the women's work. So the women organized and scheduled the labour force for each group member. A work group was formed of a woman, her neighbors and possibly her kinswomen who lived in different families. They worked together for some time in the fields of each member.[97]

The final agricultural activity was threshing, done by a large working team composed of most able-bodied inhabitants of a village. Threshing was done on an earthen threshing floor (*Oobdii*) located around homes. It began after the crop has been collected from all the fields of the village and lasted about one month or perhaps a little longer. In threshing animals were driven over the sheaves of grains. The animals necks were tied together and mouths muffled, were kept plodding in a circle over the unthreshed grain while the farmer continuously arranged the unthreshed grain with a wooden fork. All the men of the village threshed in the field of one family and the women

[96]Informants: Galataa Dheeressa, Daniel Tilahun, Tamiruu Makonnen, Badhaasaa Galataa.
[97]Informants: Askale Gamachuu, Alamitu Guta, Laakkaa Gamachuu, Atsede Wadaajoo.

winnowed the grain as it was threshed. The women whose grain was being threshed prepared supplies of food and local beer which was consumed during the work.When the grain of one family has been threshed the team would move on to thresh the grain of the other family in turn.[98] Winnowing was removing the chaff from the grain. It was done with the help of a wooden spade by throwing the threshed grain into air. The grain being heavier was thus sorted out from the chaff which the wind carried slightly further away. Winnowing was done entirely by hand using wooden forks and shovels. Sieves and bowls carried out the final stages. In the case of teff, millet, wheat and barley the grain was then collected and stored either in an earthen container (*gumbii*) inside the house or in a container made of goat's skin (*qalqalloo*).In the storage bin (*gombisaa*), which were placed outside with their conical, thatched covers, that looked like small huts from a distance were kept mainly maize and sorghum in the low lands and teff, wheat, barley and sorghum crops in the highland areas. However, the size and the number of containers depended on the wealth of the individual farmer.[99]

The food secure farmers acquired labour from the destitute farmers who were deficient in land and animals and compelled to sell their labour. The payment was in the form of providing some grains or little money. Despite the generally limited role of wage labour in the farmer's economy it was very important to a small number of poor families because quite poor and female-headed families survived the last few pre-harvest months by earning from daily wage labour(*Qansera*). The income earned was spent on the purchase of food needed for their survival. One of my informants who was a very poor farmer during the imperial period remarked that:

> *I had a family of five when a major shortfall began in rural Daalle Waabara warada in Qellem awraja. In order to meet my family's food requirement, I and two of my boys were involved in ploughing the field of a distant neigh bor. Our employer had some surplus grain in his storage bin (gombisaa).So we received some grain and 0.50cents for a day's service each and with the money we fulfilled our necessities of life to survive those lean months.*[100]

In the study region the lowlanders usually were subsisted by hunting activities though it did not make substantial contribution to the food supply.

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[98] *Ibid.*
[99] Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Galataa Dheeressa, Daniel Tilahun, Tamiruu Makonnen.
[100] Informant: Mireessaa Reebuu.

Coffee Production

It is generally believed that the coffee plant is the contribution of the Ethiopian region and tropical Africa to the world. It is accepted that aromatic Arabica coffee spread from today's southwestern Ethiopian region to the Yemen from where it spread to the world. There is a missing link in the written evidence about the plant's spread from southern Ethiopia to Yemen.The Arab tradition holds that the plant might have been introduced into Yemen sometime between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries. The Ethiopian origin of coffee is supported by linguistic evidence. Ninth and tenth century Arab writers mentioned coffee as *bunca* or *bunchum* which is similar to *buna* or *buno*, the name by which it is still referred to in Ethopia. The Arabs use the word *bun* for the kernel of the coffee bean and *qisiriya* for its husk.[101] However, in Ethiopia the word *buna* seems to have possessed a dual meaning which stands both for the fruit of the coffee bean and the plant while the word *qisir* or *qishir* is often used to refer to the kernel of the coffee bean. There is a widespread misconception that the name coffee is derived from the Ethiopian province of Kafa. This was publicized by Sir James Murray's New English Dictionary of the beginning of the twentieth century which suggested the source. Sir James Murray seems to have adopted this derivation from James Bruce who wrote "its name in Arabia and Abyssinia is *bun*; but I apprehend its true name is *Caffee* from Caffa, the southern province of Narea, whence it is first said to have come."[102] However, in the various Ethiopian languages the plant was referred to by different versions of the term *buno*, even in Kafa itself. Coffee obtained its name from the Arabic *qahwah* and Turkish *qavah* which was rendered as *Koffie* into Dutch.[103]

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[101]Carsten Niebhur, Travels through Arabia and other Countries in the East, vol.I, (Edinbugh: 1792), pp.398-400; William Ukkers, All about coffee (New York: 1922), pp.2-3,725; Werner Lange, History of the Southern Gonga (Southwestern Ethiopia) (Weisbaden: 1982), p.7; Ralph Huttox, coffee and Coffee Houses: the origins of the Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East (Seatle and London; University of Washington press, 1985), pp.137-138.

[102]James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile in the years 1768, 1769,1770,1771,1772 and 1773 vol.3* (London, 1805, 2nd ed.), p.246 For a detailed account of Coffee See,Almaw Kifle, "The political Economy of Coffee Production,Processing and Marketing in Gedeo and Sidama:Local,National and Global Developments(1941-2010),Ph.D Dissertation,Department of History,AAU,2015.

[103]Charles T. Beke, "On the Countries South of Abyssinia" Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,vol.13 (1843),pp.97-100; W.Lange,History of the Southern Gonga,p.7;C.Van Arendonk, "Kahwa,"in Encyclopedia of Islam, new edition, vol. IV (Leiden: 1978), pp.449-453; Ukers, All about coffee, pp.2-3,725.

The Arabs are credited with the preparation of coffee as a drink around the thirteenth century, and with giving it the name by which most languages referred to it. Peoples who adopted the drink modified the Arabic term *qawha* to suit their own pronunciation transforming the Turkish *qavah* and the Dutch into *Koffie*.[104] Thus, the current name of coffee is derived from the Arabic term for it as a drink.

For centuries the use of coffee for trade or beverage was either limited or unknown among most peoples of the Ethiopian region. The present region of Kafa, considered as the origin of coffee, was referred to as Enarea in sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The people of Enarea were aware of the coffee plant, which they referred to as '*bun*' or '*bonito*' as do the other Omotic groups in today's southern Ethiopia. At least since the end of the eighteenth century, there was a limited trade in coffee from the Enarea region.[105]

The Oromo used coffee for ritual purposes throughout the widespread region in which they settled. In the 1860s a Methodist Missionary observed the preparation of coffee for a marriage ritual among the Oromo on the coast of east Africa though it is impossible to state exactly when and how coffee formed part of their tradition.[106] According to a mythical story of the Oromo of western Ethiopia, coffee sprouted from a spot where *waaqa,* their traditional supreme sky god, let its tears fall due to the evils of human kind, and the plant was given to them to bless each other. This is why elderly women say "Aarrikee waaqgahee, tollikee nugahe" literally meaning "Let your smoke reach Waaqaa and your generosity (grace) reach us" when they prepare *buna-qalaa*. Accordingly, the ritual consumption of roasted coffee beans preceded all customary rites of blessing, reconciliation, and prayers for the well being of a community. The coffee beans were roasted in a ceremony known as *buna-qalaa*, literally the "slaughtering of coffee". Roasted coffee beans were mixed with butter and barley and shared as a token among the participants. Barley was added to augment the limited supply of coffee beans. The eighteenth century Scottish traveler in northern Ethiopia, James Bruce, wrote that the Oromo consumed cakes made of

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[104]Ukers, All about Coffee, pp.2-3,725.
[105]M.Abir, Ethiopia, The Era of the Princes: The challenge of Islam and the reunification of Ethiopia 1769-1855(London: 1965), pp.44-72,155.
[106]E.S. Wakefield, "Marriage Customs among the Southern [Oromo]," Folklore, vol.Xviii (1907), p.322.

coffee beans to keep them in "strength and spirits," while traversing long distance.[107]

Both oral and archival sources verify that even though it was one of the most important regions in producing coffee only a considerable part of Wallagga region was suitable for coffee production.Twentieth century research has established that Anfillo is one of the localities to which the coffee plant was indigenous.[108] Coffee was grown in various areas of the region; nevertheless, it was heavily cultivated in two *awrajas*, Gimbii and Qellem. They were the major sources of the largest volume of marketable supply of coffee in the region. They accounted on the average, for about 98.8 percent of the total regional coffee supply.[109] According to the report the region accounted for 16.5 per cent of the national coffee land and 13.8 per cent of the nation's coffee growing household and supplied more than ten per cent of the total coffee arrival to central markets for export. In 1983 and 1984, 23498 and 17221 tons were produced from 52830 hectares respectively.[110]

Coffee markets in the region were carried out both through official and unofficial channels, the latter offering relatively higher prices for producers. Though the official market was dominant, the unofficial outlet had steadily grown and absorbed significant portion of the region's coffee output during the consecutive governments of the imperial and *Darg* regimes.[111] Garden coffee was the main form of coffee production in the region. Peasant coffee farms were characterized by unpatterned space and free growth of coffee trees which were likely to create difficulties like picking and spraying chemicals to ward off pests and control coffee berry disease (CBD).

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[107]Bartels, Oromo Religion: Myths and rites of the Western Oromo of Ethiopia. An attempt to understand (Berlin, 1983), pp.173-207; James Bruce Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile, vol.III, p.246. This ritual consumption was also observed and reported by Schuver in 1881, and by Vannutelli and Citerni in1897 in Qellem.

[108]H.Von Strenge, "Wild Coffee in Kaffa Province of Ethiopia,"*Tropical Agriculture* vol.33 (1956), pp.297-301; Huffnagel, *Agriculture in Ethiopia* p.204; *National Coffee Board, National Coffee Board of Ethiopia 1957-1972*(Addis Ababa: 1973), p.7.

[109]*Yabunana Shay Limat Minister Agar Aqaf Yabuna Maret Yaqoda Sifatina Yamirt Matan Timana Wutet Yamajamaria Daraja Riport*, Sane 1977E/C.P.25.

[110]*Ibid.*p.26.

[111]*Ibid.* The coffee berry disease as its name implies was a disease of the green berry. When the leaves are affected by the disease, they become yellowish and eventually dry up. Some of the leaves drop before they become dry on the tree.

Traditional coffee production techniques were dominantly practiced and access to modern coffee production inputs and improved production practices were limited to the few coffee farmers in the region. Coffee marketed in the region was primarily sun-dried. There were no pulperies operating in the area and the peasant coffee farmers could not obtain relatively higher prices by improving coffee quality by producing washed coffee. Hulling of sun-dried coffee was carried out by Coffee Marketing Corporation (CMC) and private hullers. (Ripened collected cherries could be pulped by wet processing method).[112] From early 1980s onwards the Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development (MCTD) had been carrying out some development activities to improve coffee production in the region. Besides supplying coffee marketing information, the Ministry had been educating farmers to adopt improved production methods by displaying modern techniques of coffee production like mulching, fertilizing, spraying chemicals and so on. To carry out the tasks of improving coffee production, the Ministry operated coffee improvement activities.[113] Three of the fifteen Coffee Improvement Project Areas (CIPAs) in the country were found in the study area. These were Haruu, Gimbii, and Anfilloo. Haruu was phase one project *warada* to which the activities of the project were introduced in 1977 while Gimbii and Anfillo were phase two areas where the project began in 1982. Haru and Gimbii project *waradas* were located in the same *awraja*, Gimbii, whereas Anfillo was located in Qellem at a distance of more than 250kms from the other project *waradas*. Though there were many coffee producing *waradas* surrounding the selected projects, Lalo Assabi was one of the heavy coffee producing *waradas* in Gimbii that had a common boundary with more or less homogeneous soil structure, climate and other agro ecological characteristics.[114]

During the first phase of the coffee improvement project which took place in 1977 thirty peasant associations in Haruu *warada* of Gimbii with 9622 members were demarcated. Whereas during the second phase which took place in 1982 thirty five peasant associations with 19198 members and twenty eight peasant associations with7284 members were respectively demarcated in Gimbii and Anfilloo *waradas*. The CIP extended its services for more than 36,000 demarcated farmers to improve coffee production in ninety three peasant associations found in the three CIP

[112]Informants: Galaalchaa Gutamaa, Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa, Dhinaa Tarreessaa.
[113]*Ibid.*
[114]*Ibid.*Informants: Emeru Waqjira, Taddese Ejigu, Bantii Amanuu.

centers of the region.[115]

After the land reform of 1975 farmers' plots for coffee remained small and even getting smaller and smaller due to frequent distribution and redistribution of land among the farmers by the peasant associations. The dominance of the traditional coffee production technology caused low coffee productivity. This can be expressed by the virtual absence of improved coffee cultural practices like mulching, manuring, pruning, spraying, fertilizing on the existing coffee trees operated by small peasants who were either unwilling or unable to use these techniques. The use of very simple hand tools and traditional production methods like pulping and drying the berries according to the traditions many years ago were also the manifestations of poor state of coffee production technology. Furthermore, the use of important inputs like fertilizers, fungicides, herbicides and modern and improved farm implements was limited and unknown to a multitude of the coffee farmers.[116]

According to the writer's observation, the dominance of the traditional coffee production techniques and limited knowledge of the farmers about the existence of improved agronomic practice resulted in the use of seedlings grown under mother trees that were less resistant to diseases, though planting of coffee required the raising of coffee seedlings in nurseries and transplanting them into new fields. The imperial regime's system of land tenure had been the cause, at least partially, for lack of progress in coffee industry in the region because the farmers were uncertain of their holdings and that they were not likely to make long term investments in coffee farms. Moreover, Coffee Berry Disease had been the most challenging problem as it caused a significant crop loss to the farmers since its outbreak at the beginning of 1970.[117]

Sources at our disposal verify that a combination of garden coffee and semi-plantation coffee production was generally found in Wallagga.

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[115]MCTD, CIP Annual Reports 1984.p.23.
[116]Informants: Galaalchaa Gutamaa,Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa, Dhinaa Tarreessaa,Emeru Waaqjiraa; *Yabunana Shay Limat Minister Agar Aqaf Yabuna Maret Yaqoda Sifatina Yamirt Matan Timana Wutet Yamajamaria Daraja Riport*, Sane 1977E/C.P.32.
[117]MTCD, unpublished Reports on Sample Surveys for the Assessment of Loss due to Coffee Berry Disease in CIPA, Addis Ababa, 1981-84.pp.32-33.

Semi plantation coffee is the modified forest coffee grown under shade at densities around 4000 trees/ha.Normally, the average yield is approximately 350 kg/ha, accounting for about35 per cent of the total production. Garden coffee is planted at low densities of 1000-1800 trees/ha accounting for about 55 per cent of the total production. Modern coffee plantations are found in CIP waradas namely Haru, Gimbii and Anfillo, accounting for 10 per cent of the total production.[118]

Traditionally the farmers used to select fertile land for coffee cultivation and plantation. After removing the unwanted trees, shrubs and grasses they ploughed the fields' by using a digging hoe until the field became free from any harmful weeds for the preparation of the transplanted seedlings. Coffee cultivation system varied depending on individual cultivators. Thus, some farmers cultivated closer to homestead while others cultivated far away from their homestead. The farmers' way of hoeing, fertilizing and weeding were very primitive and the local implements they used during coffee cultivation included: hoe, digging stick (*hordaa*), axe and machete (*billaa*) used for weeding of the coffee fields.[119]

There were two methods of getting coffee seedlings. Firstly, coffee beans were sown on a plot of land especially prepared for nursery (the land should be irrigated during the dry season and there should be trees to provide shade).The seedlings were then grown over the nursery for three or four years after which they were planted. Sometimes the seedlings for the nursery could be obtained from the previously planted coffee farm or forest coffee. From these coffee trees, coffee beans fall to the ground during the harvesting season and seedlings grow from the fallen beans during the rainy season. Then later these seedlings were uprooted and planted in the nursery bed for two or three years to be replanted. Such coffee seedlings were grown successfully when they were replanted on the farm and very few of such seedlings die. The roots of such seedlings were short during the replanting process and that they had many branch roots. Generally, the coffee trees grown from such seedlings were relatively short and have more branches. These branches were very important since it was from these branches that coffee beans were harvested. Secondly, the other way of getting seedlings for planting was by uprooting the seedlings that

[118]MTCD, The Production of Coffee in the Farming System, Haru, Gimbi and Anfillo CIPs in Wollega Region, Addis Ababa, 1986.p.9; Informants: Galaalchaa Gutamaa, Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa, Dhinaa Tarreessaa
[119]Informants: Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa, Dhinaa Tarreessaa, Emeru Waaqjiraa.

grew under forest coffee or previously planted coffee. But in this case the seedlings were directly planted after being uprooted.[120]

Coffee harvesting begins as early as November and continues until February. The most known traditional method of picking was "strip picking" (*duguuguu*) of the cherries at the stage when the cherries became yellowish green and sometimes when they were over ripe and brown in color. But these yellowish green cherries were not fully ripe and thus do not have expected weight and good flavor. In the strip-picking system the people picked the cherries which were at different levels of development from the whole branches. Therefore, this method of picking both the ripened and unripened cherries resulted in less quality and low price. Picking was commonly practiced by hand both on the red and unripe cherries. The farmers did not separately pick red cherries from the unripe cherries, because it took time and consumed more labour. Farmers used to clear the area surrounding each coffee tree to enhance the picking process and they put picking materials such as sacks or mats (*gasaa*) under coffee trees and collected by picking both the red and the unripe cherries. Picking was carried out by all members of the household including females and children. Local peoples who had no coffee trees on their farm got coffee by collecting coffee beans for the owners on agreement basis. Such workers were paid either in cash or in kind. During the harvesting season workers used to come even from Gojjam, Gondar and Shawa provinces.[121] Both the seasonal and local laborers were invariably paid in harvested coffee. If the yield was high on coffee trees, then the laborers got three units of coffee out of five they collected. But this was not constant as it fluctuated depending on the yield of coffee trees. In most cases children and women formed a work group known as '*daadoo*' during harvesting and picked coffee by shifting from one member's field to another.[122]

Some of the implements used during harvesting were long hooked stick (*hokkoo*), rope, big and small bowls and bags made of different materials. Rope was used to bring down the long coffee trees closer in order to pick coffee cherries easily. Small and big bowls were used to facilitate the collection of picked coffee cherries in one spot, and bags were used to carry the collected

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[120]*Ibid.*
[121]Informants: Galaalchaa Guutamaa, Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa, Dhinaa Tarreessaa, Sirriiqaa Galatee.
[122]Informants: Dhinaa Tarreessaa, Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa, Tamirat Dhinaa.

cherries from field to home. Harvesting was done when almost all cherries became ripe enough. It was usually practiced in large fields of matured coffee trees with large number of branches. Even though harvesting of such kind reduced the time and energy needed, it reduced the quality of coffee because all the ripened, unripened and diseased cherries were gathered together.[123] The farmers traditionally used their own simple method of processing coffee. In extracting the coffee beans from wet cherries, the producers put the cherries in wooden mortar and pound it with a heavy stick to remove the outer coverings. The pounded cherries were dried in the sun by spreading them over drying materials or simply on the ground. The bean obtained under such processing was locally known as *cofcofee*. The removal of beans by traditional methods had a disadvantage in terms of quality because using traditional tools to remove beans often resulted in wastage and negative effects on the shape of the beans. That is to say beans obtained from such practices were partly broken and partly flattened resulting in lower price at the market.[124]

Before 1974 coffee trade transaction took place among the producers, small traders and agents of the exporters. There were numerous village centers which served the people as local market centers. There were also main coffee trading centers. However, most of the small market centers were isolated from one another by physical barriers like rivers and dense forests. In the post 1974 period only after the construction of rural roads which connected all the market centers to the Coffee Marketing Corporation (CMC) that communication became easy. However, it was difficult to demarcate the coffee supply hinterlands of each marketing center and also to determine whether or not all coffee was purchased within the market centers in the study area. Despite the existence of small market centers in different localities, the farmers preferred to sell their coffee at Kurmuk market far away from the main market center in Gimbii or Mana Sibu and Gambella because of the availability of higher prices for '*qishir*' coffee there.There were two terminal markets in the country, Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. Coffee from Wallagga was directly taken to the terminal market of Addis Ababa.[125] (See also Appendix 24)

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[123]*Ibid.*
[124]*Ibid.*
[125]MTCD, Coffee Marketing Study, vol IV, Addis Ababa, 1987.p.19;WMTMAC,letter to Bitwadad Mangasha Jambare, Governor General of Wallagga, Miazia30, 1939E/C, Ref. No.2072/A.

Animal Husbandry

After their settlement in Wallagga, the Macca Oromo seem to have practiced both sedentary agriculture and pastoralism for some time. Agricultural and pastoral economies went on side by side. Our sources point out that there was a natural division of labour. Those with many cattle did not cultivate the land but bought grain from those who farmed while those with few or no cattle supplemented their economy with agriculture.The pastoralists despised those who cultivated the land. However, as the region had experienced waves of epidemic cattle diseases, dependence on cattle as the means of survival became less reliable. In their oral traditions the Oromo referred to such periods as critical times. During such bad days it was the cultivators who saved the lives of the cattle owners. By the nineteenth century the people were mainly agriculturalists engaged in "intensive form of cultivation with the hoe."[126] It is probably due to the recurrent cattle diseases that the people resorted to mixed economy, ie. cattle raising and farming. Such economy gradually reduced pasture land which in turn had effect on the cattle population. However, in the mixed economy of the people the role of cattle still remained very important. The following song may show how the Oromo valued the role of cattle in their economy.

Oromo	*Gloss*
Anaa horu ya horii horiin maal namangoone	*Oh cattle, what can't cattle do for man?*
Xiiqii Nama guuchisa niitii Nama fuusiisa	*It prospers and brings one a wife,*
Yoohoran badhaaso nyaatan qabbaneessoo	*makes one wealthy, satisfies stomach's need,*
Gogaan waalluu ta'a kolbaan waancaa ta'a	*its hide is cloth, its horn wancaa, (drinking cup)*
aannansaa hindhugama, foonni irbaata ta'a	*the milk is drunk the meat becomes dinner,*
Kotten shiinii ta'a, ribuun hodhaaf ta'a.	*the hoof is made into cup,*
	the nerve becomes thread.[127]

Since mixed economy provided better security in life, it became the desire of all people to own both farm land and cattle because life would not be thought of being fulfilled without farming and stock raising. The following song, however, seems to indicate the increasing importance of farming than cattle keeping. "Awaashii gadi midhaantu caala, bishaantu ittaana yawaaq sicaala",

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[126]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.52; Mitiku Tucho.Impacts of Pastoralism on the Oromo of Qellem, p.20; V.E Haberland, Galla sud Athiopiens, (Stuttgart, 1963), p.773.

[127]Informants: Gamachuu Danuu, Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Bultii Gamachuu; See also, Tesema Ta'a,Oromo Poetry from Within, in Oromo Oral Poetry Seen from Within.Catherine Griefenow/Tamene Bitima(eds.)Rudiger,Koppe,Verlag-Koln,Germany,2004.pp.14-39.

which means, "Downwards from Awash, grain is greater, water comes next and God is the greatest." It was also said: "Nooruu yaabuddeenaa warqeeko, sumaaf waaqiif yoona geese lubbuunkoo", "Oh, welcome precious pancake, my soul survived depending on you and God."[128] Dependence on cattle and crop farming diversified their diet. G.W.B Huntingford states that, "The diet of the [Oromo] is more varied than that of most East African pastoralists, their main foods being meat, milk and cereals, the latter eaten as porridge and in the form of bread. Meat mainly beef is eaten both raw and cooked".[129] The pastoralists treated skinny persons suffering from different diseases by giving them the blood of the young calves. In this case, a jugular vein of a healthy calf would be tied tightly around its neck and pricked with a sharp cutlass to spill out the blood. There were two ways of pouring the blood. The first one was sucking the pricked vein and the other method was drawing the blood into a container and using it later with other ingredients. Informants state that in the case of sucking the blood the person should make a sort of physical exercise for few minutes as soon as he consumed the blood so as to facilitate proper assimilation into the body. Some people cooked the blood of a lamb and parts of the animal's digestive organ, *mia'a garaa* with some ingredients as food.[130]

For the Oromo cattle had greater importance both in their social and economic position and it was the chief means of livelihood of the household. They have great awe and love for their animals. The way their cattle moved and acted had meanings in their everyday life. According to tradition, the Macca Oromo followed their bulls and settled in the land where the bulls finally rested. Knutson argued that "cattle in a way are something more than mere animals.There are evident emotional bond between men and cattle which in all probability is one of the factors behind the hesitance to slaughter cattle for sheer profit-making."[131] Bulls played a very significant role in many ceremonies. For instance *korma sanbataa* (a bull dedicated to Sabbath) was put aside to be sacrificed to Sabbath. A person may make a vow to Sabbath saying if the Sabbath would give him many cattle, he would sacrifice a bull to the Sabbath. *Korma yakkaa* (a

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[128]Informants: Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Mireessaa Lamuu; *Afa Tarik Sebseb, 1980E/C*p.52.
[129]GWB Huntingford, *The Galla of Ethiopia, The Kingdom of Kaffa and Janjero*, London, International African Institute 1969), p.28.
[130]Informants: Birru Nagarii, Baatii Hembelee, Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Atoomsaa Shuuluu.
[131]K.E.Knutson, "Plough land Swidden, a dual system of agriculture in Western Ethiopia", (n.d, n.p.), p.11; Yilma Deressa, *YaEtyop'ia HezbTarik*, p.240; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.

bull of guilt),would be sacrificed to cleanse an act of incest.[132] The pastoralists considered *korma*, a bull as leader of a herd in the same way as a husband is considered as the head of a family. *Korma* is an Oromo word for a bull. It means strong and full of life. It was traditionally accepted that a bull was a symbol of fertility. A valiant and physically strong person was often referred to as *korma*.[133]

In the past when the Oromo *Butta* ceremony was practiced some social problems were brought there for solutions. For instance in the fertility rite all the barren women would go with milk, *buna-qalaa* (roasted coffee beans), and *qorii* (roasted barley) to the ceremony. The *gadaa* officials seated the barren women in a row, removed garments from their laps and breasts and took a sip from the milk, the roasted coffee beans and the roasted barley and dipped the upper ends of their walking sticks in the milk and sprinkled the sipped milk on the laps and breasts of the ladies. Meanwhile the men pretended against the women as if the bulls were making a sexual intercourse with the cows and ended the ceremony with a blessing. The women would be blessed thus: "Ajaayi, urgaayi, gudeedatti baadhu!" which means "have a bad smell because of your baby's urine, have a good smell because of your new baby, carry a baby on your lap!"[134] Generally cattle were objects of the greatest interest to all [Oromo], their importance being attested by their ritual status.[135] It is remarked that cows were praised as follows:

Oromo	Gloss
Hori hori yasaawwaa!	*Oh, cows be numerous!*
Hormaataaf qindii ta'i;	*be numerous and multiply;*
Budaadhaaf hirmii ta'i	*be snare to an evil eye*
Goomataaf hirmii ta'i	*be ticks to a sorcerer,*
Nama sihoreef hori.	*Be numerous for the owner.*[136]

Among the Oromo there was association between animals and humans. In their poetic and ritual expression the Macca particularly compared human beings with bulls, cows and calves.[137]

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[132]L.F.J. Bartels, "The Concept of Safu among the Macha Oromo of Ethiopia", (Addis Ababa, 1976), p.10; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.
[133]Informants: Birru Nagarii, Baatii Hembelee.
[134]Mitiku Tucho.Impacts of Pastoralism on the Oromo of Qellem, p.37.
[135]G.W.B. Huntingford, The Galla of Ethiopia, p.25.
[136]Informants: Baatii Hembelee, Birru Nagarii.
[137]L.F.J.Bartels, "*Dabo:* A form of Cooperation between Farmers among The Matcha Galla of Ethiopia"*Anthropos* Vol, 70, 1975), p.885.

Small children were referred to as *waatilee* or *jabbilee* (calves) which means "the beloved little ones". The adolescents and the youths were compared to young bulls and that they were referred to as *gorommii* (heifers) if they were females and *korommii* (little bulls), if they were males. The old men were compared to old bulls. They were referred to as *dullacha* (old bulls).[138] Apparently lovers also addressed one another with these beautiful words of expressions which were supposed to have strong impact in uniting the lovers for their anticipated marriage. The breath of calves was favored and considered as a symbol of fresh human breath. People desired a breath which was as good and as fresh as that of calves.[139] Cleft teeth in ladies were admired in the tradition of the Macca Oromo of Qellem. The cleft teeth in their folk songs were compared to the clefts in the hoofs of young calves. Here is a folk-song which praised a girl with cleft teeth. Cleft teeth were taken as one criterion for beauty. This was a common song in Qellem.

Oromo	Gloss
Hanqaaquu cabseen gadloosa	*I break eggs and let them flow,*
Dungee yawasiila Jootee	*Oh, Dungee the uncle of Jootee;*
Kan kaarruun kottee jabbootaa	*whose cleft teeth look like calf's hoof*
Dhufte afaan daamica gootee.	*has come with sweet lips.*[140]

Besides its nutritional value milk symbolized perfection and played an important role in ritual ceremonies. For instance, on the day of marriage the bride and the bridegroom would be seated together before the bride departs for her new home and made to sip milk from the same container. The in-laws would bless them, "garaan kessan tokko haatau, aannanif garaa ta'a" which means, "let your hearts be one; let you unite like milk and stomach" Churned milk was believed to have had a medicinal value. Therefore, when a person becomes terribly sick relatives and friends would ask if the sick person was able to take the churned milk which they referred to as *areera*. If the sick person could take it by himself they would say there could be a chance for recovery from the serious illness. But if the person was unable to consume it by his own will the relatives and friends would even force the person to open his mouth and send little sip of the churned milk down his throat and see what would happen to the person. In some cases after such treatment even the terribly sick persons could be recovered. Milk is often considered as something perfect, hence pure water was compared to "milk" in common analogies. It is evident

[138]Informants: Alamitu Cirrachoo, Atsede Wadaajoo, Laakkaa Gammachuu.
[139]Informants: Waashoo Abbaa Dotii, Qusii Daannoo, Alamitu Guutaa.
[140]Mitiku Tucho.Impacts of Pastoralism, p.38.

that milk is suitable and it soothes and satisfies stomach, "aannan garaa namaa qabbaneessa". A person's good conduct could be compared to "milk" hence some families named their daughters as Aannanee or Qabbanee.[141]

In the Oromo society livestock, especially cattle were the major source of wealth.This assertion is quite evident from what people say in proverbs and couplets.The value and function of cattle could be observed from the following couplets.

Oromoo	*Gloss*
"Saawwi bannaan banne	*"We were lost following the loss of cattle*
Saawwi gallaan galle	*we came back to home when cattle were found*
Bakka saawwi hinjirre	*where there are no cattle,*
Lafti dagaluma;	*the field is a waste land*
Bakka sayya jiru	*where there are cattle,*
Lapheen Qabanuma.	*The heart is so cool.*
Jaartii mataa jiisa	*It wets the head of the old woman*
Jaarsa laphee jiisa	*It cools the heart of the old man*
Dibannaan bareecha	*It beautifies when anointed*
Dhugnaan qabaneessa	*It also cools when drunk*
Gogaan jandii ta'a	*The skin becomes sleeping mat*
Kotteen Shiinii ta'a	*Its hoof becomes shiinii [coffee drinking cup]*
Gaafti waancaa ta'a	*Its horn becomes waancaa [drinkining cup]*
Saawwa qeensa biyyoo	*You cattle whose hoof is soiled [dirty]*
Keessaa yaqotiyyoo."	*Especially an ox."* [142]

Our informants remarked that other animal products like butter had also some medicinal value in addition to its nutritional importance. Unmelted butter left stored for long years (*dhadhaa samaa*) was used for the treatment of dry cough.[143] Fresh butter was used as a cure for jigger which dislikes the smell of butter and die. Fresh butter was also used as an ointment to mend broken bones or strained muscles. It was also used to treat intestinal disorder (*marrumaan bu'aa*). Wounds from circumcision were treated by fresh butter. After the umbilical cord was cut fresh butter was used to heal the wounds of the infants. Furthermore, infants' were fed fresh butter mixed with fenugreek and it was thought to make infants grow strong and healthy.[144]

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[141]Informants: Alamitu Cirrachoo, Atsede Wadaajoo, Waashoo Abbaa Dotii, Qusii Daannoo.
[142]Asefa Tolera, Ethnic Integration and Conflict, P.96; Informants: Galataa Dheeressaa, Sirriiqaa Galatee.
[143]Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, pp.39-40.
[144]Informants: Argannee Kuusaa, Maamitee Mandafroo, Tirfii Bonnokaa, Qusii Daannoo (Fenugreek is the aromatic seeds of a leguminous plant used as medicine and as food flavoring).

Besides butter was used in many social or ritual ceremonies. Heroes were anointed with spiced and melted butter (*bassaa*). In the occasion of merriment a hero praised the hostess who anointed his head, the girls who came for the occasion and the cows that produced butter. The hostess was praised in the common songs of the Wallagga Oromo as follows:

Oromo	Gloss
Giiftiin mataakoo dibde	*Oh, the mistress who anointed my head.*
Dhukkubsattee hinciisinii	*let you not be sick and lay in bed*
Yoo oolmaa da'aa malee;	*but only of the case of maternity;*
Waan ulfaatu hinbaatinii,	*Let you not carry a heavy burden*
yoo ulfa ilmaa malee.	*but only a fetus of a male child;*
Maseenaan siif hadhaluu,	*Let your sterile cow be fertile*
gooftaankees haa ajjeesu	*let your husband kill a beast,*
Ajjeesee siif hagalu.	*And let your hero come home safely.*[145]

Accordingly, the girls were remarkably praised:

Yaa durbee obbolaa dhiiraa,	*Oh, girls the sisters of heroes*
kan iji goraa diimaa;	*whose eyes look like red berries;*
Mataakee addaannoo dibi,	*get anointed with butter*
hooqaa kessaa hinfuudhinii;	*Keep the scratching stick in it;*
Dibeekee hiddii dibi	*anoint your drum with hiddii*
Aduu keessaa hinfuudhinii;	*Let it get dried in the sun;*
Utuu sirbaankee jiruu	*while your heroe is alive*
Sirba dhabuunkee hinjirru.	*You can rejoice and dance.*[146]

Traditionally the Oromo believed that *waaqa* (sky god) is black. Based on such concept the milk and butter of a 'black cow' was thought to be of a higher nutritional value. Sometimes black cow's milk was associated with supernatural event. For instance, when young boys tended cattle they were advised not to take shelter under accacia trees when the rain falls. The people believed that, 'lightening,' which they called '*bakakkaa*' liked to struck trees without milk.(some trees such as oak, sycamore, olive and dambii(Ficus thonningii)were considered to be more important than the other trees because these trees possessed milk. That was probably why the Oromo religious ceremonies took place under the sycamore, (odaa), and the oak (qilxuu) trees.) They also believed that the lightening was 'God's anger'. Therefore, when the *bakakkaa* falls down, they say '*baga*' which means 'Good for Him'. The intention, however, was not to show

[145]Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, p.45; Informants: Asafa Tuuchoo, Tafarii Alabee; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.81.
[146]*Ibid.*

resentment. They also believed that with the lightening comes down a piece of 'iron' from the sky that if the milk of a 'black cow' was spilled over the place hit by the lightening one could uncover the 'iron' by digging the soil to a few yards. They often believed that in times of war a spear made from such 'iron' would never miss its target by any means.[147]

Gifts in cattle were common in an Oromo society. For instance, when a child's original hair was totally shaved, it would be given a gift. In this case a gift of heifer was customary. The heifer would be the child's private property. "*Handhuura gudruu*", was a private property assigned to each child effective right from the first day of the hair shaving.[148] Informants unanimously agree that a bride who was expected to be virgin was also given gift which usually included cattle. Often it was on such gifts that the economy of the new family was based. A payment of a bull (*dibicha*) and a heifer (*goromsa*) to the parents of the would-be wife was common among the society and such gift was known as '*gabbara*'. A person who failed to marry because of lack of '*gabbara*' often expressed his anger, "Hinjiru malaan jira, intalatu warra jira gabbaratu narrajira", it means, "Oh, me the lost person, I am not alive, my girl is with her parents and I owe a dowry." [149]

The blood of animals played a significant role in social relations. For instance, when a bridegroom would bring his bride home, an animal usually a fattened lamb would be killed at the entrance of the house. The bride and the bridegroom would step over the blood to go into the house. In many parts of Wallagga this ceremony of marriage was called *rakoo*. On such occasion an animal was killed and the spouses would mark their foreheads with its blood or cross over the slaughtered animal as a sign of new phase of life which reminded the married couple to keep each other's words until death."[150] The Oromo experts often read the peritoneum (*moora*) of the animals they slaughtered to foretell the future. For instance, a man who goes on hunting expedition consulted an expert with the skill to read a peritoneum before he left his home.

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[147]Informants: Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Baatii Hembelee.
[148]Dinsa Lepisa, Abba Jobir, "The Gada System of Government and Sera Caffee Oromo," (Addis Ababa, 1975), p.82; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C p.47.
[149]Informants: Baatii Hembelee, Atoomsaa Shuuluu.
[150]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C p.47; Informants: Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Kumsaa Boroo; Dinsa Lepisa, The Gada System, p.79.

Oromo tradition substantiates that the reading of peritoneum was necessary because the [Oromo] claimed that they once had a sacred book though it was not known in what language or alphabet was it supposed to have been written in. This book was eaten by a cow, and stuck in her peritoneum."[151] If the expert's suggestion about the outcome of his expedition was good, he would sing:

Oromoo	*Gloss*
Hammam geessi yootole	*Oh, how simple it would be*
yooqallaan moorri tole	*if the peritoneum is right*
yoorafnaan abjuun tole	*if the dream is good*
yoodeemnaan milkiin tole;	*if the omen is good;*
hamma nyaata sombaati	*it is as simple as eating lung*
hamma yaabbii sombooti	*as simple as climbing up a tree*
hamma haasaa gowwaati.	*it is as frank as a fool's speech.*[152]

The skin of animals was used for making clothes. Tanned skin was used to make leather bed, blanket, dresses, skirts and shorts. *Katee* was a kind of dress for women and *kallee* was a kind of skirt for girls. *Dakuu* was a kind of short for men.[153] The skin clothes were decorated with beads and different spices were used to give them pleasant smell. Designs known as *karessaa* were fixed on the leather clothes. Thin long piece of leather known as *hirmaa* was used as belt by both men and women. When women died the *hirmaa* would be used for a symbolic tying of the abdomen.[154] This symbolic act was probably meant to indicate that the womb that once gave rise to life had ceased its function. As gradually economic inequalities started to take place among the people the way of wearing skin clothes and its quality became slightly different. Though the material was still the same, the type of skin used by the poor was not as softened as the one worn by the rich persons. It was easily made of skin obtained from the lower half of the animal's body. As the poor man or woman walked around wearing such unqualified hide clothes it had often made a prolonged squeaking noise that could disturb people around and even the person who wore it. Hence the proverb, "Akka biyyaa waalluun iyya"that means "According to the country the skin cloth creaks".The rich persons wore the smoothest and most quality hide obtained from the upper part of the animal and well softened by a special process.

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[151]G.W.B. Huntingford, The Galla of Ethiopia, p.78.
[152]Informants: Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Tafarii Alabee; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.81.
[153]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/C p.55; Informants: Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Maammitee Mandafroo.
[154]Mitiku Tucho, Impacts of Pastoralism, p.47.

This type of skin cloth was very expensive which only the rich people could either afford to buy or exchange it with some other goods.[155]

The indigenous population who inhabited Qellem before the Oromo expansion into the area have reared the type of cattle which the Oromos called as *'saawwa diinaa'* ("cattle of the enemy").Such cattle were smaller in size and had narrow waist. Some of them had horns and they were without any humps. The cows had heavier udders and longer teats. They had no or very small loose skin under the neck (*maala*) and they had long tails and were good milk cows. Some of them were hybridized with the humped cattle of the Oromos who occupied the area. Until recently long tails, bigger udders and long teats have remained as the best criteria for choosing cows having potential for giving much milk in the region. It was said that such cattle had existed in Qellem in Jogee abba Qumbaa, Garjeeda and Qaaqee areas. Some people argued that such cattle originated in Bure, (Illubabor). *'Saawwa diinaa'* was also known as *'mochee,'* a word which had a probable origin in Mocha.[156] It seems likely that they belonged to the Mao or were brought to the area by the group which crossed into Wallagga from Kaffa and Mocha areas. Mitiku affirms that the Ganka people were sedentary agriculturalists who also owned cattle at the time of the Oromo expansion to western Wallagga. They did not use butter and milk from *'sawwa daammii,'* a cow with minute red and white spot on her body. They believed that if they consumed the butter and milk of such cows' leprosy would possess them.[157]

According to informants the most important domestic animal to a household was cow because its milk was used for food and served as source of butter, cheese, and curd (*baaduu*).Cheese was usually consumed with porridge at dawn. Usually the cows were fed with crop residue as forage at night as additional food. Cows were rarely slaughtered. A man gained good reputation in the society with the possession of large number of cattle or domestic animals. Pack animals- horses, mules and donkeys were owned mostly by rich men and merchants.[158] Among the Oromo of Wallagga *sa'a dhaabbachuu* (celebrating offspring's birth) was very common ceremony. The

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[155]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.55; Informants: Mamite Mandafro, Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Kumsaa Boroo.
[156]Mitiku Tucho, .Impacts of Pastoralism, p26.
[157]*Ibid.*p.16.
[158]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cpp.55-56; Informants: Birruu Nagarii, Cawwaaqaa Maatoo.

ceremony often took place three or four weeks after a cow has given birth to an offspring. This time was meant for accumulating milk so that it could be abundantly available for all invited guests. The curd was carefully preserved in a container called *qabee* (gourd).The container was well washed with a pleasant smelling shrub called Kussayee and then smoked with *qoraasuma*, obtained from a dabaqqaa tree, hence the Oromo proverb, "Qabee haurgaa'uf qoraasu" that means "One scents a gourd of milk for a good smell". Into the curd were added good flavored spices like garlic and a pleasant smelling herb known as *baqarii*. The offspring was hidden out of men's sight in a separate corner known as *gola jabbii* in order to protect it from an evil eye (*dhortuu*) until the offspring's ear was splitted by a certain Borana man.[159] On the occasion, the owner slaughtered a sheep and dipped his finger into the blood of the slaughtered animal and marked the foreheads of all his family members. He made prayers to his God, *waaqa* to grant him popularity and long life for himself and love, health and wealth for his family. Then the accumulated curd called *itittuu* mixed with abundant melted butter and *buna-qalaa* (roasted coffee beans) were served to the invited guests with the roasted animal's flesh. During the ceremony the guests were also served with a kind of local beer called *buqurii* for drinking. Eventually distinguished elders were invited to bless the heads of the host family as follows:

Oromo	*Gloss*
Qabattanii aaga qabadhaa	*Have you held? Hold good things*
Waatii manyee qabadhaa	*hold hoof of the calf*
Rafnaan abjuu qabadhaa	*have good dreams while you are asleep*
Coqorsa ta'aa lafa uwwisaa	*be crippling grass and cover all the land*
Cirracha Abbayyaa ta'aa	*be immense sand near the Abbay River*
Hammaaraan isin hin fixin	*be numerous let them not finish you*
Bishaan Abbayyaa ta'aa	*be the water of Abbay*
Waraabaan isin hin maddisin	*Do not br dried out*
Qilxuu ta'aa dagaagaa	*be large oak tree with many branches*
Handoodee korma ta'aa	*be ever green like a male handoodee tree*
Bonaaf ganna lalisaa	*flourish throughout winter and summer*
Ibidda tullurraa ta'aa	*be like fire on a mountain*
Biyya hundaatti ifaa	*glitter all over the land*
Horaa kuma horaa	*have one thousand cattle*
Kuma bobbaasaa	*tend one thousand in the field*
Haadhaaf ilmoon	*let the calf and its mother be healthy*
Walbira haabulanii	*let them live together*
Fayyaa ta'aa	*let you be healthy like wise*
Adii sa'aa hin dhabinaa.	*let you not lack cow's milk.*[160]

[159]Informants: Askle Gamachuu, Atsede Wadaajoo, Waashoo Abbaa Dotii, Qusii Daannoo.
[160]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.53, 55; Informants: Waashoo Abbaa Dotii, Alamitu Cirrachoo, Askale Gammachuu.

The pastoralists especially needed mineral water wells for their animals. The mineral water, *hora* made cows very fertile and physically strong and fattened. Very old bulls and sick animals were even driven to *hora* because it was believed that they could be healed if they reached at the wells and drunk the mineral water. Hence the Oromo proverb: "Yootole horatti walarginaa, yoodidee dhaabii gogaatti walarginaa jedhe dullachi", which means "An old bull said, if all goes well we shall meet at water wells, if not we may at the market of hides" The water wells were constantly renewed and well kept throughout the year otherwise when it is over used it may even get completely dried. Hence the Oromo proverb: "Horii horaaf foolatu dhabiisatu deebisa" it is to mean, "Only lack of water would stop a cow that runs wild for mineral water". [161]

As we have already discussed in chapter two, the pastoralists found and fixed new water wells and there were twelve of such wells in Hora Gorbaa, about twenty kilometers to the southwest of Dambi Doolloo and there were many such wells all over Wallagga. In the past people took a month's turn to use the wells and it was known as *soddomee*.[162] The pastoralists drove large herds of animals to the water wells which took about two or three hours walk in the lowland. Cattle were driven to the *hora* in group at a time and it often took them long hours to drive each animal to the well. In the water wells the pastoralists often drank the mineral water for lack of fresh spring water in the area. Hence the Oromo proverb: "Hora dhaqanii haroo hinlagatanii", that means "once going to a *horaa* one should not be afraid of drinking unclean water".[163] According to informants fields (*loomica*) and marshy areas (*caffee*) were set aside for grazing. The practice of driving animals to *hora* was gradually declined as a result of the closure of the water wells due to lack of proper maintenance or overuse of the resource.[164] It is apparent that the narrowing down of pasture land due to the expansion of vast areas for agricultural production and the subsequent environmental change which accelerated cattle diseases significantly contributed to the decline in cattle population in the whole of Wallagga both under the imperial and the *Darg* regimes.

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[161]Informants: Atoomsaa Shuuluu, Bultii Gammachuu; *Afa Tarik Sebseb, 1980E/C*pp.61-62.
[162]Informants: Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Baajaa Bulguu, Atoomsaa Shuuluu; *Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.52.
[163]*Afa Tarik Sebseb*, 1980E/Cp.52.
[164]Informants: Cawwaaqaa Maatoo, Baajaa Bulguu, Atoomsaa Shuuluu.

Chapter Six

Reform in Land Ownership: Implementation of the *Darg*'s Land Proclamation (1975) in Wallagga

This chapter has four sections. The first section attempts to outline the fundamental and immediate causes of the Ethiopian revolution. The second section reconstructs the process of the land reform, the radical measure the military regime adopted in February 1975, the creation of an elaborate organization known as National Work Campaign for Development through Cooperation (NWCDC). It will describe how the land reform process unfolded in Wallagga and why the *balabats* became warrisome of the land proclamation and how the landlords coordinated themselves to unleash a possible counter attack against the *Zamachs*, with sabotages against the land reform measure. It will also explain the *Zamachs* move to organize PAs among the tenants. The third section analyzes the formation of PAs, the tasks of the PAs in implementing the land reform and other similar activities. The fourth section investigates the land redistribution, equalization of land holdings with post-reform peasant problems and concomitant developments in the study region. Before proceeding with the discussion of chapter six it seems important to see briefly the fundamental and immediate causes of the 1974 Ethiopian revolution.

Causes of the Revolution

The old structures of the Ethiopian social and political system, which had survived the Italian occupation and several major strains in the three subsequent decades, were by the early 1970s in an advanced stage of decomposition. Yet, the very durability of the system and the absence of any visible and organized opposition capable of challenging the state at the center made it impossible to foresee what form the impending crisis would take. It was a few, small and isolated incidents based in the capital city and its environs that in the end brought down the structure with surprising rapidity and initially, provoking a nationwide revolt in the process.[1] The causes of the 1974 revolution can be divided into two broad categories: the underlying and the immediate causes.

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[1]Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution* .London, 1975, p.98, Lapiso G. Dilebo, "Land Tenure, Underlying cause of Ethiopian Revolution," *Proceedings of the Fifth International conference of Ethiopian Studies*, Chicago, 1978, p.426.

The underlying causes lie in the failure of the regime to resolve the agrarian crisis, to develop the nation's productive forces in such a way as to improve the population's living standards.It could not even maintain the previous subsistence levels and the provinces were ravaged by famine. Capitalist developments had begun in parts of the countryside and in the towns, and had in so doing somewhat weakened the pre-existing system. Nevertheless, the character of the state and of the agrarian property relations obstructed the further development of this.[2]

This paralysis in agriculture was expressed and compounded by the subsequent developments. First, the Eritrean (1960s) and Bale (1963) revolts, albeit contained, had stretched the resources of the state and at the same time placed a considerable strain upon the armed forces and thereby affected the state's finances. Second the famine of 1972/73 in Wollo served both to expose the incapacity of the state at home and abroad, and to raise their political temperature in Addis Ababa itself, where it led to student protests and considerable inflation. This certainly weakened the regime's remaining credibility.[3] Third the very core of the state itself had begun to lose strength. Over 80 years old at the time of eruption of the revolution, the Emperor was not merely visibly ageing but had no obvious strong support around him: his son crown prince Asfawossen was an invalid, his grandson Yacob was of no great intelligence and his Prime Minister for thirteen years, Akliku Habtewold, was an ineffective courtier chosen for his docility. There was no element within the ruling group capable of taking perceptive or difficult decisions. Whilst this weakness at the very center, contingent as it was on personality and biology, was not decisive, it certainly played a significant role in the objective collapse of the imperial regime in 1974.[4]

The immediate causes of the revolution were within the state apparatus and the capital city itself. They involved the grievances of three significant social groups: the lower ranks of the army, students and teachers, and the taxi drivers of Addis Ababa, an influential group in a society where taxis were a common form of transport for all but the very poorest sections of the population. The first incident was the army mutinee stationed at Nagalle-Borana in mid-January

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[2]Rene Lefort, *Ethiopia: An Heretical Revolution, 1974-1991; From A Monarchical Autocracy to A Military Oligarchy.* London: 1997, p.106; Bailey Glen, "An Analysis of the Ethiopian Revolution,' M.A Thesis, Carleton university, 1979, p.65.
[3]Bahru Zewde, A History of Modern, p, Lapiso G. Dilebo, Land Tenure,p.428 ;Andargachew Tiruneh, The Ethiopian Revolution, p.20.
[4]*Ibid.*

1974 to protest at their living conditions and in particular at the refusal of the officers to allow them to drink from their well when the others had run dry. The weakness of the regime was clearly revealed when the mutineers imprisoned the envoys sent by the Emperor to investigate the case.[5] A similar revolt occurred on February 10-13, but this was at the Dabra Zait Air Force base near the capital. This had a much more political effect. On 14 February, the capital was the scene of substantial demonstrations by students and teachers protesting against the government which had proposed educational reforms. In the subsequent days, they were joined by the taxi drivers protesting a 50 percent rise in the price of petrol following the OPEC price increases. After some days of relatively unchallenged tumult in the capital related to these limited sartorial issues, the protest movement was taken a stage further on 25 February, when the second army division, stationed in Asmara mutinied.[6] Other military units around the capital then followed the suit. Their demands were not merely limited to their own concerns-a rise in pay and improved conditions but also included the dismissal of the Aklilu cabinet. Political rather than just sectoral demands now prevailed. Within a few days the Emperor sacked Aklilu and replaced him by the government of Endalkachew Makonnen who was also unable to end the national crisis.[7]

On 28 June 1974, following the army mutinies, soldiers begun to struggle in unity. Different army units formed committees to coordinate their struggle. On the same day, the representatives of various units established the co-coordinating committee of the Armed Forces, the Police and the Territorial Army. This body came to be known as the *Darg*. Members of this national committee consisted of private soldiers, non-commissioned officers and low ranking officers. High-ranking officers were deliberately excluded since they were believed to be supporters of the state. All attempts of the imperial regime to pacify the mass revolts produced no fruit.[8] The *Darg* began to exercise power and take actions. High-ranking officials of the imperial regime including Prime-Minister Endalkachew were detained. *Lij* Mikael Emiru became Prime-Minister. On 12 September, 1974 Emperor Haileselassie I was deposed and detained. The *Darg* proclaimed itself the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), and assumed

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[5]Addis Hiwet, Ethiopia From Autocracy,p.102,Lapiso G. Dilebo, Land Tenure,p. 430;Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution...*,p.16; Halliday and Molyneux, The Ethiopian, p.84.
[6]Halliday and Molyneux, *The Ethiopian*, p.84.
[7]*Ibid.*
[8]*Ibid.*

supreme political power. This event marked the beginning of military rule in Ethiopia. Military dictatorship came inplace.[9] It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to attempt a full description of the military take-over in Ethiopia. It will suffice to say that with the deposition of the Emperor in the autumn of 1974 *de facto* military rule had been established. Political power was vested in the *Darg*. The *Darg* appointed a government to head the administration of the country. An extensive reshuffle of civil servants followed, the general pattern being that well-known sympathizers of the Emperor were removed and young intellectuals were put in their place.

As elsewhere in the country, the revolution was ushered in Wallagga by students' demonstrations, people's protests and soldiers' applications. The unrest started by mid-1974 and disseminated to different *awrajas* and *waradas* throughout the year. At the outset of the unrest there were violent protests by the people in the towns' mainly instigated by the high school students. The demonstrators were particularly targeted against the corrupt officials of the imperial regime, the *naftannoch* and the big landowners. Although the *Darg's* relations to the peasantry had at least for sometimes been successful in Wallagga there was no organized peasant movement in support of the former.[10]

Nationalization of Land

There is a general consensus among scholars that the land reform proclamation of 1975 could be considered as an attempt by the *Darg* to increase political legitimacy by utilizing and taking command of an ongoing political upheaval in the country. The peasants discontent against the prevailing land tenure system begun to become overt on the eve of the Ethiopian revolution which broke out in 1974. The *Darg* had already antagonized the big landlords but the peasants remained a vast, partly dormant, potential political resource.

A radical land reform proclamation was prepared in the first months of 1975 and when the harvesting season was over the reform was officially proclaimed. The government did not possess administrative resources to implement such a far-reaching proclamation. So it decided to rely on the students who were ordered to move to the countryside in December 1974 to teach the rural population. All university students as well as the pupils in the two highest grades of the

[9]*Ibid.*
[10]Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa, Temesgen Alamu, Oljirraa Ejjetaa.

secondary schools had been ordered to enroll in the *Zamacha,* as the campaign was known. The NWCDC, an elaborate organization was created for the execution of the program in October 1975, a year after it was announced. Although students' criticism of this campaign was strong and many students refused to enroll, the government still managed to send the majority of some 60,000 students to rural areas. When the land reform was proclaimed the *Zamachs* (as the campaigners were known) were officially given the role of communicating the content of the proclamation to the peasantry to agitate and to help them implement the legislation. In general, the students seized this opportunity and during the period when they were in the field (from the date of proclamation to June 1976) they were highly instrumental in activating the peasants.[11]

The deficient capacity of the government to control events fully outside Addis Ababa meant that the implementation of the land reform had the appearance of a class struggle waged in the local societies rather than a centrally controlled administrative process. The *Darg*, having temporarily settled its power struggle began a full-scale agitation in order to involve the peasants into the revolutionary struggle because at the outset the rural population was not participating in the changes that were ravaging the nation. Any change that failed to involve the peasantry, the primary victim of feudalism, was bound to face difficulties. For this enormous task of sensitizing and agitating the peasantry there was no better candidate than energetic youth of the nation, particularly the students whose long time slogan was *Maret Larashu*!, "Land to the Tiller!".[12]

In Wallagga the rural land proclamation of 1975 abolished private ownership of land and made all land the collective property of the people and provided land use rights to the peasants and landless tenants. Subsequent to these sweeping and fundamental changes a series of measures

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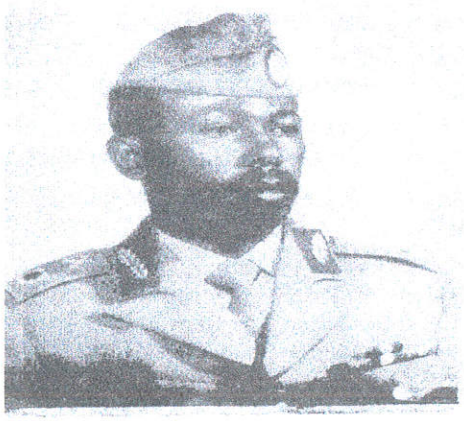
[11]Vijay Gupta, "The Ethiopian Revolution: Cause and Result", *Indian Quarterly A Journal of International Affairs*,vol.34 No.2, NewDelhi,1981,p.202, David Hamilton, "Ethiopia's Embattled Revolutionaries", *Conflict Studies,* London: 1977,p.126, John w. Harbeson, "Reform, Revolution and Military Leadership in contemporary Ethiopia" presented at *The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association*, Boston, 1976,p. 349.
[12]Teferra Haile Sellassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974-1991; From A Monarchical Autocracy to A Military Oligarchy*, p.108; Bailey Glen, "An Analysis of, p.72.

were decided in undertaking major efforts to lay the basis for a socialist system of agricultural production.[13] Both written and oral sources point out that an elaborate organization was created for the execution of the program known as NWCDC in October 1975, a year after it was announced. Despite student protest the preparation for *Zamacha* continued unabated.[14] When the elements of opposition became apparent, the *Darg* declared that it planned to dismantle the land tenure system of the old regime through *zamacha* program. Since this was at the center of the long awaited action, yet unrealized, aims of the student movement, the students seem to have taken the *Zamacha* as an opportunity to implement their motto of 'Land to the Tiller!' Soon, they became ready to be deployed for the *Zamacha* hoping that poverty and illiteracy of the people would also be alleviated. An extensive farewell party was made at Janmeda in which Major Mangistu Hailamariam and Major Atnafu Abate took part.[15]



Major (later Lt Colonel) Mangistu Hayla Mariyam, successively First Vice Chairman of the *Darg*, then chairman, commander-in-chief of the national army, Chairman of WPE, and finally President of PDRE (Source: Eyob Abate Endale, *Janaralochu (The Generals)*. Addis Ababa: 2002:21 [Ethiopian Calendar]).

[13]Maskaram vol.5, No 22, Tahsas 1977(E.C) p.10.
[14]*The Ethiopian Herald,* vol. 34, No 1161, 19, October, 1975; Informants: Dabalaa Maammadee, Abebe Dhaabaa, Fetene Hordofaa, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa.
[15]Taklo Teshome, *Yadam Zaman: Iwnatagna Tarik (Kifil And), (Era of Blood: True History, Part I).* 2003 E.C, pp.79-80.

Major Atnafu Abata, Second Vice Chairman of the *Darg*. He toured in Wallagga, as in other provinces, at least twice for the purpose of organizing the militia. (Source: Eyob Abate Endale, *Janaralochu (The Generals)*. Addis Ababa: 2002:16 [Ethiopian Calendar]).

Birgadier General Tafari Bantii, Chairman of the *Darg* after the execution of Aman Mikael Andom. He was executed in February 1977. (Source: Eyob Abate Endale, *Janaralochu (The Generals)*. Addis Ababa: 2002:21 [Ethiopian Calendar]).

Some 60,000 students, teachers and a few men-in-uniform between the ages of 18 and 40 were mobilized for the *Zamacha*. Even though the initial announcement was made as early as October 1974, it was not launched until December 1975. The intervening period between the announcement and the launching was used for program and logistic preparation. The campaign was launched with a colorful ceremony in Addis Abba.[16] The chairman of the *Darg* Brigadier General Tafari Bantii, in his nationwide address on the occasion outlined some principles by which the *Zamachs* were to be guided.[17]

[16]Teferra H/Sellassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution*, p. 150.
[17]*The Ethiopian Herald*, vol. 34, No. 1216, 22 December, 1975.

Let us attempt to describe how the land reform process unfolded in Wallagga. The arrival of *Zamachs* achieved warm reception both in rural and urban areas because the people already had in their mind that the advent of the *Zamachs* would lead to immediate implementation of "Land to the Tiller". The administration of Wallagga under *Dajazmach* Fiqraselasse Habtamariam had received strict order from the central government to cooperate and secure the activities of the *Zamachs* on 18 December, 1974. Accordingly, the administration made preparations to support the campaigners who were assigned in each *warada* of the province.[18] The people of Wallagga welcomed the *Zamachs* with the popular song:

Oromo	**Gloss**
Yaa bartuu nubarsiisaa	*Students please teach us!*
Isinumaa firri hiyyeessaa	*You are the sole relatives of the poor!*
Nama hunda walqixxeessaa!	*Make all human beings equal.*[19]

The revolution had created a huge political vacuum in all parts of Wallagga because the former imperial civil servants were out of touch with the events. The armed *balabats* openly announced that no one would ever take their land away from them. It is important to note that most of the *warada* and some of the *awraja* governors in Wallagga were *balabats* who had owned several *gasha* of land and as a matter of fact, they were armed groups. Particularly, the Horro Gudruu *balabats* who were wary of the land proclamation called on *Dajazmach* Dereje Mekonnen from Gojjam who coordinated the anti-*Darg* rebellion against the land proclamation in Eastern Wallagga. Among the *balabats* who had coordinated this move were: *Baambarases* Jira and Jireenyaa Lema of Jaardagaa Jaartee, Ararsoo Qannoo of Jimmaa Gannatii, Galataa Gurmuu and Gammadaa Beyene of Amuruu Fuliyyee. In Qellem and Gimbii the *balabats* resistance was not as strong as in Horro. Nevertheless, there were few who had resisted the nationalization of land in western Wallagga. Among them were: *Balambarases* Guutaa Wagee, Gammadaa and *Grazmach* Caalii of Gimbii and Ato Ambaw Lamuu of Qellem who had escaped to the Sudan and joined with the anti-*Darg* coalition there such as the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU). Most of the local rebel *balabats* were arrested by the joint people's militia and government armed forces and were detained for six months. On the other hand those who became real

[18]Idgat Bahibrat Yamiyastababir *Darg* ba Naqamte Tequwaquwame", (A committee coordinating *Zamacha* is founded at Naqamtee), *Addis Zaman*, No 541, p.1, Tikimt 17, 1967 E.C.
[19]Etana Habte, Administration of Wallagga, p. 73.

rebels, *shiftas* were eliminated in the battlefields. Among the *shifta balabats* who were executed in the various battles were: Galataa Gurmuu and Gammadaa Beyene of Amuruu Fuliyyee and Ambaye Italama of Horro Gudru who was killed in Gojjam while fighting against the *Darg* with the Gojjame *shifta balabats* in an open battlefield.[20]

From the beginning of the summer of 1975 onwards, the *Zamacha* students, who had managed to rally the peasants', held an increasing number of meetings in the entire province with the tenants to discuss the best way of implementing the radical measure of the revolution, "Land to the Tiller!"Informants unanimously state that the educational role of the *Zamachs* was crucial in activating the peasants' action to implement the land reform. However, very soon they run into a particularly tricky problem in agitating the peasants to disarm the *balabats*. Since the *balabats* were mostly armed, how would it be possible to enforce the land reform measure? Obviously, the *balabats* weapons had to be confiscated beforehand. Since the *Zamachs* were not given a clear instruction on the tactics of the confiscation of the *balabats* weapons their agitation to attack the *balabats* was, therefore, not without danger.[21]

The arrival of the *Zamachs* in each *warada* aroused a political instability among the landlords in almost every part of the province. The landlords soon coordinated themselves to unleash a possible counter attack against the *Zamachs* in case of any dangerous situation. The police force which the administration had formally ordered to secure the *Zamachs* had dropped its mission and informally allied with the landlords for reasons not clearly known. In the course of these conflicts a number of peasants and students were shot dead by the landlords and the police forces. Many *waradas* of Qellem *awraja* particularly, Gaawoo-Daallee, Daallee-Sadii, Haawwaa-Walal, Sayyoo, Anfilloo, Laaloo-Qilee and Gidaamii became the scene of serious clashes. While the chaos in most of these *waradas* were contained and the landlords put under detention by Colonel Masfin Wandimaganyahu, the chief of Wallagga police force, the case in Gidaamii became completely uncontrollable.[22]

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[20]EWZAO, letter of Tahsas 5, 1967 E.C Ref. No.11400/47 from PMAC Ministry of Interior to *Dajazmach* Fiqresllassie Habtamariam, Governor General of Wallagga; Informants: Deribachew Yifaa, Dirriba Saaqaa, Dabalaa Maammadee ,Tesfaye Ayyaanaa.
[21]Informants: Dabalaa Maammadee, Abebe Dhaabaa.
[22]Etana Habte, The Administration of Wallagga, p. 75.

It is apparent that although its magnitude varied the rest of the five *awrajas* had also experienced the same chaos. When the *Zamachs* moved from propaganda to action and started organizing peasant associations among the tenants, the landlords soon counteracted. They complained and reported to the police forces that the peasants robbed their land (some of the police and the soldiers were also absentee landlords) and suggested that the *Zamachs* should be chased away from their localities. Having had a common interest to contain the move, the police and the soldiers pressed the *Zamach's* actions, first by threatening them to quit their agitation and then by shooting at them. The *Zamachs* tried to rally the peasants against the forces of coalition, but it ended in retreat after an open fire by members of the police force, the army and the merchants who killed a number of peasants in Gidaamii. The *awraja* administrator, Ibsaa Guutamaa's attempt to resolve the problem in Gidaamii ended up in his own detention by the armed groups. Consequently, the *Zamachs* left Gidaamii and the old elite remained victorious. This state of affair remained unresolved until the beginning of the rainy reason of 1976 when Abbiyyuu Galataa was appointed as chief administrator of Wallagga province.[23]

In Beni Shangul-Asosa during the early period of the revolution there was no significant instability or disorder in response to the political crisis at the center. However, *Dajazmach* Abdurahman Hojale was suspected to have become a potential enemy of the reform and was immediately detained and taken to Addis Ababa.he was released from detention after few years of imprisonment. His son, Almahadi Abdurahman was considered as 'progressive' and a loyal figure and was assigned as *warada* and *awraja* administrator until the political takeover of 1991.Having arrived at the region, many NWCDC members agitated the oppressed people to avenge the governors, *balabats* and *Aba Qoros*. Accordingly, the private properties of some chiefs and *Abba Qoros*, especially in Begii, were confiscated without the consent of any legal authorities. It is evident that in these spontaneous measures, the landless and the destitute peasants took an active part. Their immediate reactions and bold move suggested that there had been covert grievances against the system.[24] Not all measures taken by the NWCDC members, however, were spontaneous and chaotic.

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[23]Karl-Erik Lundgren and Eigil Sanna, "Report on a survey to Begi and Gidami woredas in Wollega province" (Bodji, 1973), (mimeo).
[24]EWZAO, Report of official visit led by Abiyu Geleta, The letter of *Sene* 1967, File 001, Folder 79; Informant: Daribachew Yifa.

While they attempted to implement the nationalization of land, for instance, in Bambashi *mikitil warada* where the Mao lived, they offered their zealous assistance to the people for the improvement of their life. Sources state that NWCDC members and the newly appointed cadres in the region promoted self-governance among the Mao. Moreover, the newly organized peasant associations and the *Zamachs* had jointly tried to abolish the *de facto* right of the rulers that forced the peasants to work on the farmlands of the *balabats* and gold mining fields around river valleys for free.[25]

Following the announcement of public ownership of urban land and extra houses in July 1975 the radical NWCDC members caused lawlessness and disorder in some sub districts of Asossa-Benishangul *awraja*. The life and private properties of some governors and *Abbaa Qoros* were endangered in and around Begii town.[26] In this incident NWCDC members not only confiscated the private properties of the *balabats* but also disarmed them. Our sources unanimously underline that when the NWCDC members jointly with the PAs, attempted to implement the nationalization of land and other measures of the PMAC in their own way, they quarreled with the ex-*balabats*, *awraja* and *warada* police forces and some of the administrative personnel. Accordingly, the NWCDC members felt insecure while they went to some remote rural areas. However, they were not totally unpopular. In spite of their radicalism the local inhabitants of Bela Shangul were not hostile to the campaigners at least initially.[27] Despite the fact that many local chiefs and *Abbaa Qoros* lost their lands and private properties in 1975 most of them joined peasant associations which were organized for the implementation of the proclamation. Some of them were elected even as leaders of the associations. It appears probable that these individuals had no choice but to show their support and loyalty for the causes of the revolution perhaps to avoid further intimidation.[28] Besides the nationalization of land in February 1975, the proclamations of government ownership of urban lands and extra houses and control of the means of production had far-reaching impacts on the economic status of the well-to-do.[29]

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[25] *Ibid.*
[26] EWZAO, Report of official visit led by Abyiyu Geleta, the letter *Sene* 1967.
[27] MFED, Letter from Assosa *warada* NWCDC members to Honorable Administrator of Wallagga Kifle *Hager*, dated *Ginbot* 16, 1967; Desalegn Sisay p. 33.
[28] EWZAO, Letter from *Grazmach* Umar Khojele to Honorable Abiyu Geleta, dated *Hamle* 18, 1968, File No. 43 Folder *Yepoletika Esregnotch Guday.*
[29] EWZAO, Letter from *Grazmach* Umar Khojele to Honorable Abiyu Geleta dated *Hamle* 18, 1968.

When the PMAC announced that all land would belong to the state and the size of land to be allotted to any farming family shall at no time exceed ten hectares (a quarter of a *gasha*), it was obvious that the *balabats*, i.e. especially successors of Sheikh Khojele gave up a large amount of land. *Dajazmach* Abdu Rahim and *Balambaras* Mohamad Ali and many others lost a large amount of land in Begii and Asossa *warada* respectively. The land was either redistributed to the landless farmers or remained in the hand of the state.[30] Bela-Shangul was relatively stable politically until the nationalizations of rural and urban lands as well as extra houses were implemented in a radical manner following the arrival of NWCDC members in the region in mid 1975. However, in response to these measures few local chiefs supported by the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) had posed a military challenge in 1977.

The PMAC led government not only crushed the opposition but also tightened its administration. As far as the nationalization of land was concerned, it can be concluded that, even if land was not measured and it was "free" for all in the region, in some sub districts like Begii, it was a burning issue. Having been a buffer zone between the Oromo and the *"watawit"* rulers for many decades and endowed with better climate for agriculture, Begii *warada* became an area of confrontation for few years between the leadership of an ex-local governor and the newly formed radical administration. The nationalization of rural and urban land as well as the means of production was not popular among the majority of the *balabats*. However, their reactions to these measures were not one and the same. As some had fought against these radical changes many others gave up their economic, political and social power without any momentous resistance.[31] Sources state that until May 1976 no sign of open resistance against the revolution was noticed in the region. However, when a retired captain named Gobana Tumme and his colleague Fayisa Dinkoo disappeared from Begii sometime in mid 1976, the governor of Begi *warada* ordered Haroon Soso, a Deputy Governor of Begi *warada* and hereditary ruler of Lalo Shashi *warada* at Tongo to discover the whereabouts of the fugitives. However, Haroon neither captured the fugitives nor came back himself.[32]

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[30]*Negarit Gazeta*, Thirty Four Year, No. 31/1975, A Proclamation To provide for the public ownership of Rural Lands, Dated 29th April, 1975.
[31]EWZAO, from *Grazmach* Umar Khojele to Honorable Abiyu Geleta, letter of *Hamle* 18, 1968.
[32]MFED, a letter of *Megabit* 15, 1970, File, 189, Folder 80 reported by *Shambal Basha* Amare Tesema who verified the 1977 incident in Begii.

In Gimbii *awraja*, Laaloo Assaabii *warada,* Innaangoo town was another area where serious conflicts were staged between the *Zamachs* on one side and the landlords and the police on the other.[33] Meanwhile, some *warada*s like Mana-Sibuu, Boojjii, Jaarsoo and Noolee-Kaabbaa encountered events of confiscations. Cattle were robed and slaughtered by peasant associations. Properties and money were forcefully confiscated in all the *waradas*.[34] The landlords attempted a similar kind of attack against the *Zamachs* in Arjoo *awraja*. Horro-Guduruu was a place where the *Zamachs* encountered the most serious challenge of the old regime in Wallagga. Contrary to all other parts of Wallagga, the arrival of *Zamachs* in every *warada* of Horro-Gudruu was followed by a total rebellion by the landlords.[35] No sooner had the *warada* governors of the imperial regime had submitted their authority to the newly appointed administrators than they entered into the nearby forests along with their closest relatives. The rebellion was particularly strong in Limmuu, Jaartee, Horroo, Eebantuu, Kiiramuu, Guduruu, Amuruu and Giddaa *waradas*. All the rebellious landlords were assembled in the forests of Amuruu, Limmuu and Horroo. Those in Gurduruu had killed a number of *Zamachs* and peasants. The strongest among them were *Balambaras* Bayyanaa Gammadaa of Amuruu and the two brothers of Jaardagaa-Jaartee, *Balambarases* Jiraa and Jireenyaa Lema. *Dajjazmach* Dereje Makonnen, an absentee landlord from Horroo who had been in Gojjam, crossed the Abbay into Horro-Gudruu and began to lead the rebellion from the inaccessible Caattoo forest.[36]

The Formation of Peasant Associations (PAs)

The next step in the land reform process was the establishment of a new type of local organization, the peasant association. The proclamation made peasant associations responsible for the implementation of the land reform. The peasant associations were given the functions of redistributing land, solving disputes between members, carrying out co-operative undertakings, and electing committees to supervise the other tasks.

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[33]Etana Habte, The Administration,pp. 81-82.
[34]EWZAO, A letter of Sane 30, 1967 E.C appeal from *Zamachs* in Arjoo to Abbiyyuu Galataa, chief. administrator of Wallagga, that they encountered a serious challenge from the landlords.
[35]Informants: Daribachew Yifa, Fetene Hordofaa.
[36]Etana Habte, The Administration of Wallagga, p.83.

In a subsequent proclamation, the peasant associations had been given legal status, their main responsibility being to maintain law and order within their respective areas and the speeding up of production.[37] In Wallagga the peasant associations were being formed at the same time as the landlords' power was being broken from the rainy season of 1975 onwards. The mobilizers were *Zamacha*-students as well as employees of the Ministries of Land Reform and Agriculture (MLRA).[38] Sources point out that rural development policy has been introduced to organize the small agricultural producers into peasant association as basic social and administrative unit in the rural areas. Producers' cooperatives and services were being formed out of these associations. Considerable effort was also being made to organize and operate state and settlement farms. Therefore, the structure of production can be categorized into three distinct groups: peasant farms, cooperative farms and state farms.[39]

In Gimbii and Naqamtee *awrajas* the prospects for creating peasant associations seemed bright due to the already existing cooperative movement in some areas. Although most of the incipient co-operatives had not yet started any activities of importance, their mere existence demonstrated a readiness amongst the people to get organized. With the proclamation of the land reform the incipient co-operatives were dissolved and reorganized into peasant associations in accordance with the proclamation. Borders between individual associations were drawn so that each association comprised some 100-300 families who were often kinsmen. Membership was obligatory. Only former landlords who continued to live in the countryside were, as a rule, deliberately excluded.[40]

Sources at our disposal verify that peasant associations had been founded everywhere in Wallagga. Even in the Dhidheessa valley the Nilo-Saharans had organized their own peasant associations. According to the Ministry of Land Reform there were totally 1586 PAs in Wallagga in 1975 while the number of associations had increased to 2007 with 372,737 members in 1976 thus indicating that all farming households in the province were organized into peasant

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[37]*Nagarit Gazeta*, Proclamation No. 71of 1975.
[38]Informants: Dabalaa Maammadee, Abebe Dhaaba, Galataa Noonnisee.
[39]National Bank of Ethiopia Annual Report 1984/85, MOA, General Agricultural Survey, 1984.p.
[40]ECMY, Western Synod Development Department, "Annual Report" (Bodji, 1975, mimeo.) p.27; ECMY Challia Project, "General Agricultural Survey, 1974, (Bodji, 1975, mimeo.) p.32.

associations.[41] It is an undisputable fact that PAs had emerged as the new local institutions in the rural areas, and in effect, they had replaced the *Abbaa Qoroo* who had served as a link between the individual farmers and the administration.[42]

Immediately after its proclamation the land reform legislation was repeatedly broadcasted on the radio and communicated to the peasants by the local administration and by *Zamacha*-students. The first reaction of the landlords was to interpret the proclamation in their own way. They misinformed the people that the proclamation was a confirmation of co-operation between the landlords and the peasants in its traditional form. However, this interpretation was believed to be wrong by the *Zamacha*-students who started to give their own version. It became clear to the peasants that the proclamation offered them a real opportunity to change their situation.[43]

During the rainy season of 1975 the peasants took control over the landlords' estates and payment of rent and their traditional obligations ceased. Landlords who had firearms were disarmed. In short, it was the *Zamacha*-students who aroused the peasants to take such actions against the landlords. In some places like Innaango and Noolee-Kaabbaa landlords were tortured while their houses were robbed. The landlords in Gimbii, Qellem and Asossa *awrajas* were few in number and had no organization to be able to offer stiff resistance to the peasant-*zamacha*-student offensives. Landlords preferred to leave their rural residence altogether and escaped to the small towns while others remained in their houses and adapted themselves to the new situation as ordinary farmers.[44] The feudal lords suffered as the result of the *Darg*'s radical measure against them and the joyous peasants accordingly sung:

Oromo	*Gloss*
Abbaa lafaa yaa bukkuuree	*You landlord, the luxurious man*
Baga Dargiin sisukkuume!	*It is good of the Darg which crushed you!* [45]

[41]EPID, "Ba Walaga kifla Hagar ya Irsha Zadena ya Hibrat sirawoch masfafiya ya 1968 *yasira inqisiqase riport*" (Report on the expansion of agricultural cooperatives in Wallagga administrative region, 1968 E.C), (mimeo.), p.6.
[42]Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Daribachew Yifaa, Gammachuu Shonee.
[43]Informants: Darribaachawu Yifaa, Hasan Wayyeessa, Fetene Hordofaa, Dabalaa Maammadee.
[44]Etana Habte, The Administration, p.81, 90; Informants: Hasan Wayyeessa, Galataa Noonnisee.
[45]Informants: Dabalaa Maammadee, Dirribaa Saaqaa.

The rich landlords were quite embarrassed at the moment because the joyous peasants were further shaking the earth singing songs that had depicted the real picture of the landlords' humiliated and threatened conditions. The song went on:

Oromo	*Gloss*
Gaangee Qanyaammash Boroo	*The mule of Qanyazmach Boroo*
Ballaxee bishaan nyaate	*Ballaxxee is drowned in water.*
Warrattiin Abbaa Lafaa kunoo	*The Landlords [our real enemies]are now*
Dafqitee bishaan taate.	*immersed in sweat.*[46]

The implementation of "Land to the Tiller!" in western Wallagga and few parts of Horro-Gudruu, Arjoo and Naqamtee required no bitter struggle because the landlords there did not have large estates worked by agricultural laborers. They usually had some 10 hectares of farmland around their homes which was devoted to their household needs. The cultivation of this farmland constituted one of the obligations imposed on the tenants before the revolution. The remainder of the landlords' income stemmed from collection of rent from the tenants' farm holdings. Therefore, "Land to the Tiller", being the first goal of the land reform, was in practice realized by the peasants themselves when they stopped paying any rent and working for the landlords.[47] In Arjoo and most parts of Horro-Gudruu, however, it involved occupation of land by the tenants hitherto working on big estates of the landlords. *Balambaras* Jiraa Lema, the strongest landlord lost over 250 hectares of land to his ex-tenants. On the other hand *balambaras* Faaris Binagdee claimed to have lost almost all of his large estate in Arjoo.[48]

One way of sabotaging the land reform measure by the ex-landlords who lived in towns was hiding away their cattle or slaughtering them at the same time urging rich peasants to do likewise since their cattle were sooner or later going to be confiscated. As the result large numbers of oxen were withdrawn from the agricultural production and this brought considerable difficulties to the peasant associations. Another form of sabotage was the dissemination of a rumor that the government was going to confiscate the harvest of the newly established communal farms.

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[46]Informants: Abebe Dhaabaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa.
[47]Informants: Hasan Wayyeessaa, Raagaa Turaa, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa, Temasgen Alamu.
[48]Etana Habte, The Administration of Wallagga, p.85; Informants: Deribachew Yifa, Diribaa Saaqaa.

By making use of different tactics the town-based ex-landlords managed to bring about a great deal of confusion during the initial period of the land reform. But in the later part of 1976 their agitation appeared to have become politically dormant as far as involvement in the peasant association was concerned.[49] Before the land reform was enacted some landlords deliberately remained in the rural areas and were prepared to try to cope with the changing situation; such ex-landlords owned some 200 hectares of land, large herds of cattle and vast coffee farms in Qellem, Naqamtee, Arjoo and some *waradas* of Horro-Gudruu. Most of such landlords managed to anticipate the implementation of the land reform. When rumors of land nationalization begun to circulate in early 1975 they had already sold away their cattle and by the time the proclamation was enacted they sent away the money to their children living in towns.[50]

Our sources confirm that the PAs stripped the landlords of all their coffee farms, the ownership of which was soon transferred to the cultivating peasants. All the land which the landlords owned was taken over by the tenants living on it. Only the fields surrounding their houses (not more than 5 hectares) were left for their personal use. The association took the remainder of their cattle but left them only with two oxen and few cows. The landlords were also required to pay 170 to 200 Birr as compensation after which they were left alone to cultivate the remaining five hectares with the pair of oxen they were allowed to use as ordinary farmers. The result of these confiscations was that the ex-landlords had to work as a farmer to earn their living, and their wives, who did not do any manual work before the land reform were, turned to making *farsoo* (local beer) and *araqee* (local liquor) which they sold to the villagers.[51]

Although the lords were reduced to the standard of toiling peasants they were still better off than most of the liberated peasants. The landlords were permitted to keep a pair of oxen for themselves and some land to sustain their family. They had also reserved cash from the sale of their livestock. It is interesting to note that such landlords were not socially outcast in the emerging peasant community because with the properties in their hands they managed to befriend some of the neighboring destitute peasants. Considerable numbers of them were later allowed to join the PAs as an ordinary member despite their background. According to

[49]Informants: Galataa Noonnisee, Deribachew Yifa, Diriba Saaqaa.
[50]Informants: Ambaw Lamu, Getachew Haile, Nega Bekele.
[51]Etana Habte, The Administration of Wallagga, p.94; Informants: Getachew Haile, Ambaw Lamuu.

informants such ex-landlords were those who did not mistreat their tenants before the land reform.[52] A number of ex-landlords who did not qualify this requirement were chased away from the association. Even though such landlords turned to become peasants for the time being (blocked from active political participation in the PAs) they sided with the rich members who favored private farming rather than communal farming.[53]

Our informants unanimously affirm that the land reform process, which demanded a bitter political struggle, had been won by the masses. The state has withdrawn its support from the landlords and their allies and encouraged the class struggle to be carried out by the masses that fought the major battle. As a result of this the traditional form of feudal relations of production in Wallagga had been completely destroyed and by 1976 the PAs in Wallagga were engaged in their own internal affairs. Tentative cooperation between neighboring associations started in some areas and relation between the peasants and the administration was redefined hence a new socioeconomic and political structure had emerged.[54]

Land Redistribution to Households

At the same time as the land reform proclamation abolished private ownership of land, it endowed the PAs with the authority of allotting land to the members. The proclamation stated that the size of the land allotted to farming families would as far as possible be equal and that it would at no time exceed 10 hectares.[55]

Once the big landlords had been eliminated from the rural scene, an equalization of agricultural holdings meant two things. In places where landlords had held large holdings equalization was realized when the PAs seized the landlord's possession and distributed to the poor peasants so that they could have fair holdings. In areas where there were no large estates owned by the landlords, equalization meant simply redistribution of the existing holdings so that plots of land were taken from the rich peasants and given to the poor ones.[56]

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[52]Informants: Getachew Haile, Nega Bekele, Ambaw Lamuu.
[53]Informants:, Hasan Wayyeessaa, Raagaa Turaa,Dirribaa Saaqaa.
[54]*Ibid.*
[55]*Nagrit Gazeta*, Proclamation No. 71 of 1975.
[56]Informants: Deribachew Yifa, Dabalaa Maammadee, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa.

Owing to the government's inefficiency to control such a nationwide program of equalization of holdings and due to the potential political explosiveness of such a program the government did not push it in 1975 and in 1976 it had abandoned the program altogether.[57]

Our informants who had served as the chief administrators of Giddaa Ayyaanaa, Amuruu, Horroo, Najjoo, Sayyoo and Jimmaa-Arjoo *waradas* clearly remember an official circular letter which ordered an official sanction to drop land redistribution shortly before the rainy season of 1976. The letter instructed *warada* authorities to encourage hard-working farmers to cultivate as much land as possible provided that they did not use hired workers.[58] In Jimmaa-Gannatii, Jaartee, Horroo, Sayyoo, Jimmaa-Arjoo and Gizen redistribution of family holdings had been undertaken but the issue was critically discussed in many associations. In these areas committees had been elected to suggest on future redistribution. Later on limited redistribution had taken place in which fertile strips of land in the river valleys had been redistributed. Land along the streams thus became a bone of contention and it was mostly appropriated by the rich peasants. Consequently, there had been strong pressure to distribute such land because each peasant household bordering the stream should get a strip of land. Redistribution was carried out in 1976 and the result was an extreme fragmentation of fields which did not exceed three or four meters.[59]

In densely populated areas where cultivable land was available redistribution caused a difficult political problem. It demanded confiscation of land from those who had comparatively vast land. An example from the densely populated Begii *warada* illustrates the difficulties encountered.[60] Five PAs in Begii *warada* had decided to redistribute all land so that each member got equally big holdings. The decision was approved by the majority within the associations and the implementation did not meet resistance from the peasants. Nevertheless, the result proved so discouraging that the associations abandoned the whole idea. This was due to absolute land scarcity prevailing within the associations' area. There had been no big landlord whose land could be confiscated and portioned out to the members.

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[57]*Nagrit Gazeta*, Proclamation No. 71 of 1975.
[58]Informants: Deribachew Yifa, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa; Etana Habte, The Administration of Wallagga,p.
[59]Etana Habte, The Administration of Wallagga, p.97; Goricke, *Social and political factors*, p.128.
[60]Addis Ababa University Institute of Development Research, "Ghimbi socio- economic survey ", AAU, 1977 (mimeo.), p, 28.

Nor were there rich peasants to parcel out their plots to the poorer ones. In this situation, redistribution meant that some plots of land were taken from the less poor and given to the poorest. But the total area of land redistributed were so insignificant that the increased holdings of the poorest still did not suffice to raise their production and living standard in any significant way. Regarding this issue the PA leaders decided to support two poor farmers instead of one poor and one middle farmer. The redistribution was undertaken among the minority of the PA members and a further attempt of redistribution was eventually abandoned when the result proved negative.[61] Although the pressure on land increased each year most associations did not face an absolute land shortage in 1975. Usually there was land which had been reserved for grazing or kept productive by the landlords. When the PAs members took over they could expand their holdings on such land. It was also on the former landlord's possessions that communal farms had been established. On the whole redistributive measures in Wallagga had been minor.[62] It can be contended that the land reform process as a rule had consolidated the existing family holdings. The elimination of landlord control meant that the peasant emerged as owners of the fields they had cultivated for years. In this way landlordism had given way to the peasant proprietorship.

According to our sources in the post-reform period it seems likely that lack of the chief means of production, oxen was one of the major drawbacks of the rural economy in Wallagga. In 1976 redistribution of family holdings was not regarded as the most pressing issue. Instead the most burning issue at stake was the redistribution of oxen because the widespread lack of oxen among the poor peasants made it impossible to utilize their existing holdings fully. In other words, draught-oxen became the critical factor not land.[63] Our informants remarked that: "How could we benefit from our plot of land when we were not able to plough it, we could not cultivate even half of the land we had then".[64] Shortage of land was already a fact. In some localities one could hear a farmer's complaint that "my land has become old" (*lafti borqii ta'e*). Consequently, such

[61]Etana Habte, The Administration of Wallagga, pp.97-98.
[62]EWZAO, A letter of Yekatit 24, 1967 E.C. from five peasant associations in Begii *warada* to Wallagga Administration Office.
[63]Informants: Raagaa Turaa, Darribaachaw Ifaa, Gammachuu Shonnee, Abebe Dhaaba.
[64]Informants: Ejjetaa Goobanaa, Getachew Merga, Kejela Beyene, Kumsaa Guutamaa.

farmers were looking around for new fields.[65]

During the imperial regime oxen were accumulated in the cattle yards by the landlords, rich peasants, traders and even by the civil servants. The concentration of cattle ownership in the hands of the well- to-do section meant that large number of peasants lacked oxen and had to rent them. Rent of oxen constituted an important element in the exploitation of the poor peasants by the landlords. Agricultural surveys carried out in the 1960s and early 1970s indicated the prevalence of ownership of oxen. A survey of five *waradas* in Horro-Gudruu, four in Qellem, two in Arjoo, seven in Gimbii, five in Asosa and four in Naqamtee *awrajas* reported that one-third of the peasants owned one ox.[66] A survey of the remaining *waradas* in the six *awrajas* reported almost identical results. A conclusion of these surveys was that some two-thirds of the peasantry was not self sufficient in the means of production and they were dependent on other people (*Qafii/Araasoo qotuu*) for the most important agricultural operation, ploughing. However, the land reform brought important changes to this pattern. When peasants took over land and property from the landlords, cattle were also confiscated. The confiscated cattle were put under the ownership of the PAs which distributed on credit basis to members who lacked oxen. In many areas, however, landlords managed to hide their cattle before the peasants took actions. When the land reform was proclaimed large herds of cattle were reported to have crossed over to the Sudan border while others were hidden in the Dhidheessa valley. Slaughter houses in the towns of Dambi Doolloo, Gimbii and Naqamtee had received more oxen than usual; hence such measures had decreased the number of draught-oxen available for the peasants. It was a paradox that when the peasants got control over the land they lacked the chief means of production, oxen to plough it.[67]

It is evident that the implementation of the land reform had established a direct state-peasantry relationship. The PAs had been made responsible for tax collection from its members and the *warada* tax office dealt directly with the executive committees of the PAs. Our informants remark that before the harvest, the executive committees of the PAs within each *warada* were

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[65]Informants: Kumsaa Guutamaa, Shuguxii Tolasaa, Bantii Amanuu.
[66]ECMY Challiya Project, "General Agricultural Survey, 1974" (Bodji, 1975), (Mimeo.) ECMY Western Synod Development Department, "Annual Report," (Bodji, 1976) (mimeo) pp.42-45; Informants: Shuguxii Tolasaa, Ayyaanaa Galataa.
[67]Informants: Daribachaw Yifa, Raagaa Turaa; Etana Habte, Administration of Wallagga,p.

called to a meeting headed by the *warada* tax officials and informed about tax-rates and time of collection. When the details had been agreed upon, the PAs collected taxes after which they handed over the financial records, for accurate tax collection which increased considerably as compared to the period of the imperial regime.[68] Since 1976 every peasant paid 10 *birr* annually as tax for 'land use' regard less of size. On top of the land use tax, farmers had also paid 'income tax' the lowest being 3 *birr* and the highest 7 *birr*.[69] The poor peasants thus paid 17 *birr* per year. In comparison with the situation during the imperial regime the amount of land tax had increased on the poor peasants. Formerly the tax rate for peasants who earned less than 300 *birr* annually was only 1.50 *birr*. With the fall of the imperial regime, however, the total burden of obligations and all the feudal tributes and dues had been abolished.[70]

The land reform had changed the pattern of agricultural surplus appropriation. The former landlords had been eliminated and the *Darg* government took their place as appropriator of the peasant produced surplus. The peasants had been freed from exorbitant and often arbitrary exploitation in favor of fixed tax rates which were moderate. The state had abolished the feudal middlemen and established itself as the direct overlord of the peasants. By tying the PAs to the *warada* treasury the government was laying foundations for central control of capital accumulation in agricultural production.[71] The PAs were responsible for mobilizing peasants to political education and popular demonstrations, recruiting and mobilizing the militia to the war front. Later on it became the responsibility of the PA leaders to implement the unpopular and highly resented rural development policies. One of these tasks included ensuring quota deliveries of grain from each peasant household to the Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC).Our informants verify that failure to fulfill the quota due to rain shortfall or any other related agricultural problems and farm size had compelled the producers to disciplinary measures such as denial of the right to use the Service Cooperatives shops (*maayibaasii*) organized as of late 1970s. To get rid of such measures, peasants who had failed to fulfill their quota obligations from their own produce

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[68]Informants: Mizanu Kamisoo, Ta'aa Ayyaanaa, Tadese Dabaloo, Raggaasaa Dhaabaa.
[69]EWZAO, reports of all *waradas* of Wallagga tax offices, through their respective *Awraja*, to the province administration office. Reported from Sene 28 to Hamile 19, 1968 E.C.; Informants: Raggaasaa Dhaabaa, Tadese Dabaloo, Mizanu Kamisoo, Ta'a Ayyaanaa.
[70]*Ibid.*
[71]Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Dirriba Saaqaa, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa.

had to purchase grain from the market. In most cases farmers did not fulfill the quota obligations and the main reason for this was believed to be the fact that the peasants were unable to meet the quota after they deducted their requirements for seeds and for their own consumption. This crisis most likely implies that officials did not take into account either the real situation or the peasant's interest and responsibility before they assigned quota obligation on the farmers.[72] The peasant producers were forced into the system by the establishment of quota, allocated by grain purchase task force at regional, *awraja* and *warada* levels. The task force at different levels in turn assigned fixed quotas for the service cooperatives (*Maibaasii*), PAs, and individual farmers. Our informants confirm that service cooperatives were reported to have withheld goods and money owned by the farmers until they have met their quotas. Naqamtee, Qellem, Gimbii, Horro Gudruu and Arjoo informants unanimously state that about half of the farmers did not produce enough grain to meet their quotas and had to sell animals in order to buy grain from the open market which they had to sell at a loss to the AMC.[73]

In Wallagga AMC stores were built in Naqamtee, Horro Gudruu, Gimbii, and Dambi Doolloo. The largest amount of the grain was brought from WADE farms and the remaining amount was obtained from private farms. In Naqamtee there were seven AMC stores at Soorgaa each containing 50,000 *quintals*. Private wholesale was prohibited from 1982-83 save in 1979-80, when regional grain purchase task force at Naqamtee was allowed to set prices for the study region. According to our sources the merchants were responsible to abide by the strict regulation of the AMC including restrictions on the movement of grain from one *warada* to another. From 1980 onwards the licensed traders were required to deliver a proportion of their purchases amounted to at least half in most grain supplying *awrajas* such as Horro-Gudruu, Naqamtee, and Qellem to the AMC at official prices.[74] The AMC informed *awraja* administrations and PAs to consider their regulations under which traders may be engaged in purchasing grains from the producers. The available records state that peasants were free to sell in the open market from the months of May to December. Nevertheless, it was only very few peasants who had reserve grains

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[72] *Ibid.*
[73] *Ibid.*
[74] Badhaasaa Galataa, Deribachew Yifa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Raagaa Turaa.

to sell at higher prices during this time.[75] In 1982-83 very few traders regardless of the formal prohibition on wholesale merchandise were allowed to purchase the compulsory grain quota from the farmers. They established cordial relationship with the *warada* administrators and AMC agents in order to obtain the legal permission. After obtaining the license they would be required to deliver 250 *quintals* of grain annually to the AMC with relatively higher prices than that of the farmers and did the rest of the business for themselves.[76]

The grain price inflation had basic reasons. Since the merchants were profit-seekers, after fulfilling their own quota, they purchased grain from the farmers at higher prices to obtain some profit. So the desperate peasants whose resources had run out were obliged to purchase from traders at a very inflated prices. During harvest times cadres and workers in the Ministry of Agriculture constantly persuaded the peasants to sell their products to the service cooperatives (SC) of their respective PAs convincing them that the SCs would sell to the AMC and that the farmers would be able to purchase grains at fair prices from the AMC in times of shortage. Nevertheless, from its inception in 1978 to its termination in 1990, despite its promises to farmers, the AMC did not resell any grain to the peasantry during shortage. Even, when most peasants in Qellem and Gimbii fell under famine in 1980-81 the regional AMC did not respond to the situation and the poor peasants were forced to purchase grains at higher prices from the market. Knowledgeable informants verify that large amount of grain was transported to Addis Ababa to be delivered to the central market probably to meet the demands of the urban consumers around the capital and the government troops.[77]

As we have discussed above the farmers were ordered to sell their grain quota to their respective *Maaibaasii* shops annually at fixed prices lower than the private traders. The quota had three stages ranging from one hundred to three hundred kilograms. The most important grains expected from the farmers were: maize, sorghum, barley, wheat and teff. The peasants were expected to supply at least two types of grains for the quota. [78] It is evident that in the post harvest time the peasants' often divided stored grain for family consumption and for markets.

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[75]Raagaa Turaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Tesfaye Bultoo, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa.
[76]EWZAO, A letter of Tikimt 18, 1975 E.C. Ref. No ወ/ኢ/ግ/ድ/75.
[77]Informants: Gammachuu Shoonee, Raagaa Turaa, Temesgen Alamu.
[78]Informants: Abebe Dhaabaa, Raagaa Turaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa.

When they needed to purchase manufactured goods and to pay the government tax they used to sell from what they stored for the market. Informants remark that whenever the money from the sale of farm products could not afford to fulfill the urgent needs they additionally sold their lambs or oxen to meet those demands. During summer (*ganna*) season some farmers faced food shortage because the stored grain for consumption had run out and new crops in the farms would not be ready and in such occasion peasants would be forced to purchase grain at higher prices from the nearby market place.[79]

Our informants substantiate that occasionally farmers had failed to hand in their quota owing to unproductivity of the land due to different factors. Later on the farmers had deliberately defied the quota system which became a serious obstacle against their life. This reaction of the peasants to the unpopular quota system was enforced by the PA leaders who were accompanied by the armed militia. They often went to the villages to arrest the farmers and broke their grain storage, *Gombisaa* to check whether it had grain or not. If the owner had showed any form of resistance against their measures he/she would be mercilessly beaten or tortured in *kebele* prison cells for days or weeks depending on the reaction of the innocent farmer. The farmers knew that the higher officials would sell their products to the rich merchants who gained significant profit that enabled both of them to enjoy luxurious life. So the farmers often mysteriously defied the grain quota by delaying the time of delivery or minimizing the imposed *quota* on grains attributing to different reasons.[80] The grain quota system had worsened the subsistence living conditions of the peasantry in many respects. It made every aspect of the peasants' life awful. Whenever there was crop failure peasants were unable to fulfill the quota. Since 1985 grain quota was increased while the agricultural production decreased. Peasants provided their good quality grain to SCs and later were forced to buy less quality grain from the market at high prices for the upcoming season's seed as well as for their own consumption. The quota system was unfair because it favored the relatives and associates of the PA leaders and neglected the advantages of the majority of the peasants. Some peasants were forced to meet a quota beyond their capacity. Moreover, the fixed price on similar product of the peasants was lower than that of the merchants, cooperative farms

[79]Informants: Daribachaw Yifa, Ejjetaa Tolesa, Gammachu Shoonee.
[80]Informants: Abebe Dhaabaa, Dabalaa Maammadee, Dirribaa Saaqaa.

and state farms and this situation demoralized the poor farmers to produce as much as they could and made them to be sluggish which slowed down economic growth.[81] Whenever peasants failed to fulfill their grain *quota* they would be arrested and imprisoned for several days. They would be compelled to punitive measures such as denial of the right to use the SCs (*maayibaasii*) and at maximum they would lose their plot of land. A hostile relationship with the PA leaders meant increased grain quota upon the targeted household. So peasants remained passive subjects with no incentives to increase production.[82]

The availability of sufficient amount of rainfall did not mean high production due to the uncertainty of the later months, i.e. excess or rain shortfall, destruction by pests or the failure of the farmer to handle the fields properly. Our sources affirm that just before the arrival of the harvesting time, without due consideration of the above mentioned uncertainties and the farmers financial, technical and physical capabilities, higher officials wrote down to the *warada* appointees orders that fixed quota obligation on the farmers. It is surprising that the PA leaders who had good knowledge of the peasants' economic conditions had simply accepted the quota with pleasure at the cost of the victims. Then, the *quota* was assigned on each household on the good will of the PA leaders. As most of the PA leaders became party members they managed to stay in power for many years. The more they stayed in power, the more they established strong affiliation with the *warada* ruling circles and the more they became corrupt. Thus, their arbitrary quota imposition was irreversible and nobody responded to the appeals of the farmers for reconsideration.[83]

Ideally price incentive was important to motivate the farmers. However, contrary to this attitude the *Darg* introduced pricing and marketing policies simply to curtail merchants' involvement in the grain trading for ideological reasons which shocked the peasants' production interest. The officials at different administrative levels became extremely harsh and corrupt towards the merchants who also had distorted prices in order to amass fortune. Then the situation was worsened than ever and this in turn led to the relaxation of the quota system. Finally, the

[81] Informants: Temesgen Alamu, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa, Gammachuu Shonnee.
[82] Fetene Hordofaa, Gammachuu Shonnee, Tesfaye Bultoo Temesgen Alamu.
[83] Informants: Daribachaw Yifa, Ababa Dhaabaa, Fetene Hordofaa, Tesfaye Ayyaanaa.

compulsory grain quota acquisition was abolished on 5 March, 1990 following the declaration of the Mixed Economy Policy which relieved the Wallagga peasantry from the harassments of the militia.[84] The 1975 land reform had not only opened up new prospects for state incomes via agricultural taxation and the compulsory quota system but it had also inspired the most politically conscious farmers who complained and requested where the money they paid as government tax ended up. Moreover, they raised demands for the establishments of the basic infrastructures like schools, clinics and feeder roads. Such conscious farmers who had been the mouthpiece of the society had the support of the masses of the peasants. However, the grievances of the peasants did not get any positive response from the *Darg* officials throughout the regime.[85]

[84]EWZAO, A letter of Tir 9,1967E.C, Ref.No.3/2/7/5/5/34 from Ethiopian Provisional Military Government to Wallagga province administration office.
[85]Informants: Darribaachaw Yifa, Temesgen Alamu, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Gammachuu Shoonee.

Chapter Seven

The Establishment of Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise (WADE): A Critical Appraisal

In chapter six we have discussed that the 1975 rural land proclamation brought an end to the intricate land tenure system in Wallagga. This chapter has five sections. The first section attempts to sketch the historical foundation of the enterprise. It illustrates why the state farms were established, its managerial responsibility, reasons for the fluctuation of the area cultivated by the state farms, advantages of the surrounding communities, and why the farms and the population increased from year to year. The second section investigates the location, geology and topography of the state farms. Moreover, it deals with the influences of the climatic factors on crop production, the number of the state farms and the average distance in km from Addis Ababa and Naqamtee are pointed out. The third section reconstructs the nature of the state farms operation, the role of the farm units, the labour force and catchment areas, living and working conditions of the workers, machinery performance, input utilization and varieties of production output. The fourth section analyzes the production and marketing costs, the main customers of the state farms and why the enterprise incurred huge losses during its existence. The last section identifies the general and specific problems of the Wallagga state farms why, when and how the enterprise has finally collapsed.

The establishment of the state farms in Ethiopia began just after the outbreak of the Ethiopian revolution. Its establishment was accomplished in two ways: the development of new large scale farms in the virgin land of the country and by confiscation of large scale commercial farms that were owned by private capitalists or jointly owned farms with foreigners. Large scale commercial agriculture was only in the early stages of its development and tended to be concentrated around the larger urban sectors serving larger markets. Thus around Addis Ababa but extending through Debre Zeit, down to the rift valley and across into Arsi there was output from dairy and poultry and in the production of fruits, vegetables and surplus grain.[1]

[1]Gedamu Abraha, Venture: Rural Development in Ethiopia. (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information, 1972) pp.31-32.

Other areas of commercial farming included the irrigated farm concession of Eritrea producing fruits, vegetables, dairy produce and commercial crops such as cotton, the small but growing volume of coffee plantation in Sidamo, Kaffa, Illubabor, fruit and vegetable production in the Harar region, the cotton plantation at Tendaho, the sugar plantation of Wonji and Metehara all in the Awash valley and recent development of mechanized dry farming in the Jijjiga district producing sorghum. Finally, there was the recent but very significant dry farming development in the Setit Humera region of the northwest borderland. Based on the widespread use of tractors for ploughing and seasonal hired labour for harvesting these regions were producing a rapidly expanding output. However, taken altogether purely commercial farming (apart from peasant agriculture within the monetary sector) produced less than10 percent of the total value of agricultural output. Most of these farms were owned privately by the ruling classes of the feudo-capitalist regime and their allies. Foreign investors also did not hesitate to invest in this venture because they enjoyed the tax holidays that the Ethiopian government offered them. Most of the state farms that were found in the western and southern regions of the country were developed in the virgins of low land river valleys. Examples of such farms were Angar and Dhidheessa state farms in Wallagga, Bir and Beles farms in Gojjam, Sheneka and Sinana state farms in Bale.[2]

The confiscation of large scale farms previously owned by private persons was provided by a proclamation number 31 of 1975 which provided for the public ownership of rural lands. The development of these state farms is significant to recall that they were expected to achieve the objectives of increasing the country's agricultural output, serving as model agricultural center and prove to the peasants that large scale agriculture is vastly superior to their small scale individual farming.[3]

The state farms unquestionably added to the country's agricultural resources. For example the share of state farms produced in the total agricultural product of the country in the crop years of 1970/71E/C and 1971/72E/C out of the total cultivated land in the country was about 2.5 per cent while the share of the yield was about 4.5 per cent.[4] The major agricultural produce of the state farms in Ethiopia was grain.

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[2]*Ibid.*
[3]PMAC, *Negarit Gazeta*, 1977-78(Proc. No 42).
[4]Central Planning Supreme Council of Ethiopia (4th Year Plan).

Agricultural products from all over the state farms were used for four different purposes. These were for food, as raw materials in the food processing industry, as raw material in other industries and as export item to the foreign market.[5]

The State farms Authority was established in May 1977 by a legal proclamation. Later on, in order to expand the state farms and make them more efficient and productive; the Ministry of State Farm Development (MSFD) was established in May 1979 by proclamation No 179. Since then several state farms were established by the Ministry in different parts of the country where the conditions were favorable for farm development. Prior to the 1974 February revolution a few landlords had the greatest portion of the arable land under their control. However, the development of socialist revolution demanded the transformation of the old relations of production which was based on private ownership and established complete dominance of socialist relations of production. In accordance with the land proclamation the privately owned commercial farms were put under the Ministry of National Resources for a short period of time.[6]

As the need for further strengthening of the agricultural sector of the economy was found pressing, the State Farm's Authority started to function with 67200 hectares, out of which 22000 hectares were irrigated. The authority was found promising in alleviating the food problem in the country and producing raw material for industry at least in a limited capacity.[7] In order to expand the state farms and make them more productive, the MSFD was established in May1979 by proclamation No 1979.[8] The Ministry was required to follow through the centralized national plan and exert maximum effort to boost production.[9] When the National Economic Campaign (NEC) was launched in 1979 one of its major objectives was to alleviate the urgent problem of shortage of food and other basic consumption commodities and raw materials. This difficult task was mainly to be accomplished by PAs on the one hand and the MSFD on the other. The campaign program in the state farms sub-sector laid emphasis on increasing the acreage of state farms in order to produce additional different kinds of crops.

[5]Ethiopian Central Planning and Supreme Council, (2nd Year Plan 1979-80), pp.51-52.
[6]*Ibid.*
[7]Ministry of State Farms Development (Outline), Addis Ababa, 1987.p.1.
[8]*Ibid.*
[9]*Ibid.*

This urgent call made the responsibility of the Ministry more challenging.[10] Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise was part and parcel of the Northwestern Agricultural Development Corporation which was mainly engaged in the production of cereals. In 1982/83 Wallagga had a total cultivated area of 535.83 thousand hectares out of which 13.39 thousand hectares was cultivated by the state farms.[11]

Historical Foundation of the Enterprise

Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise (WADE) was one of the two enterprises within the Western Agricultural Development Corporation (WADC). The enterprise was responsible for managing all the existing state farms and those to be expanded within the Wallagga administrative region. The office of the enterprise was located at Naqamtee. WADE was established in 1967/68E/C under the program of "*Fatan Irsha*," literally ("fast agricultural production") without any prior scientific reconnaissance and provision of sufficient means of production, man power and extension of other infrastructures and services in the region. The *Darg's* aim to establish the '*Fatan Irsha*' was apparently intended to alleviate any food shortage in the area in case of failure of the peasants to cultivate the land as a result of the *balabats* opposition to the *Darg's* rural land proclamation of 1975. In the 1970s and 1980s the state farms had comprised as much as twenty to thirty thousand farm workers excluding their dependents.[12]

The enterprise started work with 80 permanent and 1550 temporary farm workers by cultivating 1900 hectares of land. The pioneers of these state farms were Dhidheessa and Finca'aa. Their main objective at the time was to meet the food shortages of the country and create job opportunity for a good number of the jobless people in the region. Our sources state that by the order of Negusse Fanta, the administrator of Wallagga administrative region, large number of jobless people, *bozanes* were moved from the urban towns of all *awrajas* to the state farms in the hope that the urban towns security problems would find solution and the move would also curb the problem of labour force to carry out the farm operation. The *bozanes* were moved from the

[10] *Ibid*.p.2.
[11] Amare Bantider, "Regional Analysis of Crop Production in State Farms of Ethiopia," B.A Thesis, Department of Geography, AAU, 1987.p.17.
[12] ENALA, 12.1.4.02; Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Dereje Gabramichael, Mulugeta Biqilaa.

major towns of Naqamtee, Gimbii, Dambi Doolloo and Shaamboo and the minor towns of Mandii, Najjoo, Boojii, Haruu and Finca'aa. (See also Appendix 25) They were also extracted from the little villages in Arjoo and Qellem such as Daaphoo Haannaa and Kuyyan respectively. By mobilizing the jobless people to the pioneer farms we have mentioned above, an urgent campaign was launched to clear a vast plain for agricultural production. However, the campaign was not well organized and so the result was not satisfactory. The absence of skilled man power to direct the different departments of the farm management and the lack of specialized machinery gradually became acute as the clearing farm fields progressed. By observing the serious problem of the farm at the time the enterprise reduced the size of the cultivated field which became beyond its capacity to manage. The enterprise could not efficiently collect the potential products of each farm due to the location of the farms and the long distance between them. To minimize the major problems of the farms satisfactory measures have not been taken on time. Therefore, high investment and low return had continued to be the common feature of Wallagga state farms.[13]

Our informants point out that the area under cultivation was not increasing every year in some of the the state farms. There were many reasons for the fluctuation of the area cultivated. The major reasons were: firstly, absence of scientific reconnaissance during the time of its establishment resulted in the abandoning of farm fields which were less fertile and exposed to natural problems such as water logging, soil erosion and others. For instance, Waamaa state farm had abandoned the greater portion of its farm land due to water logging condition. Our sources remark that shortages of labour force and the availabilities of machineries necessary for the production process and the type of crop produced decided the sizes of the farm fields.[14] If we see the case of Keenaaf state farm for instance, the soil of the farm was good for Keenaaf crop and it had good prospect for extended cultivation. Sources indicate that area under cultivation was decreasing in the state farms except in Baloo and Keenaaf farms. This probably implies that the enterprise planned to minimize the extensive area reserved for cultivation of other crops and engaged

[13]ENALA, 12.1.4.02; Endalkachew Dina, "The Municipal Administration of Naqamtee Town 1941-1991.'M.A Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 2008.p.44.
[14]Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa.

towards intensive and efficient small area cultivation of selected crops by the newly opened farms.[15] The state farms were not highly mechanized. Therefore, human labour was also used widely. The state farms were located in the center of dense population where the farms had obtained their maximum cheap labour force easily. They attracted large number of people to the area to settle permanently near or around the farms to provide different services. Others went seeking temporary employment. The state farms have had several advantages. Among others: adoption and diffusion of modern farm techniques support of public and governmental organizations with machines, labour, and advices, establishment of infrastructures like feeder roads, health centers, schools and public shops. There was a close relationship between the farm cooperatives and state farms which assisted them to obtain advantages of training to improve their skills.[16] Even though data for the total population found around the state farms was not available; informants affirm that it was not far less than the total workers registered annually including settlers. The flow of population to the state farms was increasing from year to year and several non-farm settlements had appeared.[17] There is a general belief that the state farm stimulated the process of urbanization of the area because many social and public services expected to be the task of the government to make it available to the workers and the surrounding population. It is most likely that the availability of such public services like transportation, health centers, public shops, electricity, schools and others, therefore, caused the flow of people in and around the state farms facilitating urbanization of the locality.

Location, Geology and Topography of Wallagga State Farms

The Wallagga agricultural development enterprise had comprised of ten state farms. These farms were stretched out at an average distance of 380kms from Addis Ababa and 50kms from Naqamtee. Five of these farms were located in the lower Dhidheessa valley with a terrain of low plateau land. These farms included: Dhidheessa, Angar, Ukke, Bareeda, and Baloo. (See also Appendix 26) The other farms were: Finca'aa, Waamaa, Lookoo, Luugoo and Keenaaf. Horro Alaltuu was opened recently and it may be the eleventh state farm. It is important to note that Daabbus state farm was also part of WADE.

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[15] WADE, Farm Management Section, 1979; Informants: Mulugeta Biqilaa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa.
[16] Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Mulugeta Biqilaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[17] *Ibid.*

However, its existence was short-lived owing to its far distance from the other farms which created management problem of the project. Lookoo and Horro Alaltu state farms were established in 1976 and 1979E/C respectively. Ukke state farm was separated into three farms namely, Lookoo, Luugoo and Keenaaf. These state farms became independent as a result of the expansion of Ukke state farm whose vast acre of land was allocated to them.[18] In March30, 1991 when the *Darg* war planes had harassed Naqamtee and its vicinities, one of the targets of the planes was Ukke particularly the Keenaaf farm in Saasiggaa. Our informants state that the Keenaaf project was devastated by the war planes because the *Darg* government had suspected the area to be a stronghold of the opposition forces. In this military combat all the installations of the project including the decorticator, an expensive machine imported to process Keenaaf product, stores, settlement camps and farm vehicles were all completely destroyed.[19]

Most of the state farms were established in 1969/70E/C. However, the pioneer farms Dhidheessa and Finca'aa were established in 1967E/C and 1968E/C respectively and began operation in 1968/69E/C. Finca'aa state farm was characterized by absence of settlement on the farm area due to the prevalence of different kinds of diseases. Moreover, the availability of large supply of labour around the farm was the distinct feature of the farm.[20] Most Wallagga state farms were closer to each other at a distance of about 30-90kms. But Finca'aa is an exception which is located about 250kms to the northeast, all the other state farms were situated in the vicinity of Naqamtee town, and formed a chain "from west to northeast" of Naqamtee. This situation was advantageous for the interdependence of the state farms by promoting the flow of information and exchange of the required farm inputs and outputs among themselves.[21]

The rocks of the high plateau bordering the valley between Dhidheessa and Angar rivers belong to the Ashangi group (probably of Paleocene to Miocene Age). It consists mainly of alkaline

[18]Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa; I. Fitzthun, "Fertility Study on the State Farms of Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise" April, 1987, pp.3-4).
[19]Informants: Ambaw Lamuu, Alam Mul'ataa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa; Ambaw Lamuu (Gadaa Deebisaa), *Tsilmet*. Naqamtee, Hamle, 1998E/C.p.35.
[20]Informants: Gabramichael Etana, Alam Mul'ataa.
[21]WADE Transport Section Document; Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Abate Tefera; I. Fitzthun, Fertility Study on State Farms of Wallagga Agricultural Development Enterprise (Mimeographed), Addis Ababa, April 1987.p.9.

basalts with interbedded pyroclastics and rare rhyolites,erupted from fissures. The distribution of these rocks has been transported by run-off to the lower plateau, which is made up of Grano-diorites, Genesses, basalts and locally found sandstones. The weathered rocks of both, the upper and the lower plateau had been mixed during the formation of the valley. These deposites had been subjected to complete weathering of the primary minerals of the rocks, finally being transported to secondary minerals (eg.Kaolinite and Hematite).Therefore, it can be stated in brief that the parent materials of the existing soil in the state farms was of alluvial origin.[22] As far as Finca'aa was concerned, the northeastern part was made up of the (undifferentiated) lower complex of Precamberian which consisted mainly of Granites, Genesses and Migmatites.[23]

The topography of all Wallagga state farms could be described as undulating to rolling. Some places are even hilly (except in Finca'aa) and most of the farms were much dissected by rivers and streams.[24] Rainfall for the farms on average was between 1000-1360mm annually. Around Naqamtee it ranged from about 1550mm per year. There is a visible tendency of decreasing precipitation from the southwest to the northeast. Finca'aa had on the average only1000mm annually. In the areas where the state farms were located it rained mainly from May to September with the peak in July and then declines. At Finca'aa the rainy season lasted from July to September having the peak in July as well.[25] It is clear that the state farms obtained at least fifty per cent of their rainfall during the summer time. Due to this reason, the sowing season for most of the crops was during the above mentioned months where maximum rainfall was received. Average temperature for the state farms of the region was between 25-35 degree centigrade annually. Relative humidity in Angar and Dhidheessa followed the rainfall pattern and remained high until the end of January. Frost was not a problem in Wallagga state farms, but hail and wind have been the common climatic hazards affecting crop production. Generally speaking, the effect of climatic conditions over farming activities was high in most cases. The available records verify that from the total area covered by major crops (40,035ha in 1978), 10198ha was affected by climatic difficulties. In 1979 and 1980 from the total area covered by major crops (41,366 and 40.198ha respectively), 13.368ha and 7,258ha were directly affected by

[22]I. Fitzthun, "Fertility Study on State Farms of WADE" (Mimeographed), Addis Ababa, April 1987.p.12
[23]*Ibid.*p.13.
[24]*Ibid.*
[25]H. P. Huffnagel, *Agriculture in Ethiopia*, Rome, 1961, p.5.

such problems respectively.[26]

In general the dimension of the influences of climatic factors on crop production was so different. For instance, the irregularity of rainfall affected crop production in different ways. Some of these were: continuous and heavy rains which resulted in flooding and damaged the crops. Late arrival of rain also delayed sowing, denying crops to have enough time to mature properly with abrupt and early end of rain which deprived the soil from getting moisture which affected ripening of the plant and too long intervals between two showers resulting in the wilting of the crops.[27]

The major soil type that occurred in the state farms was predominantly Ferralsol whose optimum PH was in the range of about 5.0 to5.3 except some patches of most probably Gleysol at Ukke and Lavisol, Vertisol and Fluvisol at Finca'aa (whose optimum PH value is 6 or more). Among the top soils samples collected 75.7 per cent have proved to be strongly acidic. The content of the organic matter was found to be high in the farms around Naqamtee and medium at Finca'aa while the level of total nitrogen was medium throughout the area. Unlike most areas of Ethiopia the content of exchangeable potassium has proved to be in the low range77.5 per cent out of the top soil samples collected. Generally speaking, Wallagga state farms soil depth was very shallow.[28]

In most Wallagga state farms the soil texture class was found to be clay having a content of clay fraction. At Finca'aa sandy, clay loamy and sandy clay were even identified. The structure of the soil was dependent on texture mainly because of mineral composition of the clay fraction and content and nature of organic matter. In the state farms the structure ranged from weak to moderate granular and crumb structure in the top soil with depth changing to granular and sub-granular block shape. The high content of organic matter especially in the top soil contributed a great deal to the formation and strengthening of the peds or clods. However, the structure was not strong enough to resist erosion in steep areas.

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[26]WADE, Programming Section.
[27]I. Fitzthu, Fertility Study on State Farms, p.13.
[28]"Towards a Strategy for the Development of State Farms in Ethiopia," vol.1 (Main Report) Addis Ababa September 1986, p.214.

Except some limited areas at Ukke and Finca'aa the soils were well drained.[29]

Wallagga state farms were in good condition concerning organic matter content. At Finca'aa it was in a medium range. All others had a high content of organic matter ranging from 4.01 to 6.60 per cent. As mentioned so far the state farms had strongly acidic soils. Sources remark that in order to overcome this acidity the application of lime was essential. Since it was not possible to apply lime every year, crop rotation method was preferred by using crops that were sensitive to acidity of the soil, like maize.[30]Our available sources on this point suggested that:

> *Liming of soil would increase the water stability of soil aggregate and provide a better environment for nitrifying bacteria, which intensifies mineralization of organic nitrogen compounds to ammonia. It improves root development at the early stage, as a result nutrient uptake is improved. It also improves the general condition of the crop due to participation of calcium in several processes in the plant.*[31]

The sources further commented that water and wind erosion were among the factors which decreased the productivity and fertility of the soil. The absence of adequate soil management gradually minimized productivity of the soil and resulted in low yield per hectare. This situation finally led to the exclusion of the land from farming. So, vegetative and mechanical soil conservation methods were utilized.[32]

Problems of soil erosion were observed in the state farms. In Dhidheessa 50 metric tons (5mm depth) of fertile soil was eroded by water erosion annually. It was said that the problem was aggravated because of steep slope, heavy amount of rainfall, absence of crop rotation and improper way of ploughing the field. Conservation measures have been started at Dhidheessa since 1984 followed by other state farms. Generally problems detected in the state farms were erosion hazards, shallowness of the soil in several farms and water logging at Waamaa, Ukke and Finca'aa.[33]

Our written sources and knowledgeable informants suggest that the state farms had taken

[29]Fitzthu, Fertility Study on State Farms, p.8.
[30]*Ibid.*p.9.
[31]Fitzthu, Fertility Study on State Farms,pp. 9-10.
[32]*Ibid.*
[33] Fitzthu, "Fertility Study on State Farms," pp.9-10; Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Abate Tefera.

measures to overcome these problems by applying potassium fertilizer according to need and using of lime as soil amendment where required. Measure was also taken to improve surface run-off in water-logged areas by means of ditches and other methods. In order to keep the fertility of the soil, crop-rotation system and minimum tillage was practiced in addition to carrying out regular soil check up for proper adjustment where required.[34]

State Farm Operation

Wallagga state farm was a partially mechanized farm. More than half of the activities of the farms were carried out by machineries and the rest of the agricultural tasks were performed manually by labour force. In order to regulate smooth running of the activities the state farms properly divided their respective farm lands into different farm units.[35] There were three unit farms under a single state farm. For rain fed farms a single unit farm managed about 2000 hectares of land. In order to ease the management the unit was divided into various parts. Firstly, the 2000 hectare was divided into two parts each holding an area of about 1000 hectare known as *hudad* (large acre of land). Secondly, a representative of a single *hudad* commanded four sub-representatives (formans) each being responsible for their respective activities on 250 hectares. Moreover, a single foreman commanded four agents called *capos* who were responsible to manage about 60 hectares of farm land. Therefore, information from the farm field was communicated through the agents, *capos* to the foreman and then to the supervisor of the *hudad* and lastly to the unit leader of the farm.[36]

The fertility of the land in some of the state farms had been greatly reduced due to the complete clearing of vegetation that covered the area which in turn reinforced soil erosion. The reduction of soil fertility contributed to decline in land productivity. Due to this devastating soil erosion the state farms stopped grain production and instead began horticulture that was believed to have supported the fertility of the soil by reducing soil erosion.

Our knowledgeable informants remarked that the problem of soil erosion was the consequence of

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Informants: Ayyaanaa Galataa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa (Farm unit refers to farm plot at the farm).

[36] *Ibid* (The *capos* were responsible to supervise and control the hired farm workers daily in their activities. If the workers failed to perform good work the *capos* have reported the case to the Forman and it may result in the dismissal of the worker if the case was serious enough and it may result in financial punishment if the case was somewhat simple).

overstretched programs in the development of the farms simply in the aim of covering a large area without a prior study of the consequences that followed from the rash expansion of the farm land.[37] It seems likely that the state farms management had focused on increasing production which would have been achieved through proper land utilization and resource management.

It was evident that mechanized farms required a vast plain having less than ten degree slope. However, most Wallagga state farms were located in high slope areas. Ukke state farm, for instance, was located in thirty degree slope that forced the machines under operation to climb up steep slope and jump over irregular fields. In such high slope farms the greatest destruction of machineries may have been caused during the cultivation of fields. It seems probable that the continuous decline of farm output below the expected amount every year that had been partly caused by lack of ample machineries and spare parts and the consequent loss of time may have been caused by the breaking down of machines in the field.[38]

According to available sources although the major factors that hindered the state farms to attain the targeted farm plan was climatic and agronomic problems. It is also apparent that the major problem was rooted in the absence of feasibility study of the state farms.[39] The state farms did not restrict themselves in the production of crops alone but were also involved in other projects which already began operating in the farms. The enterprise had invested on such projects as irrigation scheme, afforestation program, terracing, fruit production, cattle ranch and agricultural research center. Some state farms had succeeded in afforesting their respective areas by planting seedlings more than what they had planned even though the survival ratio of the trees was not high.[40]

For most of the period of its existence the state farms exclusively relied on rainfall although the possibility of growing crops twice a year was feasible. The advantage of using irrigation scheme was limited though there was available water throughout the year. However, as all the state farms

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[37] *Ibid.*
[38] WADE, Management Section Annual Report, 1976/77E/C; Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] WADE, State Farms Afforestation Programme, Management Section Annual Report, 1977/78E/C.

were rain fed they heavily depended on rain water for farming. Thus, whatever input was applied without sufficient rainfall on time it would be meaningless to operate the farm activities. On the other hand excess amount of rain invariably affected the agricultural activity beginning from the seedbed preparation to the time of harvesting. Therefore, both excess rainfall and rain shortage greatly determined the effectiveness of agricultural production in the state farms.[41]

It is stated that most of the planned output for the major crops maize and sorghum was not achieved resulting in under utilization of capacity nearly in all the state farms. WADE launched new program in the late 1980s designed to increase its output by growing different cash crops which were believed to have high income such as Keenaaf, cotton, ground nut, and particularly fruits the production of which was planned to be accompanied by simple processing and canning factories. The enterprise has undergone a general survey of the site for the establishment of cattle ranches for dairy products. While a preparatory activity of the proposed plan was undergoing the tense situation that led to the final demise of the military regime had overwhelmed the region and hence the plan to expand mixed agriculture was totally shattered with the fall of the *Darg* regime.[42]

Labour Force

In the state farms there were three categories of workers. Permanent, semi-permanent and temporal workers. Temporal workers were mostly hired seasonally and the number of these workers was decided by the extent of seasonal activities such as weeding, harvesting, guarding, loading and unloading, pesticide spraying and others. The number of the temporal workers was subject to high fluctuation because the workers were usually picked during the seasons of weeding and harvesting which required large labour force.[43]

Most of the temporary workers were coming from the surrounding peasant villages. However, workers have also flocked to the farms to seek employment from distant *waradas* like Gimbii, Haroo-Limmuu, Gidda-Kiiramuu,Abbay-Coomman, Gudruu, Guutoo-Giddaa, Diggaa, Saasigga, and Siree. Some workers also moved from Arjoo *awraja* such as Billoo-Boshee, Daaphoo-

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[41]Informants: Mulugeta Biqilaa, Bantii Bulaa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa.
[42]*Ibid.*
[43]Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Ayyaanaa Galataa, Tesfaye Mizanaa.

Haannaa, Jimmaa-Arjoo and from the neighboring Illubabor administrative region. However, the technological know-how of these workers was very low which resulted in poor performance of particularly the activities related to chemical spraying to the farm fields. Informants state that material incentive to labour in the state farms was very low. So this situation had resulted in an exodus of unskilled workers to the area where payments were relatively higher. The daily wage for workers in WADE was ETB 1.92 and ETB 57per month. Each large working family was allotted a *quintal* of maize flour for ETB 31 which would be reduced from their monthly salaries. The laborers were occasionally attracted by private projects in the region which paid ETB 3 per day and this sum had attracted several workers who left the state farms.[44] It is apparent that the labour input faced many problems owing to idleness and poor health of the workers in the hot lowlands. Therefore, the unreasonable payment to the inefficient workers was probably one of the reasons for high cost and low return in the state farms.

Machinery Performance

It is true that in large scale agricultural production machineries have great importance. The adoption of new technology necessitated the use of new and improved farm machineries which facilitated agricultural work thereby increasing production and productivity in the state farms. In WADE heavy machines were recommended at the initial stage of the development of the farm when the land preparation such as uprooting trees by bulldozers and making the land smooth by tractor tillage was carried out. The first important activity in the farming operation was the preparation of seedbed which consisted of removing weeds and the management of crop residues. The proper physical condition of the soil for crop growing was made possible through mechanical process such as tilling which was the manipulation of the soil into a desired condition by mechanical means.[45]

Our knowledgeable informants state that before the application of seed the crop residues were cleared from the farm land and the soil was tilled. Ploughing was the first essential task of tillage. Soil was tilled to change its structure, to kill weeds, and to manage crop residues. This process was often necessary to facilitate the intake of water and to provide a good physical

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[44]Informants: Tesfaye Mizanaa, Asrat Temesgen, Genetii Kabaa.
[45]*Encyclopedia Britannica*. Chicago, Hemingway Benton, 1973-74, Vol.I. p.348.

condition for crops to be grown. Seed was not applied on the first plowed soil. The cultivated land should be disked by disker to loosen the soil.[46] It was usually desirable because intensive tillage tended to break down the soil and increased run-off and thus reduces water storage for crop use.[47]

The plowing period varied with the various crop types. For instance, plowing and disking for maize cultivation took place from December to April whereas for sorghum it was from December to May. Other crops had also their own plowing periods suitable for their growing seasons. However, because the farm was rain fed agriculture; the preparation of seedbed for all crops was completed during the spring, '*belg*' season. After the preparation of the seedbed was completed the immediate task of broadcasting seed followed. This activity was usually carried out together with the first or the second disking depending on the method of tillage operated for the preparation of seedbed.[48]

On the state farms crops like maize, sorghum, soybean, sun flower and keenaaf were grown. Maize was the most dominant crop. Thus, with the large size of land many *quintals* of maize seeds were required for sowing or planting by machines. The sowing period which naturally depended on the occurrence of rainfall varied significantly from one crop to the other. Maize sowing periods commonly begins with the rains and lasted for more than a month with a variety of requirements made to this crop.[49]

WADE had imported different and sophisticated machines from year to year to promote the agricultural process. Although many of the farm machines were giving services, some of them did not operate because the machines were not carefully investigated before they were engaged in operation. Lack of preinvestigation of the imported machines to the state farms had impacts on the economy of the farms as additional expense was spent on purchasing spare parts and maintenance services.[50] Informants state that machine spare parts were not available in the farm warehouses. Since there was no efficient marketing and distributing agencies that could

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[46]Informants: Tesfaye Mizanaa, Asrat Temesgen,Genetii Kabaa.
[47]WADE Document Lookoo State Farm Annual Report, 1978/79E/C.
[48]Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Mulugeta Biqilaa, Genetii Kabaa.
[49]*Ibid.*
[50]Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Genetii Kabaa, Tesfaye Mizanaa, Asrat Temesgen.

immediately supply spare parts the machines often stood without any operation for a long time. One way of the enterprise's attempt to overcome this problem was trying to produce some of the spare parts in their workshops locally. In this way some of the state farms were said to have succeeded in producing some similar imported spare parts.[51]

Among the early tractors in operation in the state farms were: SAME Chrosaro, John Deer, and FIAT tractors with 70 or 90 horse power. Moreover, there were also tractors with models IMT 579, IMT 5106, Belarus 52, and Belarus 5100. In 1969 Belarus 52 tractors first arrived in Dhidheessa and Finca'aa pioneer farms, each were bought with the price of around ETB 15,000. Our knowledgeable informants remark that the cost of the machines and spare parts significantly increased as more and more state farms were opened one after another and it resulted in less capability of the state farms to purchase them. Due to the rise of the cost of spare parts every year, more than 50 per cent of the farm machines were out of use in Wallagga state farms. From 1976 to 1980 the direct machine cost was estimated to be ETB 45,000 which covered almost 25 per cent of the total cost of production.[52]

The farm machineries included: tractors, combine harvesters, trailers, cultivators, slashers, planters, fertilizer spreaders, chemical sprayers and Keenaaf harvesters or decorticators. As compared to other machinery tractors were high in number followed by trailers and slashers. The largest state farm, Angar had around 80 tractors, Baloo had around 65 tractors and the others had around 35 and 40 tractors each. The least number of tractors was found in Lookoo and Keenaaf state farms. Our knowledgeable informants remark that the enterprise at various state farms had around 460 tractors and large number of trailers, cultivators, slashers and planters. Angar state farm had the largest number of tractors whereas relatively large number of functional tractors was accumulated in Baloo state farm.[53] The performance of the tractors was often faced difficulties due to the rugged topography of some farms which hindered smooth operation of the tractors and combines. The extreme conditions of temperature and humidity which was contrary to the machines requirement was another problem.

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[51] *Ibid.* WADE, Technical Service Section.

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] Informants: Tesfaye Mizanaa, Asrat Temesgen, Genetii Kabaa.

It was remarked that combines were less resistant than tractors to terrain hazards. Therefore, the total number of combines that needed maintenance was proportionally greater than that of the tractors.[54] It is stated that failure to assign machineries according to the topography and the machines suitability to the environment had hindered machineries from operating in their maximum capacity. Furthermore, the number of specialized mechanics was limited even then some of them had no proper training opportunities. Available sources verify that nearly half of the machineries were damaged and needed repair. What was disappointing about these repairable machineries was that some of them stood even for the whole season without being repaired due to lack of spare parts and skilled mechanics. Some of the mechanics even did not know how to repair the latest machineries like IMT tractors. Due to lack of spare parts sometimes cannibalization method was used to make some of the machineries operational. Cannibalization was used when two similar machines stopped operation due to damage of different parts. For instance when different parts of similar tractors were damaged, the part of the one with a heavy damage would be taken off and fitted into the other less damaged tractor. Since tractor's damage was frequent because of lack of skilled operators and mechanics they were soon condemned. Most of the machineries stopped operation not as a result of completing their service life but due to frequent damages.[55] Some farm blocks were not topographically suitable for machines. Among the most topographically unsuitable farms were: Ukkee Didheessaa, Angar and Keenaaf and this irregular shape of the land created difficulty for the machines to uniformly cultivate the land. It seems likely that the tractors were often damaged due to carelessness and irresponsibility of some tractor operators.[56] (See also Appendix 27&28)

Due to the scarcity of spare parts, poor handling of tractors, unqualified workshops and shortage of skilled mechanics, the efficiency of tractors and implements were well below the expected standard. According to sources the latest combine harvesters had a capacity of harvesting and threshing 1,500 *quintals* of grain per day. But in the case of WADE it had never exceeded 500 *quintals*. This low level of efficiency was due to the rugged surface of the farm land which hindered maximum operation of the machines.[57]

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[54] *Ibid.*
[55] WADE, Technical Service; Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] Informants: Tesfaye Mizanaa, Asrat Temesgen, Gabramichael Ittaanaa.

An equally contributing factor for low machinery performance was the shortage of skilled tractor operators and mechanics. Our sources suggest that the majority of the tractor operators were those workers originally hired as manual laborers but acquired the skill while they were on work in the field. Since such kind of tractor operators did not have proper training as operators and mechanic they often caused frequent damage on the machines which stopped operation soon. The concerned officials administering the machineries also happened to be irresponsible to coordinate the operation hence absence of effective supervision and management worsened the situation.[58] Not only underutilization of the capacities of the existing machineries and poor handling was a serious problem but selection of some inappropriate technology was another factor. Our informants remarked that rational selection of appropriate technology would have minimized cost thereby promoting efficient use of foreign exchange for the importation of the machineries. According to the Ministry of State Farms, the standard performance of a tractor was that, one tractor should accomplish such activities as cultivating, planting and harrowing operations for an area of 120 hectares per year. However, in WADE the available sources state that there was underutilization of the tractors capacities.[59]

Input Utilization

In Wallagga state farms since the soil was more acidic, phosphorous class fertilizers were not applied. The appropriate time for the use of the fertilizers neither had a well defined schedule nor full package for a particular crop and soil type. Two types of inorganic fertilizers were used in WADE state farms. These were DAP and Urea. The application was 100kg of DAP per hectare for all crops like maize, sorghum, pulses, sun flower and 50kg of Urea. DAP was applied mechanically at planting maize while Urea was top dressed manually at boot height before it developed. Our informants affirmed that roughly a maximum of 100-130kg of Dap and 40-100kg of Urea was applied for different crops per hectare. Maize crop required one *quintal* of DAP per hectare in all WADE state farms. The above rate was constantly used since there was no marked difference in the change that occurred with the application of fertilizer for all crops due to the fact that hardly any effort was done in soil conservation and fertility management

[58]Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa Tesfaye Mizanaa.
[59]The Ministry State Farm, technical service Section Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Tesfaye Mizanaa.

practices, such as crop rotation and incorporation of plant residue to build up organic matter content.[60]

Available sources affirmed that in WADE over 50,000 *quintals* of inorganic fertilizer was used per year. This included about 30,000*quintals* of DAP and 20,000 *quintals* of Urea. Knowledgeable informants state that Dhidheessa and Bareeda state farms were believed to be the most efficient farms in the production of maize and sorghum while Ukke was known in the production of Soya bean and pepper. The use of chemicals was increasing from time to time with the increase of land under cultivation. Moreover, the production of diversified crops in relation to areal extension enhanced the appearance of different insects which covered a wide area that caused diseases. In some years the cropping season may elapse before fertilizers were applied to all parts of the cultivated land owing to lack of proper management of the farm activities.[61]

The state farms attempted to withstand the problem of weeds which significantly decreased yields and quality of products and thereby increased production costs. It was minimized by using herbicides after the crops were planted. The other mechanism was weeding out the farm fields manually making use of large work force employed during the weeding seasons. Sometimes round up Prima gram and Loso Atvarjine herbicides were sprayed by aircrafts or tractors before the farm field was plowed or tilled. Our informants verify that temporary air-strips were built in such farms as Ukke, Angar, Bareedaa, Dhidheessaa, Finca'aa and Horro-Alaltu. Moreover, different kinds of pesticides were also sprayed against plant diseases caused by pests. Tayodan, Tayonex, Simbush, Disis, and Malatine insecticides were sprayed to check the cut worm (*Qurxaa*), termites (*Rirma*), and ballwarms which greatly affected the sorghum (*Boobee*) fields.[62] The common weeds were: Rotobolia (a kind of grass).The main types of weeds were Rottandes, and Striga. The striga weed was attached to the plant root and destroyed the crop. This weed could exist in the soil for about 20 years without the reduction viability of germination. Our knowledgeable informants affirm that the causes for weeds were weakness at field preparation,

[60]Informants: Mulugeta Biqilaa, Alam Mul'ataa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa.
[61]*Ibid.*
[62]Informants: Mulugeta Biqilaa, Alam Mul'ataa, Lemma Kasaye.

shortage of rainfall during sowing seed, and absence of crop rotation. The application of variety of seeds destroying striga weed was helpful to reduce it before its flowering had taken place. In order to control weeds herbicides were distributed every year. The spreading of herbicides and insecticides was done by machineries and aircrafts. The state farms applied air craft and machine spray where intensive labour was relatively employed. Our informants point out that *Admas* and *Eshet* airplanes which were ordered by the Ethiopian Airlines covered 80 percent of the farm spray and the rest 20 percent was covered by machines.[63]

The application of chemicals was very costly especially in the case of air craft spray. For instance, in 1976/77E/C herbicide was sprayed over vast hectares making use of aircrafts. The rest of the farms were covered manually during the planting time. Although herbicide was applied in this way the practice in general did not give effective results. The main reason seems that herbicides sprayed by machines could not able to get soil moisture during and after spraying time. Thus, the seeds of the weeds remained in the soil and germinated later after the chemical was expired. The most commonly used fertilizers were DAP (Diamonium Phosphate) and Urea. These fertilizers were used on the farm to recover soil losses and to get more output per unit of area. Both DAP and Urea were not equally and simultaneously used for all crops that were grown in the farms. Some crops need DAP and others Urea. Maize crop required both of them. DAP was applied from April to May whereas Urea from June to July. The fertilizers were also applied by machine and manpower. [64]

Wallagga state farms made use of improved seeds supplied by the Ethiopian Seed Corporation (ESC) and most of the improved seeds varieties were that of maize and sorghum. Knowledgeable informants state that good preparation of the nursery, selection of better seeds and sowing season and the use of crop rotation method could have minimized the cost for chemicals and thereby resulted in better results. Although necessary chemicals were sprayed the yields obtained in Lookoo, Ukke and Dhidheessa were less than the expected amount as compared to other state farms.[65] It seems probable that the crop field might have not been given proper care and protection at each stage of the plants growth.

[63]WADE, Crop Protection Division, document, 1977E/C; Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Wandimu Tafara.
[64]WADE, Crop Protection Section Annual Report, 1979/80; Informants: Mulugeta Biqilaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[65]Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Mulugeta Biqilaa, Alam Mul'ataa.

Production Output and Marketing

The state farms grew variety of crops of which the main ones were maize, sorghum, sun flower, ground nut, soya bean, haricot bean, and pepper. Maize was the most important grain crop and next comes sorghum.[66] The main customer of the state farms products was the AMC which purchased almost more than three-fourths of the total maize production on sale. Besides AMC some per cent of the products were also purchased by the Ethiopian Seed Corporation (ESC) and the rest was sold to different governmental organizations such as Coffee Plantations, Addis Ababa Trading Agency, Water Construction and other state farms in need. Moreover, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) favored by the government had also their share and the rest of the product was distributed to the consumers in the local markets as well as at the farm stores. Our informants verify that the best quality maize and sorghum crops were purchased by the AMC at prices fixed by the government. The poor quality maize and sorghum were purchased by the mass organizations and merchants. Crops such as Keenaaf and others were sold in auction at the Addis Ababa market and Soya bean and pepper were exported to the world market.[67] According to records from the marketing section, crops were sold in *quintal* as per the following fixed price in Ethiopian Birr: maize (31)sorghum (40)soya bean(45) pepper(250) teff(52) haricot beans (48)sesame (130)sisal (130)Noug (55)chick peas (50) ground nut(45)sun flower(55).[68]

Both records and our knowledgeable informants are unanimous in the fact that in 1978/79E/C WADE had incurred huge losses. One potential reason for the loss of the enterprise was that price for the products were fixed below the costs of production. This centrally fixed price for the products not only had a negative impact on the profit of the enterprise but also in its efficiency. The standard price fixed for the best quality maize per *quintal* was ETB 31 at farm level although the production cost was higher than this price. The lower quality maize was usually sold at local market and at the farm site without any fixed price. When demand for a product was high it was sold above the common price. The cost of production for one *quintal* of maize in

[66] *Ibid*; Ethiopian Central Planning and Supreme Council, p.52.
[67] Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa.
[68] WADE, Marketing Section; Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa.

WADE was ETB 40.00 per *quintal* where as its market price was ETB 31 resulting in a loss of ETB 9.00 per *quintal*. Sorghum was produced at a cost of ETB 50.00 per *quintal* and sold at a price of ETB 40 per *quintal* with loss of ETB10.00 per *quintal*.[69]

According to the survey made by the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) peasant farmers in Wallagga produced one *quintal* of maize approximately at a cost of ETB 20.00 and sold it at a price of ETB 40 making a profit of ETB 20.00 or more per *quintal*. A peasant also produced one *quintal* of sorghum at a cost of ETB 20.00 and sold at a price of ETB 42 gaining ETB 22.00 profit.[70] This shows that peasant farm was more profitable than the state farms in the production of these crops because the same amount of output was produced at a lower cost on the peasant farm. It is probable that not only price mechanism affected the profit but low experience of cost minimization in the enterprise.

In order to raise the output of the enterprise every year WADE had highly invested on production in the form of inputs. However, fewer yields per hectare was inevitable as a result of harsh climate and other factors. Although more and more capital was invested every year the disparity between cost of production and actual price of crops on the market was very high. This was mainly due to the high cost of production including the purchase of inputs and low price of yields per hectare. Moreover, the unfair market price imposed on the enterprise's marketing of products was the main reason for shortfall that led to continuous financial crisis of the enterprise throughout its existence.[71]

Our sources affirm that the enterprise had registered losses for five consecutive production years and the recurrent financial loss had eventually forced to close down the Waamaa state farm which had registered losses consecutively for four production years as a result of water logging problem that had particularly affected the area.[72]

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[69]*Ibid.*
[70]WADE Purchasing and Distribution Section Annual Report, 1980; Ministry of Agriculture and Settlement, Land Utilization, Cost of Production and Farm Implements (Result of 1977/78E/C Agricultural Sample Survey), 1978E/C, Addis Ababa, p.66.
[71]Memoranda of Ato Gamachuu Shonee; WADE Finance Section, document, 1981; Informants: Gamachuu Shonee, Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[72]Informants: Gamachuu Shonee, Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa.

In 1979/80 E/C maize production covered about 85 per cent of the total production followed by sorghum with 5 per cent coverage. Keenaaf with 1 per cent coverage was the smallest proportion when compared to the others. In the production year maize again covered the greater area. Therefore, it is easy to conclude that state farms in Wallagga were dominated by monocrop, cultivating predominantly maize which had higher production per hectare than the other crops grown. In Lookoo the acreage of the cultivated area from the very beginning of its establishment showed relative increase. However, in1979/80E/C the size of the farm declined because of the establishment of Keenaaf Project.[73] Except for the 1976/77E/C crop year in all the other crop years, the areal coverage of maize has never been below 80 per cent of the total land cultivated. The only year in which there was a decrease in areal coverage of maize was 1976/77E/C. This was due to the introduction of Soya bean and Keenaaf in this year. In 1979/80E/crop year there was a decline in the amount of cultivated land as compared to the 1978/79E/C crop year. This was due to the establishment of Keenaaf project which started operation on the land apportioned from the Lookoo state farm.[74]

The available records verify that in 1979/80E/C about five maize yield varieties were grown in the state farms. These were: H511 whose yield was 16q/ha, BC 22q/ha, HG22 30q/ha, H625 32q/ha, NSCM 34q/ha.Out of the specified varieties, the highest amount of yield was obtained from the NSCM maize variety with 34 *quintal* per hectare followed byH625 and H622 types each yielding 32 and 30*quintals* per hectare. The least yielding variety was H511 type with16 *quintal* per hectare.[75]

As we have already discussed besides maize crops like sorghum, pepper, soya bean, sun flower and Keenaaf were also grown in the farms. As compared to maize these crops were relatively insignificant both in terms of their total output and areal coverage. It could be said that the area was suitable for the cultivation of sorghum in terms of climatic conditions. That was why it had probably stood as the second most important crop in terms of land allocation and amount of production next to maize. The rest of the crops were grown on a very small scale. Their amount

[73]WADE, Farm Management Section Annual Report, 1981; Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[74]WADE, Farm Management Section, 1981.
[75]*Ibid.*

of production and productivity significantly fluctuated from year to year due to their vulnerability to diseases and other problems. Keenaaf was introduced to the farm in1976/77E/C crop year and its productivity was relatively higher. As a result Keenaaf project was opened in 1978/79E/C.[76]

Informants point out that there was no consistency of production output from a hectare of land for each crop type between 1975E/C to 1980E/C.[77] From 1968E/C to 1974 E/C both the volume of production and area of cultivated land increased continuously for most types of crops. As compared to other crops there was rapid increase in the volume of maize production. This was more due to the expansion of the cultivated area than the rise in yield per hectare.[78] It seems most likely that the volume of production was increased by the extensive use of the land rather than its intensive use. In WADE the major reasons of yield increase per acre was believed to be improved seed varieties, application of inorganic fertilizers, weed control practices, crop rotation and the introduction of high yielding seeds and more valuable crops such as soya bean.

The Problems of Wallagga State Farms

In general problems that encountered the state farms could be categorized into three. They were: natural, agronomic and management problems. The natural problems included weather conditions, water-logging nature of the soil, topographic problems, soil erosion, pests and weeds.[79] Moreover, uncontrolled fire had also caused great destruction to some state farms. There is a general consensus that the output of a given large scale farming is the collective result of climatic, ecological and human factor. Of these the effects of climatic and human factors seem decisive. In some farms the annual yield was often less than expected as a result of less preparation of the field, irregularity of rainfall, improper sowing and weeding seasons and the failure to calculate the quantity and quality of seed to be utilized per hectare.[80]

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[76] *Ibid.;* Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] *Ibid.* WADE, Planning and Programming department, 1975.
[79] *Ibid* (Climatic problems like hail and strong wind affected the crop fields. Particularly strong wind made crops to fall and it became difficult for the combines to harvest them).
[80] WADE, Agriculture department; Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Mulugeta Biqilaa, Gabramichael Ittaanaa, (The destruction of production by natural disasters was mainly attributed to loss by excess or rain shortfall, hail storm, strong wind that caused particularly the maize and sorghum crops to fall down before the crops got matured enough).

The agricultural activity depended on one rainy season (*kiremt*) which was frequently changing. Sometimes the rain came early and at other times it lagged behind the expected time. Therefore, most of the farms every year suffered from inconsistency of rainfall with fluctuation. This indeed highly influenced agricultural activity in preparing the seedbed, sowing and harvesting that in the decline of total production at the end of the production year. Another problem to be mentioned was the problem of erosion by some state farms such as Lookoo. As a result every rainy season a considerable amount of the top soil was washed away decreasing soil fertility leading to extensive application of artificial fertilizers. Hence, measure was taken to control erosion by building terraces on more than 2000hectares of farm land. Nevertheless, it could not bring a drastic solution to tackle this problem.[81]

One of the most serious problems in all WADE state farms was the damage caused by wild animals such as baboons, monkeys, porcupines and pigs against crops. Our sources state that the enterprise had incurred ETB 200, 000 to 300,000 per year for the protection of these wild animals in all the state farms. Informants verify that every 100 meters interval stood one guard armed with rifle because the beasts even tried to harm the men who safeguarded the fields. The enterprise devised the means of protecting the crop in agreement with the regional office of the Forest and Wildlife Conservation Agency (FWCA) to launch a campaign of chasing away wild animals from the area with minimum damage against them.[82]

The agronomic problem was related to the incapability of applying modern farm inputs such as pesticides, herbicides, and inorganic fertilizers. The annual reports of some state farms indicated that they were incapable of applying chemicals at proper periods throughout the production years.[83] The problem may have been caused as a result of absence of skilled workers in each and every state farm. The technical problems refer to the application of wrong work calendar for different activities, inappropriate use of improved seeds, and inefficiency during the seasons of weeding and harvesting. Other related problems included absence of immediate maintenance of damaged machines and equipments. These technical problems significantly contributed to the

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[81] WADE, Agriculture department; Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa,Mulugeta Biqilaa.
[82] *Ibid.*
[83] Informants: Mulugeta Biqilaa, Alam Mul'ataa, Lemma Kasaye.

reduction of the total performance of the farms. Knowledgeable informants remark that WADE did not focus to train the workers at different levels to improve their skills in the operation of farm machines, in the use of herbicides and in the techniques of soil conservation practices. Moreover, research and meteorological centers where workers could get varieties of training at local level was non-existent. The number of well qualified professionals such as planners, managers, supervisors and others were very few. Most of the administrative posts were occupied by workers who did not have sufficient knowledge of modern farming system.[84]

It is evident that farm management in large scale operation is extremely difficult in the absence of educated man power. The state farms lacked effective management and supervision at all levels of farm activities due to the presence of high concentration of uneducated labour force and organizational difficulties. Leadership of the farms often consisted of incapable and unqualified managers who could not encourage good labour relations and hence lack of interest among the workers. The production process did not have a consistent follow up of the routine work from the time of field preparation up to the time of harvest and marketing. Moreover, owing to the centralized economic system that denied self-right, the state farms did not attempt to fix their own market price on their produce which would have assured them to have sufficiently attractive and stable margin of profit from the cultivation of the main crops.[85]

Since the time of their establishments each state farm has given less emphasis to increasing production from the already developed land. It aimed at boosting higher production from cultivation of wider area resulting in rapid deforestation which in turn brought about decline in the fertility of the soil and yield per hectare. In some farms all available areas were tilled with no consideration of the capacity of labour for weeding and harvesting and this made some of the activities beyond the existing labour capacities. Therefore, serious problems faced the farms particularly in times of harvest during which large labour force was sought by the farms from outside.[86] It is apparent that sometimes delay occurred for weeks and this resulted in the spoilage

[84] WADE, Planning and Programming section, Regional Office.; Informants: Alam Mul'ataa, Mulugeta. Biqilaa, Lemma Kasaye.
[85] Informants: Gamachuu Shonee, Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[86] *Ibid.*

of harvest under hail storm or heavy rain.

During harvest time crops were simultaneously combined and threshed by a combine harvester. The machine swiftly cut and threshed the grain in an operation. But since such machineries were not sufficiently owned by all the state farms harvesting was also partially done by labour force. Harvesting usually lasted for months beginning from November up to January. However, because of the absence of adequate farm machineries the work could not be completed within these months. As a result a large number of farm laborers were employed from the nearby *waradas* and *kebeles* to overcome the shortage of labor every year. In addition to the farm laborers the Youth and Women's Associations had also assisted the harvesting activity in times of hazardous situations in a large public workforce or campaign.[87]

Crops were highly vulnerable to physical damage by pests and weeds that could cause different diseases. The crop pests contributed to the reduction of yields per unit of area. Crop was also spoiled at the time of harvest and in the stores during the long time of storage under uncomfortable situation. As a result of poor quality, therefore, it did not get higher demand. Under favorable conditions maize and sorghum were products stored without appreciable deterioration. However, as condition for storage in the farms was inadequate crops were easily spoiled because the threshed crops were put into sacks and then taken to temporary stores in the open field where it was piled one upon the other until a purchasing organization transported the crop to its stores or to the market centers.[88] Thus, it can be argued that be it on a mechanized or traditional farming, pests affected a significant amount of yield per hectare. The loss could have been higher if other minor factors were mentioned. It is apparent that such kind of poor storage mechanism often resulted in the deterioration of the qualities of the products transported to the markets. Consequently, the inferior quality products fetched lower prices causing a decline in the profit margin of the state farms. Moreover, the state farms cost of production exceeded the price of production and this frequent losses discouraged the workers to produce more.

Farm technologies needed for better production, safer storage facilities and available system of transportation were generally absent in WADE farms.[89]

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[87]Lookoo State Farm Annual Report 1977-1980E/C; Informants: Ayyaanaa Galataa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[88]Informants: Ayyaanaa Galataa, Bekelech Ayyaanaa, Askale Gamachuu.
[89]Informants: Gamachuu Shonee, Ayyaanaa Galataa, Mulugeta Biqilaa.

There is a general consensus among the informants that WADE's loss of production was mainly caused due to technical and natural disasters. They also state that one of the most serious problems encountered by the state farms was the danger of forest fire which was even believed to have destroyed human lives, big stores, machineries and unharvested crops on the fields and settlements. Uncontrolled fire destroyed large acres of land covered with different kinds of crops, shrubs and trees. Different factors were attributed to the cause of the wild fire. Among others: the *sorobduu*, those who had roamed up the forest for wild honey near the state farms deliberately set fire to enter the forest or to chase away dangerous wild animals. Moreover, they often used fire to collect wild honey by chasing away the bees from the bee-hives. Some of those workers who had the tradition of smoking tobacco carelessly dropped the fire in the dried bushes which had caused a sudden wild fire. Fire was also lit to clear the farm lands. The wildfire which had been caused in one way or another burned down the unharvested crops and large acre of land with vegetation cover each year. According to our sources on the average around 5 per cent of the unharvested crop standing was damaged annually. Even tractors giving service as ambulance were burned down while moving to control the fire at different farms. Although my informants could not remember the exact date of the accidents, they clearly remember that in Ukke, Finca'aa and Angar more than ten workers lost their lives as a result of wild fire which destroyed settlement camps at different times.[90]

Our sources affirm that the state farms particularly in the lower Dhidheessa valley had serious transportation problems. The feeder roads which joined the farms to the town of Naqamtee were dry weather roads and hence they were impassable during the rainy season. Moreover, since the roads were usually destroyed by flood during the rainy season its maintenance cost was frequent and this had created unnecessary expenditures. The ruggedness of the road also contributed to frequent breakdown of vehicles and delayed the supply of necessary spare parts for farm machineries. Due to lack of well constructed roads that could accommodate motor cars in the farm areas, tractors were usually used on behalf of trucks in transporting heavy loads or workers from place to place.

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[90] *Ibid*; WADE Programming Section Main Report, 1977-1981.

As a result many tractors were soon exposed to great damages in the farms.[91] It is important to note that in spite of the many internal and external problems it had faced the enterprise had managed to benefit the surrounding communities by laying down infrastructures and taking measures that kept the ecological balance thereby strengthening the program of environmental protection. In order to prevent soil erosion terraces were built and reforestation program was introduced in which indigenous trees like Dabaqqaa, Ambaltaa, and Buttujjii were replanted for wind break. In Dhidheessaa alone around 1400 hectares of land was planted with eucalyptus trees. Terraces were built for soil conservation amounted to some 20,000 hectacres in all the state farms from Dhidheessa all through Ukkee Qarsaa. The distance from Dhidheessaa to Luugoo, 160 kms was covered with different food and cash crops which created seasonal job opportunities for the farming population. With the opening of the state farms the lowland which was inaccessible to transport infrastructure could obtain feeder roads which were constructed from Dhidheessaa to Luugoo up to the settlements of the Gumuz in the lowlands. Moreover, bridges, schools, and health centers were built in some localities. The surrounding farming communities could be able to adopt for the first time the application of modern farming system such as the use of better seeds and inorganic fertilizers.[92]

We have already attempted to discuss some major problems of the Wallagga state farms. Among the subsidiary causes that contributed to the collapse of the enterprise may be higher production and lower market cost, the existence of large number of inefficient workers, large amount of construction and crop protection costs, and dishonesty of the responsible officials who had embezzled the enterprise's income from the market and the purchase of goods for the state farms. It is most probable that the enterprise's lack of freedom to seek an alternative market for its products and the unreasonable payments to the inefficient workers were some of the reasons for the economic crisis of the state farms.[93]

Our knowledgeable informants substantiate that the *Darg* government had obtained immense

[91]Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa, Mulugeta Biqilaa, Ayyaanaa Galataa; Ambaw. Lamuu, (Gadaa Deebisaa) *Tsilmet*. Naqamtee, 1992.p.11.
[92]Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Mulugeta Biqilaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[93]*Ibid.*

benefit from the state farms in extracting food crops to feed its large army and the famine-stricken peoples of northern Ethiopia. In addition to appropriating millions of *quintals* of production yearly, it was also able to save its budget for laying down the basic infrastructures for the surrounding communities which were covered by the state farms. During the last years of the *Darg* period the non-Oromo skilled workers have left the farms because the opposition forces had referred to the enterprise as the main source of income for the *Darg*,"ladarg tiyet yamigaza dirijit", "an organization that purchased ammunition for the *Darg*" and categorized the workers as their real enemies. Particularly, the Oromo workers were forced to escape from the farms because they were referred to as the supporters of the Oromo Liberation Front(OLF). Sooner or later both the skilled and unskilled workers of the different ethnic groups in the state farms had been classified as 'enemies' of the consecutive governments and were either discharged or resigned their jobs as of 1988. Therefore, WADE which had been experiencing complicated problems since long time could not continue as a profitable organization owing to lack of necessary administrative, technical, and financial assistance of the regional government. The enterprise had began collapsing since 1987 and it was closed down in 1990.Consequently, WADE's total farm size estimated to be around 100 acres was distributed to the private investors in hundreds and thousands of hectares and the remaining farm land was allocated to the resettlement sites.[94] To sum up the state farms were established to realize the *Darg*'s motto of "Etyopia Tikdem, Rahab Yiwudam!", "Ethiopia be First, Famine be destroyed!" It is evident that WADE existed since 1975 with effective years of service mainly between 1976 and 1988. However, after its closure in 1990, WADE's settlement camps, stores, offices, workshops and other valuable equipments were expropriated by the East Wallagga Zone Administration which distributed it to the nearby *waradas*. The functional and non-functional machineries and metals accumulated in the workshops, service cars and spare parts were all carried away by Nazareth Tractor Factory, Sheba Steel Mills, Abyssinia Steel Mills, and the Metal Engineering Corporation. The remaining spare parts, equipments and construction materials were appropriated by the construction organization and the rest was stolen or looted by unknown individuals.[95] In March 2014 the office of the enterprise was finally closed down in the region.

[94]Informants: Ambaw Lamuu, Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Alam Mul'ataa.
[95]Informants: Gabramichael Ittaanaa, Mulugeta Biqilaa, Ambaw Lamuu.

Chapter Eight

Agrarian Crisis and the Last Years of the *Darg* Regime in Wallagga (1985-1991)

It has already been discussed in chapter six that the peasants' discontent against the prevailing land tenure system became overt on the eve of the Ethiopian revolution which broke out in 1974.The *Darg* increased its political legitimacy by taking command of an ongoing political upheaval in the country. With the proclamation of the land reform of 1975 the last deadly blow was dealt with landlordism that had survived for centuries in Ethiopia. Following the proclamation, tenancy and other forms of subordination based on land ownership were done away with. Shortly before the reform legislation was issued several measures were taken by the *Darg* which later came to play an important role in the process of agrarian change. One of these measures was the National Campaign for Development through Cooperation (NWCDC) which was formally launched in December 1974.[1]

The implementation of the reform was a chaotic affair for the first two years. It was the *zamacha* students who organized the peasantry and enabled them to carry out the land distribution. The reform set ten hectares as the maximum limit a rural resident was allowed to own and all land above this limit was confiscated without compensation and distributed to others.[2]

Several laws were promulgated to restructure PAs and redefine their tasks and responsibilities in the second half of the 1970s. New laws and directives to launch collectivization, justify grain requisition, promote Villagization, and undertake resettlement were issued in quick succession.[3] It is commonly accepted that collectivization closed off the opportunities opened up by the initial land reform for improvements in agriculture and peasant income. Collectivization, together with resettlement and Villagization that were pursued jointly, were disastrous failures; they were responsible for aggravating the decline of agriculture, and souring the relations between the state and the peasantry.

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[1] *Addis Zemen*, 11, Hamle 1968E/C.

[2] *Nagarit Gazeta*, A proclamation No.31/1975: Informants: Abebe Dhaabaa, Daribachew Yifaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa.

[3] Dessalegn Rahmato, *The Peasant and the State: Studies in Agrarian Change in Ethiopia 1950's to 2000's*, AAU Press, 2009 p.298; *Ibid*, Agrarian Change and Agrarian Crisis: State and Peasantry in Post-Revolution Ethiopia 1993b, pp.338-39.

By the close of the 1980s, the drive for collectivization was halted as the government came to realize that the high cost of collectivization was unsustainable and the program was finally brought to an end in 1990 with the announcement of the Mixed Economy reforms.[4]

Other unpopular measures to which the peasant association was associated with were: cooperativization, resettlement, villagization and the recruitment of young peasants to be sent to the ever-expanding war front, all undertook largely without the consent of the population concerned. There were also illegal financial obligations imposed on households that the PA was called upon to collect. In the end, the land reform and the dismantling of the structure of rural administration that was meant to free the peasant from exploitation turned out to be an instrument for a new form of peasant subordination. This chapter has two sections. The first section investigates resettlement and the second one analyzes Villagization. Next let us briefly see the dynamics of resettlement and Villagization in the agrarian crisis which brought about the disastrous failure of the *Darg* regime in the study region.

Resettlement

Resettlement programs are efforts to move people from areas that have, for one reason or another, proven to be unlivable to areas that are conducive for life. The causes of movement could range from wars to epidemic diseases, from overpopulation to environmental degradation. The choice of places into which people moved and settled also varied, depending on the causes for which resettlement had become important. If settlers were running away from war, their destinations would be areas that are outside the zone of violence. For people who flee from hunger and starvation, the directions of movement were those that led into areas of plentiful food. Resettlement programs of one kind or another, therefore, could exist anywhere in the world. In northeastern and eastern Africa, there were resettlement schemes of many kinds. Countries like Uganda, Sudan and Kenya, among others, have carried out different kinds of resettlement schemes.[5]

[4]Dessalegn Rahmato, The Peasant and the State, pp.299-300.
[5]Osman Imam Beshar, "Settlement Programmes and Agricultural Production in Ethiopia: The Case of Tedalle-Harawa and Amibara" (MSc. Thesis in Economics) AAU, 1976/pp.31-32.

in the 1960s and early 1970s, there were some resettlement programs carried out by a combination of government and voluntary agencies. However, they were limited in scope and purpose and affected a relatively small number of people. One of such early settlement projects that started in Wallagga was the Angar-Gutin settlement project located 65 kms north of Naqamtee in the Governorate General of Wallagga. Sources at our disposal verify that this project at Angar valley was first identified from the results of the Blue Nile Reconnaissance Survey undertaken between the years 1957 and 1963.The project was first initiated in September 2, 1971 in accordance with the agreement signed between the imperial Ethiopian government and a supposedly non-profit making private association, known as "Solidarite et development" with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. The project covered an area of approximately 22,000 hectares of arable land.[6] (See also Appendix 29)

There are two types of settlements: spontaneous and planned. The former is established by the people themselves without government initiative and support. It can be caused by the existence of push and pull factors at the place of origin and destination respectively. The second one involves the movement of people and their settlement in an organized way.[7] It is the second type with which this sub-topic is concerned. After 1974 the military regime introduced a more detailed and planned resettlement scheme by eliminating major obstacles and establishing all authorities responsible for the execution of the program. One of the notable obstacles, the feudal land ownership, was removed by the land reform proclamation of 1975.[8]

The Relief and Rehabilitation Commission(RRC)which was established in 1974 was one of the most important institutions set up to handle disaster situations and to distribute food, clothing, medicine and other relief goods to victims of natural and man-made disasters. In 1976 the Settlement Authority (SA) was set up as the first entity to formulate a clearly defined settlement policy and programs and to ensure more careful utilization of natural resources.[9]

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[6]ENALA, Files, 12.1.1.01, 12.1.4.03.
[7]Informants: Daribachew Yifa, Fetene Hordofaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa.
[8]*Nagarit Gazeta*, A proclamation No.31/1975.
[9]Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (RRC), *The challenge of drought: Ethiopia's Decade of Struggle in Relief and Rehabilitation*. London: HQL Communication, 1985, p.158.

The Authority was given responsibility to resettle peasants with little or no land, the rural unemployed and the proletariat with peasant background, nomadic or semi-nomadic people, and people displaced from areas needed for development purposes.[10] Between 17 November to August 1982 alone, about 182, 695 family-heads and their dependents were deported from the drought-prone areas of northern Ethiopia to the west and southwest. As compared to the original plan of November 1984, the figure reveals that about 60 percent of the task was accomplished. The regime also committed itself to continue the process.[11] The *Darg* resettlement programs that had been in order since 1978 were ceased in 1981 because of relentless resistance from the relocated peoples and the host communities, who fled from the hardships of resettlement programs in large numbers and took refuge in the neighboring countries, particularly in the Sudan.[12] The program was resumed in 1985 and conducted on an unparalleled degree. In 1985 and 1986 alone, more than 600,000 northern peasants were resettled in the southwest.[13] A good parts of these peasant families were settled in Wallagga.

Although the *Darg*'s rationale for making Wallagga the biggest resettlement destination was the availability of 'vacant land' in the region, land was not vacant in Wallagga. As we have already pointed out in chapter five, land was traditionally classified into four categories: Forest land, land under cultivation, land for thatch used to cover houses and land for grazing. The land under grazing increased or decreased in size depending on the time. The increase in size took place when at some stage the land under cultivation was left to remain fallow. Such fallow land was gradually changed into grazing land since grasses grew over them. The land that looked fertile and empty for the *Darg* regime and its agents who selected resettlement sites from helicopters were in some cases, fallow lands that the farmers let to rest.[14]

Four major conventional resettlement sites were established in Wallagga. These were: Angar

[10]*Ibid*; Ministry of Agriculture and Settlements, Ethiopia: Measures for Rural Transformation. Addis Ababa: Artistic Printing Press, 1978, p.15.
[11]RRC, "Review of Drought Relief and Rehabilitation Activities for the period December 1984 to August 1985 and 1986 Assistance Requirements" Addis Ababa, 1985.
[12]Mekuria Bulcha, "Famine As an Instrument for Nation-Building and State Consolidation: Ethiopia's Resettlement and Villagization Programs of 1978-1991in Retrospect," *The Journal of Oromo Studies*, Vol.8, No. 1 and 2, 2001,p.116.
[13]Dawit Woldegiorgis, Red Tears, War and Famine. Lawrenceville, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1989.p.304.
[14]Alula Pankhurst, "Resettlement: Policy and Practice," In *Ethiopia Option for Rural Development*, S. Pausewang, et al (eds.) London: Z-books, 1990, p.124.

Guttin in Horro-Gudruu *awraja,* Jaarsoo in *Gimbii awraja*, Asossa in Asossa *awraja*, and Qexoo in Qellem *awraja* comprising 20, 8, 39 and 20 new settlement villages respectively.[15] Of the six *awrajas* of Wallagga Asossa took the lead in absorbing the settlers followed by Horro-Gudruu and Qellem. Reception camps throughout Wallagga, however, were not ready for the settlers because there were no dwellings and there was a lack of food, clean water and all kinds of equipments. The bulk of 1984/85 settlers in Wallagga came from Wollo and the rest were from Shawa and Tigrai.[16] This massive resettlement project was implemented through pressure from the administration. Nevertheless, the ravenous condition of the resettlees compelled the population to support the victims out of their will rather than waiting for an organized call from the RRC and religious institutions. They offered food, water, equipments and even temporary shelters needed for residence. However, the regime employed this move for its political purpose portraying it as its successful famine relief undertakings.[17]

The contribution of the local people to the resettlement program particularly at Angar-Guttin was a success. The peasants in Giddaa-Kiiramuu, Limmuu, Eebantuu, Abee-Dongooroo and Naqamtee *waradas*, the workers of the surrounding state-farms as well as the secondary school students of Naqamtee, Arjoo, and Giddaa-Ayyaanaa in an organized work campaign accomplished the construction of most of the temporary residences for the new settlers. The resettlement project, however, was one of the most hated and infamous programs of the *Darg* in Wallagga. The case in Asossa *awraja* best represented the attitude in the entire region. Sources substantiate that neither the consent of the resettlers nor that of the hosts was sought by the *Darg*'s resettlement schemes. Moreover, many of the resettled people returned to their original places especially during the first few years of the Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE).Nevertheless, their lands were redistributed to other people in their absence which led to conflict between returnees and the local inhabitants.[18]

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[15]Etana Habte, "The Administration of Wallagga under the Dergue (1974-1991)." M.A Thesis, A.A.U, Department of History, 2007.p.262; Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Ababa Dhaabaa

[16]EWZAO, Folder 4614/78, *Kawallo Yamatu Safariwoch Guday*; Informants: Ababa Dhaabaa, Fetene Hordofaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa.

[17]Informants: Kumarraa Ittaanaa, Kabada Motorraa, Gaaromaa Dilgaasaa.

[18]Etana Habte,"The Administration, p.265; Gutu Olana, "Displacement and Resettlement: The livelihoods of resettlers and hosts in Western Oromia, Ethiopia."Unigrafia, Helsinki, 2013.p.102.

In 1979 when the resetlers arrived in Asosa, they were stationed at Dabbus camp, about 5kms away from Asosa town. After a year they were moved to a separate camp at *Amba And* (Unit one) where their dependents had directly landed from Wollo. In 1980 the government stationed about 6000 family heads and 2185 dependents in *Amba And* (Hoha) farmers' village.[19] The second phase of resettlement scheme was conducted in 1984/85 69489 heads of households and 151,147 dependents were moved only from Wollo due to famine and drought catastrophes. From November 17, 1984 to August 21, 1985 about 85069 family heads and 167,673 dependents were moved to Wallagga province from Wollo, Tigray and Gondar.[20]

It is evident that among the various resettlement projects implemented in Wallagga, Asosa was the largest project undertaken in terms of number of resettlers and area of resettlement. The project was extended for about 14 kms to the north and 22kms to the south of Asosa town. As a result the social and environmental consequences which resulted from this project were directly proportional to the number of arrivals and the size of the area they utilized. The most significant environmental change brought about by resettlements scheme was deforestation and the subsequent soil erosion and reduction in agricultural productivity. For instance, the number of settlers in 1978, the first group to arrive on the project site was only 143. Though they were few in number, they were able to clear about 263 hectares of forest land to produce maize, sorghum, pepper, teff, and finger millet. Beyond making the forest land suitable for cultivation activities, the removing of the forests was explicitly aimed at reducing the spread of diseases in the project area. The plan prepared by the Settlement Authority (SA) in collaboration with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) shows that removing the woodland and increasing the number of resetlers in the area were the main control measures taken by the military government to reduce the impact of trypanosomiasis and reinderpest.[21]

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[19]Desalegn Sisay. The Process of Incorporation of Bela-Shangul into the Ethiopian Empire (1936-1991). BA Thesis, Department of History, Addis Ababa University, 1997.p.34.
[20]Shiferaw Bekele, "An Empirical Account of Resettlement in Ethiopia (1975-1985)."*In the proceedings of the Ninth International conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Moscow: Nauko Publishers, 1985), p.37, 129
[21]ENALA, File 12.1.4.02, 12.1.4.4; WMTMAC, Folder 453, File 36/5; Lakech Kidane, "Resettlement in Ethiopia with particular Emphasis on the Asosa Project." B.A Thesis, Department of Economics AAU, 1984.pp34, 37-39.

Our sources also state that the *Darg* intended to resettle in Asosa to achieve a political goal. The military government viewed the Beni-Shangul region as economically very useful with its virgin land, mineral resource and its strategic importance to counter-balance the Sudan government's encroachment activities in the western part of Ethiopia and to secure the borderland better than ever. In order to keep the security of the area the government had cleared both the long grass and the forest cover by mobilizing the militias and the police forces to overcome the anti-government activities. The settlers in various resettlement sites in Asossa were known particularly by the Bertha, as settlers of Mangistu, the *kaffir* (Arabic term for unbeliever). Many Bartha were forced to leave their land because of established settlement villages in 49 zones with collective farms along the highland from Dabbus to the hills near Asossa town.[22]

Our sources state that an influx of immigrants had flocked to the area even after the end of the resettlement program. Since the *Darg* did not allow the resettlers to return to their homeland, most of them had invited their relatives from Wollo in need of support. Therefore, the demographic pressure increased the pressure on forest, farm and grazing lands. As a result of what the *Darg* had inculcated in their minds to remove the forests the resettlers, after getting their own farm lands it became fashionable to cut down trees and turning down the root away. They often used wood for fuel, construction and for other domestic consumption. This had exacerbated the tradition of the resettlers which allowed them to carry axe and move everywhere at any time. The system of consumption of the forest was inhospitable to the ecological balance of the area which was further aggravated by the resettlers' low level of environmental protection measures.[23] The indigenous Bertha people were badly affected by the resettlement schemes because they were forced to move to new sites abandoning their original settlements. Many Bertha families living around Asosa for instance, left their farm lands and home gardens and mango trees and moved to different areas beyond the resettlement camps. Bertha huts and properties were burnt down in the process of clearing the forest lands by fire and they were not

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[22]Desalegn Sisay. The Process of Incorporation of, p.34; *Beguad Daribachaw Yifa Yawalagga Kiflahagar Mikitil Astadadari Yamimaraw Budin BaAsosa, BaQelamina BaGimbi Awrajawoch Yadaragaw Gubignit Yaqarabaw Yatinat Riport. Ginbot 1973E/C*.pp.7-10; Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.265; Informants: Ahmad Kadir, Ali Yasin, Amina Mustefa.

[23]Adinew Abitew, "Political and Socioeconomic History of Asosa warada, 1941-1991."M.A Thesis, Department of History, AAU, 2011.pp.74-75; Informants: Ali Yasin, Ahmad Kadir, Amina Mustefa.

given any compensation by the government.Therefore, the local Bertha who were mainly Muslims, resented the fact that the *Darg* was against 'Allah', and while they appreciated some of the development projects that were brought in, such as roads, schools and electricity in the town of Asossa, they suspected that these were just intended to buy them off. [24] The expansion of sedentary agricultural ways of life particularly after the arrival of the settlers was very crucial in reducing the high labour exploitation of the Bertha women who highly depended on gold-panning in a traditional way. Until 1990 the conventional settlement sites were under the direct supervision of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE).Hence, the administration of the settlement villages was more separate from the existing administrative structure.[25]

According to our sources the resettlees suffered serious hardships. Many settlers lost their family members, properties and their own lives because of epidemic diseases. Moreover, they faced the problems of physical and mental adjustment to the new areas. They had to accept new policies and management, involved themselves in an extremely hard work to make the new site productive and worth setting in. The resettlement areas in Wallagga were disliked by many settlers because of several reasons like collectivization and restrictions on settlers' freedom of movement and others.[26] Dawit Woldegiorgis stated that for Mangistu Hailamariam, 'resettlement was not a development program but a solution to his social and national security problems.'[27]

There is no space here to deal with the details of the socio-cultural, economic, political, and environmental consequences of resettlement. The 1985-1986 resettlement programs in general resulted in gross violation of human rights, ethnic conflicts and severe environmental degradation in Wallagga.

Villagization

While the resettlement program was under implementation the regime set about Villagization, another controversial program.

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[24] *Ibid.*Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.265.
[25] Adinew Abitew, Political and Socioeconomic, pp74-75; Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.265.
[26] Yimer Yusuf, "A History of Qeto Resettlement Area (1985-1995) "B.A. Thesis in History, AAU, 1996. pp.39-42; Informants: Ahmad Kadir, Ali Yasin, Amina Mustefa.
[27] Dawit Wolde-Giorgis, Red Tears, p.285.

The historic pattern of settlement of scattered hamlets near water and fields was changed to village of approximately 500 families concentrated near roads. Villagization-the concentration of scattered homesteads into centralized villages was already underway in 1985. The argument given for the program was a wish to provide modern services such as schools and clinic for the rural population. The full-scale movement began in 1985 in the midst of famine and resettlement.[28] Although it was new in Ethiopia, the policy of Villagization and cooperative villages in rural areas was not new in our world. A number of states had embarked on Villagization for political and socio-economic reasons. In Colonial Africa, too, such derives for collectivization was attempted in north-east Rhodesia, South Africa, Kenya, Algeria, and Libya.[29]

Although Mangistu's derive for Villagization in Ethiopia was copied from the Tanzanian example, Nyerere's regime had already apologized for such an attempt. Beginning in late 1985, as part of its plan for 'rapid rural transformation' and strong control over peasant farmers, Mangistu's military regime aimed at executing a Villagization program in the entire nation except in the insurgency affected territories of Eritrea and Tigrai. The regime employed coercion to realize its plan as the peasants were against to go into the new villages.[30] The peasants did not feel secure in the resettlement villages. Indeed, it was soon found out that Villagization exposed them to a variety of health, social, economic and political problems and had aggravated general insecurity in Wallagga. Force was used in the execution of Villagization. The level of brutality employed to relocate the peasants from the old villages to the new ones varied from place to place. The peasants made little or no readiness since they were commanded to move on a short notice.[31]

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[28]Teferra Haile Sellassie. *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974-1991: From A Monarchical Autocrarcy to a Military Oligarchy*. London, 1997 p.245; Andargachew Tiruneh, Andargachew Tiruneh. *The Ethiopian Revolution, 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocractic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. p. 216.

[29]T.K. Omari, "Ujamma Policy and Rural Development" in C.K. Omari (ed), *Towards Rural Development in Tanzania*. Arusha: East Africa Publication, 1984 p.146; John M. Cohen and Nils-Ivar Isaksson, *Villagization in the Arsi Region of Ethiopia*. Uppsala: Swedish University of Applied Sciences, 1987, p.4.

[30]Dawit Wolde-Giorgis, Red Tears, p.243; Mekuria Bulcha,"Famine As an Instrument, p.141.

[31]Mekuria Bulcha,"Famine As an Instrument, p.142;Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Daribachew Yifaa.

What is more, Villagization disturbed agricultural undertakings as it was carried out even amidst the harvesting or sowing seasons. Hence, *The Ethiopian Herald* publicized that nearly two million peoples were moved into new villages from October 1985 to February 1986.[32] This was a crucial time for the peasantry as it coincided with the harvesting period in Ethiopia. This is to say that the peasants were under heavy pressure of coercion to destroy their old homes and build new ones whilst their little harvests were under destruction because of weather and wild animals. According to our knowledgeable informants, on some selected Villagization refugees from Wallagga and Iluu Abbaa Boor regions, incidents disregarding human rights were committed by the regime's cadres.[33] The Villagization program began in the study region in the late 1985 when Negusse Fanta, the notorious dictator of Wallagga hard pressed all *awraja* administrators to execute the program in the administrative meeting that had been discussing the Villagization agenda.

ዓድ ንጉሤ ፋንታ የኢሠፓ ማ/ኮ አባልና የወለጋ ከ/ሀ ኢሠፓ ኮሚቴ አንደኛ ፀሐፊ

Having quickly received the order of Negusse Fanta, the administrator of Horro Gudruu, Bantii Ittaanaa, in his turn compelled the administrative workers below him for the endeavor. Negusse

[32]*The Ethiopian Herald*, 28 October 1986.
[33]Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Daribachew Yifaa, Ababa Dhaabaa.

Fanta particularly exploited Bantii's move to ignite competitive spirit among the administrators of the other *awrajas* to push forward the implementation of the Villagization program.[34] Villagization, however, immediately turned out to be another resented and unpopular program not only because it was done forcefully but also it uprooted the peasants from the age-old settlement of their ancestors. This was particularly what took the mass dissatisfaction in Wallagga to an irreconcilable stage with the regime's administration. Farmers in Horro-Gudruu have boldly protested against the program. One of such individuals not fearful even to speak in the presence of Negusse Fanta was, Derese Bulii, a socially acknowledged elder aged close to hundred at the time of the program's execution in Horroo *warada*, was arrested and taken to Negusse for having said: "Ani Nugusa saddeet argeera, garuu kan aka Nugusa kanaa akka Arraagessaa fi Jaljeessaatti mana diigu argee hinbeeku". This means, 'I have seen eight kings so far, but I have never seen a king demolishing a house like ravens and baboons as this king."[35] Our Horro Gudruu informants remark that the peasants expressed their resentment against the program as follows:

Oromo	***Gloss***
Farsoo geesheen balleesse	*A farsoo (local beer) spoiled by Malt*
biqilli maqaa fuudhe	*The germinated grain is criticized*
Biyya beekaan Balleesse	*A country destroyed by the literate*
wal'aalaatu maqaa fuudhe.	*The illiterate has been blamed.*
Raafnii fi Dajjaafni jiraa?	*Are there Rases and Dajjachs?*
Dargiinoo gadi ciraa	*The Darg crashed all of them*
Mana walittiguuruu	*They gatherd homes together*
nama walitti buusuu	*and saw dissension among people*
Mana haaraa kan diiganii	*If they destroyed newly constructed home*
isaan nama hindhiisani	*They never be merciful to any one*
Dubbicha bara Dargii	*The issue of the Darg regime*
nutti hin deebisin Rabbi.[36]	*Let it never return back God.*

Villagization in Wallagga as a whole was undertaken forcefully, mostly at gunpoint. Even our informants who worked as *warada* and *awraja* administrators in different parts of Wallagga were in unison with the views of the peasants.[37]

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[34]Informants: Daribachaw Yifa, Gaaromaa Dilgaasaa, Ababa Dhaabaa.
[35]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.278; Informants: Daribachaw Yifa, Fetene Hordofaa.
[36]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.278.
[37]Informants: Fetene Hordofaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Daribachaw Yifa.

A farmer in Jaarsoo *warada,* Dabalaa Gujaa, states that:

> *The cadres forced the leaders of the peasants' association. They then forced those who had the strength to build their own house. I was among them.I refused to leave my old house.I paid 100Birr in the name of punishment.The association leaders took off my door and windows and forced me to leave the house along with my family.We all wept for the loss of our house and land. We were very angry.*[38]

The People were forced to live on sites developed without proper planning. The peasants' resentment was demonstrated by their lack of effort in work. However, the regime had neither the resources nor the man power to provide the villages with modern services it had envisioned. In early March 1990 Mangistu Hailamariam announced a package of economic and political reforms, which implied among other things an end to what was characterized as the 'deeply unpopular policy of forced Villagization.'[39] The views of most informants confirm the summary by Dawit Woldegiorgis: 'Resettlement and Villagization, as implemented in Ethiopia, have left only failure in their wake....resentment, distrust, fear, and support for rebel groups are the main achievements of these programs.' The program in the end turned out to be as abuse by the regime and the repression of the peasantry.[40] The regime's propaganda as early as 1981 alleged that EECMY synods in Wallagga were supporting the embryonic insurgency movement in the area. The peasants at the time were not aware of the OLF. They recall that they heard of the OLF only when the synods were accused of supporting it and the rest at the end of the *Darg* regime. Therefore, all the programs implemented in the name of development in Wallagga resulted in producing strong hatred against the administration. The big shift in favor of the OLF came as a result of the protracted conscription of the youth to the army, the deep resentment against the programs of the resettlement and forced Villagization, as well as the closing of the protestant churches.[41]

In the early 1990 the people of Wallagga had been overwhelmed by fear of an outbreak of war between the government and the OLF forces because the insurgents succeeded in advancing to adjacent *waradas* of Gimbii and Qellem *awrajas* and particularly the OLF attacks in the Qellem-Asossa boundaries were frequent.

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[38]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.279.
[39]*Africa Confidential,* Vol. 22, No. 25, July 8, 1984. p.2: Etana Habte, "The Administration,p.279.
[40]Dawit Wolde-Giorgis, Red Tears, p.308.
[41]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.280.

The government forces were deployed in an attempt to revert potential OLF attacks which was particularly aimed at Anfilloo, Gidaamii, Baambaasii, Begii, Kurmuk, Najjoo, Jaarsoo, Boojjii, Mandii, and Qilxu-Kaarraa.[42]

Informants from all the former six *awrajas* of Wallagga state that there was no government program as damaging as Villagization on rural livelihoods both during the imperial and the *Darg* regimes. The miseries were multifaceted and lasted longer than the life of the program itself. The regime failed to deliver basic services it promised in its program. For instance, the pit latrines and water supply services badly needed for daily life were missing in the newly built villages. An informant from Jidda Ayyaanaa *warada* in Horroo Gudruu described disruptions caused by Villagization as follows:

> *I have seen five kings, but I did not see any of them destroying homes.I did not see any leader who ordered us saying " destroy your homes abandoning your garden." Our garden hosts many things.Bones of our ancestors were buried there.Our umbili cal cords were also buried there.Everything we have planted is in our garden.We lost pasture lands for our cattle the time we were removed from our garden. Sheep and goats had no [safe]pastures since then, no space for chickens too.What about a palce to build corrals? How long may it take for our mango, banana and similar plants to mature?The Darg exerted untold damages against us.Oh,Bantii Ittaanaa[our awraja administrator], did all this against us just as if he who would live long.*[43]

This oral account clearly states why the Oromo of Wallagga became enemies of Villagization. It argues that Villagization stood against their age-old customs and traditions. Informants stated, "Bones of our ancestors were buried there." This saying coincided with the popular Arsii Oromo tradition, "Namni lafa hinqabne, nama lafee hinqabne," Its English translation is, "A person without land is the one without bone." This tradition exactly meant that those people who lived without land in Arsii were those whose ancestors did not live there and hence alien to the territory. The account also underlines that life had become complicated for livestock owners as the crowded conditions in the new villages entailed new problems. Animals crossing on to the compounds of other families other than its owners became constant source of quarrels among neighbors.[44]

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[42]*Ibid*; Informants: Abebe Dhaabaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Daribachaw Yifa.
[43]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.281.
[44]See the oral account narrated above.

In its policy statement and declarations, Villagization promised development and welfare, as well as solving the problems of the Ethiopian peasantry at large. In practice, however, it added new troubles on their old burdens. Mekuria Bulcha argues, "...conceived and implemented from above, the primary concern of the program was the interest of the state and the peasants were used to achieve goals in line with those interests." As Villagization strengthened heavy control of the new villages, the delivery of surplus grain to the AMC was also ensured. Implementation of the program also created more room for resettlement and state farms though not employed as planned.[45] It has also been argued that Villagization, like the resettlement program was also instrument for the militarization of the countryside and control of peasant communities. Villagization paved the way for the conscription of the youth and women into the militia and the national army.

Informants view is unanimous that Villagization had brought no improvement on rural livelihood in all parts of Wallagga. Although the government promised the fulfillment of basic facilities installation, it had no funds for it. The problem was worsened when the régime's policies prohibited religious and private institutions from setting up even small catering services. For instance, except in very few sites in Naqamtee, Gimbii and Dambi Doolloo, water was fetched from the streams located at longer distances. The housing conditions of the villagized communities, too, significantly declined as they moved to the new villages.[46] The decline in the standard of living conditions was even more serious in the coffee-producing regions of southwest Wallagga. The traditional houses were dismantled in the process of Villagization. The peasants were able to construct only relatively substandard houses. Since dismantling the old houses and moving the materials was not easy the peasants often built their new houses from wood and thatch carried to the new villages.[47] Circumstances of the Villagization dictated the building of numerous houses simultaneously. Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of the energetic youth were conscripted and mobilized to the war fronts in the north before the implementation of the Villagization scheme and this partly contributed to the poor quality of the new houses under

[45]Mekuria Bulcha,"Famine As an Instrument, pp.141-42.
[46]Asafa Jalata, *Oromia and Ethiopia: State Formation and Ethnonational Conflict*, 1868-1992. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993.p.140.
[47]Informants: Abebe Dhaabaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Daribachaw Yifa, Raagaa Turaa.

construction.[48] Like resettlement, Villagization had also become an embodiment of the abusive use of power by the *Darg* and the suppression of the peasantry. Soon the result turned out to be a total fiasco-politically, economically and socially. Consequently, the regime failed in its attempt to control the peripheries and finally collapsed itself. The peasants reacted to the program in various ways.[49] Informants point out that peasant reaction to Villagization was very energetic where OLF's armed rebellion was active. Although the number of peasants who had fled from Villagization were not known many peasants particularly from southwestern Wallagga have fled to the Sudan and joined the OLF rebels against the regime.[50]

Major events in the final years of the regime in Wallagga were dictated by military situation observed in the region because of guerrilla activity and the government's reaction to it. A number of government authorities in the region, including Negusse Fanta, were unable to exercise their power since they were overwhelmed by senior military staff appointed from the central state in command of the National Army. Particularly since 1986/87 the military situation in Wallagga was able to dictate both administrative handlings, attitude of the people and other concomitant events. The hatred against the *Darg* administration in Wallagga gained momentum when politico-military situations in the Ethio-Sudanese border turned from bad to worse. The greatest resentment in Asossa *awraja*, for instance, was caused when the *Darg* brought in soldiers of the Sudanese People Liberation Army (SPLA) who tortured the Bertha. The SPLA rendered special military assistance to the *Darg* government in dismembering the Niemery regime in the Sudan which was assisting the Eritrean Liberation Front (ELF/ EPLF) in the mid 1980s. The SPLA (mainly Dinka and Uduk, regarded by the Bertha 'just like beasts') had training centers at Dabbus, Asossa, Geissan and Kurmuk (at a place called Agubela), where the Ethiopian army was also stationed.[51] The SPLA moved here and there, carried out its own military operations and came back. In the late 1987 the Sudanese army retaliated by destroying Kurmuk and Geizan.

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[48]Informants: Sirriiqaa Galatee, Ayyaanaa Dhaabaa, Dhinaa Tareessaa, Galaalchaa Guutamaa.
[49]Mekuria Bulcha,"Famine As an Instrument,p.146.
[50]Abebe Dhaabaa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Daribachaw Yifa.
[51]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.287; *Beguad Daribachaw Yifa Yawalagga Kiflahagar Mikitil Astadadari Yamimaraw Budin BaAsosa, BaQelamina BaGimbi Awrajawoch Yadaragaw Gubignit Yaqarabaw Yatinat Riport. Ginbot 1973E/C*.pp.7-10.

Kurmuk (on the Ethiopian side) was a big town under the *Darg* but all the hospitals, schools and the water reservoir were demolished by the artillery from the Sudan. The *warada* capital had to be moved eighteen kilometers back from the border.[52] However, it should be noted here that one of the projects of the *Darg* in Asossa *awraja* was to allow the United Nation Higher Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to set up a refugee camp at Tsore[53]about half way between Asossa town and Ethiopian Kurmuk on the border,[54] in May1987. By the 1980s, the government faced numerous challenges, the most important of which was a severe famine that led to the death of over one million of its citizens. Massive drought assistance from abroad could not make up for the decline of the agriculture and manufacturing sectors, lack of foreign exchange, and a crippling defense budget. Large number of civilians had been encouraged by the SPLA activists and in January 1990 they had fled from Tsore. Around this time people were in fact fleeing in both directions: Oromo refugees sought shelter in the Yabbus valley on the Sudan side and northern Ethiopians were escaping from the resettlement camps.[55]

Sources remark that the OLF seems to have expanded its military operation into Wallagga when its undertaking in the eastern zone (Hararghe, and Arsii-Baalee) failed to score an overwhelming victory. In 1980 the politico-military conflict between the Ethiopian and the Sudanese governments enabled the OLF to open its office in Khartoum and thus military bases in the eastern province of the Blue Nile, from where it launched major offenses on the Ethiopian army. The OLF bases of eastern Sudan provided fertile grounds for mobilizing additional recruits and gained popularity among the Oromo of Wallagga.[56]

The OLF-EPLF closest relation seems to have started in 1980. Sources at our disposal do not indicate any formal relation between the two fronts before 1980, while in this year the OLF sent 28 recruits to EPLF military bases for training. After their training the OLF fighters went back

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[52]*Ibid.*
[53]Dawit, p.315.
[54]*Beguad Daribachaw Yifa Yawalagga Kiflahagar Mikitil Astadadari Yamimaraw Budin BaAsosa, BaQellemina BaGimbii Awrajawoch Yadaragaw Gubignit Yaqarabaw Yatinat Riport. Ginbot 1973E/C*.pp.11-15.
[55]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p. 287.
[56]Oljira Tujubna, "History of the Oromo Liberation Front to Early 1992 "A Graduate Seminar Paper for the course" The Ethiopian Revolution Hist. 505", 1993, P. 27; Africa confidential Vol 25 No 15 PP.1-2.

to Damazin, the capital of the Blue Nile province, then they unleashed their guerrilla activities eastward into Wallagga.[57] However, the OLF guerrilla faced a number of problems in western Wallagga. First, OLF had no structure in the frontiers that could have prepared a ground for the guerrilla activity. Second, for their activities in Wallagga the combatants had to pass through vast settlements of the non-Oromo people who made them unsafe. Third, even among the Oromo of Wallagga, their initial activities met with suspicion and lack of sympathy.[58] Amidst these difficulties, however, they established a new base between Begii and Gidaamii *waradas* in Qellem *awraja,* which in fact did not survive long. This explains their initial difficulties in getting the acceptance of the Oromo in the region. The lack of support from among the Oromo of the area seems to have made them an easy prey to the traps of the Gidaamii *warada* administrator, Hiikaa Massadii, who played them a trick by poisoning eight of their leading combatants in December 1981 at Gaara-Soonkaayi (between Begii and Gidaamii). This crisis led to their retreat into the Sudan, until they had returned with reinforcements.[59]

In the early 1980s a military pressure from the *Darg* regime did not succeed in eliminating the guerrilla fighters from the western borderlands of Wallagga. On the contrary they continued their operation from their bases in the Sudan, whence they triumphed to control the towns of Baambaasii (in Asossa) and Jimmaa-Horroo (in Qellem) in 1984.[60] It was this intensification of armed struggle in western Ethiopia in general and in western Wallagga in particular which led the *Darg* regime to use the SPLA as a means to disrupt the activities of the guerrillas. Although the *Darg's* plan did not last long, it indeed succeeded for the time being because there were reports of repeated armed clashes between the OLF and the SPLA forces. Eventually, however, the two fronts secretly agreed to avoid further skirmishes between themselves. This paved the way for further inland penetration of the OLF into western Wallagga. This penetration was paralleled with a propaganda work for stirring up oppositions against the regime's Villagization and resettlement policies during which they strengthened their mass base and also collected

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[57]Oljira Tujubna, "History of the Oromo Liberation, p. 28; John Markakis, *National and Class conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Cambridge, 1987, pp, 363-64.
[58]Oljira Tujubna, "History of the Oromo Liberation, p.28; *Africa Confidential*, Vol.25, No.15, pp.1-2.
[59] Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.289.
[60] *Ibid*; *Africa Confidential*, Vol.25, No. 15, p.2, Vol.27, No.16, pp.6-7, June 30, 1986.

material assistance along with the intimidation and kidnapping of anti-OLF individuals.[61] As the *Darg* understood the failure of its political maneuver in playing off the two fronts thereby hindering the success of the OLF in western Wallagga, it intensified the military offensives in the region. These military attacks were indiscriminate because the *Darg* suspected the collaboration of the indigenous Oromo of the area with the OLF; the regime drove many of them into prison while those reported to have provided shelter and material support for the OLF were executed on the spot. Nonetheless, this action hardly restricted the OLF armed struggle. On the contrary, it aroused the indignation of the local Oromo as a result of which several of them joined the OLF and further augmented its military strength.[62]

By 1990, the OLF guerrilla struggle gained momentum. It began to demonstrate its capacity toward the numerically strong and highly armed government forces. The 131st brigade of the regime, for instance, was reported to have been dismantled by the OLF forces in the battle which the latter fought to drive the former out of Asosa. The admittance by the regime about the death of a substantial number of this army division in the engagement seems to have justified a more serious loss sustained by the government army.[63] In fact the regime did not recognize the OLF to have scored this victory. According to the official statements of the government, the EPLF was held responsible for this battle. But this seems to have been grossly exaggerated because though the EPLF supported in arming and providing some fighters, the battle was actually fought by the OLF. Besides bringing material gains, the Asosa victory highly inspired the OLF fighters to extend their offenses on the major economic establishments of the region like for instance, the devastation of Daalattii Marble Industry and the Yuubdoo Platinum Mining.[64]

In sum, the expansion of the OLF guerrilla bases into western Wallagga through military bases in the Sudan after 1980 was the major factor for the expansion and strength of the OLF armed struggle. The continuous offenses on the regime's forces up to 1990 were one of the major causes for the weakness and final demise of the *Darg* regime in Wallagga. Military developments in the north were, however, more important for the fate of the regime.

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[61]Oljira Tujuba, "History of the Oromo Liberation, pp.29-30; *Africa Confidential*, Vol.27, No.16, pp.1-7.
[62]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.290; Informants: Dirribaa Saaqaa, Abebe Dhaabaa.
[63]*Africa Confidential*, vol.27 No.16, p.7.
[64]Focus on Africa', No.9, May 1990, p.26, published by the Horn of Africa information committee.

As a result of the growing crisis at the center, the EPLF and TPLF have gained success. Having captured Aksum, Adwa and Endasellassie in western Tigrai, the fighting moved to Wollo, Gondar and Gojjam. At that stage most of Eritrea and the whole region of Tigrai were in the hands of the guerrilla fighters. Instead of trying to capture Addis Ababa from the north, the TPLF moved through the north-western provinces of Gojjam and Gondar and crossed into Wallagga north of Naqamtee. When the TPLF triumphantly advanced to Bure on its way to Wallagga, Negusse Fanta, having heared the sad news fled to Jimma with his right hand officials in the hope of fighting back the advancing troops.[65]

Our informants have a unanimous view that towards the final years of the *Darg* regime the research area was affected by food shortage mainly due to the state's extraction, the appropriations of the AMC, and the frequent meetings held to establish collectivization and enforce Villagization at the expense of farming and harvesting. Moreover, the military pressure from the *Darg* regime which was backed by the SPLA to eliminate the OLF guerrilla fighters in the western borderlands of Wallagga and the continued military operations of the guerilla fighters to counterattack the *Darg's* military forces had completely devastated the peace and security of the border regions and had interrupted agricultural activities particularly in the well known grain producing *waradas*, like Begii in Beni-Shangul,Gidaamii,Ga'oo Qeebbee,Daallee Sadii and Dallee Waabaraa in Qellem and few Qebeles in Gimbii. [66] It is evident that the movements of the farmers were already restricted through Villagization and their incentive to produce was undermined. Furthermore, the fighting between the *Darg* and its opponents in the region had harassed the peasantry and arrested their routine agricultural activities. Although the peasants had acquired their own plots by the 1975 reform of land ownership, the absence of peace and security due to the grave military situation further aggravated economic disruption. This situation not only hindered farming but also had ravaged the resources both food crops and livestocks because the peasants were forced to provide each and every armed groups which had controlled the area with whatever necessities they demanded from them. The *Darg* took serious measures against those indigenous Oromos suspected to have been collaborators of the OLF and drove many of them into prison while those reported to have provided shelter and material

[65]Oljira Tujuba, "History of the Oromo Liberation, p.31.
[66]Informants: Deribachew Yifa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Abebe Dhaabaa.

support were immediately executed. The actions taken by the *Darg* had aroused the indignation of the people as a result of which several of them willingly joined the OLF. It is apparent that owing to these reasons the *Darg* had completely lost the support of the Wallagga peasantry in its time of need which paved the way for its eventual collapse.[67] Sources state that on 9, April 1991 the TPLF forces moved to the west and had beaten the regime's troops at the battle of Boojjii where hundreds of government troops were killed. The OLF at the same time moved in from the west and controlled the region up to Najjoo. The TPLF then turned on Addis Ababa and on 21, May 1991 Mangistu Haile Mariam fled to Zimbabwe.[68] During its last days in Wallagga the *Darg* government had been frustrated, confused and defeated. The eventual downfall of the military junta and the flight of its leader, Mangistu Haila Mariam to Zimbabwe was expressed as follows:

Oromoo	*Gloss*
Waan raajii waan hoodaa!	*Oh, amazing and unthinkable!*
Durattoo hinbaroodaa	*formerly it was roaring*
Booddana malta'ee?	*what happened to it lastly?*
Dargiinoo hingadoodaa.	*the Darg is lamenting.*
Gamasiin qaari'ee	*Dispatched over there*
Gamanaan qaariinaan	*dispatched over here*
Diinnisaa akka bofaa	*its enemy crept slowly*
Lo'ee isa ciniinnaan	*and had bitten it badly.*
Waangodhu wallaalee	*It did not know what to do*
Qaaniin lafalaale.	*ashamed and bowed down.*
Guddaa salphaa ta'ee	*became a disgraced foe*
Baqaatatti ka'ee.	*began fleeing from its enemy*
Eessa dhaxxaa?jennaan	*when asked where it would go*
Homaa naaf hingalle	*replied I have not yet decided*
Maalan godha qawwee?	*But I don't need gun hereafter.*
Yaajamaa nanhawee	*Oh, my fellow countrymen*
Baqaata durhinbeenne	*I never, never knew fleeing*
Egaawoo nanhawwe	*but now I wished to*
Sokkeeraa nagaatti	*so stay in peace,*
Gara Zimbaabwwee.[69]	*I have left to Zimbabwe.*

The 1974 Ethiopian revolution which had succeeded in bringing a far reaching agrarian change in the history of the country was finally brought to an end in May 1991.

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[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, pp. 217-219; Teferra Haile Sellassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution*, pp. 248-54.

[69] Informants: Abebe Dhaabaa, Galataa Dheeressaa.

Conclusion

Wallagga, after its annexation to the Ethiopian empire, was divided into three provinces namely Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Qellem,which were autonomous, Arjoo and Horro-Guduruu administered by officials directly appointed by Menilek. The direct Shawan rule in Wallagga altered the traditional land tenure system or *Qabiyyee* (possession) rights.

The Italian rule in Wallagga resulted in the disintegration of the *Gabbar-Nafxanya* system and the appointment of Oromo chiefs. This created resentment and discontent among the Amhara governors. The Italians pursued a different land policy. Land holding reverted to its pre-conquest tenure during the five years of the Italian occupation which effected drastic changes in the political history of Wallagga. Following the Italian evacuation, Haile Sellase pursued the old land granting policy and at the same time made an attempt to solve land tenure related problems. In 1941 the restored Emperor issued a proclamation in which he openly outlawed the *gabbar* system. However, it had brought no change on the life of the landless farmers (tenants) who remained to be exploited and oppressed by their land lords. Post-liberation Wallagga had experienced such grants of land in a similar manner. In order to execute land granting policy, effectively successive imperial orders were passed. The July 1942 and 1944 were the early imperial orders. In 1942, the first land tax after liberation was issued and it was the first attempt to legalize and modernize the land tax.

In the post-Italian period a common problem was the fact that some of the *Balabats* exchanged fertile state land for infertile freehold or doubled it illegally for their private use and it was one of the potential reasons for the land remeasurement edict. The November 3, 1952 imperial order promised the landless farmers and the unemployed Ethiopians with half *gasha* of land. A closer investigation of the order, however, indicates that it did not serve the intended purpose because non-farming groups had enjoyed the provisions in the study area. In Wallagga over assessment and over taxation were obvious problems that had been toiling the peasants and instigated both the peasant rebellions and the *Balabats* demonstration. In the 1950s and 1960s several peasant rebellions took place in Ethiopia against the feudal regime of Emperor Haile Sellase. The rebellion staged by the marginalized peoples of the Nilo-Saharan in western Wallagga which openly resisted the administrative injustices of Haile Sellase's feudal regime was one of such peasant rebellions. The 1960 movement of the *Balabats* was the direct outcome of the intricate

land tenure system that had prevailed since Menilek's conquest of the region. Various causes can be attributed to the demonstration. However, the land remeasurement edict of 1960 was believed to be the immediate cause of the demonstration.

In the study area farming has been for many the only way of survival and it was not meant for marketing. The type of farm implements and the nature of their cultivating practices did not vary among the peasants. Agricultural development had many handicaps and problems. One major problem to the agricultural development of the region was the land tenure system. A key feature of the traditional farming was to make the cropping system support the agricultural capabilities of the land. Therefore, farmers classified the soil since farming was practiced on many kinds of land in terms of location as well as suitability. The traditional farming system was sustainable and it appears to be much more consistent than the modern farming system which has a number of shortcomings.

The farming system was entirely dominated by single cropping except for barley production and some home garden crops like cabbage. All activities of farming were carried out by manual labour. The plow was the dominant practice accompanied by hoeing with the help of implements. Fallow or shifting cultivation was generally believed to be the main farming strategy in areas where the population pressure was quite low, though gradually all land was penetrated in response to the high population growth and increased demand for food. The highland areas with the cool agro climatic condition was typical for the cultivation of teff, barley, wheat, oats, beans and peas; in the sub-tropical areas all crops could be cultivated but teff, noug, millet, sorghum (daphoo), maize, sugar cane were typical. In the lowland zone the typical crops were maize, sorghum and coffee, but teff, millet and noug could also be cultivated with relatively lower yields. The cropping pattern and the associated yield varied even within the same agro climatic zone. Even though it was one of the most important regions in producing coffee only a considerable part of Wallagga region was suitable for coffee production. Coffee has been heavily cultivated in two *awrajas*, Gimbii and Qellem. Coffee markets in the region were carried out both through official and unofficial channels, the latter offering relatively higher prices for producers.

In the pre-*Darg* period tenants had limited rights to choose what to produce. The choice was influenced by the landlords. After the land reform of 1975, however, peasants were free to

choose and produce the crops that they preferred. Since the 1970s, food production had lagged far behind total food requirement; this was because of vast number of new settlers in the region and low productivity in agriculture. Hence there was no sufficient food to meet the full demand particularly cereals to support the settlers in the region. From the 1970 onwards the expansion of agriculture at the expense of the natural forest cover was becoming a necessity to be compensated by the society and the food shortage that had been created due to population increase. One tangible consequence of the high rate of decline in forest cover and grass land was the alarming decline in the number of livestock. As the region had experienced waves of epidemic cattle diseases, dependence on cattle as the means of survival became less reliable.

The first radical measure the military regime adopted was land reform. The February1975 land reform abolished tenancy and landlordism. The decree confiscated landlords without any compensation for the lands they owned. The reform stipulated redistribution of rural land to peasant households. It abolished the social and institutional structures for the exploitation of the peasantry. The land reform decree provided for the establishment of PAs to serve, eventually, both as the arm of the state at the local level and as a representative institution of the rural society.

The military regime nationalized tractors to use them in what later became state farms. Sources affirm that rural production increased following the land reform. However, in the course of the revolution the regime chipped away the early apparent gains and became extractive with increasing unpopular policies. While the resettlement program was under implementation the regime set about Villagization, another controversial program. Villagization, however, immediately turned out to be another resented and unpopular program. This was particularly what took the mass dissatisfaction in Wallagga to an irreconcilable stage with the regime's administration. The continuous offenses on the regime's forces up to 1990 were one of the major causes for the weakness and final demise of the *Darg* in Wallagga. Military developments in the north, however, were more important for the fate of the regime.

Epilogue

Tenancy in Wallagga had its origin with the conquest of Menilek. It was after the land measurement of 1909/10 that private ownership of land and the concomitant tenancy developed. With the restoration of Emperor Haile Sellasie in 1941 privatization of land and the consequent increase in tenancy became high. Whatever the means of acquiring the land either through government grants or personal efforts of getting land most of the beneficiaries of land became wealthy at the expense of the majority of the landless peasants. The process of confiscation and alienation facilitated the concentration of land in the hands of few people whereas the number of landless peasants highly increased. The period between 1941 and 1974 witnessed the entrenchment of the access to freehold right to the lands of the conquered south. From their lands were drawn government officials, field agents of the *Naftanna* and their descendants as the pillar of the political establishment with preferential ministries, judges, police officers, and priests. A series of decrees enacted during the two decades after 1941 alienated lands in the south in favor of the *Naftanna* essentially for the purpose of political integration. The politics of land rights were interpreted according to the perceived interests of the provincial *Naftanna* elites. Some of these were high government officials and absentee landlords. In general the political structure was based on the economic and political interests of this group so much so that reforming the land tenure became impossible. The underlying objective of the "land remeasurement" edict of 1950 was the goal of planting more Amharas considered as "*Balawulata,*" service-givers in the province than had been done until then. After 1941 various groups of people in Wallagga demanded "land measurement" or "remeasurement" for different reasons. However, the district and provincial authorities had the desire to measure land to redefine the right of access to land in favor of *Naftanna* whose right the Italians had revoked.

Traditional methods of cultivation, as practiced by the small subsistence farmers in Wallagga were based on the use of the ox-drawn wooden plough to provide the initial seed-bed preparation, with harvesting by hand tools and threshing by ox-trampling. The dominant peasant cropping system without the use of fertilizers had proved incapable of raising output above the increase in area cultivated corresponding to increased farm population. Thus, it is this traditional cropping system, as briefly indicated in this study and as investigated elsewhere, that caused and lies behind the low productivity in agriculture.

The discontent against the intricate land tenure system begun to become overt on the eve of the Ethiopian revolution which broke out in 1974.There is a general consensus among scholars that the land reform proclamation of 1975 could be considered as an attempt by the *Darg* to increase political legitimacy by utilizing and taking command of an ongoing political upheaval in the country. Rural land and large scale private commercial farms were nationalized by the *Darg* in 1975. But the state, which thereafter owned the nationalized land, proved to be as exploitative as the landlords it had replaced. The *Darg*, increased taxes on peasant households and introduced new methods and ways of extracting more rents. It became even less judicious than the previous landlords in its extraction of rent. In order to collect taxes, "contributions" and even grain quotas were imposed by the so-called AMC, the *Darg* cadres forced many peasants to sell their oxen and other means of production thereby destroying their means of livelihood. The *Darg* surpassed the previous regime and the landlords not only in its rent extraction capacity but also resource wasting activities. Production capacity also diminished as oxen and seeds, the main capital input of peasant agriculture, were sold to "contribute" to what the *Darg* called "defense of the motherland" or pay taxes. The peasants were also continuously harassed and their movements were restricted through Villagization and their incentives to produce undermined. The forests were subjected to further degradation due to large scale clearing to establish state farms, to resettle people from the north; and intensive widespread logging as the result of Villagization. Although the *Darg* had also made significant attempts to fight environmental degradation through tree planting programs, however, it was not enough to compensate for the negative effects of its unpopular policies.

Glossary

The meaning of *Afaan Oromoo* (Oromo language) and Amharic words and phrases are given in the Glossary. Some of them are also explained in the text.

Abbaa	Father, owner of, possessor
Abbaa Qoroo	A district governor or chief
Abiyot	Revolution
Balabats	Local notables
Balambaras	Head of an 'amba', a low level administrative title
Birr	Ethiopian currency
Buttaa	Ritual ceremony of the gadaa system
Dajazmach	A politico-military title below Ras, 'commander of the gate'
Fitawrari	Commander of the vanguar
Gabbar	Tribute paying peasant or peasants
Gadaa	A socio-political organization of the Oromo based on age.
Gasha	Amharic word for land that was taken from "the Galla"
Kaffir	Arabic word for non-believer
Kebele	The smallest administrative unit
Kelas	Toll post, gate
Maderia	Land temporarily given to veterans, prison guards, or soldiers.
Mootii	Oromo term for King
Nafxanyaa	Oromo way of calling the Amharic '*naftagna*', meaning gun bearer.
Qabiyyee	Possession
Qalad	A measurement cord made of leather or fiber
Qanyazmach	Military rank, similar to sergeant
Ras	'Head', the highest traditional title next to king

Rist-gult	A modification of the old gult system: the land was granted to the emperor's favourites for life and made hereditary
Samon land	Holdings of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church
Sisso	One third
Sorobduu	Those who had roamed up the forest for wild honey
Waqet	A traditional measurement used for gold
Warada	Sub-district
Zamach	Campaigner
Zamacha	Campaign

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to Damazin, the capital of the Blue Nile province, then they unleashed their guerrilla activities eastward into Wallagga.[57] However, the OLF guerrilla faced a number of problems in western Wallagga. First, OLF had no structure in the frontiers that could have prepared a ground for the guerrilla activity. Second, for their activities in Wallagga the combatants had to pass through vast settlements of the non-Oromo people who made them unsafe. Third, even among the Oromo of Wallagga, their initial activities met with suspicion and lack of sympathy.[58] Amidst these difficulties, however, they established a new base between Begii and Gidaamii *waradas* in Qellem *awraja,* which in fact did not survive long. This explains their initial difficulties in getting the acceptance of the Oromo in the region. The lack of support from among the Oromo of the area seems to have made them an easy prey to the traps of the Gidaamii *warada* administrator, Hiikaa Massadii, who played them a trick by poisoning eight of their leading combatants in December 1981 at Gaara-Soonkaayi (between Begii and Gidaamii). This crisis led to their retreat into the Sudan, until they had returned with reinforcements.[59]

In the early 1980s a military pressure from the *Darg* regime did not succeed in eliminating the guerrilla fighters from the western borderlands of Wallagga. On the contrary they continued their operation from their bases in the Sudan, whence they triumphed to control the towns of Baambaasii (in Asossa) and Jimmaa-Horroo (in Qellem) in 1984.[60] It was this intensification of armed struggle in western Ethiopia in general and in western Wallagga in particular which led the *Darg* regime to use the SPLA as a means to disrupt the activities of the guerrillas. Although the *Darg's* plan did not last long, it indeed succeeded for the time being because there were reports of repeated armed clashes between the OLF and the SPLA forces. Eventually, however, the two fronts secretly agreed to avoid further skirmishes between themselves. This paved the way for further inland penetration of the OLF into western Wallagga. This penetration was paralleled with a propaganda work for stirring up oppositions against the regime's Villagization and resettlement policies during which they strengthened their mass base and also collected

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[57]Oljira Tujubna, "History of the Oromo Liberation, p. 28; John Markakis, *National and Class conflict in the Horn of Africa*. Cambridge, 1987, pp. 363-64.
[58]Oljira Tujubna, "History of the Oromo Liberation, p.28; *Africa Confidential*, Vol.25, No.15, pp.1-2.
[59] Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.289.
[60] *Ibid*; *Africa Confidential*, Vol.25, No. 15, p.2, Vol.27, No.16, pp.6-7, June 30, 1986.

material assistance along with the intimidation and kidnapping of anti-OLF individuals.[61] As the *Darg* understood the failure of its political maneuver in playing off the two fronts thereby hindering the success of the OLF in western Wallagga, it intensified the military offensives in the region. These military attacks were indiscriminate because the *Darg* suspected the collaboration of the indigenous Oromo of the area with the OLF; the regime drove many of them into prison while those reported to have provided shelter and material support for the OLF were executed on the spot. Nonetheless, this action hardly restricted the OLF armed struggle. On the contrary, it aroused the indignation of the local Oromo as a result of which several of them joined the OLF and further augmented its military strength.[62]

By 1990, the OLF guerrilla struggle gained momentum. It began to demonstrate its capacity toward the numerically strong and highly armed government forces. The 131st brigade of the regime, for instance, was reported to have been dismantled by the OLF forces in the battle which the latter fought to drive the former out of Asosa. The admittance by the regime about the death of a substantial number of this army division in the engagement seems to have justified a more serious loss sustained by the government army.[63] In fact the regime did not recognize the OLF to have scored this victory. According to the official statements of the government, the EPLF was held responsible for this battle. But this seems to have been grossly exaggerated because though the EPLF supported in arming and providing some fighters, the battle was actually fought by the OLF. Besides bringing material gains, the Asosa victory highly inspired the OLF fighters to extend their offenses on the major economic establishments of the region like for instance, the devastation of Daalattii Marble Industry and the Yuubdoo Platinum Mining.[64]

In sum, the expansion of the OLF guerrilla bases into western Wallagga through military bases in the Sudan after 1980 was the major factor for the expansion and strength of the OLF armed struggle. The continuous offenses on the regime's forces up to 1990 were one of the major causes for the weakness and final demise of the *Darg* regime in Wallagga. Military developments in the north were, however, more important for the fate of the regime.

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[61]Oljira Tujuba, "History of the Oromo Liberation, pp.29-30; *Africa Confidential*, Vol.27, No.16, pp.1-7.
[62]Etana Habte, "The Administration, p.290; Informants: Dirribaa Saaqaa, Abebe Dhaabaa.
[63]*Africa Confidential*, vol.27 No.16, p.7.
[64]Focus on Africa', No.9, May 1990, p.26, published by the Horn of Africa information committee.

As a result of the growing crisis at the center, the EPLF and TPLF have gained success. Having captured Aksum, Adwa and Endasellassie in western Tigrai, the fighting moved to Wollo, Gondar and Gojjam. At that stage most of Eritrea and the whole region of Tigrai were in the hands of the guerrilla fighters. Instead of trying to capture Addis Ababa from the north, the TPLF moved through the north-western provinces of Gojjam and Gondar and crossed into Wallagga north of Naqamtee. When the TPLF triumphantly advanced to Bure on its way to Wallagga, Negusse Fanta, having heared the sad news fled to Jimma with his right hand officials in the hope of fighting back the advancing troops.[65]

Our informants have a unanimous view that towards the final years of the *Darg* regime the research area was affected by food shortage mainly due to the state's extraction, the appropriations of the AMC, and the frequent meetings held to establish collectivization and enforce Villagization at the expense of farming and harvesting. Moreover, the military pressure from the *Darg* regime which was backed by the SPLA to eliminate the OLF guerrilla fighters in the western borderlands of Wallagga and the continued military operations of the guerilla fighters to counterattack the *Darg's* military forces had completely devastated the peace and security of the border regions and had interrupted agricultural activities particularly in the well known grain producing *waradas*, like Begii in Beni-Shangul,Gidaamii,Ga'oo Qeebbee,Daallee Sadii and Dallee Waabaraa in Qellem and few Qebeles in Gimbii. [66] It is evident that the movements of the farmers were already restricted through Villagization and their incentive to produce was undermined. Furthermore, the fighting between the *Darg* and its opponents in the region had harassed the peasantry and arrested their routine agricultural activities. Although the peasants had acquired their own plots by the 1975 reform of land ownership, the absence of peace and security due to the grave military situation further aggravated economic disruption. This situation not only hindered farming but also had ravaged the resources both food crops and livestocks because the peasants were forced to provide each and every armed groups which had controlled the area with whatever necessities they demanded from them. The *Darg* took serious measures against those indigenous Oromos suspected to have been collaborators of the OLF and drove many of them into prison while those reported to have provided shelter and material

[65]Oljira Tujuba, "History of the Oromo Liberation, p.31.
[66]Informants: Deribachew Yifa, Dirribaa Saaqaa, Abebe Dhaabaa.

support were immediately executed. The actions taken by the *Darg* had aroused the indignation of the people as a result of which several of them willingly joined the OLF. It is apparent that owing to these reasons the *Darg* had completely lost the support of the Wallagga peasantry in its time of need which paved the way for its eventual collapse.[67] Sources state that on 9, April 1991 the TPLF forces moved to the west and had beaten the regime's troops at the battle of Boojjii where hundreds of government troops were killed. The OLF at the same time moved in from the west and controlled the region up to Najjoo. The TPLF then turned on Addis Ababa and on 21, May 1991 Mangistu Haile Mariam fled to Zimbabwe.[68] During its last days in Wallagga the *Darg* government had been frustrated, confused and defeated. The eventual downfall of the military junta and the flight of its leader, Mangistu Haila Mariam to Zimbabwe was expressed as follows:

Oromoo	*Gloss*
Waan raajii waan hoodaa!	*Oh, amazing and unthinkable!*
Durattoo hinbaroodaa	*formerly it was roaring*
Booddana malta'ee?	*what happened to it lastly?*
Dargiinoo hingadoodaa.	*the Darg is lamenting.*
Gamasiin qaari'ee	*Dispatched over there*
Gamanaan qaariinaan	*dispatched over here*
Diinnisaa akka bofaa	*its enemy crept slowly*
Lo'ee isa ciniinnaan	*and had bitten it badly.*
Waangodhu wallaalee	*It did not know what to do*
Qaaniin lafalaale.	*ashamed and bowed down.*
Guddaa salphaa ta'ee	*became a disgraced foe*
Baqaatatti ka'ee.	*began fleeing from its enemy*
Eessa dhaxxaa?jennaan	*when asked where it would go*
Homaa naaf hingalle	*replied I have not yet decided*
Maalan godha qawwee?	*But I don't need gun hereafter.*
Yaajamaa nanhawee	*Oh, my fellow countrymen*
Baqaata durhinbeenne	*I never, never knew fleeing*
Egaawoo nanhawwe	*but now I wished to*
Sokkeeraa nagaatti	*so stay in peace,*
Gara Zimbaabwwee.[69]	*I have left to Zimbabwe.*

The 1974 Ethiopian revolution which had succeeded in bringing a far reaching agrarian change in the history of the country was finally brought to an end in May 1991.

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[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*, pp. 217-219; Teferra Haile Sellassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution*, pp. 248-54.

[69] Informants: Abebe Dhaabaa, Galataa Dheeressaa.

Conclusion

Wallagga, after its annexation to the Ethiopian empire, was divided into three provinces namely Leeqaa-Naqamtee and Qellem,which were autonomous, Arjoo and Horro-Guduruu administered by officials directly appointed by Menilek. The direct Shawan rule in Wallagga altered the traditional land tenure system or *Qabiyyee* (possession) rights.

The Italian rule in Wallagga resulted in the disintegration of the *Gabbar-Nafxanya* system and the appointment of Oromo chiefs. This created resentment and discontent among the Amhara governors. The Italians pursued a different land policy. Land holding reverted to its pre-conquest tenure during the five years of the Italian occupation which effected drastic changes in the political history of Wallagga. Following the Italian evacuation, Haile Sellase pursued the old land granting policy and at the same time made an attempt to solve land tenure related problems. In 1941 the restored Emperor issued a proclamation in which he openly outlawed the *gabbar* system. However, it had brought no change on the life of the landless farmers (tenants) who remained to be exploited and oppressed by their land lords. Post-liberation Wallagga had experienced such grants of land in a similar manner. In order to execute land granting policy, effectively successive imperial orders were passed. The July 1942 and 1944 were the early imperial orders. In 1942, the first land tax after liberation was issued and it was the first attempt to legalize and modernize the land tax.

In the post-Italian period a common problem was the fact that some of the *Balabats* exchanged fertile state land for infertile freehold or doubled it illegally for their private use and it was one of the potential reasons for the land remeasurement edict. The November 3, 1952 imperial order promised the landless farmers and the unemployed Ethiopians with half *gasha* of land. A closer investigation of the order, however, indicates that it did not serve the intended purpose because non-farming groups had enjoyed the provisions in the study area. In Wallagga over assessment and over taxation were obvious problems that had been toiling the peasants and instigated both the peasant rebellions and the *Balabats* demonstration. In the 1950s and 1960s several peasant rebellions took place in Ethiopia against the feudal regime of Emperor Haile Sellase. The rebellion staged by the marginalized peoples of the Nilo-Saharan in western Wallagga which openly resisted the administrative injustices of Haile Sellase's feudal regime was one of such peasant rebellions. The 1960 movement of the *Balabats* was the direct outcome of the intricate

land tenure system that had prevailed since Menilek's conquest of the region. Various causes can be attributed to the demonstration. However, the land remeasurement edict of 1960 was believed to be the immediate cause of the demonstration.

In the study area farming has been for many the only way of survival and it was not meant for marketing. The type of farm implements and the nature of their cultivating practices did not vary among the peasants. Agricultural development had many handicaps and problems. One major problem to the agricultural development of the region was the land tenure system. A key feature of the traditional farming was to make the cropping system support the agricultural capabilities of the land. Therefore, farmers classified the soil since farming was practiced on many kinds of land in terms of location as well as suitability. The traditional farming system was sustainable and it appears to be much more consistent than the modern farming system which has a number of shortcomings.

The farming system was entirely dominated by single cropping except for barley production and some home garden crops like cabbage. All activities of farming were carried out by manual labour. The plow was the dominant practice accompanied by hoeing with the help of implements. Fallow or shifting cultivation was generally believed to be the main farming strategy in areas where the population pressure was quite low, though gradually all land was penetrated in response to the high population growth and increased demand for food. The highland areas with the cool agro climatic condition was typical for the cultivation of teff, barley, wheat, oats, beans and peas; in the sub-tropical areas all crops could be cultivated but teff, noug, millet, sorghum (daphoo), maize, sugar cane were typical. In the lowland zone the typical crops were maize, sorghum and coffee, but teff, millet and noug could also be cultivated with relatively lower yields. The cropping pattern and the associated yield varied even within the same agro climatic zone. Even though it was one of the most important regions in producing coffee only a considerable part of Wallagga region was suitable for coffee production. Coffee has been heavily cultivated in two *awrajas*, Gimbii and Qellem. Coffee markets in the region were carried out both through official and unofficial channels, the latter offering relatively higher prices for producers.

In the pre-*Darg* period tenants had limited rights to choose what to produce. The choice was influenced by the landlords. After the land reform of 1975, however, peasants were free to

choose and produce the crops that they preferred. Since the 1970s, food production had lagged far behind total food requirement; this was because of vast number of new settlers in the region and low productivity in agriculture. Hence there was no sufficient food to meet the full demand particularly cereals to support the settlers in the region. From the 1970 onwards the expansion of agriculture at the expense of the natural forest cover was becoming a necessity to be compensated by the society and the food shortage that had been created due to population increase. One tangible consequence of the high rate of decline in forest cover and grass land was the alarming decline in the number of livestock. As the region had experienced waves of epidemic cattle diseases, dependence on cattle as the means of survival became less reliable.

The first radical measure the military regime adopted was land reform. The February1975 land reform abolished tenancy and landlordism. The decree confiscated landlords without any compensation for the lands they owned. The reform stipulated redistribution of rural land to peasant households. It abolished the social and institutional structures for the exploitation of the peasantry. The land reform decree provided for the establishment of PAs to serve, eventually, both as the arm of the state at the local level and as a representative institution of the rural society.

The military regime nationalized tractors to use them in what later became state farms. Sources affirm that rural production increased following the land reform. However, in the course of the revolution the regime chipped away the early apparent gains and became extractive with increasing unpopular policies. While the resettlement program was under implementation the regime set about Villagization, another controversial program. Villagization, however, immediately turned out to be another resented and unpopular program. This was particularly what took the mass dissatisfaction in Wallagga to an irreconcilable stage with the regime's administration. The continuous offenses on the regime's forces up to 1990 were one of the major causes for the weakness and final demise of the *Darg* in Wallagga. Military developments in the north, however, were more important for the fate of the regime.

Epilogue

Tenancy in Wallagga had its origin with the conquest of Menilek. It was after the land measurement of 1909/10 that private ownership of land and the concomitant tenancy developed. With the restoration of Emperor Haile Sellasie in 1941 privatization of land and the consequent increase in tenancy became high. Whatever the means of acquiring the land either through government grants or personal efforts of getting land most of the beneficiaries of land became wealthy at the expense of the majority of the landless peasants. The process of confiscation and alienation facilitated the concentration of land in the hands of few people whereas the number of landless peasants highly increased. The period between 1941 and 1974 witnessed the entrenchment of the access to freehold right to the lands of the conquered south. From their lands were drawn government officials, field agents of the *Naftanna* and their descendants as the pillar of the political establishment with preferential ministries, judges, police officers, and priests. A series of decrees enacted during the two decades after 1941 alienated lands in the south in favor of the *Naftanna* essentially for the purpose of political integration. The politics of land rights were interpreted according to the perceived interests of the provincial *Naftanna* elites. Some of these were high government officials and absentee landlords. In general the political structure was based on the economic and political interests of this group so much so that reforming the land tenure became impossible. The underlying objective of the "land remeasurement" edict of 1950 was the goal of planting more Amharas considered as "*Balawulata,*" service-givers in the province than had been done until then. After 1941 various groups of people in Wallagga demanded "land measurement" or "remeasurement" for different reasons. However, the district and provincial authorities had the desire to measure land to redefine the right of access to land in favor of *Naftanna* whose right the Italians had revoked.

Traditional methods of cultivation, as practiced by the small subsistence farmers in Wallagga were based on the use of the ox-drawn wooden plough to provide the initial seed-bed preparation, with harvesting by hand tools and threshing by ox-trampling. The dominant peasant cropping system without the use of fertilizers had proved incapable of raising output above the increase in area cultivated corresponding to increased farm population. Thus, it is this traditional cropping system, as briefly indicated in this study and as investigated elsewhere, that caused and lies behind the low productivity in agriculture.

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List of Informants

No	Name	Age	Date of Interview	Place of Interview	Remarks
1	Ababa Dhaabaa	80	2/1/2014 6/1/2014	Dambi Doolloo	A teacher who has been recruited as cadre well informed about the resettlement and Villagization and the execution of the *Darg* policies in Qellem and Asossa.
2	Ahmad Kadir	70	29/3/2014	Asosa	He was a resettlee from Qaalluu in Wollo. He narrates on how the Darg forcefully brought him to Asosa resettlement site in 1978. He has remarkable information on the environmental degradation and the general ecological imbalance of Asossa region.
3	Alam Mul'ataa	60	1/8/2014 2/8/2014	Naqamtee	He was trained in the GDR, served in WADE as farm manager and agronomist until 1990.
4	Alamitu Cirrachoo	95	2/1/2015	Arjoo	She is a retired peasant woman who knows much about stock raising, buna qalaa ceremony and farming activities.
5	Alamitu Guutaa	87	2/8/2014	Naqamtee	She is a retired peasant woman who narrates about buna qalaa ceremony, farming activities and stock raising.

6	Ali Yasin	80	30/3/2014	Asosa	He was a resettlee from Qallu. He has good memory on the general socio-economic, cultural and environmental conditions of the Asossa resettlement site.
7	Ambaw Lamuu	76	9/8/2014 16/8/2014	Naqamtee	He was a landlord in Dallee Waabaraa, Qellem. He knows well about tenancy and the system of taxation. He also has good knowledge of the peasant life. He narrates that opposing the land reform he escaped and joined the opposition forces in Sudan such as the EDU.
8	Amina Mustefa	72	1/4/2014	Asossa	She was one of the resettlement recruits in 1979 who came from wollo. She is well informed on the forceful transportation of the resettlees to Asossa. She also narrates on the general conditions of the resettlees in the Asossa site.
9	Atoomsaa Shuuluu	76	2/1/2014	Dambi Doolloo	He knows well about the socio-economic conditions of the Sayyo tenants and farming activities.
10	Atsede Wadaajoo	83	16/8/2014 18/8/2014	Naqamtee	She is a retired peasant woman who knows much about stock raising, buna qalaa ceremony and farming activities.

11	Asrat Temesgen	60	4/1/2015 12/1/2015	Arjoo	She was a mechanic and tractor operator who worked in the *fatan irsha* in Dhidheessaa and Finca'aa state farms.
12	Ayyaanaa Dhaaba	83	10/1/2014 22/1/2014	Dambi Doolloo	A retired coffee plantation farmer in Anfillo. He narrates well on coffee farming and coffee trade.
13	Ayyaanaa Galataa	74	4/1/2015 12/1/2015	Arjoo Gudattuu	A retired worker in *fatan irsha* in the Didheessaa valley worked in the grain loading section. He had also his own private farm in the valley called Bacbac kebele.
14	Badhaasaa Galataa	60	18/8/2014 23/8/2014	Naqamtee	Seved as guard of AMC knows well about the system of grain collection of this corporation.
15	Bantii Amanuu	88	22/1/2014 30/3/2014	Gimbii	A retired farmer in Gimbii, well informed about the land tenure, tenancy and farming system.
16	Baajaa Bulguu	79	22/1/2014	Dambi Doolloo	A farmer well informed about tenancy and peasant life in Qellem.
17	Berhanu Galataa	62	24/1/2014	Dambi Doolloo	He was trained in Jimma agriculture College, Worker of MoA Peasant field demonstration section in Sayyo (Qellem) during the *Darg* regime.

18	Birru Nagarii	92	29/1/2014	Dambi Doolloo	A retired coffee farmer and merchant in Anfillo warada.
19	Cawwaaqaa Maatoo	85	20/4/2014 7/2/2014	Addis Ababa	He knows well about the socio-economic conditions of the Sayyo tenants.
20	Dabalaa Maammadee	69	5/2/2014	Dambi Doolloo	A teacher who narrates on the history of maayi-baasii, villagization and resettlement and other related developments in Qellem.
21	Dabalee Tolaa	65	7/2.2014	Dambi Doolloo	Trained in Bako Agriculture center, served as head of agricultural Bureau in Gao Qeebbee (Qellem) during the imperial and the *Darg* regimes. He knows well about DA, soil fertility management and the general peasant conditions of the period.
22	Daniel Tilahun	66	23/8/2014 24/8/2014	Naqamtee	He was born in Wayyuu Tuqaa. He narrates well on the land use, soil fertility management and the system of farming around Naqamtee.
23	Daribachaw Yifa	65	24/8/2014 26/8/2014	Naqamtee	A teacher who served under Negusse Fanta as administrator of various waradas in Horro-Gudruu and later became province vice administrator. He is a dependable informant regarding the balabat's opposition of the land reform, resettlement and Villagization in Wallagga.
24	Dereje	70	24/4/2014	Addis Ababa	He was sent to Dhidheessa state

	Gabramichael				farm as jobless man during the Darg period. He narrates on the general conditions of the state farms.
25	Dhinaa Dikoo	77	14/2/2014	Dambi Dollo	A retired lawyer who is well informed about the land tenure and taxation system both under the imperial and Darg regimes.
26	Dhinaa Tarreessaa	76	15/2/2014	Dambi Dollo	A retired coffee plantation farmer in Anfillo. He knows well about coffee farming and coffee trade in the area.
27	Dirribaa Saaqaa	60	15/2/2014 17/2/2014	Dambi Doolloo	Served as administrator of some waradas in Arjoo awraja and later of Gimbii awraja and finally of Qellem during the Darg period. He remarks on the socio-economic, political developments in those areas.
28	Ejjetaa Goobanaa	68	2/4/2014	Gimbii	A retired farmer, remarks on peasant conditions in Gimbii awraja. He recalls peasant socio-economic conditions before and after the revolution.
29	Ejjetaa Tolassaa	76	26/8/2014 30/8/2014	Naqamtee	Trained at Jimma Agricultural College, Field officer in Anfillo and Gimbii, served in Bakko agricultural research center as instructor. He has good knowledge of the agro-ecological zone, agricultural activities and general peasant life.
30	Emeru Gebre	93	28/8/2014	Naqamtee	A retired government employee

			30/8/2014		knows the traditional land holding system, process of access to land and taxation system during the imperial period.
31	Fetene Hordofaa	72	4/6/2015	Shaamboo	He was administrator in Horro Gudruu waradas. He knows well about the *Darg* period.
32	Fiqirtee Koorii	74	30/8/2014	Naqamtee	She is well informed about commercial maize and Bolloqqee farming in Sayyo.
33	Galaalchaa Gutamaa	85	25/2/2014	Dambi Doolloo	He was a rich coffee plantation owner, coffee merchant, and owner of coffee mill at Alam Sillaasie in Qellem awraja.
34	Galataa Dheeressaa	78	8/6/2015	Shamboo	A retired government employee knows well about land tenure and system of taxation and the general conditions of tenancy.
35	Galataa Noonnisee	73	29/2/2014	Dambi Doolloo	A rich farmer narrates conditions during implementation of Rural Land Proclamation and peasant-state relations under the Darg regime. He is well informed about commercial maize and Bolloqqee farming in Sayyoo.
36	Gammachuu Shonee	76	2/9/2014 8/9/2014	Naqamtee	Trained at Debre Zeit in Veterinary science and Agriculture. He also served in the state farms since 1975, as farm manager, administrator,

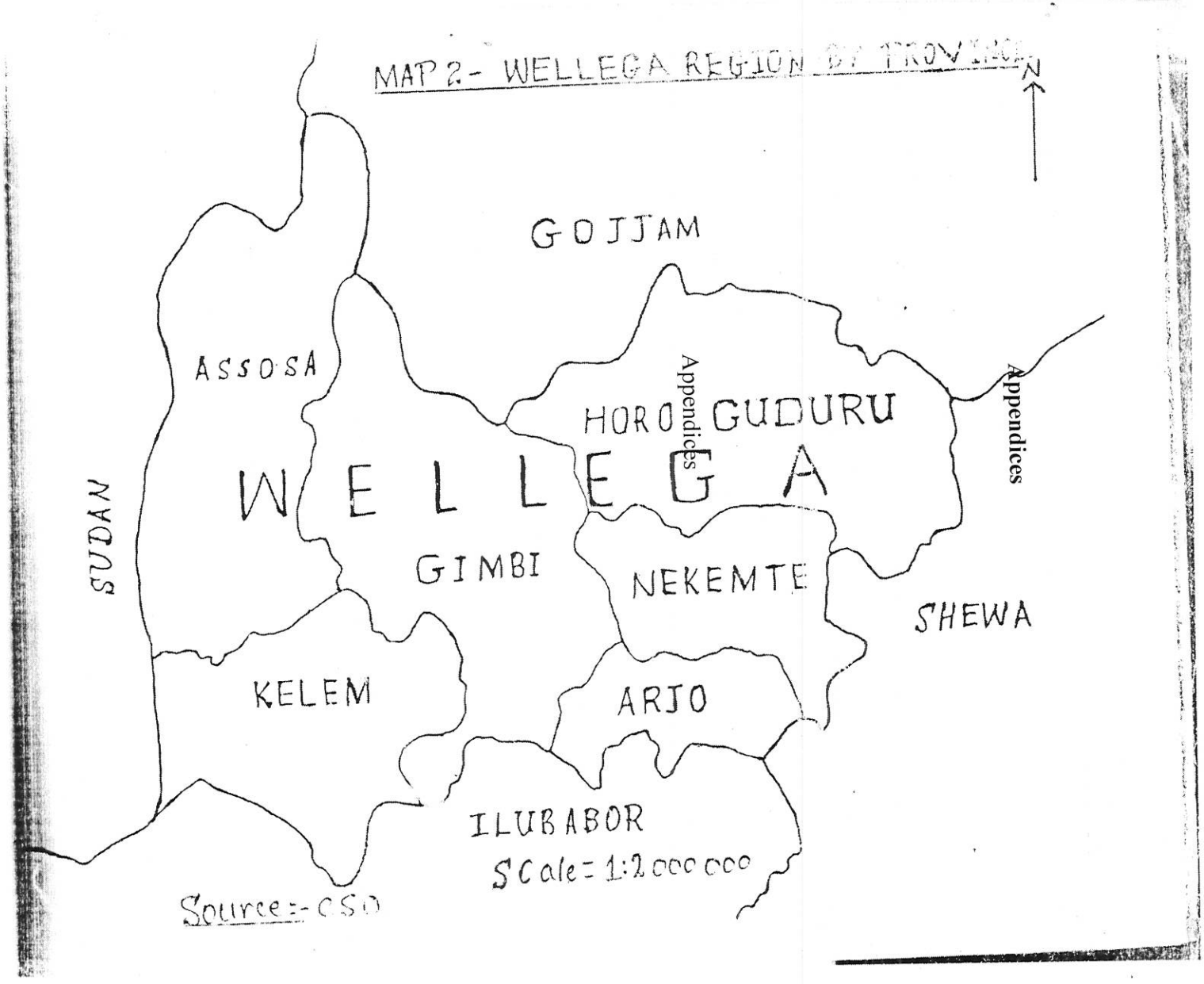
					personnel, general service and also as development agent(DA).
37	Gaaromaa Dilgaasaa	60	19/1/2015	Arjoo	He is a native of the area and he knows well about agriculture and the peasant life during the *Darg* period.
38	Gabramichael Ittaanaa	65	8/9/2014 17/9/2014	Naqamtee	Store Keeper, Personnel, V/ Manager of Dhidheessa farm, farm manager at Ukke and WADE manager and administrator from 1981-2014.
39	Genetii Kabaa	70	22/1/2015	Arjoo	Served as Mechanic and tractor operator in Dhidheessaa, Finca'aa, Ukkee and Baloo state farms.
40	Geremew Bayyataa	65	17/9/2014 20/9/2014	Naqamtee	He was trained in Jimma Agricultural Institute served for long years in MoA branches in Gimbii, Asosa and Naqamtee. He also served for long years as soil surveyor and researcher.
41	Getachew Haile	77	1/3/2014	Dambi Doolloo	He was a landlord in Daallee Wabaraa. He knows well about commercial maize farming, tenancy and the system of taxation. He also has good knowledge of the peasant life.
42	Getachew Merga	80	26/1/2015	Arjoo	Born in Arjoo, a retired farmer knows well about the consecutive governments land tenure systems.

43	Girma Sagni	55	27/1/2015	Arjoo	Served in Dhidheessaa and Finca'aa as crop guard.
44	Habte Mestesalim	80	20/9/2014	Naqamtee	A retired government employee knows about the land tenure and system of taxation
45	Hasan Wayyeessaa (Sheik)	71	6/3/2014	Dambi Doolloo	A chairman of PA narrates peasant conditions in Qellem during the final days of the Darg.
46	Kabada Motorraa	78	12/6/2015	Shamboo	He knows well about resettlement, Villagization and general conditions during the Darg period in Giddaa Ayyaanaa.
47	Kejela Beyene	99	30/1/2015	Arjoo	A retired farmer who is well informed about the land tenure and taxation system and tenancy.
48	Kumsaa Guutamaa	89	17/6/2015	Shaamboo	A retired farmer recalls conditions of land tenure and taxation in Horro-Gudruu from Italian occupation to 1991.
49	Laakkaa Gamachuu	73	2/4/2014 7/4/2014	Gimbii	She is a retired peasant woman who knows much about stock raising and farming activities.
50	Misgana Terfasa	68	3/3/2015	Arjoo	Served in *fetan irsha* in Dhidheessaa. Well informed about the conditions of the state farms.
51	Mizanu Kamisoo	75	23/9/2014 30/9/2014	Naqamtee	Was born in Gimbii knows the land tenure and taxation systems of both regimes. He served in the Ministry of Finance from 1960 to 1991 in all

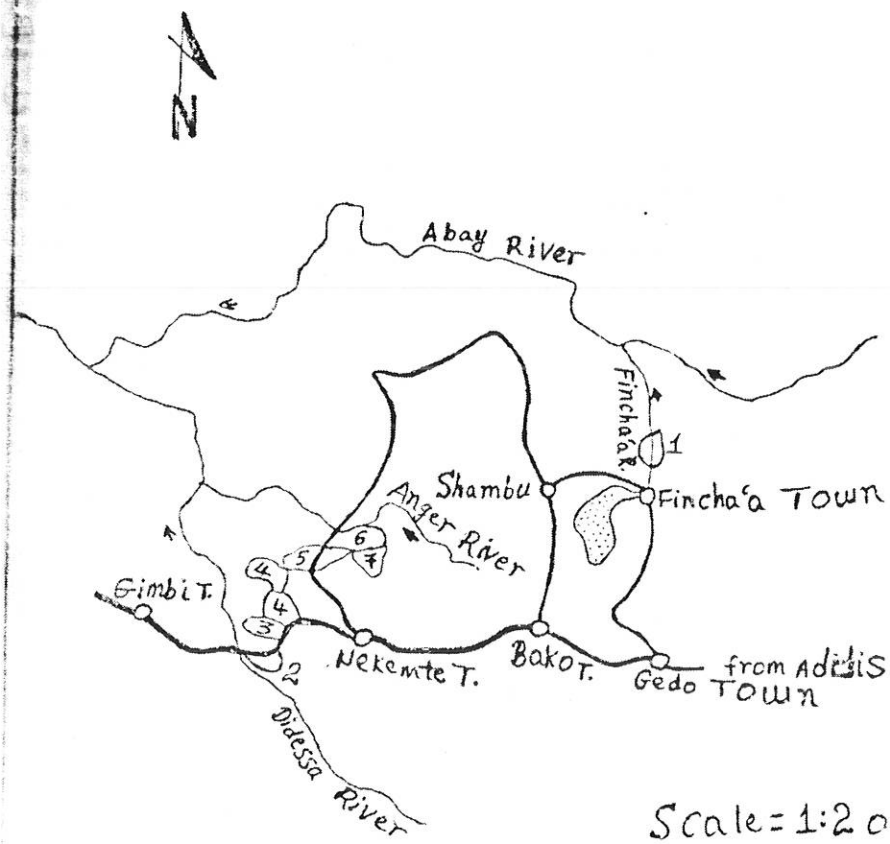
					Wallagga awrajas except Asossa.
52	Mulugeta Biqilaa	60	20/9/2014 30/9/2014	Naqamtee	He was trained in the former Soviet Union, has worked as expert in Plant development and crop protection division in WADE till 1990.
53	Nagasaa Jarboo	80	21/6/2015	Shaamboo	A retired farmer who had owned around two gasha. He knows the condition of tenancy and system of farming and general peasant life in Haroo Limmu, Ebantuu and Giddaa Ayyaanaa waradas.
54	Nega Bekele	86	29/5/2014 30/5/2014	Addis Ababa	Balambaras Nega Bekele was a landlord in Arjoo. He knows well about tenancy and the system of taxation. He also has good knowledge of hunting wild game and the traditional ceremony prepared for the hunter.
55	Oljirraa Ejjetaa	67	25/6/2015	Shaamboo	He is a well informed person. He has been chairman of Horro-Guduruu *awraja* PAs.
56	Qusii Daannoo	88	9/3/2014	Dambi Doolloo	She was a retired peasant woman who had owned large number of cattle. She narrates well on cattle raising, how she treated lactating cows and the taming of calves and heifers.
57	Raagaa Turaa	79	11/3/2014	Dambi Doolloo	He was the chairman of Qellem awraja peasant association. He is the most resourceful person on the

					endeavor of resettlement and Villagization of the Darg period.
58	Shuguxii Tolasaa	78	12/4/2014	Gimbii	A retired tenant farmer had been a servant of a balabat in Gimbii warada. He knows well about tenancy, farming and routine activities.
59	Sirriiqaa Galatee	99	7/4/2014 12/4/2014	Gimbii	A retired farmer who had lived in Anfillo, Sayyoo and Gimbii as farmer. He is knowledgeable on the system of farming and the general environmental conditions of these areas.
60	Ta'a Ayana	70	1/10/2014	Naqamtee	He has served in the land administration and finance department for many years.
61	Tadese Ejigu	76	2/6/2014 3/6/2014	Addis Ababa	He was born in Arjoo. For long years he has been in Malaria Eradication Organization. Later he became a warada administrator in Diggaa and Gobbuu Sayyo. He knows well about the land tenure system, coffee production and marketing and the general peasant life.
62	Temasgen Alamu	60	3/10/2014	Naqamtee	He is a well informed person on major political and economic developments of the Darg regime. He initially worked in Aannoo as warada administrator.

63	Tamirat Dhinaa	59	15/3/2014	Dambi Doolloo	He had a coffee farm in Anfillo. He was also a coffee merchant at village and warada levels.
64	Tamiru Eseta	52	2/2/2015	Arjoo	Served as militia during the *Darg*
65	Tesfaye Ayyaanaa	67	23/6/2015	Shamboo	Served in MoA branch office in Amuruu, Jaartee Jaardagaa, Gudruu and Horrroo waradas and later in Naqamtee waradas.
66	Tesfaye Bultoo	54	20/3/2014	Dambi Doolloo	Worked as an administrator in some waradas of Qellem awraja. Narrates about the resettlement and Villagization.
67	Tesfaye Mizana	63	9/10/2014	Naqamtee	Junior mechanic and tractor operator in Dhidheessaa, Fincaa'a, Ukkee and Lookoo state farms.


MAP 2- WELLEGA REGION BY PROVINCE
N
GOJJAM
ASSOSA
HORO GUDURU
Appendices
Appendices
WELLEGA
SUDAN
GIMBI
NEKEMTE
SHEWA
KELEM
ARJO
ILUBABOR
Scale = 1:2 000 000
Source:- CSO

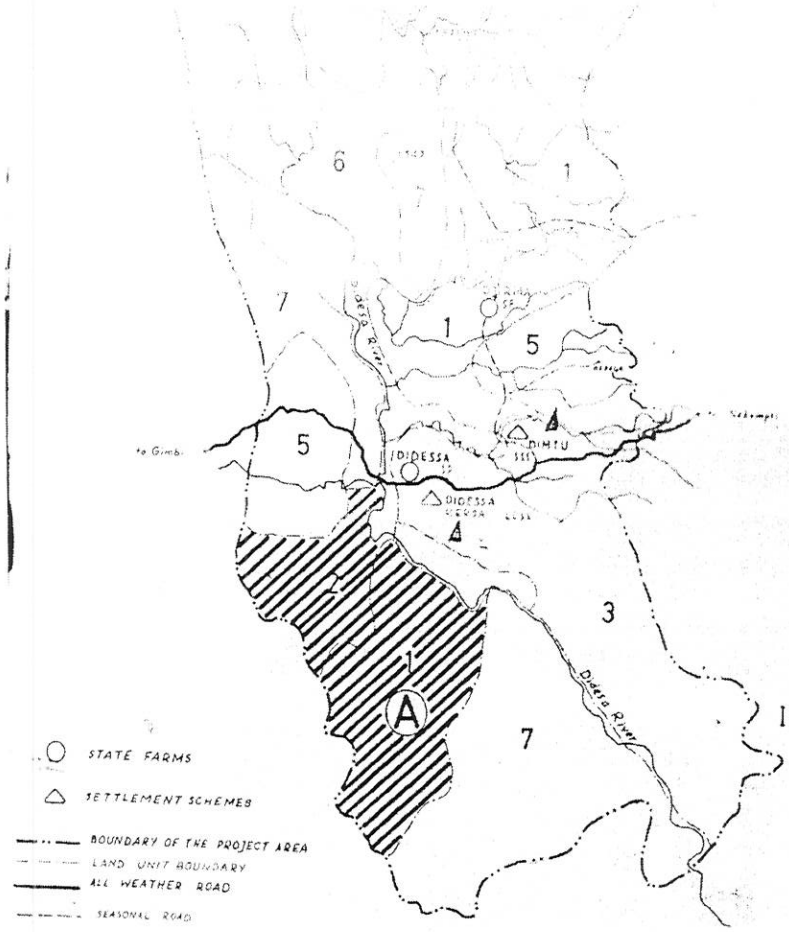
Map 4 - Location Sketch of Wellega State Farms.



Scale = 1:2 000 000

LEGEND	
1	Finchaa State Farm
2	Didessa " "
3	Berada " "
4	Ballo " "
5	Anger " "
6	Uke " "
7	Loko " "
—	Road
—	River
o	Town
	Finchaa Lake

Source:- Agricultural department of NWADC



LOWER DIDESSA VALLEY

II. Area being developed

a) STATE FARMS

	Under cultivation	Target
Didessa	5500	10 000
Djirma Florida	3000	8 000
Angar Didessa	5500	10000
Uke	3000	8000
Baio	—	8000
Sub total	17 000	44000

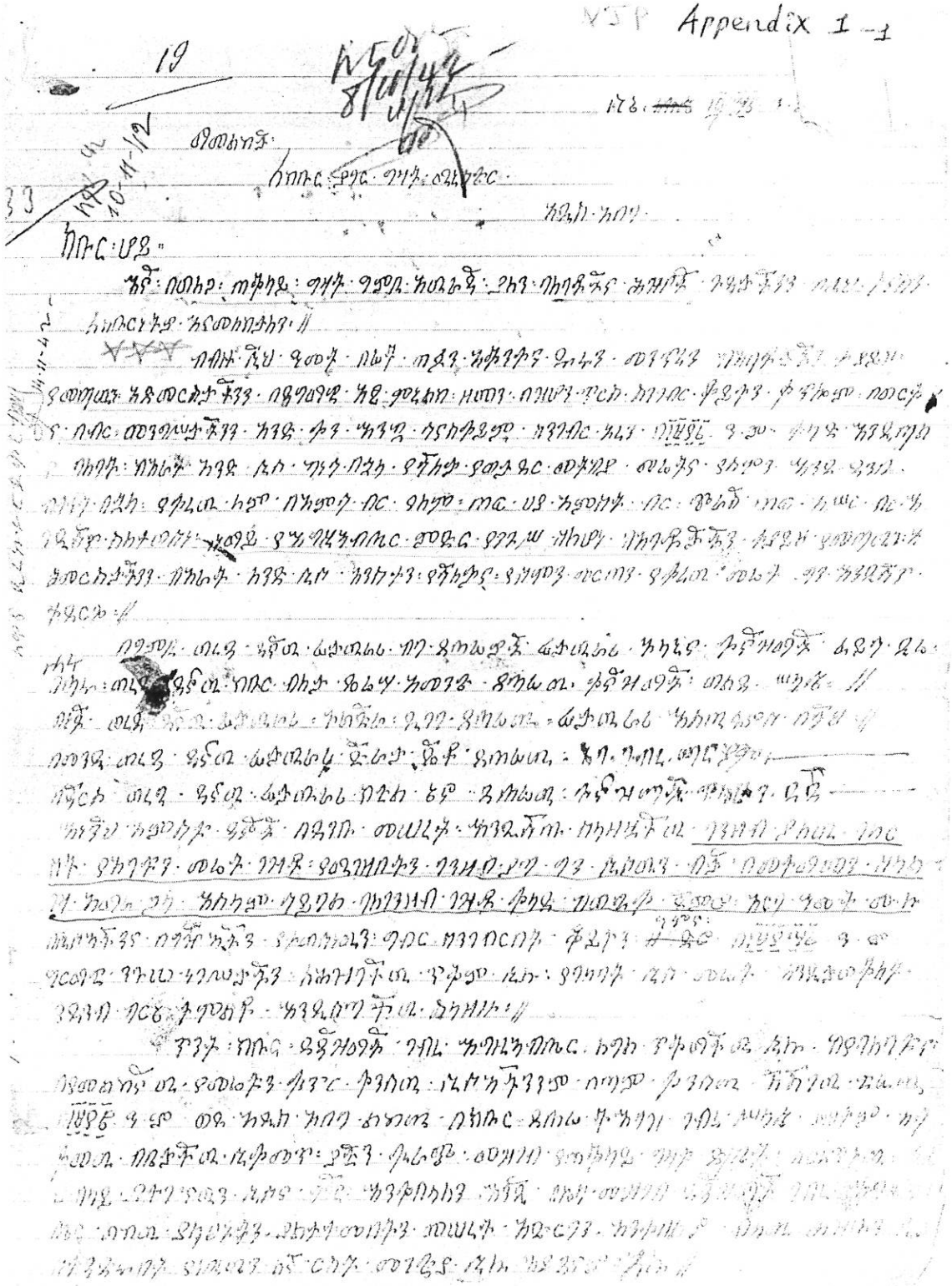
b) SETTLEMENT SCHEMES

Didessa Kersa	268	500
Dimtu	650	1250
Angar Gutin	1382	1704
Sub total	2300	3454
Total	19300	47454

III. Land for future development

Land unit	Area (ha)	Proposed use
I	62 500	INTENSIVE FARMING
II + III	91 500	INTENSIVE FARMING WITH IMPROV. AND SOIL CONSERVATION MEASURES
Others	221 281	REAFFORESTATION

Appendix 1-1



Appendix 1-2

Appendix - 2

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አዲስ አበባ መጋቢት ፲፩ ቀን ፲፱፻፸፬ ዓ.ም

በፀረ-ሰላም፣ ኃይል፣ ሥልጣን፣ ንጉሠ፣ ነገሥት፣ ዘኢትዮጵያ።

ለልዑል፣ ማዕተብዳዊት፣ የቀጨ፣ ጽሕፈት፣ ቤት፣
የ ም ስ ክ ር፣ መ ረ ቀ ት ።

ሀ/ኛ፡ ያሀገን፣ የምስክር፣ መረቀት፣ የተቀበለ፣ ኣ ቋቷ ማገሰ፣ ኣዲሰ፣

ለ/ኛ፡ የአገልግሎት፣ ዘመን፣ ኣ ጣሰት፣ ዓ መት፣ ከ ጠሳት፣ ጋርሪ/ኢ ከ/ራ ክር፣

ሐ/ኛ፡ የአገልግሎት፣ ዓይነት፣ ባ ር በ ሻ ነ ት፣ ሰ ኑ ቋ ሰ፣

መ/ኛ፡ የጥንት፣ ሥራው፣

ሠ/ኛ፡ የጠየቀው፣ ሰመታ፣ ወይም፣ እርዳታ፣ መ ሌ ት፣

ረ/ኛ፡ መሬት፣ የጠየቀበት፣ አ ገርና፣ ቀበሌ ፣ሆ ቦ፣ ወ ረ ዳ፣ ሰ ወ ዳ ዘ ው፣ ፮ ከ ሬ ፣ ባ ከ ባ ት ነ ት ፣ ሙ ሳ ጥ፣

ሸ/ኛ፡ የ ሥራቱ፣ ልክ፣ ኣ ባ ድ ፣ ኃ ሻ ፣ ኀ ቸ

በ/ኛ፡ አለ ም ው ፣ ፬ ፮ ዝ ወ ን ቸ ፣ ዘ ሠ ዱ ዓ ፣ ኣ ስ ኣ ሥ ው ፣

ተ/ኛ፡ ምክንያት፣ ፃ ፃ ር ማ ቂ ነ ተ ቸ ው ፣ ፃ ች ወ ቱ ፣ ፈ ጠ ኞ ፣ ኣ ባ ፮ ራ ፣ ማ ሉ ት ፣ ሰ ኣ ሠ ፣ ፃ ፡

ከዚህ፣ በታች፣ የተጻፉት፣ ምስክሮች፣ የምስክሮች፣ ቃል፣ ለግስራረግያ፣ በተሰጠው፣ ይብተር፣ በነጽ፣ ፭ሉ በቁጥር ፡፯፻፭፩ በ መ ፀ ሉ ት ፣ ፳ ር ቀን ፣ ፲፱፻፸፭ ከኛ፣ ከከሚቴምግ ፣ ፊት ፣ ቀርበው ከዚህ ፣ ቀጥሎ ከቁጥር ፣ ፩ እስከ ፡ ፫ እንደተጻፈው ፣ ቃል ፣ የአገልግ ኣ ቋ ቷ ል ጽ ፣ ዓይነት ፡ ታ ም ኑ ፡ ሰለ ፣ መሰከሩ ፡ ስለ ፡ አገልግሎታቸው ፡ በሐ ምሌ ፡ ፲፯ ቀን ፣ ፲፱፻፸፬ ዓ ፡ ም ፡ ግርማዊ ፣ ጃንሆይ በአደረጉት ፡ የችሮታ ፡ አዋጅ ፡ መሠረት ፡ በቁጥር ፡ ፫ አንደተመለከተው ፣ የጠየቁሙ ስመታ ፡ ኣ ባ ፮ ራ ፣ መ ሬ ት ፡ አንዲ ሰ ጠ ው ኣ ፡ አና ፡ ሶስቱ ፡ ከሚቴዎች ፡ የሚገበ ፣ መሆኑን ፡ እናረጋግጣለን ።

ሀ/ኛ፡ ኣ ኔ ፡ ፃ ሬ ጣ ፡ ወ ፃ ቸ ፡ ኣ መ ኣ ፡ ወ ሰ ጅ ፡ ቆ ራ ኣ ፡ ኣ ቋ ፡ ማ ገ ሰ ፡ ኣ ዲ ሰ ፡ ኣ ዩ ፡ ፬ ዝ ወ ን ቸ ፣ ዘ ው ዱ ፡ ኣ ስ ኣ ሥ ው ፡ ባ ሰ ዱ ፡ ኣ ገ ር በ ሻ ነ ት ፡ ኣ ጠ ሰ ት ፡ ኣ ኒ ከ ሩ ከ ር ፡ ሠ ሰ ት ፡ ዓ መ

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9/495

Appendix- 3

ማቆሚያ ቁጥር ፲፱፻፸፭ ቀን ፲፱፻፸፭ ዓ. ም.

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር
የመንግሥት ንብረት የርስት ክፍል
የመንግሥት ርስት ለሆኑ መሬቶች መታወቂያ ዲክላራሲዮን ።

1) ርስቱ የሚገኝበት ጠቅላይ ግዛት ወለጋ
2) አውራጃ ቄለም
3) ወረዳ ዲጋ፡ ከሎ፡ ቾሌ
4) ምክትል ወረዳ ከሎ ቾሌ
5) በታው ቾበራ፡ ኃ/ግ፡ ገ/ዮሐ
6) የርስቱ ልክ በጋሻ ሰባቱ ጋት ከሞ የመሬመች ካርታ ገጽ ፬፻፵፩
7) በሜትር ካሬ
8) ርስቱ የመንግሥት የሆነበት ዘመን ከመ፲፯ኛ ወረራ በሌኒ በከበሩ ሊስ ቤተክህነት ጊዜ
9) ርስቱ የመንግሥት የሆነበት ምክንያት ባጭሩ ይህ የቀ ባለው ቃ/መሪ ዓፄ በጋሻ ሰንደቅ ዓላማ ቀለም ቀለለ፡ ቃ ወጥሮ፡ ከነርሷ ሌላ ሬቴ ካሳች፡ ይሉሻዬ ሰሌዳውና፡ ፈጥኖ ፈሳቂ ቁጥጥሩ ሠራዊት መሬ ሀ፡ ከ ፩ ሬሳ ከሳካች ሥለቆረሰች ከመንግሥት ጥፍት የሆነ ።
10) ይህ ዲክላራሲዮን በተጻፈበት ጊዜ ርስቱ በማን እጅ እንዳለ ከነምክንያቱ ገላጋቹ ማሪዝማቻ ንጋ ናቸው መንበር ፍሰኔ ቃ በግርሊመሽነት ስለሌሌቀች፡ በመንግሥት እጅ ነው ።
11) የመሬቱ ምርጥነት ከነታሪኩ (1) ጭንጭ፡ ኳንኳ፡ በመቆመሬ፡ ዝዙ፡ መሬቻ፡ ከሬጭ፡ ጸመ ወንዝ፡ ሣለ፡ በመ ወሰን ላይ፡ ከመ ደጋ ሠፈር፡ ያራጊ ። መሬቶች፡ ነው
12) በርስቱ ላይ ምንጭ ፣ ወራጅ ውሃ ፣ ደን ፣ ወይም ሌላ ፍጥረታዊ ሀብት እንዳለበት ፣
13) የመሬቱ አዋሳኞች ስም
ከምሥራቅ ቻ ቂ.
ከምዕራብ ሞ ይ. ገ ሞ መ ሪ
ከሰሜን ሥ ግ
ከደቡብ ሩ ሩ
14) በርስቱ ላይ የሚገኙ ቁሰኞች ቁጥር ወረሃር፡ በወይዘሮ ወሮሳ፡ ኦ ከ ሠ ት፡ ከመ ሶስት
15) በያመቱ ርስቱን የሚያርሱ ተጋዣሮች ቁጥር ሩ ሩ ሩ ሩ
16) የመጋዘው ዐይነት ሩ ሩ ሩ ሩ
17) በርስቱ ላይ የመንግሥት የሆኑ ተንቀሳቃሽ ፣ ወይም የማይንቀሳቀሱ ንብረቶች ቁጥር ሩ
18) የርስቱ ዋጋ በግምት ወይዘሮ በመሠ፡ ከ፹፭ሺ- ኦስ ሃ ፹፭ ሺህ ፭ መቶ ብር
19) ርስቱ በመት የሚሰጠው ጥቅም በግምት ከአራሣ ሀብት፡ ኦንኳሪ ገ በያመቱ ከሣሞት መመገ ።
20) ርስቱ ሊሰጥ የሚችለው ሀብት ዐይነት ሩ ሩ ሩ ሩ
21) በርስቱ ላይ ፣ ወይም በቅራቢያው የሚያልፍ የብረት ሐዲድ ፣ ወይም የከሚዮን መንገድ እንዳለ

የጸሐፊ ምልክት

የመንግሥት ንብረት የርስት ሹም

የመዝገብ ቁጥር

(1) የመሬቱ ምርጥነት ሰ.ል ለም ፣ ለም ከጠፍ ፣ ጠፍ ሣኪ ፣ ወይም ውድማ ፣ ወይም ገደል መሆኑን ተገንዘብ ።

Appendix - 4

አዲስ አበባ 7/8 ቀን ፲፱፻፹ ዓ. ም.

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት፣
የጦር ሚኒስቴር ።

ቁጥር ሀ/2663 ተጨማሪ ቁጥር

በ ቀን በቁጥር ስተጻፈው ደብዳቤ መልስ

ምክንያት

ለክቡር ፡ የወከነ አውራጃ ጦር ክፍለ ጦር

ከ/ኮ ለአስከባሪያንር ጦር መሪ አዛዥ

ከ/ኮ ለአስከባሪያንር ጦር መሪ አዛዥ

አቶ ሞገስ ከየሱ የሚባል ገለፃ ዮፎፕ ፡
ፃ ፡ ሳው ከ ሁዲ ገሀው ጠቦነት ፡ ይ ፃመጀ ከአርሰሻነ ፡ አጠአት ፡ ኢአሁ ይደየቆአከ ፡
መሆኑን በሕዝብ ማስተዳደሪያ ጽሕፈት ቤት በ6ጋ0/ሥ ቁጥር ስለተመሰከረለት
ሐምሌ 16—34 ዓ. ም. በተነገረው አዋጅ በግርማዊነታቸው ችሮታ መሠረት ስመልሰም
አገልግሎቱ ዋጋ ይሆነው ዘንድ በጉዲፈ መረዳ
በ ካሌ አሳሂል ፡ አከበ ፩ ፡ ግዘት ውስጥ
በወጪ ዘሮ ፡ ጁ ቸ ፡ ቆ ቤ ገች ፡ በሆ ሮ ፡ ቀበሌ ፡ ጥባች ፡ የ ጁ ሴ ፡ ጉበሮ ፡ ሃይለ
አባቴ ፡ ጋሻየ ማዲ ፡ ወለሬች ፡ አስ ፡ ሳ ሞ ፡ ወራሽ ፡ ሦ ከራ ከራ ፡ ሂ ዩ ሌ አወ ፡ ሕወ ፡
ያልቻዘው አአሶ ፡ በቤ ስ ገ ነች ፡ ይ ስ ሰ ማ ፡ ሲ ስ ።
የማዳሪያ መሬት እንዲሰጠው ስለጠየቀ ፣ ይህ መሬት እርግጥ መኖሩ ከታወቀ በኋላ ከዚህ
በፊት ለሰው ያልተሰጠ ፣ ወይም ያልተጠየቀ መሆኑ ተመርምሮ የማዳሪያ መሬት በር
ስትነት እንዲሰጥ እተፈቀደ ድረስ ፣ ለጊዜው በማዳሪያነት ተሰጥቶት እንዲመራ ይሁን ።

ማስታወሻ ፡ ሚያዝያ 6 ፡

ፈቃዱ ተሰጠ

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት
የጦር ሚኒስቴር
መዝገብ ቤት
የደረሰበት ቀን 26/8/36
ቁጥር 44

ጽ/ቤ

Appendix - 5

1/495

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የኢትዮጵያ ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ መንግሥት ፡
ያገር ፡ ግዛት ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡

ካክቡር ፡ ዓሻዝወግኝ ፡ ዓረዳ ፡ መኮንን
የወለጋ ፡ ጠቅላይ ፡ ገዢ ፡

ክቁም ት ፡

ክቡር ፡ ሆይ ፡፤

በጉዱሩ ፡ አጨሌዳ ፡ ግዘኦ ፡ ሰተዳራጊ ፡ ለሰመዚለጠው ፡ መሬት ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ ታህሣሥ ፡ ፫፫/ሣኝ ፡ ዓ ም ፡ በቁጥር ፡ ፴፯፩/፡ የዳሩ ፡ልገ ፡ ዉብዓቤ ፡ ዱርሶን ፡ ተመልክነተሩዋል ፡፤

ባለጨሰታዎቹ ፡ በጨሰት ፡ ዳተለጠጉን ፡ መሬት ፡ ለመሸጥና ፡ ለመለወጥ ፡ ኬለመቻቻጨን ፡ በመግለጽ ፡ ዳግቷት ፡ ፫/ሠኝ ፡ ፋ ፡ ም ፡ በቁጥር ፡ ፲፬፭፭/ሩ ፡ የለተላለፈንልኝዎን ፡ ታሰዛዝ ፡ በማለታወስ ፡፤

ዓግም ፡ ለለዚሁ ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ ካክቡር ፡ ጠቅላይ ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡ ሚያዚያ ፡ ፫/ሣዝ ፡ ሩ ፡ ም ፡ በቁጥር ፡ ፲፬፭፯/ ፳፱/፡፲፭ ፡ ዓተጻፈልኝን ፡ ዉብዓቤ ፡ ቻክክቤ ፡ ግልባጭ ፡ ከዚህ ፡ ጋር ፡ እየላክክልዎ ፡፤

ለቸጠና ፡ ኬለጠጡ ፡ ያሉተፈቀዱላቸው ፡ በመሆኑ ፡ ዓተሸጠጨም ፡ ለሻሂጨ ፡ ኬፀሩለቻ ፡ እያቻለ ፡ ምና ፡ መሬቱ ፡ ወዴ ፡ መንግሥት ፡ ተመላሽ ፡ እንዲሆን ፡ እዉቦገጨ ፡፤ ያሸጨን ፡ ባለጨሰታ ፡ ስምና ፡ ዳመ ሬቱን ፡ ልክ ፡ በወረዳና ፡ በቀበኤጨ ፡ ለይተጨ ፡ ዝርዝሩ ፡ እንዲላክልን ፡፤ —

፫/ መሬት ፡ እንዲለወጥላቸጨ ፡ ለለሚጠይቁም ፡ ለዎች ፡ ሐ ፡ ም ፡ ለ ፡ ሠኝ ፡ ሩ ፡ ም ፡ የወጣጨ ፡ ህ ቁ ፡ የሚኤቻዉጨ ፡ ስጠታ ፡ ከጠፋ ፡ በመሆኑ ፡ ያንኑ ፡ የታዘዘላቸጨን ፡ ተኬነበጨ ፡ ከማቻናቻ ፡ በስ ተቀር ፡ ኬለ ወጥላቸጨ ፡ እዬቻለሁም ፡ በምክር ፡ ም ፡ ሆነ ፡ በስዕላዝ ፡ ያንኑ ፡ ዳፉለገለፃን ፡ እንዲየቀ ኑ ፡ ማዉረግ ፡ ዳተሻለ ፡ ሃ ው ፡፤ —

፫/ በሠኝ ፡ ሩ ፡ ም ፡ የወጣጨ ፡ ዳጦር ፡ ቁለለሳጭ ፡ ያርበኞቻና ፡ የለዓተ ፡ ም ፡ ኡዋቂ ፡ ግን ፡ ከሴ ም ፡ መሬት ፡ የሚኤቻዉለጠ ፡ ለለሆነ ፡ በዚህ ፡ እገሌግሎት ፡ ኬመገኘት ፡ ባለጨሰታዎቹ ፡ ሥፍ ራ ፡ ለገለዩ ፡ ከጠቅላይ ፡ ግዘቱ ፡ ወጠገሥት ፡ ከሚያዝበት ፡ ተከራክሬ ፡ ከኤለጨ ፡ ዕመገሥት ፡ ሥራ ፡ ካልያዘው ፡ ሁ ዉዴና ፡ ዓወረገኑ ፡ ዳሚዓቡ ፡ ካልሆነጨ ፡ እንዲሰጣቸጨ ፡ ዳሚደል ፡ ታሰዛዝ ፡ ሲዳርለቻ ፡ መሬት ፡ ከጣ ገኝበት ፡ ቦታ ፡ ሲሰጣቸው ፡ መቻሉን ፡ እናለታውቃለን ፡፤ —

ከሰላለ ፡ ክብር ፡ ለጎ ፡ ም ፡ ታ ፡ ጋር ፡

ግልባጭ ፡

ለክቡር ፡ የገንዘብ ፡ ሚኒስቴር ፡

ዳመንግሥት ፡ ንብረት ፡ ለለስ ፡ ታ ፡ ዳዳሪነት ፡ ዱ/ክፍ ፡

ኡ ለ ሰ ፡

ፊ 35 1/49

Appendix – 6

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት ፣
የፋንዘብ ሚኒስቴር ።

ከወሰጋ ጠቅላ ግዛት በጅሮንዴ ።

ከቀሜሳ

ጉዳዩ ፩ኛ/ በጠቅላ ግዛቱ በየአውራጃዎቻችና በየወረዳዎቻች ያሉ ባላገሬች የመንግሥትን መሬት በሚሸጡ መሬታቸው ላይ ከወጡ ዱዛዎች ከወጡ ቀጣቸውን ሳይከፍሉ ቀርተው ቀጣቸው ሲያዝባቸው መሬታቸውን ለመሸጥ የሚፈልጉ ሰዎች ስለሚገኙ በተቀናጀ ቁጥር አሰሳቸውን መገኘት አለባቸው ።

፪ኛ/ የተገኙትም መሬታቸው ከወጪ ጠፋ ከሕዝብ በስንት ዘመን ከተገዛ ለተጋቸው ላይ ተጠቅሞ መሬቱ ቢቀር ከመንግሥት ከፍ ያለ ጥቅም ያመጣል መሆን አለበት ።

፫ኛ/ በአሰሳ ከመሬቱ ግዛት ቀላጭ ያልሆነ የመንግሥት መሬት ቢገኝ ከዘመናት በኋላ ከመንግሥት ላይ ተጠቅሞ ከተገኘ ከሰዎች ጋር ተስማምቶ ከመንግሥት ጋር በመንገድ ቁጥር 1/45 በዓሉን ለማክበር ከሰዓቱ ከተገኘ የመንግሥት መሬት ይከፈል ከሚለው ቀረቤታ የሚመጡትን ዘመን በማስገባት ከሰሩት ጠቅላ ግዛቱ ጽ/ቤት ከማሳወቃቸው በመዘርዘር አንድ አይተው ከተስማሙበት ።

28/6/45

ከዘመቻ ምትጋር ።

ግልባጭ
ከጠቅላ የመሰጋ ጠቅላ ግዛት ጽ/ቤት ።
ለቀሜሳ ።

ፈጽፈዋቸው፡ የተሻሉ ይሆናሉ ፡ ሌ ፡ ተሰማምተናል፤

3. ዐወሰን፡ ጠቅሳይ ጣዛት ውስጥ ግዴሚ፡ ሰፊ ሚገኝው ፡ መሬት፡፡ ግዴሚ፡ የሚገኝው ፡ መሬት፡ ኬንዲኔው ሲሶ ው ፡ ሣይነሳ፡ በሙሉ፡ ተፌቅዶልናል፡ ብሎ፡ ሕዝቡ፡ ዘዐደገኝ፡ ያህል፡ መሬት፡ ሰፍያዘ፡ ኬሁን፡ በያዙት፡ ሁኔታ፡ መንግሥት፡ ኬይጠቀምበት፡ ሲሶኔቹዉን፡ ኬንሰተው፡ ዐመንግሥት ፡ ድርሻ፡ ኬማረ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ቢተከልበት፡ የተሻሰ፡ይሆናል ፡ ሲል፡ጠቅሳይ ፡ገሻው፡ ሳቀረቡት፡ ሐሣብ፡ሰባዕነኑ፡ በምን፡ ዓይነት፡ ኬንዲተፌቀዱ፡ ነበታወቀ ፡በጂሳ ፡ሰጉዳዩ፡ ውሳኔ፡ ሰመሰጠት፡ኬ ንዲቻል፡ኬሰቀዱ ም፡የተፌቀዱበት፡ መሰረቺ፡ ነበኤገር፡ጣዛት ፡ ሚኒሰቴር፡ተፌፅሟ፡ ሰዮሚ ሲዮት፡ ኬንዲቀርብ፡ተሰማምተንበታል፤

ሃ. ኔጭ፡የማነ፡ገብረ፡ኬዓዚኔብሐር፡ሰሳቀረቡት፡የሥሬዮ፡ጀመዝጌቱ፡

ኔጭ፡የማነ፡ገብረ፡ኬዓዚኔብሐር ፡ጸንም ቢን፡ ኬው ራጂ፡ጣዛት፡ በኬንዲራሲ ነት፡ ኬንዲስተዲድር፡ተሰጥጉኝ፡ ፅንፁሠ፡ነገሥቴ፡ በቅንነት፡ ሳገሰግል፡ነበደሞዜ፡ ሳይ፡ ኬየተቀነሱ፡ ሰልጂ፡ ፍቅረ፡ ሥሳሴ፡በመሰጠት፡ጉዲች፡ በዝጭብኛል፡ብ ሰው፡ ሳመሰከቱት፡ ኬር ህ፡ ሰው፡የዲኛነት፡ ኮ ሰሙታቸውዮ፡ ኣሰተዲዳሪነታቸ ው፡ በጣ ም፡ ጠ ቃ ሚ ፡ ሰ ሰ ሆነ፡ ያንዱ፡ ኣ ው ራጂ፡ ገ ንዮነት ፡ ኬይ በዘ ባ ቸ ው ም፡ ሲ ሉ፡ ጠቅሳይ፡ ገ ንዮው ፡ ኬ ሰ ረ ዱ ተ ዋ ል ፤

ኔ ሰ ተ ያ የ ት፡

ልጅ፡ ፍ ቅ ረ ፡ ሥ ሳ ሴ፡ ሀ ብ ተ ፡ ማ ር ያ ም ፡ ማ ን ግ ሥ ት፡ ኬ የ ህ ራ ሴ ል ሳ ቸ ዉ፡ በ ው ጭ፡ ኣ ገ ር ፡ ተ ማ ራ፡ ሴ ት፡ የ ሚ ማ ሩ ፡ ሆ ነ ው ፡ ሰ ራ፡ ዲ ዓ ም ፡ ሉ ዓ ም ሲ፡ ኬ ው ራ ጂ፡ ገ ንዮ ፡ ከ ተ መ ዲ በ ው ፡ ቀ ሉ ብ፡ ሳ ይ ፡ ኬ ዓ የ ቶ ቀ ነ ሱ፡ በ ዓ ው ራ፡ 150 ብር ፡ በ መ ከ ራ ኩ፡ ኬ ገ ሩ ን፡ የ ሚ ያ ሰ ተ ዲ ድ ሩ ዉን፡ ኣ ገ ሬ፡ ገ ንዮ፡ ቀ ሉ ው፡ በ መ ቀ ነ ሱ፡ ቅ ር፡ የ ሚ ያ ሰኝ፡ ሰ ሰ ሆ ነ፡ የ ሰ ጅ፡ ፍ ቅ ረ፡ ሥ ሳ ሴ፡ ቀ ሉ ብ፡ ሣ ሌ ሳ ፡ ወ ጭ፡ ከ ፍ ሰ ፡ ኬ ነ ዲ ከ ፍ ሰ ቸ ው ፡ ተ ጸ ር ጉ፡ ሳ ው ራ ኛ ው ፡ ገ ንዮ፡ የ ተ መ ዲ በ ው ፡ ቀ ሉ ብ፡ በ መ ሉ፡ ሳ ጭ፡ የ ማ ነ፡ ገ ብ ረ፡ ኬ ዓ ዚ ኔ ብ ሐ ር፡ ኬ ን ዲ ህ ራ ሬ ፤

ነገር፡ ግን፡ ይህ፡ ኣ ው ጂ፡ ዓ ዛ ት፡ በ ሰ ጅ፡ ፍ ቅ ረ፡ ሥ ሳ ሴ፡ ሰ ም፡ ሆ ኖ፡ በ ኣ ን ዲ ራ ሴ፡ ኣ ን ዲ ተ ዳ ዲ ር ፡ የ ተ ደ ረ ገ ው ፡ ያ ባ ታ ቹ ዉን፡ ው ሰ ኑ፡ ሰ መ ከ ሬ ል ፡ የ ታ ሰ በ፡ ሆ ኖ፡ ሰ ማ ሻ ሻ ል፡ የ ሚ ያ ሰ ቸ ግ ር፡ ቢ ሆ ን፡ ይ ኸ ን ን፡ የ ተ ባ ሰ ው ን፡ ኣ ው ራ ጂ፡ በ ኣ ን ዲ ራ ሴ ነ ት፡ የ ሚ ሠ ራ፡ ሰ ልጂ፡ ኣ ቅ ራ ቢ ያ፡ ዘ መ ድ፡ የ ሆ ነ፡ ሌ ላ፡ ሰ ው ፡ ተ መ ር ጦ ፡ ቢ ዲ ራ ግ ሰ ት ያ፡ ኣ ቁ፡ የ ማ ነ፡ ገ ብ ረ፡ ኣ ግ ዚ ኣ ብ ሐ ር ፡ በ ዚ ያ ው ፡ ጠ ቅ ሳ ይ ፡ ግ ዛ ት፡ ኣ ን ቁ፡ ኣ ው ራ ጂ ፡ ገ ንዮ፡ ሆ ነ ው ፡ ቢ ዲ ሰ ዲ ሱ ፡ ይ ኛ ሳ ል፡ ለ ን ል፡ ተ ሰ ማ ም ተ ን፡ ኣ ሳ ሰ ብ ኛ ን ፡ ኣ ቅ ር ቦ ፡

Appendix - 7

3/495 Appendix-8

ገጽ 2

ቤት ይገኛል፤ ቢሆንም የውሉ ዘመን ካለፈ በኋላ ይህ ሰነዱ ስለ ውሉ ገንዘብ ከሚመይቀ በስተቀር ስ
ቶ መብት የለውም፤

ተዋዋይ ሲፈጽሙ የሚገባ ግስጠንቀቂያ፤

1ኛ / ተዋዋዩ መሬቱን በመጋዘም ሆነ በቅርጥ ውሉን ከፈጸመ ያንዱን ዓመት የኩንትራት ገንዘብ አስቀ
ም ይከፍላል፤ እንዲሁም የውሉት ዘመን እስኪፈጸም በያመቱ በመጀመሪያ ገንዘቡን ይከፍላል ከተኑ
ቢተላለፍ ገን ስለገብርና አሥራት በወጣው አዋጁ መሠረት አጠፊታና አጻሩኘ በፍርዱ ቤትም ሲከሰስ
ጠቅላላ ኪሣሪ ጭምር ይከፍላል ፤

2ኛ / በዚህ መሬት ላይ አርቦ ወይንም ሲሰ እያፈሰሱ ለቀዱ ዊሰኖች እንደተለመደው ከመከፈል በስተቀር
ከመሬቱ ለማስፅዛትና ለማስለቀቅ ወይንም ክቀዱም ሌላ ገብር አ መቀጠል የለበትም፤

3ኛ / ተዋዋዱ የውሉ ዘመን ሣይደርስ መሬቱን ለመልቀቅ የጠየቱ እንደሆነ አስከ ውሉ መፈጸሚያ ዘመን ፈ
ጹረስ ይከፍለው የነበረውን ገንዘብ መከፈል እንጻለበት ማወቅ ነው፤

4ኛ / በመሬቱ ላይ የሚገኘውን ዛፍና ልዩ ልዩ ተክሎች ቤተች ቢናሩ ፈቃዱ ሣይጠይቅ ለማፍረስና ለመቅረ
ጥ መብት የለውም፤

5ኛ / የውሉ ዘመን ከመፈጸሙ ካንዱ ወር በፊት ውሉን ለማደስ ወይንም ለመልቀቅ ሀሣቡን በደብዳቤ ማቅረ
ብ ገዴታ አለበት፤ ደብዳቤ ሣያቀርብ የኩንትራቱን የመጋዘውን ገቢ ከጊዜው ሣያስተላልፍ ያኮናተ
ረውን ባለሥልጣኑ ላጠየቀውን የወደፊት ዓመት ኩንትራት ገንዘብ ለማስከፈል ውሉ መብት አለው፤

ያኮናተረው ባለሥልጣን የሚፈጽመው ውሣኔ፤

1ኛ / የውሉ ዘመን ሣይደርስ ይህንንመሬት መንገሥት የሚፈልገው ሲሆን ያኮናተረውን ባለሥልጣን መሥሪያ
ቤት ለመሬቱ መሰል ገጣፍ ሣይሰጥ ልቀቅ ያለ እንደሆነ ባለኩንትራቱ አስከ ውሉ መልቀቂያ ይከፍል
የነበረውን ገንዘብ ከፍሉ ሊወስዱበት ይችላል ፤

2ኛ / የውሉ ጊዜ ከመፈጸሙ ከሁለት ወር ማለት 60 ቀን በፊት ውሉን ለማደስ ወይንም ለመልቀቅ በሁለቱ
ም በኩል የሚቀርብለትን ጽሁፍ ተመልክቶ መልሱን በፍጥነት መስጠት አለበት ፤

የተዋዋይ ፊርማ የቀስ ፊርማ የመንገሥት ንብረት ሽያጭ ፊርማና ማህተም የወረዳ ገጠት ፊርማ

Appendix – 9

9/495

ቁጥር: 8584-H-100

ቀን: ሐምሌ 5 ቀን ፲፱፻፶፭ ዓ.ም.

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት

የወለጋ ጠቅላይ ግዛት።

11-6-56
4049-56

ለኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት
የመንግሥት ንብረት ሚኒስቴር

አዲስ አበባ:

በወለጋ ጠቅላይ ግዛት በመንግሥት መሬቶች ላይ ሠፍረው ስለሚገኙት ቢሆኖች ጉዳይ በቁጥር 11/7245/55 በኔ 6/55 ዓ.ም ሲጽፈልን ለኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት ያገር ገዛት ሚኒስቴርና ለጠቅላይገዛቱ በጽሁንዱ አንዲሁም ለጠቅላይ ገዛቱ የመንግሥት ንብረት ሹም ያደረጉትን ገልጦ አናስታውሰን::

ስለዚሁ ጉዳይ አስቀድሞ ህዳር 5/53 ዓ.ም በቁጥር ረ/2543 ከኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት ያገር ገዛት ሚኒስቴር በተጻፈ ደብዳቤ በመንግሥት መሬት ላይ ለሰፈሩት ቢሆኖች ገማሽ ገመሽ ጋሻ መሬት በ45 ዓ.ም አቀጭ መሠረት አንዲሰጣቸው የተፈቀደ መሆኑን መሠረት በጠቁ ረገ የስጠታው ሥራ ሲሰራ ቆይቷል፣ አሁንም ገርማዊ ንጉሠ ነገሥት የወለጋን ጠቅላይ ገዛት ለ መጎብኘት በመጡ ጊዜ በያረጉት የቸርታ አቀጭ መሠረት አንዲፈጸም ተብሎ ከኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት የጸሐፈት ሚኒስቴር በቁጥር 1128/22/53 የካቲት 19/55 ዓ.ም በተጻፈ ደብዳቤ ሽፒነት ለኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት ያገር ገዛት ሚኒስቴር በተሳለፈው መሠረት በቁጥር ረ/9353 ሚያዝያ 8/55 ዓ.ም ከተጻፈ ደብዳቤ ጋር የደረሰንን የንጉሠዊ አቀጭ ማጽኛ ቀጭውን በማያያዝ ለ6ቱ አውራጃ ገቨዎች በቁጥር 6585/4/4 ሚያዝያ 29/55 ዓ.ም ትእዛዝ አስተላልፈን በመንግሥት መሬት ላይ የሠፈሩት ቢሰኖች በአቀጭ መሠረት ርስትና የመንግሥት ሥራ የሌላቸው መሆኑን አያስመሰከሩ ገማሽ ገማሽ ጋሻ መሬት በመከፈልል ላይ ይገኛሉ::

ስለዚህ በኛ በኩል በአቀጭ መሠረት ከመፈጸም በተቃር የምናሻሽለው ጉዳይ አለመኖሩን በማክበር አናመለክታለን::

ከማክበር ሰላምታ ጋር

ገልባቢ፣

ለወለጋ ጠቅላይ ገዛት በጽሁንዱ

ነቀምቴ:
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14/1/56

3418

Arpendix -10

የካቲት 22 ቀን 63 ዓ.ም

ለኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት
የመሬት ይዞታና አስተዳደር ሚኒስቴር
አዲስ አበባ፣

በግርማዊ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መልክም ፈቃድና ትእዛዝ በ1953 ዓ.ም የመንግሥት ሥራና መሬት ለሌለው ኢትዮጵያዊ ሁሉ ግማሽ ግማሽ ጋሻ መሬት በርስትነት አንዲሰጠው በተፈቀደው መሠረት አስቀድሞ መንግሥት ከሚያዝበት መሬት ላይ ሰፍረው የሚገኙ ጥሰኞችና አንዲሁም ሰው ካለያዘው ጠፍ መሬት በንጉሠዊ ትዕዛዝ መሠረት አንደጋጣ ቸው ጠይቀው በመውጣት ና በመውረዱ በብዙ ደክም የመሬቱን ነፃነት በደነበ ካስመስከረ በኋላ አስፈጻሚው መሥሪያ ቤት በወቅቱ የተጠየቀውን መሬት በፍርም አሰኰልተው ጠያቂዎች ተረክበው በርስትነት አንዲ ገብረበት በማድረግ ፋንታ ዛሬ ነገ አያሉ ቢለጉዳዱን ቢያጓላጉ ቆየ ::

ቢለጉዳዱ ከዚሬ ነገ ይፈጸምልኛል ብሉ በመጠበቅ ላይ ሳለ በመጨረሱ የመሬት ይዞታና አስተዳደር ሚኒስቴር ስለተቋቋመ ሕዝቡ አቤቱታውን ቀሎ በማመልከት ላይ አያለ በወለጋ ጠቅላይ ግዛት የመሬት አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት በመንግሥት መሬት ላይ ሰፍሮ የሚገኘ ማንኛውም ሰው ይህን ፍርም አሟልቶ ይዞ ኪል ተገኜ በቀር ሕጋዊ የመንግሥት ጠሰኛ ተብሉ በ1953 ዓ.ም በተሰጠው ንጉሠዊ ትእዛዝ መሠረት ለመጠቀም አይችልም በማለት በመንግሥት መሬት ላይ ሰፍሮ ለመገኘቱ ማረጋገጫ ይሆናል ተብሉ በወጣው ቅጽዛዝ የጠሀኛ ሠሌዳ መታወቂያ ፍርም ላይ በትክክለት ለመገበር በመንግሥት መሬት ላይ የሰፈርኩ መሆኔን በፈርማዳ አረጋግጫለሁ:: ብሉ አያንዳንዱ አመልካች ፍቶግራፉን በመስጠት ግዴታ ካስፈረመ በኋላ የመሬቱን አለቢ አንደሰፍል አስገም ቸውበት ደኑን መንጥረው ጠፉን መሬት በማጀናት ላይ ያለውን ሰው ሁሉ የአርብ አስፈፈል ችግር ደርሰቦታል ::

ስለዚህ በልዩ ልዩ ምክንያት ሕዝቡን የበለጠ መጉላላት አንዳይደርስበት ከግርማዊ ነታቸው በተሰጠው ትዕዛዝና በተወሰነው አሁን የመሬት ይዞታ ጽ/ቤት የጠያቂዎችን ይዞታ ያረጋገጠለት ስለሆነ በትክክል አንዲገብረ ከመግደጓቸው በፊት መንግሥት የሚያዝበት መሬት መሆኑን በሚገባ አጥርተው ያስመስከሩት ሰዎች ሁሉ በርስትነት ተረክበው በስማቸው አንዲገብረ በት ይደረግላቸው ዘንድ በቁከበር አናመለክታለን ::

አመልካቾች

የወለጋ ጠቅላይ ግዛት ሕዝብ አንደራሴዎች

Appendix 12

ግንቦት 15 /61 ዓ.ም

ለኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት
የመሬት ይዞታና አሰተዳደር ሚኒስቴር
አዲስ አበባ፤

አመልካች እኔ ተሰማ ደነሳ የከፍሉ የሕዝብአንደራሴ የሆነኩ የአርሻ መሬት በማጣት ስለ ሚቸገሬ በታች ለከቡርነትዎ ለማመልከት ተገድጄለሁ ።

ኢትዮጵያ በተፈጥሮ አቅማመጡዋ ሠፊ መሬት አንዳላት የታወቀ ሠሆነም አንዳንዱ በአፈሰ መሬት የያዙ ሰዎች በአሬሹ ገበሬ ዱክም መጠቀምን ልማዱ በማድረገ ሕዝቡ ከአችገር ባይላቀቅ ይሠራል ።

ከዚህም ሌላ አርበ አዳሪው ሕዝብ መንግሥት የሚያዝበትን በረሃ መሬት አርሰው ቤተሰበ ቻቸውንና ኑሮዋቸውን ለመደገፍ በሚያሰቡም ጊዜ የአርሻ መሬት አየተከለከሉ ችገር ባይለያቸው አንደሚኖሬ ከከቡርነትዎ ጥናት የተሠወረ አይሠገም ።

ስለዚህ በወለጋ ጠቅላይ ገዢት በገምቢ አውራጃ ከፍል ልዩ ስሙ ቶሌና ቺገር የተበሉ የሚባለ የደይሰ በረሃ መንግሥት የሚያዝበት ሆኖ ተያይዞም አስከሱዳን ጠረፍ የሚደርስ የበቆሃ መሬት መኖሩን አስታውሳለሁ ።

የመሬቱም የተፈጥሮ አትማመጥ የአህል ተታራኒ አውሬ የሰለጠነበትና የወባ በሽታ የሚ ገኘበት ሆኖ ቢገኝ ሥ ለበቆሎና ለልዩ ልዩ አህል የሚበማማ መሆኑ የታወቀ ነው፤

በወለጋ የገምቢ አውራጃ ከፍለ አገር በመቶ ሰበው በበረሃ መሬት የ ተከበበ መሆኑ አያታ ወቀ ወይና ደጋው መሬት በቡና በብል የተያዘ ሆኖ ሕዝቡም የወረሃውን መሬት አደበው አንዳይመ ቱ ያሳገበበ አየተከለከሉ የአርሻ መሬት በማጣት በየጊዜው የአህል ችገር አንደሚያጠቃቸው ታውቷል ።

ስለዚሁ የበረሃውን መሬት አርበን ለመተዳደር ይረቱልን በማለት በ59 ዓ.ም ባቶ ሁነደባ ደብቡ አማካይነት ብዙታቸው አሰከ አንዱ ሺህ የሚገመቱ ለከፍሉ አገረገዥዎች አመልከተው በ60 የአርሻ ተገባረቸውን ተሟለው ነበር፤ አንደሁም በበኩላችን ለከቡርነትዎ አንድናመለክት ትላ ቸው አባሰበውን ስለነበረ ስለዚሁ የካቲት 21 /59 ዓ.ም በተጻረ ማመልከታ ለከቡርነትዎ ፋ / ቤት አቀርበን ጊዜው መሠሯ ቤቱ አዲስ በመቷቷም ላይ ስለነበረ አስፈላጊው ባይታዘዝላቸው የይተ ነበር አሁን በከፍሉ አውራጃ ገዢት የመሬት ይዞታና አስተዳዳር ሠራተኖ አተ:ሥለራ-ገ-መራዲአመ የሚባሉ ሕዝቡ ለዚሁ መልክም የሥራ ተገባር በሚነሳባ ጊዜ ዱጋፍ መሆን የሚገባቸውን ባለማሰብ ሕዝቡ በመንግሥት በረሃ መሬት ላይ ሠፍሮ ማረስና ማለማት አይፈተዱም አያሉ ተገቢ ባልሆነ ሁ ኔታ በመታወሙና በማስቸገር በቁጥር 330/330/61 ለየከፍሉ ወረዳ ገዢት በመጻፍ ሕዝቡ በሥራ ከ መሻሻል ዓላማ ወደኋላ አንዲመለስ በማድረጋቸው በሕዝቡ ላይ ከባዱ ጉዳት የሚያደርስ ሆኗል፤ ስለዚህ ለከቡርነትዎ ባጭሯ የሥናመለከተው ሕዝቡ በረዛ ችገር አስገዳችነትና ተስታሸነት ለሥራ ተነሳስቶ በዘሁ በ61 ዓ.ም አስከ ሁለት ሺህ የሚገመቱ በቃች በብዛት በዘሁ በበረሃው ላይ ሠፍረው ለማረስ የተዘጋጁ አሬሽ ገበሬዎች አፈጻጸማቸው የመሬት ይዞታ አስተዳናር ለሕዝቡ የሚ ስበውን የአርሰ ወቀተም ዓላማ የተከተሉ ስለሆነ ወደፊት የሚደረገውን መሪ ትዕዛዝዎን በመጠበቀ መሬቱ በተለዩ ታውቆ መሬት ለሌላቸው ኢት-ዮጵያዊ ሁሉ ገማሽ ጋሻ በሚፈቀደው አዋጁ መሠረት አስፈላጊው ከከቡርነትዎ አስኪፈተዱላቸው ዱረስ የረዛ አደጋና ችገር ለመቷቷም በዘሁየመንግሥት

118

Appendix - 13 - 1

ሰላም ግብር አስባስብ ያገር ማዳን ሚኒስቴርና የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር ታስማማም ተጨማሪ የታሰጠ ትእዛዝ ስለመሬት ግብር አስባስብ በቁጥር ፫ የወጣዉ አዋጅ የታወጀበትዉ መግቢያ በታላቅ አምባችን ወረዳ ገዢዎች ታሰ ንቂያ ምክትል ወረዳ ገዢዎችም በባለአደራችን በጫቃ ጽ/ቤት ሬዳትነት ግብሩን በተወሰነዉ ጊዜ ማስገባት አለባቸዉ።

ሁለተኛ።

ግብሩ አነታህሣሥ ፩ ቀን ፲፱፻፶ ሰኔ ፴ ቀን ድረስ ያሉ አጠቃላይ አንዱግባ የቆሎቀዳ ስለሆነ በዚህ ጊዜ ዉስጥ ግብሩ ሳይከፈልበት የሚዘለለዉን ገዳት በማስረዳት ምክትል ወረዳ ገዢዎች ለየአካቢው አስዋጮችን ማሳዎችና ግብር አካፋዮን ሕዝብ በትእዛዝ አየቀሰቀሱ ገቢ ማስመሰብ ጊዜ ታጠናቆ አንዱገባ ማድረግ አለባቸዉ።

በዚህ በታወሰነዉ ጊዜ ዉስጥ ግብር ያልከፈለዉን ባለርስት አስቸኳይ ቢበዛ ከሚያዝያ ፩ ቀን ፲፱፻፶ ሰኔ ፴ ቀን ድረስ እያስገዳዳዉ መጨረስ አለባቸዉ።

ሦስተኛ፣

በሁለቱ ጉዳይ አንፍ አንዳችም መከከተዉ ግብሩ ታጠቃለዉ ሳይገባ የቀረ አንዴ ሆነ የሚጠየቁዉ ግብር አምስት ወረዳ ግዛት ሠልጣን የማይበልጥ ሲሆን ሴቃ አምስት በምክትል ወረዳዉ ገንዘ ሳይ አየከሰሱ ያስገባሉ አምክትል ወረዳዉ ገንዘ ሠልጣን ብላይ ሲሆን ግን ምክትል ወረዳ ገንዘቦች ባለርስቱን ከመረዳመ መዳም ሠልጣኑ በሚቈቅዱለት ፍርድ ቤት አየከሰሱ ሌላ ሀብት አንዳለዉ አየታሸጠ ለግብሩ አንዳገባ ሌላ ሀብት አንዳለዉ ግን ያልታገለለት መሬት ከሐራጅ ታሸጠ ግብሩ አንዳለከለዉ ያዳርጋሉ።

አራተኛ፣

በአገር ዉስጥ ገበሬ የሌለዉ መሬት ሲገኝ ገበሬ አለመኖሩን በጽሕፈት አያዳገለገ ምክትል ወረዳዉ ገዢ ለወረዳዉ ግዛት ፍርድ ቤት ከማመልከት ማስማማት አለበት የወረዳዉ ገዢና የፍርድ ቤቱ ዳኛ አንድ ሆነ ጠቅላይ ገዢዉ ካልሆነ ጠቅላይ ገዢዉ ባለርስቱ የሚቀርብበትን ጊዜ ወስኖ ከግዛቱ ዋና ቀና አቶ ማና ከመሬቱ በሚገኝበት ቦታ ማስታወቂያ አንዲለጠፍ ያደርጋል።

ይህ ማስታወቂያ ከያንዳንዱ ወር ፩ ጊዜ አየወጣ አቀለጠፈ ከኋላ ባለርሰቱ ያልቀረበ አንዳለ የታወቃዉ ዘመን ግብር አስፈጽሙ ከሌላ ሠልጣኑ ከሚቈቅዱለት ፍርድ ቤት አስፈቅዶ መሬቱ አየታሸጠ ግብሩ አንዱገባ ማድረግ አለበት።

አምስተኛ፣

ማናቸዉም የሐሬጅ ጨረታ ሂደት የሚፈጸመዉ ከወረዳዉ ግዛት ለአየሰነ ሸንጎ ሁለት ጠ ምክትል ወረዳ ግዛት መሬቱ ከሚገኝበት አቅራቢ ከጨረታ አስም መልሬ አለበት ሐራጅ

1/4 ዳኛ ገጽ

Appendix – 13_2

ክሳችሁ

ቀጋዉንም መሸመሪያ ያገሩ ሽማግሌዎች ከመሐከሩ ገምተው ከፈሉመ ከኔ ከ ከዳር ዳር ጋር ሳያይዙ ከጠራቹ ሽያጭ የመሸመሪያ ቀጋ ይሆናል

ክሳችሁ

ካ[illegible] ዓመት ይምሮ ከገባሪ አጦት ምክንያት ሳከቀመ ከማሳሽ ቤቶች አጅየ ሚገኙ መሬቶች ሁሉ ባድኖው አጅ ከአሳመከማቹ ይህ ትእዛዝ ከዳሪከጉት ቀን ይምሮ ምክንያ መሬት ገዢዎች ለፊጣት ከሚፈቅዱለት ዳርዱ ቤቱ ከከ አያ ቀሪው ግጦር ያልከፈለከበትን መሬቶች ከሐራጅ ከማሸጉ ግጦሩን ያለገባ ክ

ክጣሳት

ክከ ግጦሩ አለማለ አንዲሁ አየምክንያ መሬት ግዛት አለፈሬ ካረጠን የመቆ ጣጠሪያን ይሳሳር በጽሑፍ ጉዳይ አማካይነት ያገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር መስጠት አለበት

ክምንሳት

ምክንያ መሬት ገዢዎች ግጦሩን ከሳመለከ ጊዜ ከፈለጉ ሳያስገቡ ቢቀሩ መቆጠሪያው ዓመቆጣጠሪያውን ዓሳር በሚገባ ባይሠሩ መሬት የሚሸጠውን መሬቶች ከሐራጅ ከጊዜያቸ ባይሸጡ ሥራቹዉን ከሚገባ አለመፈጸማቸውን መቆጣ ጫ ግዛት ሳመለከቹ ከቅጣት መሬት ከሥራ ከማለመጣት ከገባሪ አለመመለጠቹን

ዘጠነኛ

ይህ ትእዛዝ ክምክንያ መሬት ገዢዎች ቢሉንም ከሸጉ አለግጦሩ አለበ ት ከቅጣሚነት ሳመያቂ ወሩ ጠቅለ ይ አገሩ ገዢዎች አለሆኑ አዘዘ ወሰደ ሃፋዘር ዘርዉን ትእዛዝ በትጋት አንዲፈጸም ማድረግ አለበቸው

ያገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር ያገር መሸት ሚኒስቴር

ስለትክክል ግልባጭ

በቁጥር ክ/3789/1/49 የተሰረ
10 ሳ.ም. በተጻፈ ደብ
ስሌ ፣ ጋር አለመሆኖ የተሳሳ ግልባጭ

4/495

Appendix-14

ቁጥር 2/1/54=

መስከረም 4/54ዓ.ም.

ለክቡር የወለጋ ጠቅላይ ገዛት በጅሮንዱ ጽ/ቤት

ነቀምቴ

ክቡር ሆይ::==//

በነቀምቴ ወረዳ ገዛት በዲጂሠ በረሃ ውስጥ ስለሚገኘው የመንግሥት መሬት ጉዳይ በቁጥር ለ/12942/1/53 የጻፉልን ደብዳቤ ደርሶናል::—=

ሀ/በዚሁ ጽሑፍ በ1ኛ ተራ ቁጥር የተመለከተው የመንግሥት መሬት በአይነምት 4760ጋሻ ነው::—=

ለ/በ2ኛ ተራ ቁጥር የተመለከተው በዚሁ በዓይነ ምት ከታወቀው ጋሻ መሬት ውስጥ 300 ጋሻ መሬት ሽንቀሎች የሰፈሩበት ሆኖ የሽንቀሎቹም ቁጥር ብዛት 277ሲሆን ገበሬነም ከ1 አስከ 3 ደረሻ በሰው ቁጥር በዓመት አንዲከፍሉ የተወሰነባቸው $1317ብር ከ50ሣንቲም ሲሆን ከዚህም ሌላ በ28ጋሻ በዓመት የመጋዘ ገብር ይከፈልበታል በዚህ አኳኋን የተያዘው ጋሻ መሬት ልክ በጅምሬ 382 ሲሆን ቀሪው 4378 ሆኖ ፩60 ጋሻ ደን የዘሆነ ማሪቢያ ሲሆን 3718 ጋሻ ሥራ ያልያዘ ነው::—=

ሐ/በ3ኛ/ተራ ቁጥር የተመለከተው በቀበሌው ውስጥ የገል በለቤት የለም ገነ ሽንቀሎች በሰው ቁጥር አንዲከፍሉ የተወሰነባቸው ገብር ካቀማኝነ በሳይ ሆነብን በማለት ከ42ፀ.ም) አስከ 53መቧረሻ ያልከፈሉት ወፃፍ ገብር ልክ $7967.30 ነው::—=

መ/በ4ኛ ተራ ቁጥር የተመለከተው መሬቱ ቀላዱ ያልተጣለበት ና መገመጃ ካርኔ ያላወቀው ቢሆንም የገል በለቤት የሌለበት የመንግሥት መሬት ነው::—=

ስለዚህ ከፍ ብሎ ቁጥሬ በተጠቀሰው ለተጠየቀነው ሁኔታው ከዚህ በላይ ከሀ .አስከ መ? ፊ ደል ተራ ቁጥር አንደተመለከተው መሆኑን በማክበር አናመለክታለን::—————————=//

ከማክበር ሰላምታ ጋር::

ማሕ ተም
የለ ቀም ት ወረዳ ገምሻ ቤት
ስለ ቅሺው ዓለሙ በንቲ

ፊርማ
ወልደ ማርያም ካብ ትመር

Appendix- 15-1

ፌዴራል ሲቪል የመሬት ቁጥር ፣፣6/፪

ለ/ በዲቪዝማች ገብረ ኤግዚአብሔር መዝገብ ላይ የቀረበዉ

ቁጥር 36/ ሲቪል የመሬት ቁጥር ፈረ, ፣፣6፣ መሬት ሆኗል።

የሁለቱ መዝገቦች ልዩነት ቪታይ በዴሐሌ ኦኤዛዝ ገብረ ለሳሴ ማሕቶም የቃሎመዉ መዝገብ ከሁለቱ የመዝገብ ፈጋዩ ቁር 39፪3 ጋር መሬት እንዴ ዩኒልኤ ይኽዉ ሲቪል ኤላይ በፉጠሬሰዉ ቢዩንስዉ መዝገብ ላይ የባለርስቱ ስም ዝርዝር ላይ ዳይፍኑት የባላባቱኤ የሲሶኤ የገባርኤ የሰሞነኤ የሻለቃ መሬቶቹ ያነዳንዱዉ ዩምር ብቻ ታድርስት የሚገኘዉ መሆኑን የቀረበዉ ዩሐፍ አረጋግጧል።

ፃ/ ከቢር ዲቪዝማች ገብረ ኤግዚአብሔር ባለቃወቃ ምስንቃት ቆሮዉነር ቀላዪን አሳንሰዉ ለመነግሥት አለቃዉ ቆዉ በዴሐሌ ኦኤዛዝ ገብረ ለሳሴ ማሕቶም ቃት ም ቢላከላቸዉ ም በዚሁ መዝገብ ላይ የነዙ ባለባለቆችና ባለመሬቶቹ ስም ዝርዝር ባለመገኘቱ ብዙ ዘመነ የገበሩበት ርስቶቻዉን ባለባት ቃቸዉን ኤነዲያገኙ አማ ዩረግ በሕግ ሌት ቁር ከማለፍት ም ይልት በ3ት ዓ.ም መሬት የተገመተበትን ርርም አንመለከታዉ በዚሁ በሁለቱ መዝገብ የተገመቱና ለሥሌዉ ሂጋሌ ሆኖ ሲሠራበት የሚገባ መልካም ዉና የሆነ መገንዩ ያለዉ በቀጥታ መገላለጽ የሚያገኝ ሁኩቦዉ መዝገብ መሆኑ ታዉቋል።

3ት በመገላለጽ ም በጌ የዴሐሌ ኦኤዛዝ ገብረ ለሳሴ ማሕቶም ያለበት የባለርስቱን ስም ዝርዝር የሚያሰረዳ ለመዩሌት ለሌ የሚያገለግል በመሆኑ በሁለቱ ቃሌ የተዓሌዉ መዝገብ ለሠሌቶችም መሰ ሆኖ ከባለርስት የሚያገኝ ጠቃሚ ሰለሆነ በዩንስዉ መዝገብ ላይ የልተገኘዉን 3, ዳይ3 ጋር መሬት ለዓላማ ናት ኤነዲሠሌበት መፈለጉ የማይ ቆር ሲሆን በዚሁ መዝገብ ለማጅዉ ያልተገኘዉን ባለባቆች ለማገዩ ብቻ በዴሐሌ ኦኤዛዝ ገብረ ለሳሴ ማሕቶም የቃተለመ መኖሩን ምክንያት ኤዮርጉ ለመቀበል ኤልተቻለዓል።

ኤነዲዚሁ ሁለቱ መዝገብ በ3ና ዓ.ም የርስት ክፍለ ጩም በነበ ሩት በሌታዉሌ ዓለጠሌሶስ በጽሁ ኤቹ ከነበሩ ያገር ማዛት መሪ ለቆር ተፅኖ በቂ መዝገብ መሆኑን ከመመዘልነስ በነበር ያገር ማዛት መሪ ለቆር መገለቆም ሃቱም ኦን ዲሠሌበት ተሌቅ ዩ የርስት የዉል ዲሬክቶር የነበሩት ኤቮ ነጋስ ገብሬ ሌርመ ወሰት ከ3ኛ ዓ.ም ኤስከ ዛሬ ለሠሌበት የቄዩ ስለሆነ የበሳዩ መሠሮ በት ቃቀጠሉ ኤነዲሠሌበት በሌቀዩዉ በሁለቱ መዝገብ ኤነዲሠሌበት ሲቴ ጉባዔዉ ግን ቃል ተለ ማፃፆዎቹ ቃል።

Appendix - 15-2

ደቂዝማቹ ጉብረ ሄግዚአብሔር ምግም ራሳቹ በሙሉ መዝነባ ዝርዝር ግብሩን ከሕዝቡ የሚቀበሉ ቢሆን ከዲግማዊ ምኒሊክ ሬቾም አባታቹ ደቂዝማቹ ሞሊዳ ኢካም ራሳቹ በራቻዊ ከገራቾውን ማዕበቹ አስደርገው የመንግሥትን ግብር በቋርጥ የሚገብሉ አለሆነ ቦአገራቹውም ውስጥ ያለውን የጋሻ ቁጥር ልክ ማስታወቅ ግዴታ አለነበራቹው መጽፍ ግብሩ ቋርጥ በመሆኑ የታወሰነ ነው በማለት የሙከ ጋጽ ዝርዝር ያስፈለጉንና አገሩም የሚሄዳ ደርሰኝ መዝነባ ከራሳቹው አስቀርታው ሰኔስታዳዴር ሄንዲመቻቹው ከዚሁ ጦሱ ዝርዝር በመጠሩ ቀንሰው የሚቀረውን በመዝገብ ሄድሌው በዲግማዊ ምኒልክ ጊዜ አዲስ አበባ ልከው አለነበርና ይኸው መዝገብ ከታዴ ጽኋ በዴሐሌ ትሄሣጽ ገብረ ሥላሴ ማሕታም ታቾ ሃ ቶመልሶ አለቶ ሳነነሳቾው ጎዴለውን መዝገባ በሰዉር አስቀምጠዉ በራሳቹው በትልቁ መዝገብ የባለ ርስቶ ጉልትም የባለ ቋሮ ም ይልይል ሳይሉለስ ሊሠራበት ሄንዲቈይ ሄድርገዋል።

ጠላት ከለቀቀ ወዲህ ሄንሩ ሄንዲቈይሞው በቋርጥ ግብር መቶ ዲዲሩ ቀርቶ በአዲስ ዲገባ ግብሩንና ከሥራቹን ብላይ በትጠቀሰዉ በዋናው የጋጽ ዝርዝር በኢለበት መዝነብ መሠረት ሄየተከራለ መቈቤት የታረጋገጠ ነው።

ባለ ሊሶ በመዝገብ ሄያለመሰነረ ሊሶወገ ሄንዲቈሰል ከግርማዊ ጎጉሠ ነገሠት ለለተ ሬቾዲ በመዝገቡ ሄለመሰግንር ላይ ጉዳዩ የተፈለገ ሆሞ ለሥራው መልካም ሄሬዳዲም ሄዲጋጅ የሆነዉ ዋናዉ ምክንያት የዲቂዝማቹ ጉብረ ሄግዚአብሔርን መዝገብ ዲገበር ሆሎ ሄንዲይሠራቹና ለባለ ሊሶ መሬትና ባለ ርስት ጉልት ነገ ለሚኬ ሰዎቹ ሁሉ ምስጋር ለመሆገ የማይከዉ የዲሬሬ ቾኬ ዛዝ ጉብረ ሥላሴ ማሕታም ያለበት መዝገብ ሳቹ ዲሁገ የማል ማዘዣ ከነጋዲሬሬ ንቦማነህ በመቀሳለኬና በሚገናዉ መዝገብ ማመለግገርን ባለመሬቀዲ ነዉ።

ሕዝቡ ግን ከጋላ ዘመገ ዲምሮ ጠላት ሄገባቦት ዘመገ ዲረስ ገኽ ሄድርጉ የሚያዉቀው ዲቂዝማቹ ጉብረ ሄግዚአብሔርን ብቹ ሄገዲነበረ ሊቶለባ በአገሩም ላይ ቈላዲ ለለጥለው ለሁሉም ሄገዲይዘታው ዲልዲለወና መዝገብ አስገብቶዉ ግብሩን በቋጥታ የሚቈበሉት ራሳቹው ሄገዲነበት ሊቶታወቅ ሁለት መዝገብም ማቈማቹ ዉና ሄገዲ በለአዉሮ ቶቈማቈ ሆኖ ሁለቶኖው ግን በዲሬ የቶወቀና በነዚህም ሁለት መዝገቦች መሮገል ልዩነት መኖሩን ሕዝቡ ሄለበ ላሬ ያለወቀና ገና ለሁን በመለማቶ የሕዝቡን ኬሬቶታ አዲባሪ ሆም ይገፍል።

Appendix – 16

ቁጥር፡ / ጥቅምት ፩ ሃያ ፯ ዓ.ም.

ከኢትዮጵያ ብርሃን ግርማዊ ቅንሥያ

አዲስ አበባ

ግርማዊ ሆይ፡

ከግርማዊነትዎ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት ከተወሰዱ ኢትዮጵያ ሕዝብዎ ከሰቲያህራት የምንኖር ዐሥ ፰ዎ የዱከሚ ወረዳ ሕዝብ ከባሕር ጠራን ሕን መንግሥት እንቀጽ ፰ መሠረት አዋርንን የምናቀርበው ጽሑፍ ከግርማዊነትዎ ሬት ሙገሳ ከባንዲራን ከወረሱብን ሰንደቅ ዓላማ ጋር እንዲሄዱ ጉዳታችንን ዘርዝረን እናቀርባለን፡

የዊረሱብን ጉዳት፡ ፲ኛ የባንዛብ መሪኒስ ሙር ዎ ሲሉ ርስታችንን ከመሰረዉ ብን የጣስብንን ጉዳት ከመከነሳነስ ንሱ ከቅርብን ፫ ፋ ወራት ሙኩ ተከራ ክረን ከመመለሳ ግር ማዊነትዎ ሲሉአችንን በፍርሙ ካዱአሪን በኋላ እጁ ካሣ ተመን የማምለ ከሙራጅ ገዥ የሚሰን ግብር ሰንከፍ ከንዲሚሉ ሳይሆን እንዴ ገበር መሬት በሰፋው ሥፍራ ከሰፋ መጠን ከፍ አርጎንቀውን ከሰንበሩን፡

፪ኛ በሳር ዓ.ም ገናጨ በመቋረጡ ምክንያት እህላችንያከናፈ ከሰቀረብን ከግርማዊነትዎ የሚያስታውሰዉን በማጣት በሳፊ ዓ.ም ሙሰጥ ከረሃብ የተንዱና የሞቱት ወገኖቻችን ከሙጥር የበዛ ነው፡

፫ኛ የወሰን መሬት ተራራማ ስለ ከእህል ብዙ የማይመች መሆኑ እየታወቀ እርሻ ተሻሽሏል በማለት ገና ከብዛ ኛችን በዱማ ጥቂ ቶቻችን በበሬ እያረስን ከጉሮሮአችን መሳያ እንኳን ሳንበቃ ከዚህ ከሳይ እንዲመለከትነው በረሃብ እያ ለቅን ከሆን መሬት ይገመት ጠፋ ሰም ይሆን እያለ የገነዘብ መሪኒስ ሙር ዎ ኢት ዮጵያን ከኢትዮጵያ ለይዎ ያማራና የትግሬ ከገር አይነጣም የጋሳ ከገር ብቻ ይገመት ሲል መሣዘገር ፊ ነ ሠራተኞም ዲሪዲከሰ ናል፡

ግርማዊ ሆይ፡

ይህ እዳቱ ጋገመ የዱረሱብን ቀምበር ርጩር ሰ ከእንገር የሚያሰመጣ መስከሰ ለለ ታዎን ከአምሳላችን ከዱራ ከተቀበልን ከቢቱታ መቅረብ ግዴ ሆነብን፡

ከሁን ግርማዊነትዎን የምንከፍነው ሐጋሰ የግርማዊነትዎ እጁ ባሕርን ተኛግ ሮ ከለያን ናል አሙሮጋን ከባሕር ወዲህም ሎማ ሲን ናል ያሳይነን ሕዝ ብ ሰ ያጠፋብ እኛን በምሆራብ መሐን የምንኖረውን የኢትዮጵያዎያን ቋራሜን የን ንዛብ መሪኒስ ሙር ዎ ሰ ያጹን የሚነብን ከባዱ ቀምበር ይነሣለን ዘንዱ በሕ ገ መንግሥት እንቀጽ ፲፰ መሠረት ሕዱ መሆናችን ቀርቶ በኢትዮጵያ በመኩ የመሬት ግምት ሲነሣ የእኛም መገመት እንዲሆን ይታዘዝለን ዘንዱ ወዱቀን እንለምናለን፡

ባሮችዎ የዱከሚ ወረዳ ሕዝብ፡

ደዘራ

2/495 Appendix-17-1 ፌ/ኦ/5766/1/48

ለንጠራር፡ የገንዘብ፡ ሚኒስቴር፡ የመሬት፡ ገቢ፡ ቁጥጥር፡ መምሪያ፡

አዲስ፡ አበባ፡

የቂሊንጦ፡ አዋራጅ፡ ባለንብረት፡ ካቀረቡት፡ አቤቱታ፡ መገንዘብ፡ 29/4 8 ቁ፡ ጥ
ቁጥር፡ 2819/7/48 የጋራችን፡ ይህንኑ፡ አገልግሎት፡ ይመለከታል።—

ቦሪሊም፡ አዋራጅ፡ አቶ፡ ገንዘቡ፡ ወጋ፡ የተባሉ፡ ያቀረቡት፡ አቤቱታ፡ ከአገራችን
ሰፊው፡ የሆኑ፡ ተመሳሳይ፡ ችግሮችን፡ ይዘዉ፡ ስለሆነ፡ ችግሮቹን፡ የመንግሥት፡ መሬት፡ አስ
ፈላጊነት፡ ነዉ፡ ፡ ቀሌጠት፡ አስቸኳይ፡ ሆኖ፡ ስለተገኘ፡ ከማለቃችን፡ ቃለ፡ መ
ይዞ፡ መሬት፡ በመጡ፡ ሰማቸው፡ ሽንጉዱ፡ ቅድሚያ፡ ተሰጥቶት፡ ያቀረቡትን፡ ጉ
ያቄ፡ የማጣራት፡ መሆኑን፡ በማስታወስ፡ እንደሚከተለው፡—

1ኛ/ የቂሊንጦ፡ አዋራጅ፡ ማህበ፡ መሬት፡ ልንጠቀም፡ በመጡ፡ ቁጥር፡ በሚገ
ኙ፡ መሬት፡ ባለቤትነት፡ የጉንጉኖ፡ ሰፈሮችን፡ ይዘዉ፡ የተመሠረተ፡
ቁጥር፡ መሆኑ፡ ባለቤትነት፡ ሚመሩ፡ ከቀሳዉ፡ ጎሳዎች፡ ቁጥር፡ የተመሠረተ
በዘር የወረሩ፡ ስለ፡ ነዉ።—ቁጥር፡ ሙሉ፡ በተደራጀ፡ ጊዜ፡ በማኅበሩ፡
ኃላፊዎች፡ መሰየም፡ ስራቸዉ፡ የተሰጠዉ፡ ትክክል፡ ከሆነ፡ ደንብ፡ ማክ፡ ሚ
ኒስቴር፡ ስነ፡ ሐሳቡ፡ ፲፫ ቀን፡ ዘንድ፡ ስለ፡ ሆኖ፡ ሰማቸዉ፡ የተከበሩ፡
ደብዳቤ፡ በ፪ኛ፡ ሰርድ፡ በ፬ኛ፡ ተራ፡ ቁጥር፡ ሲጠቀስ፡ እንደሚያስረዳዉ፡

1ኛ/ የማኅበሩ፡ ኃላፊዎች፡ ይዘታ፡ ስለ፡ ሆኖ፡ የያዙት፡ መሬት፡ ለቁጥር፡ ተለዋጭ፡
ስለ፡ ነበር፡ ቁጥር፡ ከሚሰፈርበት፡ ጊዜ፡ ከዚህ፡ እንደተለመዉ፡ ደንብ፡ ሲሰጣቸዉ፡
እንደነበር፡ የመንግሥት፡ ቤተ፡ ሰብ፡ በመዝገብ፡ እየተገለፀ፡ ይቆይ፡ ፡—

2ኛ/ ለአባላቱ፡ ሲሰጣቸዉ፡ ካነሱ፡ በኋላ፡ የመንግሥት፡ ቤተ፡ ሰብ፡ ከሚ
ሰጠዉ፡ መሬት፡ ለመመዝገብ፡ ቢሮክራሲ፡ ተቀጥሮ፡ እንደነበር፡

3ኛ/ ለአባላቱ፡ እንደተገለጠዉ፡ ለአገሪ፡ ሲሰ፡ መሳሳት፡ ቀርቶ፡ በመሰ
ጉት፡ መሬ፡ ግብር፡ እንዳቆሙም፡ ቢሉ፡ ሲሰ፡ መሳሳት፡ ቀርቶ፡ እንደገ
ዉ፡ ገንዘ፡ ይገለጡ፡ ተብሎ፡ በተሌ፡ ቁጥር፡ ሙሉ፡ መሠረት፡ መቅረቡ፡ ግዜ፡
ከንቱ፡ ያገሩ፡ ግዛት፡ ሚኒስቴር፡ የተጀመረዉ፡ ሁለት፡ ደብዳቤዎች፡ ግሰ
ባዊ፡ በመሆናቸዉ፡ በጊዜዉ፡ የቂሊጦ፡ አዋራጅ፡ ገጽ፡ ከነበሩት፡ ከላይ፡ ወደ
ገለጽ፡ ስመኛ፡ ሲራራ፡ ዉሳኔ፡ ፡ ነሐሴ፡ 22 ቀን፡ 37 ዓ፡ ም፡ ቁጥር፡ 12050/2.
በተጀራ፡ ደብዳቤ፡ አስተላለፉ፡ ለባለባቱ፡ በተሰጠ፡ ዉሳኔ፡ ምሰሶ፡ ያ
ለዉጀ፡ የመቅረፅ፡ ግዛት፡ ሰነድ፡ ቀን፡ ቁጥር፡ ሲሰጠዉ፡ አካል፡ ምስማማ
መሬቱን፡ ያመራ፡ መ፡ ምሪያዉ፡ ሚ፡ ም፡ ተሰጠዉ፡ ቁጥር፡ ከ
ተራ፡ ቁጥሮቹ፡ ሁለት፡ ሺህ፡ ምርሚያ፡ የትኛዉን፡ እንደ፡ ሚመለከ፡
ተመዳቀዉ፡ እንደ፡ ሰፈሩ፡ እንደ፡ [redacted] ሲሰጠዉ፡ እንደነበር፡ ከመዝገብ፡ ሰነ
ከ፡ ከመዝገቡ፡ ሬኮርዱ፡ መመሠረት፡ ባለ፡ ሥ፡ አዋራጅ፡ የሚገኙት፡ ባለባቱ፡ ኃ
በጠቅላ፡ ሲሰጣቸዉ፡ ሲያነሱ፡ የነበረ፡ ሰነድ፡ ከደ፡ አለባቱ፡ ሰ፡ ነዉ፡ ፡ ገለጠ፡

Appendix - 18

16/495

No. 5339/5178

Model 35

አዲስ አበባ Addis Ababa ግንቦት 10 1950 19

የኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት
የመንግሥት ንብረት ሚኒስቴር ።

IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT
Ministry of State Domain

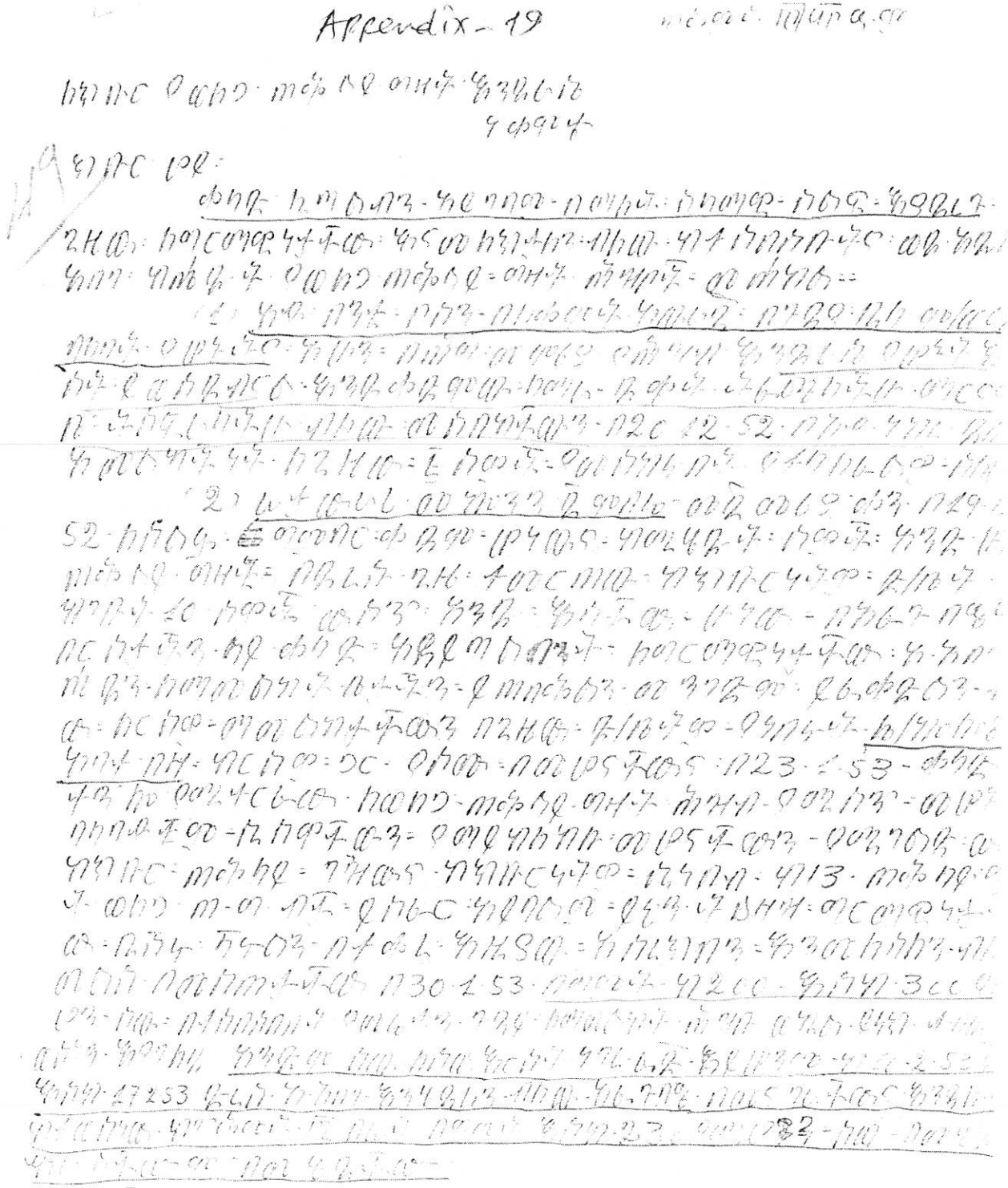
ለኢትዮጵያ ንጉሠ ነገሥት መንግሥት ፣
የወለጋ ጠቅላይ ገዛት ሽ/ቤት ፣

ከሮ በ ተጣለው ተበላ ከቡር ይሸጠች ዘውዴ ገበረ ሥላ
ቤ በርስትነት ተሰጥ ሸጦ ስለጫሉት 800 ስምንት መ ቶ ጋሻ
መረት ጉዳ ቄ አ ቶ ቱና አያና ሚያዝያ 19 ቀን 1958 ዓ.ም
ለ ቂለም አውራጃ ገዛት ሽ/ቤት ሲሰሩ ለከፍልያና ለመሥሪያ ቤ
ታችን ያደረጉት ገልጠ ይርሰናል ፤———————————
በጣመልከታው አገዩ ተገለጸው ሁሉ በሚገባ ተመርምሮ አ
ስፈላጊውን በመረጸም ውጪ ት አንዲገለጽልን አያሰሰብን ፣———
የጠ ቅላይ ገዛ ት በጅሮንዶም ይሽገኑ ጉዳይ በማሰብ በ
ተሉ አንዲገልጽልን በዙ ደብዳቤ ስጢ ያስጠነቀቀነው መሆኑን
በማክበር አናስታውቃለን ::———————————
ከማክበር ሰላም ታ ጋር ::

ዳይሬክተር ፣ ኃይለ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ዘውዴ

ገልጠ // ለወለጋ ጠቅላይ ገዛት በጅሮንዶ ፣
ለጠቅላይ ገዛ ት የመንገሥት ንብረት ሹም ::—

Appendix - 19



Appendix-20

ቁጥር፡ ፍ/ቤ/28

መስከረም ዘ ቀን፡ 2014 ዓ.ም.

የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ

በመለጋ ፡ የቁለም ፡ አሙራጃ ፡ ግዛት ።

ፍ ቤ ጠ. ር ፡

5/7/15

11/7/7

ከክቡር ሬጅስትራር ጀነራል ፡ ለሚከበሩ ፡

ደንበኛ ፡ ግሩፕ ፡ ሰላም ፡ ሀይስኩል ፡

ጉዳዩ ፡ የመጠን ፡ ማህተም ፡ ሠሠሪታችን ፡ ስለሠ ትክክለኛ ፡ በቅሬታ ፡ ምክንያት ፡ የተቀመጠ ፡ የእርዳ ፡ ሥራዎች ፡ ማሳወቅ ፡ ስለመሆኑ ፡ በማሳሰቢያ ፡ ደብዳቤ ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ መሆኑ ፡ ታውቆ ፡ ስለማሳሰቢያ ፡ ስጥ ፡ ወስኖ ፡ የተሰጠን ፡ ውሳኔ ፡ ነው ።

ይህን ፡ ጉዳይ ፡ የሚመለከት ፡ ከጠቅላላ ፡ ጠቅላላ ፡ ማህተም ፡ ጋር ፡ ስለሚመሳሰል ፡ የመጠን ፡ ጥቅም ፡ ላይ ፡ ስለዋለ ፡ ስለሆነ ፡ ከሰኔ ፡ 1 ፡ ቀን ፡ 2013 ፡ ዓ.ም ፡ ጀምሮ ፡ ለ 3 ፡ ወራት ፡ ያህል ፡ ከሰኔ ፡ 1 ፡ ቀን ፡ 2013 ፡ ዓ.ም ፡ እስከ ፡ ነሐሴ ፡ 30 ፡ ቀን ፡ 2013 ፡ ዓ.ም ፡ ድረስ ፡ ብቻ ፡ ጥቅም ፡ ላይ ፡ እንዲውል ፡ ተወስኖ ፡ ስለነበር ፡ ከላይ ፡ በተጠቀሰው ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ውስጥ

ማስታወሻ፡ Appendix - 21

ገርማዊ ሆይ፣

በነቋሴ 23/52 ዓ.ም. የወለጋ ጠቅሳይ ገዛት ልዝብ ሰሳማዊ ሰልፍ አቅርጉ በአገራቸን ሳይ ተሳቱ አይቄልበንም በማለት ለገርማዊነትያ የጻፈውን ማመልከቻ መሠረት በማድረገ ስለዚሡ የሰጠሁትን መልስ ገርማዊነትያ አንቄመለስተው ትከለኛ ገልጣውን ከዚህ ጋር አያይዜ በታሳቅ ትህትና አቅርቤያለሁ፡፡

መልሡን ከመስጠቴ በፊት የጉየቀን ውስጠ ተልቀነት በማሰብ ለጊዜው የተሰጠውን መልስ ከመጻፊ በፊት፡-

በቡር ይሻዝጣቸ ከበየ ተሰማን የበሴራዊ ጠር ጠ/ለዛሸ፡
,, አፈንጉሥ አሸቴን የጸጥታ ጮ/ሚኒስትር፡
,, ሊተ መኪስ ከበየ ወኮንን የአስተዳደር ጮ/ሚኒስትርን፡
የተከበሩ ሬቷውሪዳ በዙወርቀን የወለጋ ጠቅሳይ ገ/ሱን ዩሬሴን፡

ሰበስቡ በሚወሰደው አርምሻ ተስማምተናል፡፡

የሚተሳውን ሁናቴና አርምሻ በጊዜው ለገርማዊነትያ አተርባለሁ፡፡==

7.1953

ባርያያ፡

ራስ አንዳርጋቸው ማሩ

ሙያዩ ፡ ጥዮንት ፡ ማመልከቻ ፡
gree of Priority

Appendix-22

የራዲዮ ፡ ጣቢያ ፡ ስም ፡ S. Call

አስፈላጊ ፡ Important	አስቸኳይ ፡ Immediate	በጣምአስቸኳይ Most Immediate
1	2	3 ✓

ቴሌግራም ።

TELEGRAM

የተጻፈበት ፡ ቀንና ፡ ሰዓት ፡ Origin date & Time	የላኪው ፡ ቁጥር ፡ O/N	የቃል ፡ ብዛቶች ፡ Words	የጽ ፡ ቤቱ ፡ ማኅተሙና ፡ ቀን፡ Office Date Stamp
1.2.53	N/L	39	የመ ፡ ጽ ፡ ቤት ፡ 2/5

አድራሻዎች ፡
ADDRESS

ከ
From ወለጋ ጠ. ግ. ቤ/ቤት።

ለ
To ክቡር ፡ ሻለቃ ፡ ካንዳርጋቸው ፡ መሣፍ ፡

ግልባጭ ፡ ለ
Copy To

ጉዳዩ፡ TEXT በ30/11/53 ከቀኑ ፡ ከቀጣና ፡ ዕዳዲያም ፡ ከተከፈለኝ ፡ ካጠጣቢ ፡ ለዓሉ ፡ ሻለቃ ፡ ይለዓሉ ፡ ቤተሰብ ፡ ብዛ ቃልጋ ፡ 300 የወታደር ፡ ሕዝቅ = ሉስ ብለበጋ ፡ ለከ ቀኝ ካጠጣቢ ፡ ግሪቂ ፡ ካቤ ቱቱ ፡ ለመሳተፊ ፡ ብ ፡ ቱ ፡ ቤ ፡ ከ ፡ በአንዱ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ለከ መቂቀበታን ፡ ካብ 2/53 ቀን ፡ ሻለቃ ፡ 15/2/53 ዓ.ም ፡ ቤተሰ ፡ ካቤሱ ፡ ካበጣ ፡ ለመ ሰቂ ፡ የቱለ መጣሙን ፡ የሳ ነኝ ፡ መሆናቸው ፡ ሻንዳሌያጠቂኝ ፡ ካመለከተ ቂለሁ ።

ሌ ቻቸ ፡ መልሱ ፡ ገለሌ የወለጋ ጠ.ግ ፡ ካንዳሬ

የላኪው፡ሰው፡ፊርማ፡ Sign of Origin	ጊዜያቶች ፡ Time		ራዲዮ ፡ ሠራተኞች ፡ Operators		የመጣጥው ፡ ክፍል ፡ ምርመራ ፡ Signal Officer's Remarks
	ያለፈበት ፡ Transmitted	የደረሰበት ፡ Received	አ ሳ ላ ፊ ፡ Sender	ተ ቀ ባ ይ ፡ Receiver	
ምሥጢር ፡ Confidential					
ግልጽ ፡ Clear	15 ሰ ዐ ፡	1.2.53	መ.ካሳ ፡ ጣሰ ኮ	ኃ.ገ/ማርቆስ ፡ ሳኪ ፡	1/2/53

COMMERCIAL PRINTING PRESS - A.A. 25

በጉዳዩ ፡ ጥዮንት ፡ ማመልከቻ ፡ ውስጥ ፡ አንዱ ፡ ቁጥር ፡ ሲያዝ ፡ የቀረው ፡ ቁጥር ፡ ቃሉ ፡ ይሠረዛል ።
When a number is used, the word of the other numbers in the priority to be cancelled.

ተሃሳ፡ ስለመሰረዝ ?

Appendix -23

ሞዲል ፡ 35 ፡

ሥርዓተ ፡ ሣጥን ፡ ቁጥር ፡ 199

ቁጥር ፡ 3222/26/105

ቀን ፡ ጋዜጣ ፡ ዓ ፡ ም

ማኅደር ፡

የፖሊስ ፡ ሠራዊት ፀጥታ ጉዳይ መከላከያና ተምህርት ጽ/ቤት ፡

ለከፍተኛ የለገር ግዛት ሚኒስቴር
የአዲስ ኅዋታ ጥበቃ
አዲስ አበባ

ከፍተኛ ሆይ

የወለጋ ቤላቤቶች ሰመሬታቸን ሊይ ሳለው የይጣለበንዮ በማለት በሊማዊ ሰላፍ አድርገዋለ በለተከለው ጉዳይ በ ቁጥር 2749/26/105 መጋቢት 26 ቀን 53 ዓ ም ለ አዲስ አበባ ፖሊስ አዛዥና ለወለጋ ዞቅሊይ ግዛት ፖሊስ አዛዦች ሰንጻፍ የደረሰዎትን ግለቢ በማከበር አናሰ ታውሣለን፤

ስለዚህ ጉዳይ የአዲስ አበባ ከተማ ፖሊስ ዋና አዛዥ በደረጉት መከታተለ ቤላቤቶች ይህንኑ ጉዳይ ለግርማዊ ንጉሠ ነገሥት አመልክተው አገር ለጉይሆነ ተሆኖሊቸሁ የሚለ መልስ ስለ ተሰጠ ቸው ወደመጡበት አገር ተመለስ ቁል፤ ይቤሊለ ቢሉ በ ቁጥር ለነገ/1275 ግንቦት 1 ቀን 53 ዓ ም በ ተጻፈ ደብዳቤ ስለገለፁልን ይህንኑ ያውቁት ዘንድ በማከበር አናመለክታለን፤

ከማከበር ሠሊምታ ጋር

ግልባጭ
ለአዲስ አበባ ፖሊስ ዋና አዛዥ
አዲስ አበባ

የጉዳዩ ፍጻሜ አስቢታወቀ መከታተሉን ሣያቋርጡ አጋጣሚውን ሁኔታ እንዲገለፁልን ይሁን፤

Y9'53
15024

Appendix -24-1

ቁጥር ፩፻፵፱/ኦ

ሚያዝያ ፲፰ ቀን ፲፱፱፯ ዓ.ም.

ለከተማ ቤትና መሬት ልማት ጽ/ቤት

ዳሞት ጠቅላይ ግዛር

ሶቀጣጭ.

ከቡር ሠራ.

ጉዳዩ፡ ኢንቨስትመንት ፈቃድ ስለማሳደስ

ከላይ በጉዳዩ ርዕስ እንደተጠቀሰው ጉዳይ ከአቶ ዳዊት ሙሉጌታ ጋር በመሆን ያንቨስትመንት ፈቃድ ለማግኘት ከዚህ ቀደም ጥያቄ ማቅረባቸው ይታወሳል። ይህንኑ ጥያቄ ተከትሎ ከከተማ ግብርና ጽ/ቤት ጋር በመሆን ቦታውን ለመጎብኘት ተችሏል። በዚህም መሰረት ቦታው ለእርሻ ስራ ተስማሚ መሆኑ ተረጋግጧል። ስለዚህም ቦታውን ለማልማት ፈቃደኛ ስለሆኑ ፈቃዱን እንዲያድስላቸው ጠይቀዋል።

፩ኛ ከላይ በተጠቀሰው አንቀጽ ላይ በተጠቀሰው መሰረት ቦርዱ ለአቶ ዳዊት ሙሉጌታ የሰጠውን የኢንቨስትመንት ፈቃድ ለማደስ ስለወሰነ፣ የፈቃድ ማደሻ ክፍያ ብር ፭፻ (አምስት መቶ ብር) ገቢ እንዲያደርጉ ተወስኗል።

፪ኛ በዚህ ቦርድ መሰረት ቀጣይነት ካለው ልማት አንጻር የሠነ-ምግባር ጉድለት ሳይኖርባቸው ፈቃዱን በወቅቱ ለማደስ ጥረት ማድረግ ይጠበቅባቸዋል።

፫ኛ አግኝተዉት ሌሎች ግዴታዎች ካሉ ብቻ፣ ቦታቸው እንዲከበር ወረዳ፣ ቀጣና ባለሥልጣኑ ከኢንቨስትመንት መሬት ልማት ጋር በመሆን ቦታውን በማየት የሚቀጠር የሰው ሀብት ሊያገኙ የሚችሉ፣ ቀረጥ ነፃ የማግኘት፣ የመሬት ሠራተኛ ሳያፈናቅሉ በሚል ሂደት ከዚያም በኋላ ቀረጥ ነፃ ካርታ ሊፋ ሊፋ ዕቃዎች ያገባሉ ማለት፣ አረንጓዴ ስፋት ማስተዳደር ያንሱ እንዲሁ ሊሉ የሚያስቀጡ ነገሮች ፭፣

፬ኛ አቶ አዳነ ኢንና፣ ሊሉ ቦርዱ ሂደ አገልግሎቱ ሠያሚ

2088

Appendix - 24-2

ዛሬ በገሌኮ በጉሬ በጠበቀ ምሥጢር በብዙ የሚቆር ገንዘ ካቧ ይቀጥላሉ ማለትን ስምቼ በገሌኮ በጉሬ መሀንምቤት የሚወሰዱ ሬዳ ሬቆ ያሬቃወቁ ሌት መገባዳች መደገሠሌት መገባሥት ጠዬቼ ፣ ያሚወሰዱ ስላሉ ከጉዳች ካቧ ፣ ንዳገወሱትና ፣ የመገባሥቱያ ጥቅሞ በቧምነ ኦገዳስበበ ገንሌኮ መቧንምቤት ፣ ሚመሰዱው መገንቧ ቀርቻ በትሌቱ በቃወቀጡ በዋናው በቧምበያሉ ንቀማ መኪና መገንቧ ማናችጡም ነው ኦገዳቃላሉ ስላዬሪገኑ ፣ ቃሉመቆው ፣ ማችው በመገንቧ መከሌከሪ ስሉተቀነሰ ኦቧ ኦቧነጡ ኪጉ ፣ የሚሠቴት ጋምቤ ነ ፣ ገምሉነ ስለሆነ ባቧሬቼ ምገንቧ ይዳርጎችጡ የነበረው ሬዳሬዳ ፣ ዕቃ ስለቃ ነዳገችጡና የጋሉ ሉዘን ስሉገጎችው ይዘገን ሉመዳቼ ፣ ኦነው ኦቧቧ ፣ ኦኔ ኦገዳዘህ የሉጡን አቧሆን ። ቁማሉስበጡና ፣ የማሉሠራጡ መሆኑን በንቧሬ ባዘቱ ያሉ ያዬ ጣኒየትሬሉዎን ፣ ኃሉሌ ኩማቃወንቱችና ሠራቱችኝ ማናችጡም ነገጡ ያጡቆ ነኖ ። ከቀርማዊነታችጡም የሉቀበሬነጉት ቃሉቅ ኦዲሬ ያማዳኖችንጡርነትዎ የ ገያመዘዘነው ኦይቀርም ።።

ክቡር ሆይ ፣

በመሥሬ ቤቱ ሆነን ፣ ባዳምሳ በሠራነጡ ሁሉ ሉማን ሳሣቤ ኦሉተሬጹመልን መ በማሉት ቀም ኦቧርጌ ፣ ምን ኦሉሳችን ሩሬ ፣ በሂዊሬት ፣ ዕጡነትን ኦቦቧቂ ሉስትን ፣ ነብርቂ ፣ ታሪኔን ኦበሳሽቂ ፣ ኦገዲተመልሳንች ይዘን ቱሮ ፣ ኦስወቀስጪ ዲሉኖሬ በማ ነት ይዘን ሉመዳቧ ዲሬሬ ኦገቧ ፣ ኦኔ ፣ የሚጻቧችንና ፣ ያጓሬጡ ስጡ ስማ ፣ የመገሉጹመ ነኦን በያጡቆ ባሬዲሬሬማ ነበርፒ ኦሁገማ ፣ ስባርማዊነታችው ፣ ቀተቀበኡትን ታሳሉ ነዲሬ ፣ በመመልሳንች በስገቱ ፣ በማሉስበጡና ፣ ባሬሠራሁት ሥሬ ፣ ኦስመስሉ ፣ ቧሮ ኦይወት ታሪኔን ኦበሳሽቂ ፣ ኦገዲይቀር ነገሉ ኦቁጻማ ኦገዲዲርስ ፣ ኦገዲያዲር ሬች ፣ እያመሉንቱኡ ፣ የዚህ ያብዲቤ ጡሳኔ ኦገዲመመጣልች ኦክቡርነትዎ አመሉስታ ሁኗ ።።

ከማክበርስላማታ ጋር

ካሊ ኦክቡር ጠቅሳይ ሚኒስቴርፒ ኦ አበባ ፣
" ኦክቡር የኦገር ግዘቱ ሚኒስቴር ፣ "
" ኦክቡ የገንዘብ ሚኒስቴር " "

18-9-39

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Appendix-25-1

[redacted]

ለአከባቢ ማስፈር ባለሥልጣን
ለመንግሥት እርሻ ልማት ባለሥልጣን
በጂጋ

ጉዳዩ በጅጋ ከተማ የቆዳ ፋብሪካ መገንቢያ የሚውል ቦታ ስለመጠየቅ

ከሕዝባዊ ተሰባስቦ ዊት ኢት ፍጽያ ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት የእርሻና የሕዝብ ማስፈር ሚኒስቴር ቋሚ ተመሪ ዋር 20/60 ዓ.ም በቁጥር: 4/ደሽአነ/ቁ0በ ተጻፈ ደብዳቤ በወለጋ ክ/ሰገር በአገባር ቆላማ በተጀመረው የእርሻ ልማት ሰፖንሰር ከተ ሰማሩት ሁለ ተኛዎቹ የሚቀረጥን ሰሠፈራ ንብረታቸው አገዲሳ ተፋ የሚደረግበተን መንገዱ ለመፈለግ ከሁለቱ ባለሰለጣኖች የተውጣጣ ሰውን በበታቹ ተገንቶ የናቱ አገዲያ ሃዱ መታዘዙ ይታወሰል::

ሆኖም ከመንግሥት እርሻ ልማት ባለሥልጣን ለዚሁ ሥራ ተመርጦ የተሰጠኑ ሰው ግዜናርዎ በቦታው ተገኝተንና ተዘ ዋጩረን የሥራውን አርዎቷ አገደ ተመለከተ ነው::

1/ ፍርጅቱ በዘንጅርው ዓመት 1200 ህጠታር ብቻ አርሶ ለዞር ለማውረስ አንደ ሚኖለ

2/ ዉሽው ለዞር የተዘጋጀው 1200 ህጠታር የሚገኙው ለለማቱ ከተሞጅው 6500 ህጠታር መኃከለ በመሆኑ ከዚሁ 1200 ህጠታር ሳይ ተቀርሶ ለሠፈሩ ጉ ነርግሪዎ መሬት ውሰዋ አርሻ ልማቱ ለወደፊቱ ለመስፋፋት የተለመውን ሰቀዱ ማግኘ ቀፋዎ በሳይ ወሰኖ ሰለሚያቀረው::

3/ የሠፈሪ ንርግሪዎ ከዚሁ የተመ ነውረው 1200 ህጠታር ውጭ ይጀመር ከሰሩ በጠ ለሥልጣኑ መመሪያ መሠረት ሠፋሪያንን መርጠ የጊዜለርን መሬት ከሰሩ በግመገ በርና በማስፈር ስለሰጠበው የሬ ርተ ያስገኛሉ ተብለው የሚገመ ዞነ ሰሀሉቹ ለመንሪት የቀረው ጊዜ እኛር በመ ኑም በሳይ ዘንጀቹ በስረያቱ ሬት ለሣዘ ረት የለሀለ ሳይ ነቶች የእርሻ ሥራችን ሰእኛር ጊዜ ውስጥ በተፈለገኑ ሁነታ ለማዘጋጀት የለጠበሰው ከረያት ከሰዉ በመ ነ እነሱ ከጀመረ በኃላ ንእርሻችን ሥሪ ለማካሄዱ በሰዉ ሰለሚገ:

የአከባቢ ማስፈር ባለሥልጣን በረጠት ሥራ ሳይ ከተሠማረት ተረከቱሮን ለሳ ለ በታው ተሰማሚ የሆኑ ተረበተሮችን ለመወሰን ችገር ሰለገጠመበት ረ ቀኑ ያለፉ ቀለጉ የእርሻ ሰማሪያ መጋለት ሰሳለበተና ይህም ግዜ ሰለሚገሰሱ ንግዱ አዲስ በመጠረን ሳሉ ያለ ሰለሆነ ሰበረያት ሰቃ ለማጋጠ

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Appendix- 25_2

ለሰ ነጋሪ ጠመሀኑ::

5/ የመንግሥት ስርሻያቸ ልማት ባለሥለጣን ልማቱን ዘግይቶ የተረከበ በመሆኑ የዕቅዱ መሠረት የተተለመውን መሬት በስርሻ ሳይ ለማየስ በመቧደፍ ሳይ ሲሆን ከውርጅቱ ስርዓታ ይገኛል በሚለ ተስፋ የሠፈራ ንሮግራም ቢጀመር ገና በመቋቋ ም ሳይ ቢለው የስርሻ ልማቱ ሳይ ከፍ ተኛ ሽከም መሣለ ከመሆኑም በላይ ሊያደ ናቀፊው ሰለሚችል::

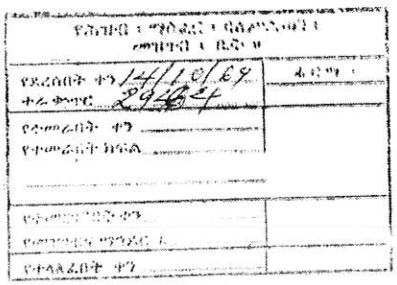
6/ የለንገር ጫጫ የስርሻ ልማቱ የተጀመረበት ዓለማ የሥራ አየን ችግር ለመቋቋ ም ስንጂያለና ምርትን ከፍ ለማድረግ ሲባለ በመሆኑ ለሠራዩ ከሳይ ለገደተመ ቀለው ውርጅቱ ከተተለመው 6500 ሃክታር ውስጥ ንቂናውን ብቻ የሠራ ሲሆን ወደፊት ገና ብዙ የሥንሺርና የስርሻ ሥራ ሰለለ ሽቦታው ላይ የሚገኙት ሠራተ ኖች ለብዙ ጊዜ የሥራ ማጣት ችግር ሰለማይደርሰቢ ገው

7/ በሠፈራው ንሮግራም እንጂነራሉ አሁን ልማቱ ከተጀመረበት አስቧቢ ውጪ በመሬቱ የበቱ የተቦገሬ ሰያቸ አዎንቱ ለማሰፈር የሚታሰብ ከሆነ ሰያንዳን ለመዎረቱ፣ ለማኔጀሽና ለማቋቋም ያለው ጊዜ በጣም አጭር በመሆኑ፣

8/ ይህንኑ ሁኔታ በማየሩት ከስሥቱገሬ ዋና አስተዳዳሪ ጋር ተነጋገረን በተገኘው ሲሆን የሠፈራው ንሮግራም መጥናር አለበተ የሚለ ሃሳብ ቢሰነዘሬም ከላይበጠቀ ሰነ ገው ምክንያቱቸ ይህን ለማድረግ የማይቻል ሆኖ በናገኘነው ለዚህ አመቱ ቀ ያሸቸ ባለ ችይ ከቁዘበ ማሰፈር ሚኒስቴር ተለክው በታውን ከስለው ቢሸነሰትቹ ለሚቀጣው ዓመት የበፈራው ሰራ በለሚያፋጥነው በስፍ ተኛ ደረጃ ተወንቶ አለበት ይ ውሳኔ አንጂበየበት አቀርበናለ::

ሀወሃዘ | h37

ሊት ፍለያ ተቀይሯ



1/ ኃይለ ርዳቢ
የለንገር ጫጫ ለርሻ ልማት ኃላፊ

2/ ከፈለገ አንፊት ኪሊቢ
የአገዝብ ማሰፈር ባለሥልጣን ተወካይ

Appendix-26

Table 10 Area Under Different Crops in State Farm in hectars (1979/80)

	Maize		Sorghum		Harricot-bean		soya-bean		sunflower		Kenaf		pepper		Teff		Total area Covered
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	
Dedessa	4371	13	153	4	408	14	–	–	25	14	–	–	51	24	–	–	5008
Bereda	4922	20	329	8	281	9	–	–	23	13	–	–	–	–	–	–	5555
Bello	4853	14	468	12	474	16	–	–	43	24	–	–	–	–	–	–	5838
Anger	5787	17	592	15	317	11	–	–	40	22	–	–	49	24	–	–	6785
Kenaf	1279	3	287	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	1009	100	–	–	103	100	2678
Leka	3942	11	332	8	–	–	146	34	21	12	–	–	41	20	–	–	4482
Uke	2797	8	354	9	21	1	283	66	–	–	–	–	67	32	–	–	3522
Lugo	2149	6	1397	35	1455	49	–	–	26	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	5028
Fincha	2842	8	51	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2893
Total	32942		3963		2956		429		178		1009		208		103		41788

Source: WADE, Farm Managment Annual Report, Nekemte, 1981.

1. Area Covered by Hectars

Appendix -27-1

Appendix- 27_2

[redacted] [redacted]

Appendix-28 ቁጥር ቆ8/29/ 8-10/71
መስከረም 11 ቀን 71 ዓ.ም

ጊዜያዊ ወታደራዊ መንግሥት
ስለማቲ እርሻ ...
ነቀምቴ

ለምክትል ዋና ሥራ አስኪያጅ
አዲስ አበባ

በመሠረቱ ትራክተር ስጡ ሠራሽ እንደመሆኑ መጠን ያለመስዋወጫና ያለሠራተኛው /መካኒክ/ይሠራል ማለቱ ከባለሙያዎች የተሰወረ ባይሆንም ለቀጠና 8 ከተመደቡት ትራክተሮች መካከል 80 % መለዋወጫና ሠራተኛ በማጣት ቆመዋል::ለዚህም ለቆሙት ምክንያት መለዋወጫዎችን እንዲገዙ በየጊዜው ማስተላለፋችን አልቀረም::ሆኖም እንደሚሰማኝ ባለመቻላችን በአሁኑ ጊዜ አርሹው ... ያለ ቢሆን ሠፋሪዎች ዘንድሮ ያለምንም ሥራ መቀመጫቸው በሚቀጥለው ዓመት በመንግሥት ጉልበት እንዲቀለቡ ሲያደርጋቸው ነው::በመሠረቱ አብዮቱ የመጣው ለጭቁኖች ነው ለየተባለ ለኛ የሕዝብ አገልጋዮች በተግባር ካልተረጎምነው በስተቀር በዓየር ላይ የቀረ መፈክር ሆኖ ባናገኘው እንቀርም::በመሠረቱ ትራክተሮችን ያለመለዋወጫ መግዛቱና በእርሻ ላይ ማሠማራቱ ማንን ለማበልፀግ ወይንም እንዲጠየቀበት ነው::

ለምባሌ ዱዱማ ኩኔ ካሉት ትራክተሮች መካከል አንዱም የሚሠራ ባይኖርም እርሻው ወደ ኋላ ቀር ቶሎል::የመለዋወጫ ዕቃዎች እንዲገዙ ከተጠየቁ አያሌ ቢምንታት አልፏል::ሥራውን፣ ሠራተኛውንና የምርት መገልገያዎችን ለማቀናጀት ያልቻለው የትኛው ይሆን?በዚህ አቧኋን ከሰይንሱ ጋር ባንራመዱና ባንጠቀምበት የሚያስቀረውን ውትብትብና አበጋይ ሠራተኞችን ከመሀል ማውጣቱ ለውነተኛ ወዝአደራዊ ተግባር ስለሆነ መሥሪያ ቤቱ የት ላይ ደረሰ እንደቀረ በጊዜው ቢያስብበትና በሀተተኛውን ለማረምና ለማቃናት የሚቻል መሆኑን ለመግለጽ እወዳለሁ::

በመጠረሻ የተጠየቁትና አሁንም በመጠየቅ ላይ ያሉት ዕቃዎች በጊዜ ተገዝተው እንዲላኩልንና ~~በጊዜውም~~ በቦታው የተመደቡ መካኒክ በአስቸኳይ በሥፍራ በታው እንዲገኙልን በነወቀ ለሚደረግልን የምርት ዘመቻ አብዮታዊ ምስጋናችንን በቅድሚያ ለማቅረብ እንወዳለን::

" ኢትዮጵያ ትቅደም "
[signature]
ማኑኤል ገብሩ

98

ግልባጭ፦
ለመካናይዜሽን ዋና ክፍል
ለእርሻ አገልግሎት ዋና ክፍል
አዲስ አበባ

Appendix - 29

የ ሙ ረ ዳ ዳ ት ና ፡ የ ኑ ድ ገ ት ፡ ማ ኅ በ ር ፡

Association "Solidarite et Developpement"

Secretariat in ETHIOPIA: LEKEMT, P. O. Box 43
Secretariat in BELGIUM: 45, Avenue des Martinets, 1040-BRUSSELS

Ref. No. ..... Addis Abeba, Date 26-2-'77

General Management of IAR
Addis Abeba

Dear Sirs,

I am writing to you on behalf of the Association "Solidarite et Developpement" in connection with the Agreement which has been made between our Institution and IAR concerning the employment of one German Agriculturist, Mr. Peter Kohler, and the promotion of some agricultural trials in the Angar-Gutin Settlement Project in Wolega Administrative Region.
The Agreement was made for the period of two years, counting as from 1-3-'75 until 1-3-'77.

Commendable results were obtained under this program, especially in the fields of soyabeans and red peppers. To bring these results at the reach of the settlers is now one of the main tasks of the project's technical assistance.

One can always strive to more perfection in the field of research. After only two years of research work maximum knowledge can not be obtained. Still, some knowledge has been gathered and this appears to be very precious for the settlement project.
When seen in the broader context of large scale development as planned and partly implemented for the Angar-Dedessa Valleys, agricultural research appears as one of the important components. The Angar-Gutin trials so far conducted can at least give some information. However, the question must be asked whether these trials have been sufficiently ramified and specialized to serve the purpose of large scale development in the Angar-Dedessa. This large scale development does probably demand more advanced research set up as one central service.

The Angar-Gutin population has strongly requested that agricultural research continues in the Angar-Gutin project. A letter to this effect was written to the Settlement Authority.

What is the stand of the Association "Solidarite et Developpement"?
Under the Agreement which is now about to expire, both the Association and IAR have committed themselves to a set of services and payments. So far, the Association has paid all the bills. Actually, the trials and the number of persons working in this field were gradually increased, with the implicit consequence of more costs. At the present time, the Association has a deficit in this sector of the project of more than 20,000.00 Birr: i.e. these costs are not covered by foreign grants. Although there may be a possibility to balance this deficit with the profits of 4 hectares of berbari (though this profit should at least partly serve to cover other recurrant costs in the project), the Association finds itself in the very uncomfortable situation of not having any budget at its disposal to continue the research work, not for Mr. Kohler's

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is my work and that all sources of material used for this dissertation have been dully acknowledged.

Name Endalkachew Dina

Signature:

Date of submission: June 10, 2016