



SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

A HISTORY OF ANYWAA PEOPLE OF THE SOUTHWESTERN ETHIOPIA Ca. 1898-1991

BY

KAGNO OCHAN OKONGO

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE
MANAGEMENT OF COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES OF JIMMA
UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

NOVEMBER, 2019

JIMMA, ETHIOPIA

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Key to the Amharic transliteration system

I. The seven sounds of Amharic alphabets are represented as follow:

1 st order	በ	Bä
2 nd order	ቡ	Bu
3 rd order	ቢ	Bi
4 th order	ባ	Ba
5 th order	ቤ	Bé
6 th order	ብ	Be
7 th order	ቦ	Bo

II. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

ሸ	Šä
ቸ	Cë
ኸ	ñä
ኸ	Zhä

III. Glottal zed sounds are represented as follows:

ቀ	Qä
ጠ	Të
ጮ	Cë
ጸ/ፀ	Së
ጰ	Pë

IV. For word having the sounds of six alphabet at the end, is not necessary to add the representing letter of the sound

Example

ገባር *Gäbbar*

ሰፈር *Säfär*

V. Consecutive vowels are usually separated by apostrophe

Example:

Gäbra'el ገብርኤል

Edisa'el ኣድሳኤል

Esma'el ኣስማኤል

Micha'el ማካኤል

Key to the Anywaa Transliteration System

I. The tensounds of Anywaa alphabets are represented as follows:

A	Aä
Ä	Ää
E	Ee
Ë	Ëë
I	Ii
Ì	Ìì
O	Oo
Ö	Oö
Ø	Øø
U	Uu

II. Palatalized sounds area represented as follows:

C	Cë
NY	Nyĩ
W	Wi
J	Ji
Ö	Öö

II. Glottal sounds are represented as follows:

K	Ki
---	----

T

Ti

TH

Thi

R

Ri

P

Pi

Y

Yi

Acronyms

AAU	Addis Ababa University
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
CSA	Central Statistics Authority
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
GPLM	Gambella Peoples' Liberation Movement
GPNRS	Gambella Peoples' National Regional Sate
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
SNNPRS	South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement
SPLM/A	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/ Army
TPLF	Tigrain People's Liberatrion Front
WPE	Ethiopian Workers' Party
NALA	National Archive and Library Agency
JU	Jimma University
REYA	Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association

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Abstract

A history of Anywaa people is not well studied. This encouraged me to reconstruct the historical background of the society. Some of the historical studies that were carried out in the region have mostly concentrated on conflicts and anthropological works. The objective of this thesis, basing on qualitative analysis of oral traditions, written sources and few archives, is to present the historical background of the Anywaa. The difficulty of getting archives are among the problems faced during this research work. In addition to this, the vast area and shortage of written sources are the problems that the researcher experienced in an attempt to come up with this final work. The Anywaa are a Nilotic people who lived in the Gambella Regional State (formerly an Awraja,, of Illubabor province) in western Ethiopia and in eastern part of the Republic of South Sudan. Gambella and its people fell under Ethiopian Empire in 1898. Imperial Ethiopia had two main rewards in the Gambella and Upper Nile regions. Diplomatically, it wanted to out-compete the British colonial establishment in the Sudan with a desire to expand to the western highlands. Economically, it was involved in protection the profitable ivory and trade of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For the Ethiopia's King Menelik II, it was not only the inclusion of Gambella to Ethiopia politically, but it was also to be the first Ethiopian King that incorporated all Anywaa of southwestern Ethiopia in history. But they came under the effective occupation of the central government after 1941. After this year, conflicts were reduced, raiding against them from their neighbors, taxation was also imposed on the Anywaa during the reign of Haile Sellasie. It was after the down fall of Haile Selassie, that the Derg government came to power in 1974, the people of Gambella, like other oppressed ethnics and nationalities in Ethiopia, hoped for a better government to come that would end their suffering. To the contrary, political conditions got worse. Instead, the Derg regime began to eliminate the few enlightened educated Anywaa of Gambella in secret and openly. It also destroyed the traditional administration, rules, and system of the indigenous people, and socio-cultural ways of life that was inherited for centuries.

Preface

The objective of the writing this thesis is to reconstruct a history of the Anywaa people of the southwestern Ethiopia from the Ca 1898-1991. Up to the writing of this thesis, there are few of the scholarly importance unpublished and published literature on the Anywaa people since the incorporation of the area into the Ethiopian empire. The attempts made to get archival documents or materials on the people of Anywaa were not successful but few archival were used in this work. This material is mainly reconstructed from oral tradition, available written sources and some archives. Written sources were explored from different places and have been analyzed and used.

This paper covers a history of the Anywaa people of southwestern Ethiopia from the last decade of the 19th century up to the downfall of the *Derg* in 1991. The history started from the conquest and incorporation of the area into the Ethiopian Empire and ends with the *Derg* regime. This paper has four chapters. Chapter one deals with the location and geographical setting of Anywaa, origin and settlement of Anywaa people, ecology of Anywaa, economy of Anywaa, Anywaa social organization and the ideology of purity, Anywaa traditional conflict resolution mechanism, Anywaa indigenous marriage, the mourning and burial ceremonies of Anywaa peoples, and the relation and interaction of Anywaa and other ethnic groups. Chapter two discusses the Anywaa traditional political system and administration and its origin. It also discusses the incorporation of the area and the Conquest of Menelik II and its impact on Anywaa people, objectives of Menelik II expansion toward the Anywaa people and the political condition after incorporation. Chapter three discusses about the Anywaa people during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie 1930-1974, political condition, Anywaa in post-liberation period and the land tenure system. Finally, the fourth chapter deals with the Anywaa people on the *Derg* regime 1974-1991, social-cultural and political change of Anywaa during the *Derg*, it also discusses the pattern and process of change, resettlement and villagization impact on the Anywaa people, GPLM resistance against the government of Mengistu Haile Mariam.

Hence, this thesis is in its kind on the history of the Anywaa people. Thus, it paves the way for further study on the community. It also hopes that the thesis will serve as a source for further reconstruction of the history of the Anywaa in particular and that of the southwestern people of Ethiopia in general. The study is limited to the Anywaa of Gambella Regional State

southwestern Ethiopia. Almost all non-English words in this thesis have been translated and provide in the glossary.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Location and Geographical Setting of Anywaa

Gambella region is located in southwestern Ethiopia along Ethio-Sudanese border. The region is one of the remote and marginalized parts of the country. The infrastructure, social service and economic development in the area is very poor. And the degree of integration in to Ethiopian identity and national politics was too weak. This is because of the economic backwardness of the country. Since Ethiopia was/ and still is among the poorest countries in the world, there is no good or even satisfactory facilities even at the center, which relatively better than the peripheries.¹ The indigenous people of Gambella Region are the Anywaa, Nuer, Komo, Opo and the Majang.² These people are linguistically related to each other and there is also a social, cultural and economic tie among them. But this does not mean they are similar; there is a clear ethnic boundary between them. The Anywaa and the Opo are predominantly cultivators, the Nuer are pastoralists with little cultivation of maize in the rainy season, whereas the Majanger are hunters and gatherers and known for their skill of beekeeping and wild honey collection.³

However, the expansion of the Ethiopian state in the late 19th century in to the area added a new category of people to the existing population called *degeгна* (Habesha or highlanders).⁴ There is a clear difference between the highlanders and the local people as Dereje stated: “The boundary between the highlanders and the local population is constructed, physically, in the language of color, the ‘red’ highlanders (i.e. lighter in skin color) being constructed with the ‘black’ locals.”⁵

The term Highlander in the area apply collectively for different people who came there from different parts of the Ethiopian highland for different purpose. They are from different ethnic groups; from Semitic Amhara, Tigre, Gurage; from Cushitic Oromo, Kambata, Hadiya; from

¹ Dereje Fayissa, “The Ethnic Self and the National Other: Anywaa Identity Politics in Reference to Ethiopian State System”, in *Society, State and Identity In African History*, (2008). pp. 123-153.

² GPNRS. The Revised Constitution of Gambella People’s National Regional State, Dec 2002.

³ Dereje Feyssa, “The Experience of Gambella Regional State”, in *Ethnic Federalism: the Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective* (Oxford, James Currey- Athens, OH: Ohio University Press- Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press, 2006), pp. 208-230.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

Omotic Wolayita, Kaffa, Sheka, et.⁶ According to informants, many of the Highlanders live in urban centers with the exception of the settlers, who brought in to the area by government resettlement projects in the 1980's.⁷In urban centers they took position in the civil service structure and dominate the trading activities.⁸

The Anywaa are a Nilotic people who lived in the Gambella Regional State (formerly an *Awraja*, sub-province, of Illubabor province) in western Ethiopia. The Anywaa people also live in eastern part of the Republic of South Sudan. Basically the Anywaa people are river basin people, they live along the rivers of the Opono(the Baro), Gilo, Akobo and Alwero in Ethiopia and Pibor and Oboth in South Sudan⁹The neighbor of the Anywaa are the Oromo in the north and east, the Majang in east, the Nuer in west, Murle in the South and Opo and Komo in north.¹⁰

Economically, the Anywaa practice a hoe farming and producing maize, sorghum and some other crops along the riverbanks. Here fishing is another source of food. Hunting carried out in the dry season and it is the main source of meat. Hunting in the dry season will be easier because wild animals visit the river basin for pasture and water.¹¹As E. Pritchard cited in Kurimotos's 'People of the River' the estimate of the Anywaa population by 1940 both in Ethiopia and Sudan was between 30,000-40,000. In the late 20th century, there were two government censuses conducted in the area.¹²However, the figure of these censuses lack clarity and did not give any exact figure.

According to the 1984 population and housing census, the Anywaa population of Ethiopia was 28, 044 , in the following census of 1994 Anywaa population in Ethiopia grew to 44,581and in the 2007 census Anywaa population reach at 64,986.¹³The language of the Anywaa is called "Dha-anywaa"it belongs to the sub-group of the Nilo-Saharan language family. When we see

⁶ Dereje Fayissa, 2008, pp. 123-153.

⁷ In late 1980's following the great famine of Ethiopia the government launched a resettlement program from drought affected area to less populated areas of western and southwestern parts of the country. Informants: Oguta Ojulu, Obang Okello and Oman Omod.

⁸ Dereje.2006,pp.208-230.

⁹ Kurimoto Eisie, "People of the River: Subsistence Economy of the Anywaa(Anuak) of Western Ethiopia". *Essays in Northeast African Studies*(1996), pp. 29-57.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³CSA, 1984, 1994, 2007.

their relation with other Nilotic they are closely related linguistically, culturally and historically with the Pari, Shilluk, Nuer and the Dinka. In comparison with the Pari, who practiced subsistence economy through agriculture, fishing, hunting, pastoralism and gathering, the Anywaa share large portion of their means of production and source of food The Pari language also almost similar to that of Anywaa¹⁴

The Anywaa, unlike the pastoralist Nuer and the agro-pastoralist Dinka do not keep domestic animals. The agro-ecology of the eastern part of the Anywaa land was not suitable for them to keep cattle because it has tsetse flies. Here food has been obtained from the cultivation of maize and sorghum, by fishing and in the dry season hunting and gathering have been additional source of food. The agricultural activity on the field predominantly carried out by men. However, women also, played a role especially after harvest of crops all the processing would be left to the women, gathering, transporting from the field to home for grinding and cooking.¹⁵

1.2. Origin and Settlement of Anywaa People

It is better to relate the origin and settlement of Anywaa to the Luo migration because Anywaa was among the Luo people. So the Anywaa people, their origin believed to be occurred in the migration of Luo. It was in the 15th century that the Luo began to migrate from the Bahral Ghazal. The reason for their movement from their cradle land is not of clarity towards their settlement in different East African countries like Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and South Suda. A few factors, however, have a prompt on their migratory patterns. These are Pastures and Water, Internal conflicts, External pressure, Natural disasters and Population pressure.¹⁶

The Luo ethnic groups in the general African population extend their general predicament to the Luo of South Sudan; the main concern being migration from their point of origin in Africa. The predicament centralizes around family conflicts and breakups. A belief is common among the Luo in Sudan that the general Luo population has their roots back to a larger extended Luo

¹⁴ Ibid. and Informants: Ariet Oman, Okello Okugn and Omod Oriemi.

¹⁵ Ibid,

¹⁶ Ogot Bethwell. *A History of the Southern Luo; Volume I, Migration and Settlement, 1500-1900, Series: Peoples of East Africa.* (East African Publishing Nairobi, 1967), p.250.

family in Sudan. The diversity of the claim covers the surroundings of African countries like DR. Congo, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya.¹⁷

They moved toward south and east of the Bahral Jabal. And one group changes their direction to north. Another group that was led by Gilo marched to north and east to the Sobat River which they continued following the river way to the Ethiopian border. And this group today has known as Anywaa. However, the other group moves from Anywaa country to Lafon hill where they are called Pari, while the second group the Pajook break through to south ward in to. Acholi was a lwoo people which located in to the Northern Uganda. The last settlement of Luo was Wipach which located in east of the Bahral. Ghazal.¹⁸

The reason for the Luo migration was the harmony of Wipach until the quarrel of his three cousins: Nyikang, Dimo and Gilo which led to the Lwoo migration in three groups. Dimo marched to south ward, Nyikang to the west bank of White Nile and Gilo the last and third group moved to eastward directly to the Bahral Jabel which seems too crossed to east. Another reason was the internal population pressure by Neur and Dinka. In this case the Anywaa emerged as one of the splinter group of last one. Anywaa by themselves traced their origin to Gilo the leader of the third group of the Luo migration, and that is why they called themselves as dibouc gilo (follower of Gilo) and nyikwac nyigilo (descendent of Gilo). There was also the Anywaa myth which said the Anywaa history started by three leaders. These are Cuai, Gilo and Othieno before the existence of nobles and headmen political system.¹⁹

A synonymous reference to the Ethiopian Luo group sect is Anywaa. A difference does not exist between the group and Sudan's Upper Nile's Anywaa. Moreover, the Ethiopia's Luo Anywaa is a continuation of the Southern Sudan's Anywaa located in the Upper Nile Region; Gilo descendants, the youngest of Nykango and Dimo. The speculations are as far as the ancestral linkages are a main concern.²⁰

¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁸ Dereje Fayissa, *Playing Different Games: The Paradox of Anywaa and Nuer Identification Strategies in Gambella Region of Ethiopia*, oxford, 2011, p.32.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Ogot Bethwell. 1967, p.250.

1.3. Ecology of Anywaa Land

The Anywaa classified their natural environment into three categories according to the vegetation that found in the areas. These are from the west to east or simply from downstream to upstream *Bap* (grassland and seasonal swamp), *Wok* (wood land) and *Lul* (forest). The variation of the vegetation means the variation of the economic importance of the natural resources. Among these three areas *Wok* is densely populated and it is only inhabited by Anywaas, *Lul* and in *Bap* there is a growing number of Nuer pastoralists who move eastward²¹ the economic activity of the Anywaa varies in these areas. In *Bap* since most of the land flooded in the rainy season, parts of *Bap* which does not flood is suitable for cultivation of crops. In *Bap* pastoralism, fishing and hunting are very important than *Wok* and *Lul*.²²

In *Wok* there are two places cultivated by the Anywaas; the hinterland and the river banks. In the hinterland cultivation conducted in the rainy season and almost all parts of the hinterland is suitable for cultivation in rainy season. The riverbanks are more conducive for cultivation because of fertile soil and permanent supply of water from the rivers. It enables them to produce in almost all season of the year. Here, in *Wok*, cultivation is the main source of food; however, fishing and hunting are supplementary source of food. In western parts of *Wok* the Anywaa keep goats, sheep and some cattle but in the east very few animals are kept.²³

The subsistence economy in *Lul* is highly depends on Agriculture which produced most of the Anywaa food stuff. Here there are no domestic animals and hunting and fishing are not significant as it is in *Bap* and *Wok*. In *Lul* the Anywaa cultivates Yam, sweet potato, ground nut and Bambara groundnut. Here there is small amount of wild animals, which is abundant in the in *Bap* and *Wok*. In *Lul* the Anywaa practiced beekeeping which they borrowed from Majanger, who has a good reputation in beekeeping. Here there is evidence that they influenced by the Mejenger in the practice of beekeeping, yam eating and wild animal trapping.²⁴

²¹ Kurimoto, 1996, pp. 29-57.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

1.4. Economy of the Anywaa

As mentioned above the Anywaa cultivate their land and produced different crops. They producer maize (*abäy*) and sorghum (*beel*) predominantly with pumpkin(*okønnø*), sesame(*nyimi*), tobacco(*thaba*) and gourd(*keeno*). Some of these crops have different local varieties. Until recently sorghum was a staple food but now it is maize which became dominant. This is not because of its test but because it need much less labor to protect the maize than the sorghum in the field before harvest from birds. It also needs much lower labor to grind in to flour. Another factor is the commercial value of maize has been better than sorghum²⁵

Anywaa meal consists of agricultural harvest and wild gathering and hunting. The stable food of Anywaa is a thick porridge known as *Kwon* made up of maize or sorghum flour. In Addition to this a soup called *Kadam* made from different vegetables also part of their diet.²⁶In the 20th century there are some new crops and fruits introduced in to the Anywaa by the British, who had a trading post at Gambella until 1956, by Ethiopian government or by contact to the neighboring people. These new crops and fruits are sweet potato, tomato, cassava, sugar cane, papaya, banana and mango²⁷

The agricultural tools of the Anywaa are very simple hoe (*kweriorcala*) and machete (*gejira*). The hoe made of iron bar with sharp edge with strong stick. It used to clear farm land, for weeding and to harvest root crops. Basically the hoe doesn't dig dipper it just scratch the surface of the soil to remove plants, mostly weed. A stick called *opiidhi* used to make a hole on the ground to sow seeds of maize or sorghum²⁸Shifting cultivation is common in *Lul* and parts of *Wok* and *Bap*. In *Lul* shifting cultivation started with cutting trees and clearing the area by fire. The clearing mostly started with the beginning of the dry season when the temperature is good to clear the land using fire and to burn cut trees. Then with the beginning of the rainy season at the end of April maize and sorghum will be sown. In the gardens also tobacco and sesame also cultivated in *Lul*.²⁹

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶*Ibid*

²⁷*Ibid*

²⁸*Ibid.*

²⁹*Ibid.*

The Anywaa are known as people of the river, here among the Anywaa riverbank cultivation is the main means of agricultural production. The seasonal variation of the water level is evident. In the rainy season, which is from June to September, the water level increase sharply. So most of the riverbanks areas will be flooded. This increased the organic matter in the soil and have a direct impact on the fertility of the soil. Even in the flooded riverbanks the Anywaa sow sorghum and maize varieties which have the resistance to the flood.³⁰ In the dry season the field of the flooded banks cultivated using the water it absorbed in the flooded season and also water from the river that penetrate underground. The riverbank cultivation is the main means of agricultural production among the Anywaa throughout the year and it enable them to produce two times a year or even more.³¹

Like hunting Fishing conducted in the dry season and is the source of meat for Anywaa. In the dry season with the fall of the water level fish returned from the tributaries, flooded plains and pools to the main rivers. The fish collectively called by Anywaa *Mai* and they use spears (*bidhi*), harpoons (*aroc*) and hand hooks (*goolo*) and women use baskets (*thwoi*). Fishing conducted by individual or group level using hooks, nets, basket and spears.³² The catch could be consumed soon or dries and preserved for other time. The dried fish called *Peeto* and used as a means of medium of exchange in the market. Fishing in the past organized by the “father of the land” (*wa-ngommi*) a title inherited by blood from the first settler of the area. Whatever the amount of the fish catch he, the father of the land, will get some amount. However, this privilege was lost during the socialist government of the Darg as a feudal practice.³³

Hunting, which is called *Dwaar* by Anywaa, carried out using spear, trap and rifle. The most common animals to be hunted by Anywaa are Kudu, Heart beast, Giraffe, Buffalo, Bush back, water back, gazelle and duiker. An elephant does not usually hunted by Anywaa in *Wok*. However, they hunted by those who live in *Lul* where there is no much wild animal to hunt. Since hunting conducted in the dry season, it carried out in *Wok* and *Bap* areas always when the grass burn and the animals migrated in to the river basins for pasture and water. This time many

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Ibid.*

³²*Ibid.*

³³*Ibid.*

men participate in a coordinated hunting. If there is a game to hunt in the grass the men set fire and prepare for the animal to come out with ready spear and rifle.³⁴

With the introduction of firearms in the late 19th century hunting became easier especially large animals like elephants. Now a day the significance of hunting as a source of meat decline, the coming of large number of refugees from Sudan and settlers from other parts of Ethiopia highly affected the wild life, their need for fire wood deforested the area which is the shelter of the animals and their hunt even depopulated the wildlife. This population pressure on the environment and the military activity of Sudanese People Liberation Movement (SPLM) and its large scale hunting with automatic guns wipeout large amount of wild beasts in the area. Kurimoto states it as follows

The importance of hunting as a means of supplying meat has greatly decreased. This is because of most population of large animals were destroyed with automatic weapons by soldiers of the Sudanese People Liberation Army (SPLA) when they set up headquarter and training camps in Anywaaland. They killed animals for food. Some Anywaa queried smuggled rifles from SPLA soldiers or as government militia men and shot animals. The once rich fauna of Anywaa land is now devastated.³⁵

According to Kurimoto gathering among the Anywaa continued to play a significant role as a source of food. He classified the wild plants gathered by Anywaa in to three. The first groups of plants are herbs and leaves cooked in to soup. The second groups are fruits eaten as snacks by children. The third group of plants on tuber, fruits and seed cooked as a substitute for the staple food. The consumption of these wild plants will sharply increase during famine.³⁶

1.5. Anywaa social organization and the Ideology of Purity

Anywaa primordialism also finds expression in ideology of ethnic purity, which is linked to distinctive practices of ethnic distancing, of descent and descent group affiliation, and of alliance. At the first glance, the evolution of the Anywaa identity discourse of ethnic purity paradoxical, given Luo roots. According to Crazzolara, the Luo could never afford to be too particular in their choice, and they have never been. The Luo do not despise a man because he is

³⁴*Ibid.*

³⁵*Ibid*

³⁶*Ibid*

an alien. These dispositions guided the Luo in their migratory march and have become the base of their growth and greatness up to the present day.

Crazzolaro does note, however, that Luo assimilationist tendencies have their limits:

The Luo have never incorporated aliens in to one of their clans as Nuer used to. Prisoner and slaves are joined or added to family or clan group and treated as blood relatives. Such men would be given wives or cattle to marry, as members of the family; but with their children and descendants they started their own sub-clan and social life... The real Luo autochthones of the group always remained distinct and the real masters, the ruling clans; while the assimilated, added clan groups always remained in the mind and tradition of the people, descendants of ancient slaves.³⁷

According to informants, the war captives were incorporated in to Anywaa society, but they were subjected to identity and distancing by the pure Anywaa. Descendants of Murle and Nuer captives taken during the large scale Anywaa counter and offensive against the territorial expansion of the Nuer in the 1910s are still recognizable as a separate group of people, referred to as Tung Akwei, name after the Anywaa king who famously carried out the raids.³⁸ Anywaa notions of ethnic purity seem to be especially evident in social organization and in practices linked to descent and descent group affiliation. The Anywaa are divided in to twelve clans called *dhø-øtø*: Jowatcuai, Jowatnaadhi, Jowatmaaro, Jowatjango, Joponguu, Jowatmaalo, Jowattong, Jowatluaalo, Jowatkaanyo, Jowatyuaa, Jowatnaamo and Jowatmuongo.³⁹ Beside these, there is a royal clan called the Jowatnyiye, which is related to Jowattong clan, whose members lost their noble rank because of their failure to acquire the royal emblems. Each *dhø-øtø* has its salutation which is called *mäadhë*, the mode of address used for both male and female members of the clan by member of other clans.⁴⁰

Membership in any given to *dhø-øtø* is determined through patrilineal descent, but other aspects of Anywaa kinship pertain to relatives of the mothers. For example, each *dhø-øtø* is divided in to descent groups called *tung (relative)* defined by Evans-Pritchard as patrilineages; but a *tung* as understood by the Anywaa is also includes the maternal kin. Each *dhø-øtø* also has an honorific title, or *paae*. Girls take the honorific title of their father clan, and boys take the honorific title of

³⁷ Crazzolaro, J. P. "The Luo People", *Journal of Uganda Vol 5*, Verona (1937), pp. 1–21.

³⁸ Informants: Ajack Omod, Kwac Opiew and Okello Obang.

³⁹ *Ibid.* The prefix Jo means people of.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

their mother clan. Thus, the patrilineal affiliation of the mother is relevant for her children's social identity; and in order to be considered fully Anywaa, one should be born of Anywaa on both the father and mother sides. In this regard, the Anywaa conception of social status institutionalizes an identity discourse that centers on the ideology of ethnic purity.⁴¹

A person needs to be Anywaa on both paternal and maternal sides of his or her family in order to claim full Anywaa ethnic identity; otherwise, he or she will be socially disadvantaged, deprived of both honorific title and clan salutation. This emphasis on purity discourages inter-ethnic marriages. Children of mixed ethnic background are subjected to social discrimination. They are referred to by the derogatory term *Jur*, which literally means foreigner. In sum, marriage practices have served as mechanisms for the active maintenance of an ethnic boundary. The name of the children born of inter-ethnic marriage often signifies their parents.⁴²

1.6. Anywaa Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanism

Conflict management among the Anywaa society was done by the group of elders, kings, and chiefs of indigenous people of the group. The Anywaa people have an important ideology in managing conflicts that arose within society. The most important thing that Anywaa feared was a curse (*Acieni*). A curse was the most serious respect by Anywaa people after they reached a solution. In the same manner Anywaa elders and also indigenous people slaughtered the bull and call for their ancestor believed that they reached a final end conflict. The Anywaa curse or *acieni* appeared lastly whenever the word of promise was broken. This curse may flow up on one or groups who broke the words of elders and cause constant death of infantry and also even the loss of generation. Similarly, conflict can be managed the use of compensation when things go worse among the groups who made conflict. In this society compensation was arranged by the elders to reach in to peaceful ways of resolving dispute through discussion and it was first arranged by the contact of each group elders. These decision makers concluded the case of dispute with a series of advice and promise by calling the superior natural power for help from repetition death as a result of social unrest within the society.⁴³

⁴¹ Informants: Omod Okach, Apiew Obang and Ojulu Oriemi, and Evans-Pritchard.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Informants: Bey Ochar, Oman Oboya and Ajulu Ogur.

On the other hand, when conflict arose between people to people the issue does not involve the whole village for addressing the situation. This dealing of the two is discussed only by the family group with blood relation. But the case that arose between villages to village might engage the involvement of the third village to help the disputing village to reach an agreement for resolution. The combining force from the third village and elders and of those dispute groups can calm down the situation even though it reaches in to its severe stage. The Anywaa had been in series of fighting from village to village for about 35 years above. But the current trend has managed the situation or disputes on farming or share of girls married properties. The forwarding of the discussion opens a new air for the reducing of the cause of conflicts.⁴⁴

In a village, conflict occurs between different families. If the inter-family conflict is not handled at the early stage by the head man's chief or *balabat*, the may result in serious damage of property and life in the village. Sometime interpersonal quarrels in cultivation areas, in fishing and hunting areas or pasture land expand will conflict inter-family level. Most of time different boys of conflict and it rare to expand at family level. However, if the conflict causes are female the family intervenes in the conflict, this is due to Anywaa culture, and girls are the means of income.⁴⁵

In Anywaa society, families have their own power in conflict resolution, if the conflict occurred among them. The conflict resolution procedure is facilitated by family council. A combined up to five family elders. All of them belong to the same kinship. No other stranger allowed attending their meeting at family council to discuss about the problem. The disputant parties also attend the meeting and family elders are serving as third party arbitrator to reach consensus between the two disputant parties. They call it as family arbitration. The families have power pass any decision on the disputant party, if they do not agree. During the family arbitration, a person who make crime trusts his guilty for the family elders and ask, apologies the victim person. The family elders would say such kind of breach of trust in not well according to our grand families: their souls curse us in case of wrong doing; you have to be trust worthy. Don't quarrel with

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵Tasew Tafese, "Cause of conflict and traditional ways resolution among Anywaa society in Gambella", BA Thesis (AAU, Civic, 2010), pp.35-39.

anybody again. You will be one of our family's father, after this advice went he repeat and he will be punished according to his mistake.⁴⁶

Their punishment is including light whipping. In Anywaa culture a single family can resolves conflict among them. For instance, in one family there may be a person who has aggressive behavior and every time he does in wrong way. And he may quarrel some who make any dispute with his family member or other. The resolution procedure is initiated by king (*Nyiya*) or other neutral third party of headman (*kwaaro*). Because such conflict is between two *kwaaro* and it became so serious, that is why the *nyiya* interferes to resolve the conflict among different village. The third neutral party, *kwaaro* concerned on the issue and tries to make any mediation between the two conflicted parties before the issue is taking to *nyiya*. If the problem is young the capacity of the third neutral part, they inform to *Nyiya* to arbitrate them and he gives order for his *Nyiatwel* or messenger to call both disputant parties to come to *Cuud* or palace and start the arbitration process to make decision. Then they discuss the issue at *Cuud* with the help of *Jo-cuud* or (the elders of Anywaa people). They investigate the cause of conflict and identify the aggressor. After this identification the result should be reported to *Nyiya* through *Nyiatwel*. Finally, *Nyiya* reconciled and advice all of them hoe they live together without conflict, then ordered both of them to pay compensation because of their mistake and then *Nyiya*'s *Jo-cuud* or elders sends them to their villages with his absolute word because he has an absolute power. If one of them violate his word *Nyiya* gives order for huge soldier (*Kwaclwak*) to loot his property as a punishment.⁴⁷

The Anywaa people have two traditional ways of resolving intra and inter conflicts. The Anywaa community uses discussion, mediations and compensation to solve the conflict. The community's leaders and elders from warring parties discuss about the problem in order to end the conflict. Meetings are scheduled to reconcile the warring parties. Discussion is the only way to reconcile the communities in fighting. The people have to sit and discuss their problem. Anywaa community used to fight each other before, they solved that through discussions. The

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷*Ibid.*

Anywaa also used to fight with Nuer community and the two communities now resolved their hostility through discussion as well.⁴⁸

The informants explained the two opponents come together and make an oath for peace. The community uses compensation pay in livestock and/or materials. The amount to be paid is decided by traditional leaders, elders and religious leaders to resolve the conflict. The village (kebele/buma) leaders, elderly people and religious leaders call the warring parties for dialogue and reconciliation and to pass compensation amount which is usually paid in kind, like livestock and traditional materials. These people will let the victimized group to have feeling of forgiveness. The discussions, dialogues, mediation and compensations are used to solve the conflict.⁴⁹

When the conflict passed some steps and the communities' dialogue alone cannot solve the problem, the *Nyiya* (king) steps in. The *Nyiya* is in Anywaa language that means King. The powerful person in the Anywaa tradition is the *Nyiya*. Among many activities the *Nyiya* performs one is conflict resolution. The *Nyiya* has power to stop the Anywaa community from war and to mobilize them to go for war as well. The Anywaa respect their *Nyiya* and listen to him. The Anywaa communities have one ruler in the community; The *Nyiya*. All people from Anywaa community give their opinions to him to resolve the conflicting issues. The *Nyiya* has power to decide the punishment, pay in cattle and materials, on disdain person. the *Nyiya* together with elders, religious leaders, village (kebele/buma) leaders and other people who are the members of that community come together to solve the problem. The king does peace dialogue, reconciliation and blood guilt compensation. Every Anywaa village is administrated by *Nyiya* (king) or *Kway-Lwak* (sub-chief) who is countable to administrative and social matters of the community in the village. The Anywaa kingdom used to be a federation of villages headed by an independent *Nyiya* with several *kway-lwak* (sub-chiefs) who administrate smaller villages. The elders, chiefs or *Nyiya* have power to enforce punishments and compensations to the persons found guilty.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Gatluak Ruon Jal, "Cross Border Conflict in Gambella Regional State (from 1991 to 2011): The Traditional Skills, Experiences and Indigenous Knowledge Used by Nuer, Anyuak and Murle Ethnics in Resolving Conflict" *Journal of Science and Research*, Vol.3, No,6 (AAU, 2004), P.618.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*

⁵⁰*Ibid.*

1.7. Anywaa Ingenuous Marriage

Marriage is a process by which the official relationship of husband and wife is established. Thus, it is used legal combination between man and women and governed by mutual relationship among the two families. It is also a friendship between the two families and a big family ties between the two. Each and every society started a relationship with family and family established with the loving partnership and mutual willingness of couples of the opposite sexes. For many societies, couple marriage is the most appreciated part of individual and social life. Moreover, marriage has a meaning in the community. For instance, men who get married is taking as the real transition, assurance and recognition of the couples on to the main body of the society.⁵¹

Marriage is one the most celebrated and accepted part of the life in many nation nationalities and people around the world. Marriage is also differing from the place to place even in the same geographical area because of different culture, economic and spiritual facts.⁵²

Having say something about marriage, let's have look the Anywaa traditional marriage and their different types. In the Anywaa society, the marriage negotiation is mostly did via intermediaries or a friend who is called (*Lwubo*) in Anywaa language) can convince a girl for his friend. The intermediary is very crucial here because some of the boy who sends *lwubo* may not be trusted by the girl. For example, if the girl gets pregnant secretly, he may not accept the child or denied by saying that she is not my wife. At this movement the one who can tell the truth is (*lwubo*) intermediary. In another ways, he is the one that can tell the truth for both families to avoid misunderstanding and he is also in charge of one goat to the girl family as a penalty. It is difficult to hold a marriage negotiation without intermediary (*lwubo*).⁵³

In such a way, the girls has bead (*teo*) if she give the bead to the person whom needs her it is a sign of interest to become her husband but if she did not give the bead is means that the girl does not like the boy. Actually, the bead is given to the boy if and only he asks for it. So the relation between the boy and girl can move forward out the bead.⁵⁴ At the beginning of the relationship,

⁵¹ Ahmed Muhiye, "The Ethnic Intraction of Majang and Agnwa in Godare, Mangashi and Abobo Districts of Gambella Region: 1890s -1991" MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2018), p.56.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³*Ibid.*p.57 and informants: Agula Ochain, Apiew Oman and Lwal Omot.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

it is hidden from both families. But the clue to them is the bead if she has been given the bead and she asked his father for the one he might suspect her intention but she does not know the man is. Only the couple and the intermediary know. If the boy did not ask for the bead, she must forward the issue via intermediary then the boy would not take the bead unless she fulfills his interest. The exchange of the bead (*teo*) is really the sign of marriage act even though the parental negotiations have not yet reached.⁵⁵

Sooner or later, her father knew that she was no longer has the bead or she might get pregnant and she must be asked who is your husband? After she was asked by her father, she will tell the name of her husband. Now, her father gives order to her relative to catch the husband brought to *wimac* (head of fire or a place where family gathered together to eat and share ideas), and tied both legs and hands together. After both legs and hands tied, he will be asked if she is her wife if the answer is no he will be gently beaten and forced to pay cows and released him. But his confirmations of their interaction to be husband and wife would be in the word did I not take her bead or in other word I took the bead and she is my wife. Now they tell him together for the bride price and release him without penalty. If everything goes wrong according to plan if he delays in meeting his bride commitments he may be beaten to respect the plan. In due course the two fathers and relative meet together and the gifts bead (*dimui*), spears, and bracelets must be provide to them and all process will be left in the hand of two fathers.⁵⁶

In Anywaa traditional marriage different types of marriage which is officially used in Anywaa society. These are: 1. *Biel*(arranged marriage) this type of marriage take place when father has a son and get married while he has a sister that still not yet marry. If his fathers have something to pay for his marriage this type of marriage will happen. But if father has nothing to give, he will ask her daughter if she have someone in her life if no, then she can be forced to get marry a man who can pay bride price and will be forward to his brother marriage. This type of marriage is not the interest of the girl but for his brother. It is also take place when a father has daughter whom he wish to marry to someone he knows can pay good dowry, he himself or selected agents goes to the man and tell a proposal for marriage. If the planned bridegroom is satisfying a committee

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p.58. and Informants, Agula Ochain, Apiew Oman and Lwal Omot.

of the elders is held and the amount of the gift is determined on. Then bridegroom pays the dowry and the father hands him the bride.⁵⁷

Another type of marriage among the Anywaa people is *Nyum*(engagement). This Anywaa type of marriage takes place when a man need to marry certain girls he sends a friend with spears head and necklace of white bead (*awaga*) to the father and friend informs to the father that someone wants to marry his daughter. Then the father informs the girl that somebody has send a person and desire to marry you what do you think? If the girl is willing, the friend and the father wouldcome to an agreement regarding to the dowry. But, if the girl does not agreed to the proposal then the spear head and necklace are declined.⁵⁸

Luk(unexpected marriage)is one of the marriages among the Anywaa people. Under this type of marriage, the young man and his girl who she get married secretly live together for a month or more. If the two were catch the girl will be the wife of the new husband and all the bride prices that has been paid by the old husband will be return to him if and only they don't have a child. This type of marriage is the bad one compare to the rest, because if the two who live together secretly were catch by thee old husband two things here the he can do: first, is if he is a good man he will forward the issues to both families. And the secondly, if he is so cruel he will killed his wife or both of them because sleeping with somebody wife is not good.⁵⁹

The last one among the types of Anywaa marriage is called *Miek*. (Mutual love) According to the informants, this type of Anywaa marriage is good and so nice because the arrangement is if a man is interested in a small girl under 15 years of age then he paid a marriage dowry for the small girl. But when the girl raise up hated to marry her future husband and arrange to marry another man, the latter repays to the ignored man. If she want to marry the man who has already paid for her when she was small, then the man arrange the dowry to the father of the girl and married the girl. When there is a shortage of suitable young men in the village it is sometime the custome for leader and party of men to take a number of marriageable young girls on a visit to a

⁵⁷ Informants: Ojwato Agwa, Metho Oman and Akello Obang, and Ibid.p.61.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

neighboring village where dances are held and the young ladies put forth their jewelry to capture a young men who can pay good gift.⁶⁰

Before the marriage, the male must pay the payment to the women family. The payment should be 3 to 6 dimuy in numbers which is a kind of cultural based and also paid from one to five cows, six sheep and goats from one ethnic who want to marry Anywaa women he must be pay five to ten thousand birr if he have no dimuy. It was in 1970s, that dimuy was changed to cash. In Anywaa culture one man can marry two and above wife but depend on the wealthy that the man have.⁶¹

Finally, after everything was paid the man and the two families decided to weeding day which is take place in the weekend and preparation of foods and drinks started then on the weeding day they will sing and play by using different musical instruments like drums, flute and tom. They dance by clamping their hands and all people gather together to show their happiness and facilitated their interaction.⁶²

1.8. The Mourning and Burial Ceremonies of Anywaa People

Any kinds of human being leave this planet via death. However, there are different type's remembrances and commemorations which last long after the person exist. Many of these remembrances are connected to the different social principles and philosophies, religious, cannons and several meaning that are developed by human societies. In the other societies, there are a belief that the human being will be transformed differently from it earthly existence, some others believes human being will be returned to where it came from through death. People also do believe that death is inevitable to all human beings. The other societies do happy ritual when someone dies as a result of their beliefs in the hereafter which states the human being will be awarded a better life after death where as in some cultures death is considered as the end of life and a state of transferring in to no return place as a result they mourn severely. Death is also one of the main social moments in all human societies. The Anywaa people have their own funeral ceremonies as follows.⁶³

⁶⁰*Ibid.*

⁶¹ Informants: Awili Agwa, Cham lwal and Okongo Ojay.

⁶²*Ibid*, p.62.

⁶³ Ahmed Muhiye, p. 64.

The Anywaa method of burial is the same to men, women, and children. But for the kwaari and the nyiyi is quite different. The burial ceremonies of the ordinary peoples is carried out like this, according to the informants, when someone passed away with in the communities, she/he would be buried in front of the gate, back of the house and anywhere in their home of the deceased. In Anywaa burial ceremonies, men's are responsible for the digging of grave. They dug about three up to four feet deep the corpse would be wrapped by skin sleeping mat is laid on the bottom of the grave the corpse is laid on this full length some time if the person id wealthy a bull slathered and the fresh skin is put at the bottom of the grave and the fresh meat would be eaten by the all people at the ceremonies and finally the deceased is buried.⁶⁴

After the buried of the deceased, the mourners would pass up to two weeks on mourning. Relatives, friends and other peoples from near and far place would come and express their feeling to the families of the deceased. Small fence would be contracted on the grave and a plant called (*gëëbö*) would be put on the grave one on the head side and the second on the legs side of the deceased. After a month the grave mound is beaten down again to reduce it to ground level and one more the surface treated with stand. If the child died, the body does not touch to the ground because they believe that the mother of the child, who died may not have an opportunity to get another child.⁶⁵

The kwaaro and nyiya funeral is different with the funeral of the ordinary people. When kwaaro or *Nyiyi* died, the news of the death would be spread to the people *Nyatwiel*(messenger). All people gathered from place to place. Then the families of the king and *kwaaro* gathered in the house in order to keep the body as it is, they have an oil and leaf of tree to wash the body so that it will be preserved. Before the body leaves the house they erect the corpse with his glories cloth to show to the peoples. And the body will be buried then the peoples mourn by praise his good deeds. The when the burial ceremony ended the elders would stand and give blessing. Both *kwaaro* and king are buried in their compound unless wished to be buried somewhere he like. But the informants said that some too old men and women would also choose any place he/she likes to be buried before death.⁶⁶

⁶⁴*Ibid.* and Informants: Awar Cham, Ariet Oman and Peter Deng.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*p. 65,

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*,p.66. and Informants: Ochala Owar, Akwata Obang and Odiel Olock.

1.9. The Interaction of Anywaa and Other Ethnic Groups

Anywaa were the early settlers of the area prior to the arrival of the other ethnic groups. The Anywaa people had a long interaction and contact with their neighboring these are like the Oromo, Majang, Komo, Nuer and Opo.⁶⁷ Ethnic interaction is the relationship between groups or society in which the members are inter-connected in common interest. It is also refers to those who share common relationship and similarity within a society, due to common settlement, socio-economic and socio-cultural issues and others. Therefore, the major means of interaction of Anywaa and others ethnic groups are; intermarriage, raid, commercial ties, socio-cultural values and others.⁶⁸

Anywaa had a long relationship with the Majang people. The Anywaa and Majang relations were mainly on trade and marriage ties. But the marriage relation was only in one side i.e. the Anywaa would marry the Majang girls. The Anywaa and Majang also cooperated against the raiding of others.⁶⁹ According to informants, since they cooperate to raid others ethnic groups, the Anywaa also used to raid the Majang in some ways.⁷⁰ Due to these bad conditions of Anywaa against Majang, the Majang started to call Anywaa as phrier and Anywaa also used to call Majang as *Ojang*. It was after the withdrawal of the Italian forces and during the transition period that the Majang faced their last raid by Anywaa; until peace and security was restored by the Ethiopian government. Since this crucial time, the Anywaa were no more threat to Majang.⁷¹

In the above bad relations, the Anywaa also had a peacefully relation with Majang at the other time. The establishment of Gambella as a trading post in 1906 increased the interaction of Anywaa and the Majang. The Majang begun to get spears, knives, bead, axes and grounded tobacco from Anywaa in exchange for their honey. However, this interaction was highly between the Majang and Anywaa who live in the northern territory that near Godere River. The Majang of this area would travel via Anywaa territory to Gambella caring their honey to be exchange for other commodities. With the opening of the Gambella trading post, Anywaa engaged in Ivory trade and when they faced a shortage of Ivory in their own land, they got Ivory from Majang

⁶⁷ Informants: Otong Omod, Twol Lwal and Achalla Oman.

⁶⁸ Ahmed, p. 72.

⁶⁹ Abebe Getahun, "A Historical Survey of the Majangir People, South Western Ethiopia Ca.1890-1974" MA thesis, Jimma University, History, 2013, pp.56-58.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*

⁷¹ *Ibid*.

land in 1904. The Majang, particularly those who lived north of Godere River had closed contact with Anywaa. This due to the proximity of their territories and the Majang around there could speak *dha-anywaa* (Anywaa language) vice-versa. Here socio-economic of two ethnic groups was high.⁷²

The Anywaa of Gambella region was involved in to relation with the Oromo people in 1890s. The relation was based on socio-economic exchange of trade. And this relation was effectively practice in the 19th c between Anywaa and the Oromo of Wallaga and Illubabor. Anywaa exchange their cotton for iron, copper, beads, cattle's and rifles. On the Oromo side they hunted buffalo with Anywaa. The coming of the modern state had change the relation between Anywaa and Oromo. In 1889, King menelik II of shawa become the emperor of Ethiopia and established a new center at Gore. The new regime was based on the orthodox Christianity, Semitic ideology and Amharic as it tongue. The imperial regime has two major interests in Gambella region, the economic and diplomatic. Economically it was to collect ivory and slaves for international trade. Diplomatically was to control the Anywaa peacefully without any military campaign. In 19th c and 20th c that Gambella become the main source of ivory and slaves. This ivory and slaves in Gambella led the Ethiopia and the British in to competition.⁷³

The contact of Anywaa and Nuer was predominantly on economic and political.⁷⁴ Politically, different travellers and historians informed that by the end of the nineteenth century the Anywaa were said to be on the edge of disappearance after influences of dislocation by the Nuer.⁷⁵

There is no reservation that these people, who, sad to say, are gradually becoming destroyed, are greatly subjective by their settings and the oddconditions in which they are located. Shut in on one side by the huge Abyssinian Mountains and on the other by the belligerent and ever-forceful Nuer people, their way of life is not much improved than that of the flying fish. Concurred: They the Nuer left the Anywaa sufferingmany had died contradictory the Nuer spread. Others had raw from the famine which followed, and all grieved the loss of cattle. At the end of the century, the Anywaa look like near extinction. They were protected by a technological revolution'. This

⁷²*Ibid.*

⁷³ Bahru Zedwe, "Anywaa Identity Politics in Reference to the Ethiopian State System", in *Society, State and Identity in Africa History: Selected Essays* first edition, (Addis Ababa, 2008), p.126.

⁷⁴ Informants: Rwach Biel, Yien Mouch and Deng Kwach

⁷⁵ Jassen, H.H., "Southwestern Abyssinia," *The Geographical Joournal*, Vol. XXV, 1905, P.5

‘technological revolution’ that protected the Anywaa was the acquirement of weapons over the ivory trade with imperial Ethiopia.⁷⁶

In 1911, the Anywaa, led by Nyiya Akwei of the Adongo region, carried out their famous attacks against the Nuer in the Akobo region. With many weapons and a fresh system of political monopolization that went beyond the old-style village constituency, the Anywaa took the offensive and, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, had the upper hand over their one-time great pastoralist neighbors.⁷⁷

As portion from the political families between Anywaa and Nuer, they also had a commercial relationship. Meanwhile the Anywaa economy was agriculture, they maize with milk. Anywaa also had a slight marriage relation with Nuer. The informants also pointed out that, the Nuer exchanged one cows with two quntal of maize. However, the relation of Anywaa and Nuer was not as such good for the Anywaa because the Nuer pushed the Anywaa since the beginning even now days they still have a plan to take Anywaa land.⁷⁸ Like the other indigenous groups Anywaa relationships with Komo and Opo was very quietly since from the beginning they settle in the Anywaa land. Komo and Anywaa lived together for many years till now. It was kwaaro Orobulo a Anywaa chief who provide a place for Komo and let them settle. The chief call that place bur Kome(land of komo). Anywaa and Komo had a strong marriage, culture, and commercial relation till now. Opo also had the same relations with the Anywaa too. Therefore, the relationship between Anywaa, Komo and Opo was very good since from the beginning they did not engaged in any conflicts among themselves till today.⁷⁹

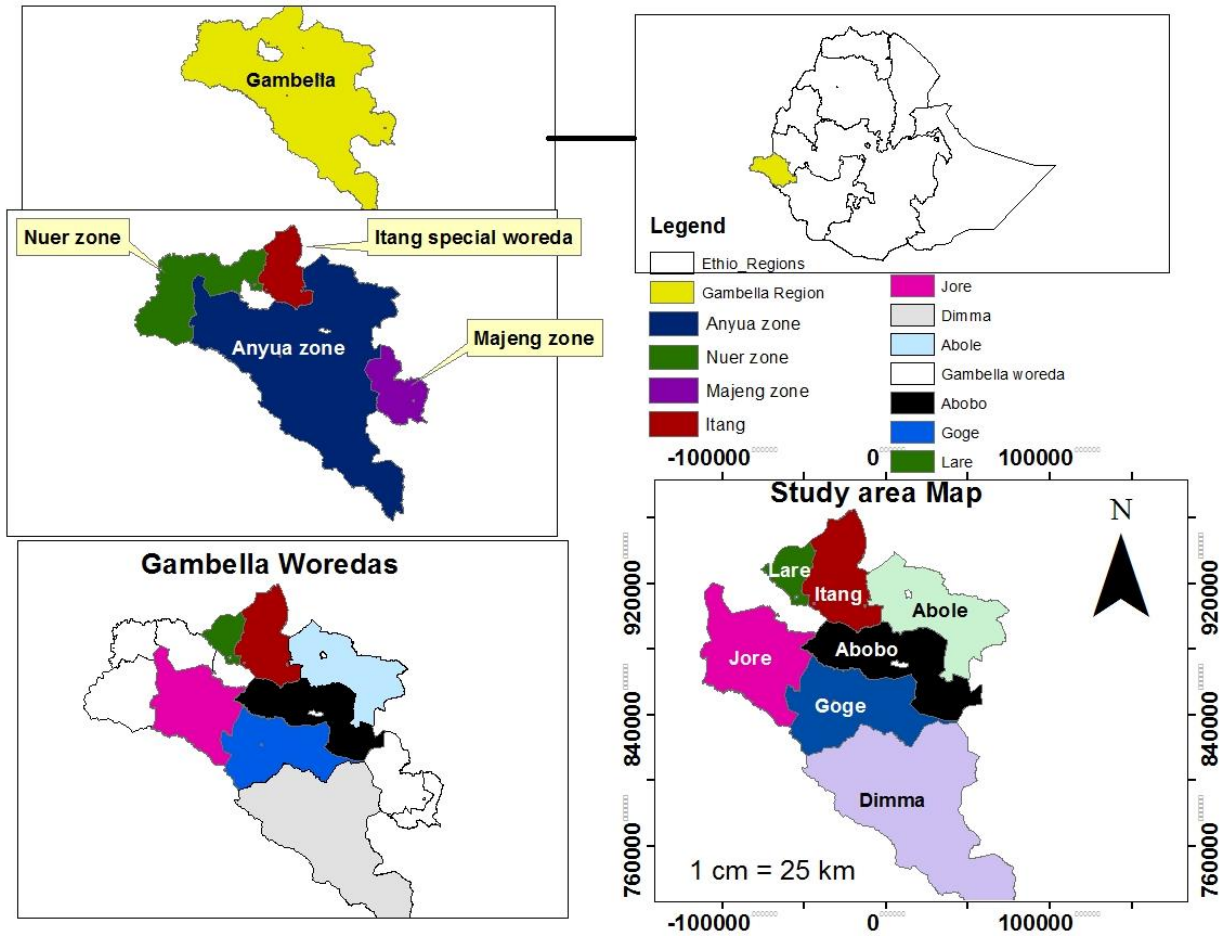
⁷⁶ Collin R, *Land Beyond the River: The Southern Sudan 1989-1918*,(New Heaven, Yale University press), p.203.

⁷⁷ Bahru. 1976,p. 112.

⁷⁸ Informants: Kong Jock, Chol Riek and Ochalla Obang.

⁷⁹ Informants: Yadesa Gur, Bringi Qwal and Peter Iew.

Figure1: Map of the Study area



Sources: GIS Ark.

CHAPTER TWO

ANYWAA TRADITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ADMINISTRATION

2. 1. The Origin of Anywaa Political System

The early history and traditional political system of Anywaa-Anyuak headman/ kwarro goes back to about 2200 BC and Chief Cheway who had been a founding father, grandfather, and creator of the Anywaa ethnic, empire, and kingdom. He is an Anywaa man whom we all believed in as Chief and divine God. He had moved from the Sahara Desert downward to settle around Lake Chad for number of years when he and his followers were struck by drought and then moved to live near confluence of White and Blue Nile Rivers; currently known as Khartoum Bare in Sudan. According to Kevin Shillington this was the same period of 2200 B.C "when Sahara was drying out increasingly rapidly and the large numbers of Sahara pastoralists and hunters push into the Nile valley, disrupting the settled farmers whom they found there." Cheway was a member of Nilo-Saharan African peoples' group and had migrated together with his "Lou" people group along the Nile River downward to southwest.⁸⁰

Most importantly, Kwarro Cheway was a well-known architect, explorer, political leader, peacemaker, and pioneer who took the lead in certain areas around Nile River and its' tributaries. As a pioneer, he had gone into the great unknown areas to explore strange new lands and settled there. In those new areas of space that the harvesting of sorghum, wild, domestic, was taking place in Khartoum region as early in 6000 BC. This iconic figure created a new system of government known as Kwarr or Kwarro traditional political system. His political system was personally headed by him and other leaders to administer and protect the entire Anyuak kingdom, empire, and ethnic group as they migrated along River Nile before his descendants scattered along its tributaries: Openo, Alworo, Gilo, Akobo, and Oboth rivers. On these tributaries many villages were governed by his descendants.⁸¹

Cheway' also had cabinets that helped him to administer the first generation of Anywaa land this created a new political system among the Anywaa. But in early headman chiefdom, there were only eleven senior officials (cabinet members). The secret of Chief Cheway success in protecting his kingdom from extinction was his quality leadership and performance in implementing the

⁸⁰Shillington Kevin, *The History of Africa*, St. Martin Press, New York, 1995, p.26.

⁸¹*Ibid.*30.

political and organizational structure he created. This early political system or governance and organizational structure are still functioning as a model in many chiefdom and kingdom villages of Anywaa today.⁸²

According to informants, the Anywaa kingdom had become the introduction of new clan, political unit, and stable political culture which marked the beginning of the first ruling class in Anywaa political history. Prior to that, Chief Cheway had only one and the first clan known as Cheway. Kwarro Cheway was the only leader of that free one clan and nation. He had played a remarkable and decisive role in defending, protecting, and leading the Anywaa ethnic to peaceful way of life. He was also the only Kwarro, chief of justice, political leader to lead and protect the Anywaa ethnic from enemy attacks for many hundreds of years. But he was replacement itself by the mystery King Gilo Okiro/Ochudho who came to throne/power by fortune and cleverness; he had marked the downfall of KwarroCheway chiefdom and beginning of the new era of kingship in Anywaa villages for the first time.⁸³

King Gilo Ochudho is believed to be son of a strange man known as Okiro/Ochudho who had been caught from fishpond nearby village. King Gilo Ochudho mother, Koree was daughter of Chief Cheway and First Lady (Gwanyo) Ajo. Many people believe that Koree was decent girl who obeyed order of his father to look after the stranger guest with whom she eventually had controversial pregnancy. Apparently, King Gilo Ochudho was the first Anyuak king who came to power through his grandfather family tree or lineage because of the mistake or conspiracy that was committed by another clan, Jowadtong, who killed Chief Cheway's heir apparent son. The killing became good opportunity for those of Jowadtong clan to introduce feudal monarchy political system. In many aspects, King Gilo had replaced Kwarro Cheway tradition and political system by changing 'Burra' into 'Chwott' to conduct his political, administrative and court affairs independently. He became instrumental in the reformed political system which became second or another option to attract many Anyuak people into the Kingship's political spectrum.⁸⁴

Youngest children of Cheway had organized a political movement to reestablish the political power of the Chiefdom. The movement of the Chiefdom was led by Kwarro Cheway's youngest

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³Informants: Akello Omod, Bachak Opiew and Ochudo Obang.

⁸⁴Informants: ObangOkello, Ariet Oman and OyithOkidi.

son by the name called "Owthwonth." Therefore Owthwonth Cheway was the first descent to reclaim Cheway's political power. This movement led them in to disagreement but to avoid direct confrontation the son of Owthwonth known as Ogwyieno had migrated into today's Itang where Jottido Anyuak and Olani ethnic group were living. The movement of Ogwyieno to find his own new space was supported by King Gilo Ochudho who never wanted to hand over his throne to his uncle son. Instead of that King Gilo made a little favor by instructing the members of Cheway clan to move into separate and different new land on the present day known as the bank of Openo River. Even informants pointed out that Ogwyieno and Cheway clan people were accompanied by King Gilo's body guards on his way to Eastward where those of Itang village people resided until today and exercising the traditional chiefdom political system.⁸⁵

Anywaa has two very closed and look like quit different traditional political system in running their affairs. The first was headmen (kwaaro) traditional political system, which was the head of the government and representative of his own village and its people. Another was kingship traditional political system that was the head of his own government and representative of his people and their leaders. So it looks like the Anywaa kingship political system was the direct copy from the headmen political system.⁸⁶

There are some differences in term of the names of objects and possessions. For example the military headquarters of Kwarro is called "*Balla*", and "*Bura*" for his palace, where as for the king is known as "*Chwott*." The farm land for Kwarro is known as "*Omahal*" while it is called "*Odiek*" to King. When it comes to other services, there are similarities and differences notably 'Pandwong'/palace, and 'Owanyongo'; 'Kwaylwake/kwatchlwake' for Kwarro is a person who is in charge of youth population. Whereas for Nyiyea, Kwatchlwake means is a strong person who is in charge of war as a commander. The message here is that as the nobles spread and emblems circulated through many villages around eastern part of Akobo, the king for the short time of his tenure of emblems had great prestige but little authority outside his own village.⁸⁷

Anywaa Kings refer to Kwarri as their uncles or grandfathers while kwarri called Kings as their nephews or grandsons. The informants pointed out that in Anywaa traditional political system;

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ E,E Evans-Pritchard, "The Political System of Anuak of Anglo-EgyptainSudan", (London ,1977),p.129.

no Kwarro that is accountable to other Kwarro or Nyiea. The ordinary Anywaa people were subjects to their village chiefs/Kings. They paid taxes to their own village Kwarro or Nyiea. Similarly, no Kwarro was required by law to pay taxes either to other village Kwarro or Nyiea. Taxes were paid in form of kinds rather than cash. Any Anywaa citizen was obliged to give expensive wild animals and products eligible to taxation, such as elephant, lion, and leopard, tiger, 'Kong', rhino and 'Omhoa'. Only Kwarri/Nyiea had the right to possess these tax items. Anywaa snipers and hunters were/are blessed and awarded by all villagers when they kill these expensive wild animals because of obvious reason that they would present them to Kwarro in the form of taxation. The whole purpose of giving these expensive wild animals to Kwarro/Nyiea was both would be able to help other citizens in their villages with these taxes or assets. They would award other poor people from taxation to become married couples.⁸⁸

To make work too easy, there are some cabinet that work together with Kwaaro or Nyiia; the first to be appointed by kwarro/headmen was his deputy who received guests in their absence to whom simple issues of the village life may be taken, not to make a decision but for discussion. The kwarro/headmen representative is called *Nyikugu*, and may come from any lineage. In other villages the office is key position it should be passed from father to son. Sometimes *Nyikugu* should fill office of *Nyibur* he only absence from the office. The only difference between these two offices is in principle, that the *Nyikugu* is the personal representative of the headmen/kwarro, while *Nyibur* is the headmen/kwarro representative in relation to particular territorial area and Head of land tenure and Census. He made decision on use of farm land. He distributed farms and free lands for the landless people, and kept update on the statistics of land and population. He also provided justice for those in need of it and supervised village's borders demarcation. His major duty is entertained guest in the absence of kwarro/headmen. A man expected to be appointed as *Nyibur* should be among those first settled in the areas.⁸⁹

For the Nyiia/king the first appointed cabinet is called *kwachlwak* who is the representative of the king. He is in charge of public issue in the absence of king/Nyiya, and he is strong men and commander. But *Nyikugu* had the same duties for both Kwarro/headmen and Nyiia/noble as a

⁸⁸Informants: Agud Oriet, Owar Obang and Abwola Opiew.

⁸⁹Godfrey Lienhardt, "Anuak Village Headmen I," *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol.IV, No, 27(Cambridge University Press, 1957), P.346.

cabinet.⁹⁰ Another appointed as a cabinet by both Kwarro/headmen and king/noble is called *Karwang*. He is Special Administrator and Advisor to Headman/Kwarro to assist him in administrative matters, political policies and public issues. In the absence of Kwarro he would run all affairs of the village as speaker of Kwarro. But *Karwang* for Nyiya/noble is in charge of information gathered or security of king/noble. *Nyitoga*, is a General Counsel of internal affairs of the village who provided assistance to Kwarro and Nyiya in social, economic and cultural matters. He was the strongest man in the village to advocate and mobilize the entire village for prosperity. He was responsible for awards and special ceremonies among the leaders and ordinary people in the village. He also performed as Chief of Security and Advisor.⁹¹

Another appointed cabinet by both Kwarro and king is known as *Nyieatowieli*, Head of Public Relations and Information serving as Special Messenger. He is the one who delivered a message of Kwarro or king to the other villages. *Nyikano*, he was Head of Home Economics, cook, and food services for Kwarro and king offices of Buura and Chewott. He should be a male in gender. *Kwatchtong*, is in was military chief of staff & commander who provided assistance in time of war in the defense services. *Nyipour*, he was the Head of Economic and Welfare services department responsible for management and sanitation of 'Amoa', food court and collection of tax from the farmers bring them to kwarro and king. *Kwachluakof* Joburra of kwarro/headmen was one of the commanders who provided assistance to Nyikugu in the time of war. He was the war front commander who put a lot of efforts to make all assigned soldiers fight accordingly.⁹² *Nyibatbogo*, he was Personal Advisor and Protocol Officer who provided assistance to Kwarro and King on personal matters. He protected Kwarro and King as security officer when moving on unofficial visits to other places out Burra and Pandwong or Chewott. *Kwatchtongno*, he was coordinator or contact person of Girls Club. He was responsible for management of the club and supply of drinks and sanitary services in Burra. He also organized youth of the village for occasional dancing and celebrations. In most of chiefdom political structures three senior officials: *Kwatchtong*, *Kwachluak* of Burra and *Kwatchtongo* are

⁹⁰Informants: OgallaOwarOkway Omod and KwachOkach.

⁹¹*Ibid.*

⁹²*Ibid.*

accountable to Nyikugu rather than to Kwarro. But what is common in kingdom political system is all appointed cabinets are accountable to king.⁹³

The southeastern parts of the Anywaa land were rule by Nyieye rather than kwaari. Both of them are decent through the paternal line. The son of nyieya is enthroned as a nyieya by arranged formal ceremony which as a set royal emblems and these are, ocwok (necklace) and stools. There is no such permanent emblem for kwaari, but for new kwaari inherits village drums and few royal items like necklaces from his predecessor. Nyieye are from one clan, but kwaari are from various clans. Nyieye and kwaari had different position and similar political functions as peacemakers and redistributions of wealth and have little religious functions. Court officials of two leaders are also different. A nyieya is greater than kwaaro, because nyieya exercise his power over a number of villages, while kwaaro is confined to his own village. This is the reason why the Anywaa leaders who established a trade relationship with the Ethiopian highlander were nyieye such as Akwai, Udiel and Uliimi. It was only after 1920s that they gradually came under the control of Ethiopia and Sudanese governments. But before that they were independent and ruled by their own nyieye and kwaari.⁹⁴

In Anywaa traditional political system the relationship between the kwaari and nyieye and his peoples is look like depress, leaders enjoy prestige while followers cultivate their farms, construct their homestead and pay tribute, which is called Urwaa, that often from hunting, fish, tusk of elephants, leopard skins, goats and cattle. In reply of kwaaro or nyieya they are expected to divided his wealth among his followers, arrange a special meal with large amount of food and drink, two elephant tusk returned to man who killed it, he offered dimui to poor people which used as bride wealth so he can marry. If the leader is not willing to offer the followers expectations so he would be unpopular and losses their support even his position leaders expected to satisfy the followers expectation otherwise he will be stepped down by his own peoples.⁹⁵

Kwaari might be removed from power due to several of reasons, such as dissatisfaction of his followers, if they did not provide a dimui which used as bride wealth to poor people's that let

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴Kurimoto Eisei, "The Historical Experiences of Anywaa of Western Ethiopian", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, no 43, 1992), pp.9-10.

⁹⁵*Ibid*, 31.

them to get marry. And distribution of the wealth he has to his followers. Good kwaaro slaughters a cow for his own peoples, cook beer for people and give money, dimui otherwise should be expelled out from the throne. On the nyieya position is the same thing expected from him because he stays for peoples if they did not fulfill the interest of the peoples he must over throne or exile from power by his peoples. And the most important things that expected from nyieya is to pay compensation to the man who committed something worse like killing somebody or sleeping with the wife of somebody not to killed. So nyieya always should be ready for such unexpected problems and solved it.⁹⁶

The Anywaa leadership was ran or forwarded in two different ways, the village headman (kwaari, single.kwaaro) and the nobles (nyiye, single.nyiya). Both kind of leadership were based on a constant move of power. Headman enticed and controlled following via generosity and by controlling an balance between political factions of their own village. Their position of office was restricted by village revolution called *Agem* that broke out when a non-competitor for the headmanship raised enough following to take the drums of office. A removed headman left his village but could take the headmanship again later via his own revolution.⁹⁷

The two very similar institution of kingship was confined to two lineages of nobles, the *tung*(clan) Nyigoc and *tung*(clan) Nyiudola, originally, focus on the Oboth and Upper Akobo. Kingship revolted around the possession of the royal emblems. The one with the emblems could be crowned, like the village headman, by the rival noble who raised enough following to oppose him. Many years ago the move of nobles' emblems was mostly ritual, and removed noble would regularly delivered them over peacefully. The free relative of this move was the only descendants of fully crown nobles could claim the emblems motivated fast circulation of the emblems and by the end of 19th c noble held them very short period, though they could hold them more than once.⁹⁸

Nobles who did not possess the emblems could still gain power by winning themselves in to commoner villages via the village revolution. A dethrone headman sometime organized a

⁹⁶*Ibid*,p.32

⁹⁷ Donald Donham, "Nilotic Frontier in Imperial Ethiopia in the southern Sudan (1998-1936)," *In Southern Marches of Imperial Ethiopian: Essays in History and Anthropologies* (Cambridge, 1986), pp.224-227.

⁹⁸*Ibid*.

challenge from a noble, for a noble who had no land in a commoner villages, was less strong than other potential rival and could be removed easily later. While nobles took themselves in to commoner village via the break in their political structure and their entry was commonly resided. The getting of the noble on commoner territory, was one of the main reason for the Anywaa expansion in north of Akobo, Openo (Baro) and Gilo rivers. Those who are against the noble motivated some commoner villages under the pressure since 1850s from nuer attack and recently from the highland Ethiopia, to surrender their struggling settlements unity in to more small village, Village authentically lie of one or a lineage of clan has to be independent political units under their own headman.⁹⁹

The true was that the international border placed most of the headman in Ethiopia and most of the nobles in the Sudan it does not means that the noble were untouched by Ethiopian presence and arms trade which it brought, Udiel-wa-Ngenya, was the first Anywaa noble received Ethiopian firearms trade used his weapons to increase his power among the Anywaa, taken land from commoner villages and also attacked the Nuer in 1899-1902. Another noble who had got Ethiopian support was Uliimi-wa-Agaaya. He used his new power to killed rival noble, and throughout one, Akwai-wo-cam, from his homeland. Akwai fled to Ethiopia were he traded skins and ivory rifles guns which he brought back to his own village and distributed to young warriors. But when Uliimi was in Ethiopia Akwai attacked his village and took the emblems. Than after Akwai become the most power Anywaa king. He encouraged many young Anywaa, Ethiopian hunter, bandits and Sudanese deserter from Egypt army lure of plunder and good hunting, so he obtained real monopoly in the firearms and ivory trade throughout south-eastern Anywaa land.¹⁰⁰

As a results of these three nobles via connection with Ethiopia created a great internal mixing of Anywaa population. Many clans were moved in to different direction. At the same time the noble attracted many individual from all over the country who comes either for protection or upgrading. By 1910 all the Anywaa living on the plain below Gurafarda had fled to the Akobo, where the noble ruled, to breakout being made in gebbars by the Ethiopia who climbing down from maintains. The nobles are mostly located in Sudan, while extended their influence in to commoner village or headman was settled in Ethiopia. However, there was prolonging of

⁹⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*

Ethiopian influence in to the Sudan via nobles. Udiel, Uliimi and Akwai were all at different times, as agent of the administration at Gore, and except Akwai the other were appointed as *fitawrari* leader of vanguard by Ras Tassema.¹⁰¹

In appointing nobles as Fitawrari the Ethiopians may have guarantee their political monopoly, but the vanguard most joined the main force and very recently the governor of Gore tried to control them. The Ethiopian was in support of Udiel and Uliimi. But Udiel and Akwai were detained in Bure for a short period of time before 1908s and all of them were convene to Bure in 1912. Akwai was never afraid, but Udiel following was disarmed and his headman made independent of him by the Ethiopian government. But did not rearm himself, but he remained dependent on the Ethiopian in his rivalry with Akwai. Before the world war I, Ethiopian attempts to control Anywaa was highly needed by the highlanders. Being suspected of British intention the Ethiopian was assuming to disarm the Anywaa under British pressure. The competition among the border administration itself disrupt any form of action, and the economic merit of moving forward the ivory and arm trade with the Anywaa over balanced like any other account.¹⁰²

When Jote was removed from power in 1908, his country failed in the hand of Amhara rule. It was in 1912 that the Amhara governor of Gidami marched against the Anywaa when they were not willing to pay a tribute. But before he met the Anywaa he met with the Nuer and he attacked he was snub by the *Gajaak*(the first Nuer clan that came to Gambella). Years after the governor at Gore tried his best to calm down the Anywaa on the Openo. But it was indirectly prevent by Jote, by giving back their loss job of those who quietly support the Anywaa. Three year, later, the Anywaa along with other peoples along the western border, countenance increased tribute demand, and many Anywaa headmen from tribute was collected began to reply Ethiopian origin. The direct confrontation came from Majid Abud in 1915, a Syrian who was assigned with the responsibility of controlling of the Anywaa along the Openo River. He attacked Akwai and others of Udiel and other who opposed Anywaa with a force from Gore, Anfilo. As a result Anywaa leaders fled in to Sudan.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

Majid was changed in June 1916, and more peaceful relations existed. The Sudan government had more success in controlling the nobles after Akwai died in 1920. After his death, the British commander in Akobo crowned the 12 years old son of Akwai by himself who was called Camwara-Akwai, with the royal emblems (Ocwok) early in 1921. The international boundary via Anywaa country made Cam to leave to Sudan with emblem while the main rival was in Ethiopia. It was after he placed that government control over the Anywaa kingship. Even the emblems were forfeited from Cam in 1927, and the government tried to minimize the seat of office ¹⁰⁴

As a result of this new limitation of the office the noble fled secretly to Ethiopia with emblem too. It was between 1928 and 1934 the four crowned kings crossed the border. It was with the great difficulty that they were returned to Sudan and the emblem recovered, while others were hidden in different places. It was Majid Abud who forced back the last absconds to Sudan, and he provided the Sudanese government another chance to control the kingship. As a result of their return the tenure of each king was extended and the emblem was maintained. The Sudanese government made attempt to reduce the number of the kings, and the *nyiudola* lineages, based in the Sudan favored over the *nyigoc* who reside in Ethiopia. This enhanced quarrel between *nyiudola* (Anywa clan leave in Souyh-Sudan and *nyigoc* (Anywaa clan that leave in Ethiopia) living in Ethiopia during the late 1940s, led the Sudan and Ethiopian government in to the international incident. Another danger was the peace on the border came from *nyiudola* nobles including one of the former king, who living in Ethiopia Eventually, by adopting the *shifita* way of living with small bands of followers by hunting and brigandage. ¹⁰⁵

Nobles were not controlled by Ethiopian by and controlled only with great great's difficulty by the Sudan, help to maintain Anywaa autonomy along the border. But most Anywaa live under their headmen it was the mobility of leadership. Via the village revolution, and that help not to established a more fixed form of leadership under Ethiopia control. The true is that nobody will stay in office for long time. Because there was already a momentum against allowing any leader, whether from within or supported without, to entrench himself. Because of this Ethiopia got a little chance to select leader and settle them on land as *balabat*. The reason was that they would

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

be removed from their village. The difference occurs between the headmen on Etho-Sudanese border. The Sudan government first accepted the peaceful removal of headmen and leave with good grace. But after the government becomes more organized it was those headmen who respect the government order rather than ordinary people. In the Ethiopian side headmen had more power over their villages. This was due to the headmanship was based on Anywaa prestige and controlled by generosity offering goods. The continuations of ivory trade with Ethiopia provide headmen greater opportunities to increase their wealth and prestige to attract more followers. The continued flow of Anywaa between leaders on either side of the border established a further limitation on Anywaa leadership, assuring that it would continue to follow traditional ways of leadership rather than foreign ones.¹⁰⁶

It is very clear that the position of Anywaa leaders depends on the support of the followers and they may select one new leader if the previous one did not satisfy their needs. It might be a mistake; however, the system is completely control by the people. The working of the system is the outcome of delicate balance between leaders on the other hand who tried to control prestige and to gather personal wealth even followers who try to gain many materials from leaders. It is clearly pointed out that the relation between leader and the followers is operating in refined balance. And people hated him and loved him. That is it no another word to express the feeling that they have for nyieya. To make his people happy and loved him leader should be strong and powerful so he can get or bring wealthy from outside.¹⁰⁷

2.2 The Conquest of Menelik II and ITS Impact

The Anywaa of Gambella region was involved in to relation with the Oromo people in 1890s. The relation was based on socio-economic exchange of trade. And this relation was effectively practice in the 19th century between Anywaa and the Oromo of Wallaga and Illubabor. Anywaa exchange their cotton for iron, copper, beads, cattle's and rifles. On the Oromo side they hunted buffalo with Anywaa. The coming of the modern state had change the relation between Anywaa and Oromo. In 1889, King Menelik II of shawa become the emperor of Ethiopia and established a new center at Gore. The new regime was based on the orthodox Christianity, Semitic ideology and Amharic as it tongue.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ Informants: Obang Owar, Adolla Ojwato and Okwer Omod.

¹⁰⁸ Bahru Zedwe, "Anywaa Identity Politics in Reference to the Ethiopian State System," in *Society, State and Identity in Africa History: Selected Essays*, first edition, (Addis Ababa, 2008), p.126.

Like other nations and nationalities which were incorporated into the expansion of the Ethiopian empire Menelik, the people of Gambella especially the Anywaa villages who are bordering Ethiopia have resisted using traditional weapon like spear but did not prevail. The military of Menelik attack on Gambella was carried out through two war fronts: one was led by Lieutenant Tokon through Gore-Buree road to Bonga village of Egillo, and the second was led by Lieutenant Joti Tulu through Dambi Dollo and reached the village of Pyinkaw. After sever battle with the two Anywaa villages, the forces of Menelik which were equipped with modern weapons defeated the Anywaa and consequently, Gambella and its people fall under Ethiopian Empire in 1898. The military of Menelik continued to pursue their territorial expansion until they reached deep and beyond some of the present border with the Sudan, currently South Sudan.¹⁰⁹

But, at the “immediate historical juncture, the Anywaa and other indigenous people of Gambella did not come into the serfs of the state”. This was due to local resistance which was combined with nature such as, humid temperatures, and malaria which infected the Ethiopian army; making it difficult for King Menelik army to settled in the area. As a result of such unfriendly environment, the Ethiopian government did not established effective administration until after the Second World War.¹¹⁰

The introduction of modern state had affected Anywaa in two ways. This state pave the way for new political and military demerit in resistance against the Nuer who displaced Anywaa and the declined of Anywaa political and military power. As a result of this new state they become easy to be attack by the Neur and other neighbors and led to extinct of the Anywaa people as been by mentions by many author because the power of their king and kware has been declined in Ethiopia and Sudan. The Anywaa kings in particular had contributed a lot in collection of 25,000 rifles from the highlanders to restore the Anywaa land that had been taken by Neur and power. With these rifle the Anywaa political and military increase more than before and become very strong. The British and Ethiopia imperial regime tried to reduce the Anywaa military power in between 1910s and 1920s. It was the British to carry a military campaign in 1912 against Anywaa. British lost the battle and 34 of his solider killed.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Informants: Obang Owar, Adolla Ojwato and Okwer Omod.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Bahru, 2008, p.131.

Though the 1902 border agreement between Ethiopia and Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was signed, these agreements were only to legalize the commercial center between the two governments. According to these agreements, Itang was decided to be the center of commercial exchange of goods between Ethiopian and British authorities, but was soon removed to Gambella town. Thus the agreements, was nothing to do with single territorial issues as was alleged by some as part of Gambella was under British colony of the Sudan. According to these agreements, the British government was to lease the land from Ethiopia only for business purpose which was utilized by both governments. Commercial, the trade center of Gambella benefited the British government and Ethiopia. For example, in 1928, the value of coffee and other products from Sudan were averaged 300,000 British pounds, which is equivalent of \$600,000 annually. Again in 1936, a record of 4,500 tons of coffee passed through Gambella into Sudan.¹¹²

Since the establishment of this commercial center was done without due concern and consideration to the people of Gambella, and as the Ethiopian government did not established effective administration; the people of Gambella by contrast, gained and continued as autonomous by “virtue of their geography, culture, as well as their ability to manipulate the international borders”. As such, they were also able to achieve more flexible relations based on reciprocity between Ethiopia border administration and enjoyed good relations with the Angle-Egyptian government in the Sudan.¹¹³

2.3. Objectives of Menelik II’s Expansion toward the Anywaa Land

Gambella region, where the majority of the Anywaa live, was incorporated into the Ethiopian state at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1898, Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia pre-empted British colonial interest in the region by extending his dominion as far west as the Sobat basin in the Upper Nile region in the present-day southern Sudan in connivance with the French, who were simultaneously advancing into the region.¹¹⁴ Imperial Ethiopia had two main rewards in the Gambella and Upper Nile regions. Diplomatically, it wanted to out-compete British colonial establishment in the Sudan with a desire to expand to the western highlands.

¹¹² *Ibid*, p.56.

¹¹³ *Ibid*.

¹¹⁴ Dereje Fayissa, Power and its Discontents in Ethiopia’s Western Periphery, Anywaa’s Reactions to the Consolidation of the Ethiopian State in the Gambella Region (1941 – 1991), Addis Ababa University, College of Law and Governance), p.5.

Economically, it was involved in protection the profitable ivory and other trade of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹¹⁵

The keyfoundations of these commodities were the newly conquered regions in the south, west and east of present-day Ethiopia. In fact, it was control of the trade routes that allowed King Menilik to turn his small Shewan kingdom in central Ethiopia into an empire that became the present Ethiopian state¹¹⁶Gambella was one of the leading sources of ivory and other for imperial Ethiopia. Ivory was took both in the form of tribute and through trade with the Anywaa and Nuer leaders.The mission for ivory led to a successful gun-for-ivory exchange, as more guns were needed to hunt more elephants. This economic importance brought imperial Ethiopia into strong opposition with the British, who had a broader political, economic and strategic interest in the region.¹¹⁷

2.4. Political Condition after incorporation

The prime British strategic interest in Gambella was their concerned with safeguarding the waters of the Nile.¹¹⁸One of the main tributaries of the White Nile, the Sobat, is also fed by major tributaries, the Baro, Gilo, Akobo and Alwero Rivers, that descend from the western Ethiopian highlands and flow through the plains of Gambella. The British also had an ambitious economic scheme. They aspired to tap the natural resources, coffee and rubber, of the western Ethiopian highlands, and for that they needed a commercial enclave linking these regions with the Sudan¹¹⁹

Furthermore they were in rivalry with the French, who had fake close diplomatic and economic ties with Emperor Menilik, obvious in the construction of the railway that connected Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, with the French colony of Djibouti. In order to challenge the growing French political and economic encouragement in Ethiopia, the British discussed with the Ethiopian government to form a trading station in Gambella on the Baro River, the only navigable river in Ethiopia. Based on theArticle IV of the later 1902 Anglo-Ethiopian Boundary Agreement, the British were permitted to form a trading post on the Baro River, in the western

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

¹¹⁷*Ibid*,p.6

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*

part of Gambella town, which came to be known as the Gambella enclave. The political economy of the enclave is one of the major geographies of Anywaa's response to the advent and expansion of the Ethiopian state.¹²⁰ On the basis of the agreement, Gambella town appeared as a main economic center in the first three decades of the twentieth century; control seventy per cent of Ethiopian external trade with and via the Sudan¹²¹

British sovereignty over the enclave, however, was conditional on their rule over the Sudan, and thus ended in 1956 when the Sudan became independent. For the preceding half century though, Gambella, with a parceled sovereignty, occupied a unique status as somewhat of a political anomaly in the context of independent Ethiopia. In addition to British attentions, the enclave was highly favored by Menilik as an inlet for salt and cloth imported from Port Sudan and an outlet for coffee, hides and beeswax from the newly conquered western highlands¹²²

The 1902 Boundary Agreement also defined the national identities of the Anywaa and the Nuer, two of the major ethnic groups in the Gambella region. Except for a section of the Jikany Nuer, the majority of the Nuer were placed within the Sudan and except for the Adongo and Akobo Anywaa, the majority of the Anywaa were placed within Ethiopia. This cross border settlement is one of the defining features of the trans-national dimension of state formation in Ethiopia's western periphery; for Anywaa's resistance against the exclusionary practices of the Ethiopian state in the 1950s and 1960s was partly made possible by the cross-border political mobilization. The Anywaa interacted with the Ethiopian state earlier than their neighbors such as the Nuer because of their proximity to the highlands and their new nationality as 'Ethiopians'. The Anywaa village states were initially better connected with the local representatives of the Ethiopian state. The nyiye and kwaari responded to the new political opportunities, which above all ensured them earlier access to firearms than the Nuer, a new form of dominance that decisively changed the balance of power in Anywaa-Nuer relations in the former's favor¹²³

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

¹²¹*Ibid.*

¹²²*Ibid.*

¹²³*Ibid.*

The balance of power during the early decades of the twentieth century contrasted sharply with the Anywaa-Nuer power relations during the second half of the nineteenth century. Various travellers and historians reported that by the end of the nineteenth century the Anywaa were said to be on the verge of extinction after waves of displacement by the Nuer.¹²⁴

"There is no doubt that these people, who, sad to say, are gradually becoming extinct, are greatly influenced by their surroundings and the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed. Shut in on one side by the giant Abyssinian Mountains and on the other by the warlike and ever-aggressive Nuer tribes, their existence is not much better than that of the flying fish. Concluded: "They the Nuer left the Anuak shattered. Many had died opposing the Nuer advance. Others had perished from the famine which followed, and all suffered the loss of cattle. At the end of the century, the Anywaa appeared near extinction. They were saved by a technological revolution'. This 'technological revolution' that 'saved' the Anywaa was the acquisition of firearms through the ivory trade with imperial Ethiopia".¹²⁵

As Dereje cited, in 1911, the total number of rifles in Anywaa possession was estimated at between 10,000 and 25,000'. Three powerful nyiye emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century: Udiel, Ulimi, and Akwei of, respectively, the Abobo, Akobo and Adongo regions. In 1911, the Anywaa, led by nyiya Akwei of the Adongo region, launched their famous raids against the Nuer in the Akobo region. With access to firearms and a new form of political centralization that went beyond the traditional village constituency, the Anywaa took the offensive and, in the first three decades of the twentieth century, had the upper hand over their one-time powerful pastoralist neighbors.¹²⁶

The rise of Anywaa military power however was not welcomed by the British colonial and imperial Ethiopian states. The rise of Anywaa power threatened the British and Ethiopian state interests in the region, particularly because the safety of the commercial enclave could only be secured either through the cooperation of the Anywaa or their military defeat. The British were the first to try to control the Anywaa. With vital strategic interests to protect and an imagined economic Eldorado to pursue, the British were increasingly nervous about the rise of Anywaa

¹²⁴Jassen.H.H."Southwestern Abyssinia," *The Geographical Joournal*,Vol.XXV,1905,p.5.

¹²⁵Dereje, p.7.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

military power. ‘Disarm the Anywaa’ was the British political preoccupation in the 1910s and 1920s. In 1912, the British carried out a military campaign against the Anywaa of the Adongo region. Although the Anywaa were no match for the British in conventional battles, their guerrilla war inflicted heavy damage on the British military. In the confrontation with Nyiya Akwei, the British lost four commissioned and thirty-seven noncommissioned officers.¹²⁷

The Anywaa also got portable guns from the British.¹²⁸ Embittered by the humiliating defeat, the British determined to resolve ‘the Anywaa problem’. To that end, they launched a diplomatic offensive to corner the Anywaa by arguing for a joint military operation with the Ethiopian government. The plan did not materialize except for a reconnaissance trip along the Gilo River¹²⁹

According to informants, despite the horrible and ugly legacy of slavery and slave raid that were carried out in Gambella and other Nilotic Ethiopian regions by Menelik, the Anywaa believed that in term of administration and self-rule, King Menelik was comparatively far better than the rest of Ethiopia’s rulers that comes after him.¹³⁰ The significant aspect of inclination of King Menelik rule toward Gambella was his flexibility and not rigidity. The Anywaa leaders particularly the Baro River (“Openo) Anywaa and other who encountered Menelik forces at the beginning, believed that Menelik leadership was a loose style; and that after short military encounter with Anywaa, he gave a full authority for the Anywaa “Kwaare” Chiefs to govern themselves. Evidence to this was the power arrangement in which he appointed “Kworo Urubulu of Pinykaw village to be the king of Westerner frontier and the leader of all Anywaa in Ethiopia territory. This was the only united administration in Anywaa history that incorporated Anywaa under one leader since the collapse of “Chewayee” leadership some 3,000 years ago.¹³¹

For the Ethiopia’s King Menelik it was not only the creation of Gambella State/Province as part of Ethiopia politically, but it was also to be the first Ethiopian governing body that incorporated all Anywaa in the Anywaa history. The pursuit of such policy by King Menelik, perhaps, was due to his knowledge that on the Sudan side, the British colony was faced with difficulty to exert its control over Anywaa of the Sudan. Until 1921, no British official entered the Anywaa land in

¹²⁷ *Ibid*

¹²⁸ *Ibid*.

¹²⁹ The Anywaa problem assumed such a high political profile that it provoked a parliamentary debate in London on whether the Anywaa country was worth the trouble (Dereje Fayisa,p.7).

¹³⁰ Informants: Owiti Oboya, Ariet Obang and Didumu Okach.

¹³¹ *Ibid*.

the Sudan side”. During the same period the Ethiopian official also failed to enter the entire Anywaa territory as well.¹³²

¹³² Bahru,p.97.

CHAPTER THREE

ANYWAA PEOPLE DURING THE REIGN OF EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE 1930-1974

3.1 Political development during the Reign of Emperor Haile Selassie

After the death of Emperor Menelik; Menelik was succeeded by his grandson, Lij Yasu. Shortly, a plot was hatched by the Church leaders and Haile Selassie (the then Ras Tafari). Being one of most trusted Lieutenants by King Menelik, Ras Tafari, in 1916 led a coup against Lij Yasu. Lij Yasu was replaced by his aunt Zeuditu the daughter of Menelik, paving the way for Haile Selassie. When Zeuditu dies, in 1930, Haile Selassie was crowned Emperor.¹³³

As it mentioned earlier, the rise of Anywaa military power however was not welcomed by the British colonial and imperial Ethiopian states. The rise of Anywaa power threatened the British and Ethiopian state interests in the region, particularly because the safety of the commercial enclave could only be secured either through the cooperation of the Anywaa or their military defeat. In 1913, the Anywaa demonstrated their political insubordination by killing Lij Kasa, the imperial agent of Gambella.¹³⁴

The death of Lij Kasa provoked a strong punitive campaign by the Ethiopian state. Four thousand spearmen and one thousand riflemen were sent under the command of *Fitawrari* (Commander of the Vanguard) Solomon, the son of *dejazmach* (Commander of the Gate) Jote Tulu, governor of Sayyo, western Wellega. *Fitawrari* Solomon lost more than one hundred of his followers, further boosting the spirit of Anywaa resistance.¹³⁵ Subsequent to their military victory, the forces of Akwei Cham managed to take control over the trade routes along the banks of the Baro and Akobo Rivers, as far as Gambella town, Bure and Dembidolo in the highland, taxing all commercial goods that were coming through these areas. And The British officials in the enclave appealed to the Ethiopian government. Nyiya Akwei gave an ultimatum to the Highlanders in Gambella to be confined to an area within a kilometer of the town.¹³⁶

In 1914, the pushy *qenyazmach* (Commander of the Right) Majid Abud, a member of political in Syrian in the service of the imperial Ethiopian government, was sent to force the Anywaa into

¹³³ *Ibid.* p. 124.

¹³⁴ Zerai, p. 24.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 25.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 10.

obedience. In 1916, *qenyazmach* Majid hurled a most important military attack against the Anywaa at the Battle of Itang. The Anywaa laid up a resilient struggle but finally surrendered to the armies of *qenyazmach* Majid – they missed five hundred and thirty-two men, and five hundred men were spayed.¹³⁷

It was after the battle of Itang that Majid asserted Ethiopian government authority. The Anywaa however continued their opposition against the British colonial state and the Ethiopian government, as well as their counter-offensives against their one-time powerful pastoralist neighbors, the Nuer and the Murle.¹³⁸ In 1931 the Anywaa once yet again raided the Gaat-Jak Nuer, and in 1932 they launched two wide attacks on the Murle in the Akobo area. The Anywaa murdered twenty-seven Murle and took eighty women and children and eight hundred head of cattle.¹³⁹ The Anywaa run away British revenges by overpass the international boundary into Ethiopia. These Anywaa attacks motivated a major diplomatic crisis. The British commanded the Ethiopian state administer the Anywaa and also pay reparation for the losses. As the end result, *qenyazmach* Majid carried out two major wars against the Anywaa in the Akobo region during 1932–34 in order to confirm Ethiopian government authority. The Anywaa call these wars *legnmajid*, the wars of Majid.¹⁴⁰ They tenaciously fought Majid, and in 1934 his militaries were defeated by the Openo Anywaa in Pol village, and Majid himself sustained serious injury.¹⁴¹

After a sequence of consequent armed wars though, the Anywaa were finally submitted, and moved into an extended military and political decline. The consequence to imperial Ethiopia's campaigns against the Anywaa was the beginning of the slave trade, which left a long-lasting humiliation on the peoples of the frontier who were negatively incorporated into the Ethiopian state. The beginning of the negative term *bariya* (slave) is connected to the frontier people's involvement of slavery.¹⁴² Just after a forceful guiding principle of centralization

¹³⁷ Dereje Feyissa, *Power and its Discontents in Ethiopia's Western Periphery Anywaa's Reactions to the Consolidation of the Ethiopian State in the Gambella Region (1941 – 1991)*, p.7.

¹³⁸ Bahru, p.142.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.* p.156.

¹⁴⁰ Ojulu Ochala, "The Anywaa and their Neighbors to ca. 1970:" An Essay in Local Politics, (BA thesis, A.A.U, Department of History, 1987), p.42.

¹⁴¹ Dereje, p.8.

¹⁴² Gambella was one of the main sources of slaves in south-western Ethiopia. B.H. Jessen, a British traveller who visited south-western Ethiopia in 1904, described the plight of the Anywaa as follows: 'The

imperial Ethiopia surrendered to the Italian colonial plan in 1936, when the empire was restructured, even though briefly, with the goal of take apart ‘Amhara hegemony’ backed by the Orthodox Church by supporting the country’s subgroups. Italian existence in the Gambella region, however, was controlled by the plan of organizing the demographically larger Nuer against British formations in the Sudan. After mere five years interlude Italian occupation of Ethiopia came to an end when they attempted to antagonize the Allied powers in 1941 during the Second World War, provoking the British to support the Ethiopian empire.¹⁴³

3.2. Anywaa in Post-liberation Period

The imperial government in post-liberation period intently wanted to rebuild its power with a resilient unifying push, to which the Anywaa once again strongly responded. Like elsewhere in the country the imperial government had go aboard on many system targeted at rebuilding and increasing its power in the initial years of the post-liberation period. Police stations were recognized and tributes in kind were improved into financial tax. As *dimui* was their traditional exchange, Anywaa could not meet the financial request. Some Anywaa replied to the request over seasonal salary work on the coffee farms of the neighboring highlands, mostly in western Wellega. Others resorted to military resistance.¹⁴⁴

Throughout 1951 – 1958, certain *Kwari* and *Nyiy* attacked the new established police stations in Gog, Itang and Pokumu districts. Pokumu village, headed by *Kwaro Atong Abula*, was at the centre of the opposition. In 1956 *Kwaro Atong*, with the help of *Kwaro Udol* of *Fimoli* village, attacked the police station; killing policemen and took the weapons including automatic weapons. Additionally he blocked the road between Itang and Jikaw districts.¹⁴⁵

These attacks at a thoughtful warning to imperial Ethiopia’s control over the Gambella region, as they did to the British commercial formation there. The next citation from a representative of the region point out the level of concern the British had in what came to be known as the ‘Pokumu trouble’

Abyssinians [Highlanders], though officially their protectors, make yearly raids on them, ostensibly to collect their tribute, but incidentally taking away boys or women for slaves ... The Nuer on the other side make inroads on their land, in order to gain larger pasture-grounds for their cattle’ Dereje, p.8.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.* p.8.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p.9

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

This disturbance was first caused by the Yambo tribe [Anywaa] of Pokumu in 1947, and this is the second time that they have repeated it twice consecutively in 1951 and 1952. Generally speaking, this trouble is not yet finished and cannot be assumed as having been finished unless the government takes action quickly to get hold of these offenders and try to investigate certain causes that incite or encourage these primitive people to rise against the government. Their reasons of thus behaving might be due to backwardness which bars them from appreciating the legal and modern society that the government has provided for them; or as this is a border region, there might be certain reasons that indirectly influenced them politically. For instance, during the disturbance that occurred in the Sudan, one of the consolable was a Yambo. Although this consolable was caught and hung, yet some of the Yambo consolable who were with him escaped to Gambella, and are scattered amongst their people. These might be the ones who might encourage them.¹⁴⁶

In 1947 Pukumu inhabitants were the only people who fought against the government and were not given any support by other neighbours. In June 1951, the Pokumu succeeded to convince few other Yambo to support them. And finally in 1952 they succeeded to convince more of their neighbours which were about four different villages. Three days after the fight got stopped more than 300 people came from Jor country to give support to the Pokumu people. The Anywaa along the bank of the Baro River starting from Gambella up to their end with the Nuers and the Anywaa in Jor take no notice of the real existence of the government other than its weakness, except some chiefs that have gone further from Gambella to Gore or Addis Ababa. In fact, Jor inhabitants consider the government to be a verbal government without strength which is due to backwardness and complete un-civilization which leads them to disregard the legal, modern, profound and social community that this imperial government wants them to follow.¹⁴⁷ As Derejeurges the imperial government to take a prompt action, as the situation is very dangerous for the overall peace and security of the border area.

Generally, the intention of the imperial of Ethiopia in Gambella was not to provide social services for the Gambella rather was seeking for slave and ivory trade in western Ethiopia. This

¹⁴⁶*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷*Ibid.*

is certainly an alarmist call from the British side who sought to agitate the imperial Government to take a ‘prompt action’ against the ‘Pokumu disturbance’, as Anywaa resistance against imperial centralization came to be known. However, the state of rebellion lasted until 1960, when it was finally quelled by a police force sent from Gore, the capital of Illubabur province within which the Gambella awraja (district) was situated. Pokumu village was burned to the ground and it was renamed Birhanesalam, which in the Amharic language means ‘light of peace’. The terms of the contestation between the Anywaa and the imperial government ranged from the new tax regime which is not compatible with Anywaa’s nonmonetary local economy, to loss of political economy. Anywaa leaders lost their cherished village autonomy and were reduced into mere balabats, a generic term for local imperial officials. Some of them managed to acquire a more substantial imperial title such as *qegnazmach*, *grazmach* or *balambaras* but real political power was exercised by the highlanders. It was after 1960s that the Anywaa was gradually decline due to the pressure from both British and Ethiopia that reduced the economic, politic, and military power of Anywaa as well as reduced from the purity lou¹⁴⁸

Table 1: Local authorities in Gambella decorated with imperial titles in 1964

<i>Wareda</i>	<i>Mainbalabat</i>	<i>Vicebalabat</i>	<i>Qoro</i>	Titled	
				<i>Qegnazmach</i> <i>Balambaras</i>	<i>Grazmach</i>
Gambella	7	3	-	2	1
Itang	12	-	-	1	-
Jikaw	13	9	77	3	1
Akobo	9	1	39	-	-
Jor-Gog	16	-	-	1	2
Abobo	7	-	-	1	2
Tota	64	13	116	5	6

Sources: Dereje, p.10.

¹⁴⁸ Bahru Zedwe, “Anywaa Identity Politics in Reference to the Ethiopian State System”, in *Society, State and Identity in Africa History: Selected Essays* first edition, (Addis Ababa, 2008), p.131.

Actually, the people of Gambella were stated to as Lemma, named after the imperial administrator of Gambella in the 1960s, colonel Lemma Gebrehiwot, as if they did not exist earlier the coming of the colonel. The selection of colonel Lemma as the administrator of Gambella was characteristic of the way the Ethiopian state associated to its periphery. Most imperial governors of the peripheral regions were sent there as a form of ‘exile’; a fact which was even accepted by imperial governors of Gambella, as the following excerpt from the annual report by Colonel Lemma sent in 1963 to his imperial superiors in Addis indicate:

Sudanese native ruling classes obtain a monthly salary of 400 – 600 USD. They are also delivered with cloth and even cars. Their Ethiopian corresponding items are allowed with only an imperial title and less than 20 % from the revenue they collect. It is the equivalent for the government officials in Gambella. While the Sudanese government spends lots of properties to sustain their political encouragement and secret agent on us my political budget is only 35 USD. The problem in Gambella is more complicated by government approach towards Gambella. Most of government staffs are sent to Gambella as a system of exile. They are typically either people with bad behaviour or criminals. It is no wonder that the workers regard their presence as a form of punishment. As a border region the government should have been more careful by sending additional clever governors.¹⁴⁹

Colonel Lemma himself came to Gambella for his involvement in the unsuccessful 1960 coup d'état against Emperor Haile Selassie. The select of Gambella for his governorate helped as a double campaign against him. On an individual level, the colonel had problems with the governor of Illubabor province, Enquselassie, and his transfer as governor of Gambella thus placed him under the power of an enemy. On a symbolic level, the colonel was exposed to a dissimilar form of slight. Although he was an ethnic Amhara, he fell on the black side of the color spectrum. In the Ethiopia of the day, when the discourse about ‘cleanliness of race’ played a prominent role in national identification, connecting him with the ‘black’ Anywaa and Nuer was planned as symbolic violence against him.¹⁵⁰

There were also economic grievances that fuelled Anywaa opposition to imperial rule. Before the coming of the Ethiopian state there had been give-and-take socio-economic relations between the Anywaa and the Oromo of the neighboring highlands. The main trading items were cotton from

¹⁴⁹Bahru, 1976, p. 253.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid and* Informants: Haile Fufa, Gemechu Asefa and Mohammed Mustafa.

the Anywaa side and beads and grain from the Oromo.¹⁵¹ The masculine ritual of buffalo killing by Oromo men in the lowlands of Gambella also presented a hopeful form of positive social incorporation. The Oromo and the Anywaa hunted the buffalo together, the former taking the horns and the skin, the latter taking the meat. With the establishment of the enclave, cotton, one of the main Anywaa export items to the highlands, became redundant. Cotton goods constituted the most important import item from the Sudan, amounting to 15,029 out of a total of 27,962 pounds sterling in 1911.¹⁵²

The military movements also produced the farmlands to be left unattended; as a result, the Anywaa in progress buying grain from the highlands, a trend which finally led to the change in their situation in the regional economy from existencemakers to consumers of highland crops.¹⁵³ Showing the classic countryside of the centre-periphery bloc, the cultures of the people of the periphery were denigrated and their traditional successes were exposed to ‘reform’ or ‘eradication’. As such a consequence to the growth of the Ethiopian state in the Gambella region was the so-called movement against ‘backward’ or ‘harmful’ cultural practices. Anywaa cultural practices such as the use of beads (dimui) for socio-economic transactions or initiation rites were judged in the strongest possible terms, followed by a call for assimilation into a ‘national’ culture as the remedy. The following statement was cited by Dereje:

The only tactic of educating this uncomfortable culture [in Amharic asafari bahil] such as the use of dimui or naak [dental revulsion] or gar [Nuer male initiation rite] is via education. Unfortunately, even the fresh generation would still return to the ancient culture as long as their parents carry on to run-through it. I repeatedly told the Anywaa and the Nuer in public places such as in the markets how uncomfortable their culture is for us Ethiopians and for the foreigners. If it is hard to force them directly to abandon their culture, it should still be part of the law, the abuse of which should need punishment, primarily of their leaders who failed to change their respective people. In order to bring the people of Gambella into development [siltane] we need to establish modern schools and bring religious teachers from the Orthodox Church. This means to end the ‘backward’ culture was shown in the same letter to be through modern education as well as the adoption of the Orthodox Christian (Highlander’) culture.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹Dereje and Kurimoto Eisei, ‘Natives and Outsider:’ The Historical Experiences of Anywaa of Western Ethiopian’, *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, no 43, 1992, p.14.

¹⁵²Dereje, p.11.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴*Ibid.*

According to the Dereje and informants, the discourse of “harmful” or “backward” cultural practices is a way of life with the supposition of a staged cultural evolution. In the Ethiopian context, as is the case elsewhere, the discourse was useful selectively by the dominant highland society to ‘primitivise’ peoples of the periphery and disparage their cultural achievements. As such it was raised to justify particular relations of supremacy. While beginning rites of the peoples of the periphery were judged, what might seem similarly ‘backward’ cultural practices in civilized terms such as early marriage or circumcision of women, widely practiced among highland societies and were greeted with silence. However, people of Gambella, who otherwise strongly reject women circumcision, were not presented as more ‘civilized than highland societies. Instead, their difficult cultural practices were discharged as though being a Nuer or an Anywaa meant no more than their initiation rites which were selectively used to justify the make ‘backward people’ with an ‘embarrassing’ culture.¹⁵⁵

3.3. Land Tenure System and its Influence on the Anywaa

According to the Anywaa tradition, the occupation of the land mainly depended on the effective investment of labor in clearing the free space of land and forest. So a family which initially cleared the free space of land or forest had the right to the land until the fertility of the land is reduced and abandoned. When that latter happened the ownership right of the previous family group would end soon and occupied new free land due to access of land.¹⁵⁶

As it mentioned earlier, land was excess resource in Anywaa land. Hence, there was no serious competition for land to farm. According to the informants, Anywaa had a traditional way of reclaiming the previous land. This was possible as long as the previous land was not recovered by forest or too grass. If the previous land recovered by forest or too much grass, the person who cleared it first had the right to land. In the past, Anywaa would not sell land to each other but land must be given freely to somebody who doesn’t have land. In case a Anywaa wanted to settle on a previously cleared land, he should get permission from the former owner of the land. Unless someone settled on land of another without securing permission, it resulted in conflict.¹⁵⁷

Actually, Anywaa had little interest for already used land. The person or the family which settled and cleared free land covered by forest and own land, near their farm field had the right to the

¹⁵⁵ Ibid and Informants: Chol Deng, Ochan Omod and Asefa Girma.

¹⁵⁶ Informants: Owar Obang, Kwach Okach and Akwata Obang.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

land closed to the home as a potential land to be cleared in the future. Neighbors would come in to agreement on their boundary usually by mutual understanding. Traditionally, they fixed the boundary of land by natural features such as rocks, hill, river, ridges etc. Since the Anywaa were sometime used shifting cultivation their land for cultivation was always bordered by another plant which is called *gëëbö* in local language.¹⁵⁸

In Anywaa tradition, women had no right to inherit land. If her husband died, the eldest son would inherit his father land. If her son was not fully grown, his mother would take care of the son and the land too until the son fully grow and inherit his father land. In case a man had no son, his brother had the right to inherit his deceased brother land. The possession of land right was monopoly of male task. Men had the right to transfer the land through gift. It was totally men's decision even to shift from one cultivation area to another.¹⁵⁹The Anywaa claim that the land of their early settlement as *ngøop kwäcwa* (literally meaning "the land of our fore father"). They have also a tradition of calling the land after the first clan settles there. But there was a clan based boundary line and occupation of land. They referred to the land as *ngøop Jowätnaamø* (land of jowatnaamo clan) most of the time Anywaa did this to get the ritual services of the land.¹⁶⁰

The trend of shifting cultivation among the Anywaa continued up to the present especially in rural areas. But at the urban areas it continued up to 1970s. After the late 1970s, the Anywaa live in urban areas largely become sedentary settlers. The traditional land holding system of Anywaa remained intact until 1905, the introduction of the measurement of land. Following this measurement, the land was sub- divided in to government land (*ngøop akwöma*), church land (*ngøop øt-jwøk*) and land reserved for the balabat or local supporters. It was from the government land that many of the grants were made to the soldiers and officials as *madarya* land (land given for those in government services in place of salary).¹⁶¹

The government soldiers were granted government land according to their rank. Thirty to forty *gashas* of land was granted to Fitawrari, about twenty *gashas* of land was given to Qanozmac, about fifteen to twenty to *Mato- alaga*, about five to ten *gashas* was given to *Hamsa -alaga* and

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ Informants: Okello Obang, Akello Omod and Iwal Omod

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Informants: Abrham Mulugeta, Mereth Etheffa and Addisu Taka.

about one to five *gashas* of land was given to an ordinary soldier.¹⁶² *Samon mereth* was the land granted to church and cultivated by peasants. According to informants, there was different Orthodox Church that was constructed in Gambella. However, these orthodox churches did not played a significant role in the expansion of the Orthodox Christianity to the Anywaa people.¹⁶³

There was also land granted to those who serve the church, i.e the clergy as follow; above five *gashas* of land was given to priest, two to three *gashas* of land was given to a deacon, about two *gashas* of land was given to *gabazi* and about one *gashas* of land was granted to a *dabtara*.¹⁶⁴ During the Italian occupation, gult system and *asrat* (tith) was abolished. After liberation of the country in 1941, government land grant was more intensified. The grants were made to patriots, soldiers and civil servants and the government land sole was also increase. Therefore, at Gambella in the post-liberation period; one *gasha* of land was sold at a price of five Ethiopian birr. Latter, the price of land rose as the importance of land grew. In the early 1930s peasant at Gambella began to produced maize and sorghum in large amount.¹⁶⁵ According to the informants, this land measurement and alienation separated the Anywaa from the settler community. On the other hand, was the source of marginalization and segregation of the Anywaa by the settler communities were diverse. This inturn the absence of any Anywa dweller in urban,since the Anywaa depend on agricultural economic activities, the land measurement forced the Anywaa to cultivat in rural areas rather than in the urban.¹⁶⁶

The Italian also encourage peasant to produced maize and sorghum. And in 1940s the production of maize and sorghum and it commercial importance had grown. This led to the influx of people of Gambella in search of free land for farm purpose. Thus, those who could afford were able to buy large tracts of land from government for the production of maize and sorghum. During the derg period, most of the government land were nationalized and become the property of state agriculture plantation and were used for the resettlement programs¹⁶⁷

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Informants: Negash Belay, Temesgen Markos and Neguse Abera.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER FOUR

ANYWAAPEOPLE DURING THE DERG REGIME 1974-1991

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The Haile Sellasie regime was removed from power in September 1974 by a widely held rebellion and replaced by the *Derg* regime that ended in 1991. The *Derg* regime, commonly known as the *Derg* or Socialist regime, was characterized as 'battalion socialism'; stand for its military experience and socialist political orientation.¹⁶⁸ The Clapham defined the nature of the *Derg* and cited by Dereje as 'Jacobin', including a project which he refers to as encadrement:

It amounted to a mission of establishment of camp, or combination into structures of control, which was followed with amazing quick and showing no compassion. It seek to strengthen the old route of centralized state creation by taking out the fake sources of exterior dissatisfaction and adopt or support an ideal of nation-statehood in which people would similarly be connected with, and put in danger to an powerful state.¹⁶⁹

Single-party system was common in the central, the *Derg* wanted to 'remake' Ethiopia with the best way. The procedure of settling the camp was followed in a great extent in social, economic, political and cultural fields. At the higher level, the *Derg* supported out social work in the setting of a 'great modernized project known in Ethiopia as *zemecha* ('Development through Cooperation Campaign').¹⁷⁰ In this series military operation, students from town centers were sent to change the rural area by saving the countryside common people not only from the oppression of the ancient régime but also from the 'cruel and arbitrary exercise of power control thenative traditional beliefs and practice.'¹⁷¹

Development via cooperation campaign (*zemecha*) was to be done via the Ethiopian form of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Economically, encadrement took the form of attempts to advance total control of the peasantry through villagization and resettlement programs. Fourteen million farmers were forced to settle down in fresh villages and additional half a million peasants were

¹⁶⁸ Markakis, J., *National and Class Conflict in the Horn of Africa*, Cambridge, 1987), p.202. and Dereje, p.17.

¹⁶⁹ Clapham, C., *Controlling Space in Ethiopia*, in Wendy James et al, *Remapping Ethiopia: Socialism and After*, (Oxford: James Curry, 2002), p.14. And Dereje, p.17.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid* and Donham, D., *Marxist Modern: An Ethnographic History of the Ethiopian Revolution*, Berkeley, California Press, 1999), pp. 29-35.

relocated standard instances of a state's tried to 'take the peasantry in order to support national growth. In the political field, the project of establishment of camp meant not only a single-party system but also a forceful control of other types of authority, through the removal of antagonism parties and the eradication of traditional the ruling classes. Different groups of people knowledged this project of establishing of camps at different points.¹⁷²

According to the informants, it was after the fall of Haile Selassie, when the defunct government came to power in 1974, the people of Gambella, like other oppressed ethnics and nationalities in Ethiopia, hoped for a better government to come that would end their unparalleled suffering. To the contrary, political conditions got worse. Instead the communist regime known as '*Derg*' began to eliminate the few enlightened educated in Anywaa of Gambella in secret and openly. It also destroyed the traditional administration, rules, and system of the indigenous people that was inherited for centuries.¹⁷³

Moreover, many young people were imprisoned and others were sent to the war zones in Eritrea and Tigray, including Ethio-Somalia war of 1970s. Those who wounded and become disables due to the war were discharged and send back to Gambella with no compensation, pensions, and medical treatment plan. The Anywaa and other indigenous people of Gambella often resisted by saying, they will not fight unknown enemies who have done them no harm. The results of such resistance to force conscription, usually met with imprisonment, torture or death.¹⁷⁴ Because of such bad political situation the Anywaa people begin to opposed the *Derg* regime. Among the Anywaa the revolutionary skill produced two different types of protest; first the Jor uprising of the 1970s controlled by the traditional leaders, and second the formation of a liberation movement in the 1980s which later became GPLM led by the educated leaders. Both forms of protest had trans-national dimensions.¹⁷⁵

4.2. Socio-cultural and Political Change of Anywaa

Disparate imperial Ethiopia which wanted to rule its border at least via a system of indirect rule by choosing traditional authorities, but weak that might be, the *Derg* wanted to introduce a direct

¹⁷²Dereje, p.18.

¹⁷³ Informants: Kwot Agid, Obang Orimi and Ogula Oman.

¹⁷⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵Dereje, p.18.

rule with a strictly centralized system of power, mainly in the initial years of the revolution. As such, more than imperial Ethiopia, revolutionary Ethiopia completely changed Anywaa society. The spreading out of the state, already underway by the imperial government, was followed in earnest by the socialist regime, which powerfully entered indigenous societies. The first political action taken by revolutionary Ethiopia in the Gambela region particularly and in the country in general was to crush any other systems of power, from the imperial kingdom to centralized indigenous political systems, to ritual leaders¹⁷⁶

The Anywaa were politically visible because they had a comparatively advanced form of centralized political system with their nobles and headmen. Both the Nyieya and Kwaaro were considered 'opposition, 'against and 'feudal', as if they were imperial system writ small. Anywaa traditional leaders definitely had rights of the office but they scarcely fit for the kind of strong power which the period feudal implies: They had no rights over some hunting titles; they did not see *wudo* (the customs of ceremonial respect for various categories of affine relatives followed by ordinary men); nor seem bare foot (because the removal of sandal is a sign of inferiority in status); and they were welcomed with *gungi* (the ceremonial low-bowing position when upcoming him or overpass his track of dream).¹⁷⁷

As Lienhardt stated and cited by dereje, "these considerations are to the office, not to the officails, it is the organization of headmanship, not the individual headman, which encourages the ceremonial conduct."¹⁷⁸ Remarking on the Anywaa Nyieya, Cited by Dereje and Evans Prichard made a similar remark and defined the Anywaa political system as a ritualized kingship: "it is kingship, not kings, which is sacred".¹⁷⁹

Additional threateningly the *Derg* forcefully converted the Anywaa local economy in currency. As previously noted, important social relations in traditional Anywaa society were made and preserved through the intermediate of beads, mainly through *dimui*. It was also used as a tool of ethnic boundary upkeep, for it made it hard, if not difficult, for others to marry Anywaa, given its shortage. If imperial Ethiopia wanted to avoid Anywaa's local economy based on

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*.p.29.

¹⁷⁹ E,E Evans-Pritchard, "The Political System of Anuak of Anglo-Egyptain Sudan", (London,1940),p.18 and *Ibid*.

dimui Derg tried to destroy it overall. As part of Derg's Cultural Revolution the Anywaa bride wealth system and the traditional currency were forcefully monetized and labelled as 'backward' cultural practices. In fact the revolutionary zeal went as far as throwing away a substantial volume of *dimui* into the Baro River.¹⁸⁰

The avant garde for the Cultural Revolution were the *zemach*, high school and university students who were sent "like an army to short in the countryside...with knowledge, an open-minded dialogue and exercise equality brilliance".¹⁸¹ The *zemacha* campaigned against the *balabats* (generic term for imperial office holders). Both the Anywaa and the Nuer had *balabats* but attacks on the Anywaa *balabats* sounded like an attack on Anywaa culture because it was the Kwaari and the Nyieye who were transformed into imperial agents, while the Nuer *balabat* was fundamentally self-made and was an individual project. Anywaa Kwaari and Nyieye were removed and were made inappropriate. Additional core symbols of Anywaa ethnic identity were also eradicated, mainly initiation marks (*naak*), belief in witchcraft (*ci-Jwok*) and other related cultural carry out.¹⁸²

The Derg regime took more dramatic measures and violently abolished Anywaa cultural practices associated with their identity discourse through its modernist project by confiscating traditional insignia of power, imposed a monetized bride wealth system (the price is now fixed at 15000 birr), outlawed *naak* (the extraction of the lower teeth) and the juniors were 'liberated' from the elders by giving them more freedom of marriage.¹⁸³

For all practical purposes, however, the Cultural Revolution had meant the articulation of a particular culture in the name of progress. The Derg reinforced the cultural hegemony of the highlanders in Gambela, for the state was still a highlander. Despite its initial restructuring of the foundations of Ethiopian society, the Derg gradually slipped into the national fabric of the

¹⁸⁰ On the basis of this enlightenment project, 500 *zemach* were sent to the Gambela region, assigned to Gambela, Itang, Abobo, Gog and Jikaw. The Jikaw post was cancelled because of security reasons and the Gog/Jor post was also transferred to Abobo because of transportation problems, for which more than 400 students demonstrated for being deprived of their right to participate in the modernist project. In the end only posts at Gambela and Itang became operational. (Dereje, p.19).

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

Ethiopian state.¹⁸⁴As Donham described it, “here was little iconoclastic destruction of old political symbols at the center of Ethiopian politics. The revolutionary state drew on the cultural infrastructure of the ancient regime and the monarch served as a model for power”¹⁸⁵

Becoming ‘not backward’, then, involved for the Anywaa to contribute in an exact (highland) culture thinly disguised as advanced. As Dereje cited in Donham further noted that, “there was an endless and confusing slippage between symbol and referent. Culturally conventional movements were carried out under the name of a ‘cultural revolution.’”¹⁸⁶The Anywaa carried the burden of the project as they were near the administrative centres and visible in their political system. An Anywaa village along the Baro River which is called *Nyikwo*, was carefully chosen by REYA (Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association) as a model village.¹⁸⁷

The political, economic and cultural violations of the revolution into Anywaa society pushed the traditional powers’ political emotional response more than other sections of Anywaa society. The substantial basis of the kingship and the headmen was *dimui* and the unbalanced exchanges – getting but not giving *dimui* as bride wealth. In circumstance they were centres of reorganization. Anywaa political order centred on the *dimui* and monetization of the local economy vulnerable its very foundation. Occasionally, perhaps often, men without sisters could gain access to *dimui*, if only indirectly, by placing themselves in the service of a noble or a headman, who then assisted as their supporter.¹⁸⁸

When the client had reached the age that permitted him to marry and had rendered enough service to his supporter, particularly over agricultural labour in his gardens, then the supporter would take on the responsibility for paying the bride wealth. The nobles and headmen were able to gather *dimui* by means of unfair exchange, to change Sahlins’s famous term. While the *Nyiye* and the *Kwaari* received *dimui* for their daughters’ marriages, they were not required to pay *dimui* for their son marriages rather; it was the son’s maternal uncles who assumed responsibility for these payments. This created a one-way flow of the resource on which power was based,

¹⁸⁴Dereje, p.17.

¹⁸⁵ Donham, D, “Looking Back on Projects of the Socialist State 1974-1991”, in *Wandy James et al, Remapping Ethiopia*, (Oxford, 2002), p.20.

¹⁸⁶Dereje, p.19.

¹⁸⁷ *Nyikowo* village was visited by Hailu Tujuba, the chairman of REYA. (Ibid. Informants: Kwach Opiew, Obang Okello and Didumu Okach.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

filling the treasury of the Nyiye and the Kwaari with one of the most desired cultural objects. At the same time, however, the nobles' and headmen's *dimui* was considered to be public property, insofar as these offices served as redistributive centres for *dimui*-poor families. In return for their crucial support in helping poor people marry, the *Nyiye* and the *Kwaari* could build a constituency based on their networks of clients.¹⁸⁹

By itself, 'revolutionary' burdens brought sadness, which finally led to a confrontation popularly known as the Jor revolution as it was focused at the village of Uthol in Jor district. The new 'revolutionary' socio-political order introduced by the Derg was stated by the Nyiye and the Kwaari as *kwac gwel*, (leadership legitimated by gaining of money), in which accountability is not to the people governed but to the 'paymasters', a reference to the salaries the new leaders received from the government. The new leaders elected by the Derg, the *liqemembers* of the peasant associations, were contrasted with the Kwaari and the Nyiye, who drew on tradition and patrimony to legitimize their power.¹⁹⁰

According to the informants, the abolishment of *dimui* was supposed as socially disturbing. In fact, the growing occurrence of divorce in the 1970s was endorsed to the unexpected and strong move from *dimui* to a cash economy. The abolishment of *dimui* gave a political capital for the Anywaa leaders who now fight not only to retain their political power but also in defense of tradition. The insurgence was led by *kwaaro* Omot. In 1978 Omot chased the teachers from the adult education center in Jor (all highlanders); burnt the books and chased away the vice administrator (a Nuer), who was sent to control the condition.¹⁹¹

In 1979 ten revolutionary watches (as the armed Derg cadres were called), and they were killed and seven were wounded. The rebellion expanded into other areas. In 1980 three highland teachers were killed in *Cham* village (*Jikaw* district) and the supportive shop in *Pokumu* village was robbed and more schools were burnt. The rebels took control over eight villages in *Jor* district. They were supported by Nyiya Agada Akwei based in Pochalla Southern Suda.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.20, and Informants: Abang Omod, Ariet Oman and Peter Lew.

¹⁹² These villages were Olawo, Gony, Angela, Amedho, Iranga, Pakang, Olang and Ojalo. (*Ibid.*)

As it was mentioned before, there was a trans-national dimension to the Jor rebellion, given the support it received from the government of the Sudan. During the period between the signing of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement in 1972 and the outbreak of the second civil war in 1983, the Sudanese government picked up the British territorial ambition over the Gambella region. According to the 1902 boundary agreement the legal status of the Gambela enclave, the Baro salient as the British would prefer to call it, was conditional “so long as the Sudan is under the Anglo Egyptian government”. As per the agreement, Ethiopia fervently claimed the enclave as part of its sovereign territory in 1956 when the Sudan became independent.¹⁹³ The Sudan government retained a consul in Gambela for diplomatic and commercial purposes and got some hydraulic concession.¹⁹⁴

Sudanese concentration over the Gambela region sustained unchanged though. This goal was converted into a political project when the Sudanese government established a mainly Anywaa based political organization called the Gambela Liberation Front (GLF) in 1976. Anywaa leaders of the GLF contain people who later on appeared as prominent Anywaa politicians in Southern Sudanese politics of liberation such as Philip Udiel (governor of the Upper Nile region), Paul Anade (MP in Southern Sudan regional council); Simon Mori (a minister in Southern Sudan government); Agud Obong (General in the Sudanese army) and Philip Akiyu (administrator of Pochala district). The GLF was politically active in the late 1970s. It was actively involved in engaging the youth on both sides of the international boundary in its military base at Galabal.¹⁹⁵

The Sudanese government had also wanted to reach out to the Jor rebels through Niya Ageda Akwei, the highest traditional Anywaa power based in the Adongo region of South Sudan that border the Jor district.¹⁹⁶ Encouraged by this outdoor support, the rebels initiated more harm to government militaries, killing twenty-nine and wounding thirty. In February 1982, the Derg

¹⁹³ According to the Gambela protocol in 1956 sovereignty over the enclave was officially transferred to the Ethiopian government but the imperial Ethiopian government made available numerous houses for the services of the Sudanese consul in Gambela with a twenty years rent free concessions (letter written by Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign affairs to Embassy of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, (Dereje, p.20.

¹⁹⁴ According to the Gambela protocol, the Sudan government was allowed to continue measuring the height of the Baro (openo) River until such time when Ethiopian hydraulic experts assume the task. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁹⁵ The two principal Ethiopian Anywaa actors in this project were Oguta and David. David was later on killed by a police in the Sudan, while Oguta was imprisoned for failing to maintain order among his followers. (Dereje and Informants: Obongo Ogut, Ajack Olami and Pach Ojulu).

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

prepared a large-scale military operation to put down the Anywaa uprising, and after a aggressive battle, the protection of ‘tradition’ was broken. The campaign ended in a symbolic action. One of the rebel leaders, kwaaro Batade Olaw, was executed and the ‘political trophy’ taken to the district’s capital (Gog) for public display; thus symbolically reconstructing government power through state terror. A song was collected to remember the victory and two terms were coined to warn the uselessness of further Anywaa opposition: nyegulaw (destruction of Olaw) and dimjor (submission of Jor).¹⁹⁷

The *Derg* was amazed to see Anywaa opposition. It expected an excited upkeep for the ending of the ‘oppressive’ traditional political system. In order to ‘liberate’ the comprehensive common people from *yetasate niqatehilina* (in Amharic it means false consciousness) highland farmers were ‘imported’ to create awareness among the Anywaa farmers to rise up against their leaders as it is recognized in one of the ‘revolutionary’ accounts of the ‘history of the broad masses’ as it is vividly described in the following document. Although there was manipulation by native *balabats*, the broad masses were not aware of its reality. Besides, there were no tools which could have served as an outlet to exhaust protests. That was why the farmers were struggling to return the *balabats* into power. The document more defined how hard it was to influence the Anywaa to be “revolutionary”:

Since the area was huge and the people small, there was no scarcity of land; The system of production was developed and this did not form land scarcity; Since their leaders were not skillful or concerned in additional production there was little economic abuse of the measure we find in other parts of the country; it was hard to satisfy the benefits of the land declaration act too. In order that they become aware of the exploitation and take up arms against the *balabats*, ninety peasants were brought from the highland. It took three years to organize the people of Gambela to start the fight.¹⁹⁸

This depicts how The *Derg* lamented for the lack or lower degree of class consciousness among Ethiopia’s massive peasantry; so much so that it felt the need to induce the same where there was none. On the basis of the nature of its incorporation into the Ethiopian state (the context of diplomatic rivalry and political competition between imperial Ethiopia and colonial Britain) as well as the lack of economic incentives because of the unattractiveness of the lowland plains for settlements for the Highlanders, the Gambela region was spared from land dispossession such as

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ Dereje, p.21.

the one occurred in the newly conquered regions of the south during the imperial territorial expansion. Towards the end of the 1960s, the Amhara local governors appealed to the central government to obtain land as a gift and through purchase and in early 1970s sixty noble families acquired land for large plantations but they were overtaken by the revolution in 1974¹⁹⁹

4.3. Pattern and Process of Change

The *Derg* regime had a mixed welcome among the Anywaa. Despite the fact the Anywaa who had a stronger stake in tradition (the Kwaari, Nyiye and the elderly) felt threatened, others, mainly the youth viewed the revolution as an chance, for the abolishment of the early régime meant not only new political space but also positions of leadership in the new government organization as opposed to the hereditary mode of governance. With the sanction on *dimui*, the youth felt ‘liberated’ from the elders as this allowed them more freedom of marriage. In the mid-1970s, there were many sisters less unmarried man (*bouth*) who were unable to marry because of the shortage of *dimui*.²⁰⁰

The difficulty of these *bouth* is told in a common song of the time: ‘If I do not have a sister, I go to Dambala’. Dambala is a gold mining center on the upper Akobo River, where many *bouth* went to get enough money to pay the essential bride wealth. Others went to the highlands as wage labourers to work on the coffee farms. The youth therefore in the beginning welcomed the revolution now that their social progression was not ruled by either the shortage of *dimui* or the power of the elders. With the monetization of bride wealth, it became possible for young Anywaa to move along their social development as long as they could have enough money to pay for their wives. As such, there was a good line of articulation between ‘the weak points’ of the Anywaa social system which produced insidedisbelievers and the revolutionary message of “fairness”.²⁰¹

The *Derg* regime was also observed as achance by positive Anywaa to take part in ‘evolutions. The *Derg* beliefs of *Ityopiya tikdem* (‘Ethiopia first’) attracted to the first generation of assignment-educated Anywaa, who saw in the revolution an opportunity to take their own people along this road. As Dereje cited in Donald Donham in his seminal work, Marxist Modern he introduced the concept of ‘catching up’ and urged scholars to engage with local projects of

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid* and Informants: Odiel Olock, Kwach Opiew and Obang Okello.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

modernity: ‘Have anthropologists or historians yet appreciated the consequences that flow from the apparently simple fact that some actors view their societies as “behind” and therefore in need of a way to “catch up”’²⁰²

The important number of educated Anywaa joined the revolutionary camp informed by this modernist thought; many of them were sent to Addis Ababa and Eastern Europe for political training. Educated Anywaa strongly opposed against traditional dietary practices and initiation rites, which they believed delivered visible ‘evidence’ of the backwardness of the Anywaa. A growing number of Anywaa became culturally competent in the Highlander culture. There was also a gender dimension in the Anywaa reaction to the revolution. Anywaa women were more receptive to the revolutionary rhetoric of *chiqona* (exploitation). Commenting on the spirit of the time, an Anywaa woman from *Pijwo* village (*Jikaw*) proudly described the revolution in this way:

“We the Anywaa women deposed the Kwaari and we can now talk freely in front of men.’ She talk about here to the gender unfairness in Anywaa society, still stated in the code of honoring men, in which women approach their husbands on their knees while serving them with food. The construction of infrastructure, mainly the construction of the extremely valued Baro Bridge in Gambella town, the introductory of schools and the workchances in government organization were acknowledged as a wanted sign by everyday Anywaa men and women, who previously had experienced incorporation into the Ethiopian state as a form of stigma characterized by political omission and economic marginalization”.²⁰³

Mentioning on the fundamental Anywaa mood of the period, Dereje noted that: ‘For the first time in history the Anywaa were completely incorporated into the Ethiopian rule ... Commonly speaking the indigenous people received the growth of infrastructure and education, appreciating the fact that they were enjoying new opportunities than ever before’. For a short period of time, at least, relations between the Ethiopian state and the Anywaa were expressed positively in kinship terms.²⁰⁴

²⁰²Dereje, p.22.

²⁰³*Ibid* and Informants: Akello Okugn, Ariet Obang and Awili Agwa.

²⁰⁴Dereje, p.23.

The leader of the Derg regime, Mengistu Hailemariam, was called as *Wora Ariat*, the son of Ariat (Ariat the name given by the Anywaa to the firstborn daughter). This sense of kinship with Mengistu echoed his self-depiction as the black leader in the national public sphere. Although Mengistu's life history indicates his Amhara and Oromo ethnic origins, political resentment to his cruel military absolute rule was often surrounded by the general public in 'racial' terms. Like the Anywaa and the Nuer, therefore, he too fell on the black side of the colour spectrum in the discourse about Ethiopian national identity. To what extent Mengistu played with such imagery is hard to ascertain, but for the Anywaa his common official visits to the tactically important Gambella were evidence of his 'linking with the people of Gambella, instancing a periphery's symbolic appropriation of the center.'²⁰⁵

By the mid-1980s the political and economic developments had greatly affected the Anywaa, mainly the educated youth, who otherwise positively replied to the revolution in the beginning. This was related to the regional power politics that rekindled the historic hegemonic fights between the Anywaa and the Nuer; the new alignment of forces during the second civil war in South Sudan, and the controversial relocation program that dramatically transformed the demography of the region.²⁰⁶

subsequently the theatrical eastward spreading out of the Nuer that ended by the end of the nineteenth century there has been power struggle between the Anywaa and the Nuer, now demonstrated in the form of elite competition for political power in the context of politics prepared by the Ethiopian state. As it was already mentioned in the earlier sections Anywaa elites were initially better connected, particularly with the Ethiopian state. In fact, as Dereje cited in Johnson work, imperial Ethiopia got the better off colonial Britain along the Ethio-Sudanese border by prolonging its sphere of economic and political power over a flexible form of appointed local leaders. Since the 1930s, however, imperial Ethiopia had gradually adopted a form of direct rule, mostly governing the Gambella region via Highlanders. The political struggle between the Anywaa and the Nuer elites started when the office of the vice-administrator was

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

created in 1978 as part of a positive movement by the Derg to accommodate the local leaders. In fact,²⁰⁷

Derg's anti-elitist speech-making in the early years of the revolution had led to in a modest delegation of power to local leaders. Local elite accommodation was also justified on practical grounds; as the most possible political strategy to resolve the historic conflict between the Anywaa and the Nuer, mainly in the Jor district. Representation on their settlement history - longer inhabitants of Gambella since at least the 17th century as compared with the Nuers most of whom reached Gambella in the early 20th century - and relatively better competence in majority Ethiopian (highlander) culture, the Anywaa had advanced opportunities in political development.²⁰⁸

4.4. Derg Resettlement and Villagization impact on the Anywaa people

In the wake of the 1986 famine, the *Derg* prepared a controversial relocation scheme and planned to relocate more than a million people into so-called land plentiful regions, particularly in western Ethiopia. The official clarification for the relocation plan was to reduce the famine-affected population of northern and southern Ethiopia by resettling them into more fruitful areas and bring the together into close villages where it would be easier to arrange social services. Many scholars noted the political measurement of the resettlement programmed. Donham and cited by Dereje locates the so-called villagisation and resettlement schemes within was the most expansive moments' of the Derg regime.²⁰⁹

Certain of the government's documents also confirm the political dimensions," one of the intentions of the resettlement is to cover internal and external opposing-people forces".²¹⁰ In the policy direction statement of the resettlement programme the political objectives were stated as "to strengthen national unity, to defend the border regions and enhance the security arrangements" The political dimension becomes even more evident in the following narrative by informants and Dereje about the resettlement programmed in the Gambela region:

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.24.

²¹⁰ Resettlement in Post-revolution Ethiopia: Results, Problems and Future Prospect. Environmental Problems and Management National Committee. April 1980 (Dereje, p.25.)

The people of Gambela are mostly unprincipled [in Amharic *welaway*]. They visit when things are worthy and leave during times of problems (in Amharic, *simechyemimetu Sikefa ye mihedu*). They are mostly refugees. They did not do anything for the country. As Gambela is a strategically important region, opponents could simply overrun the highlands. With the *safari* [resettles] political control could be easier and more active. The essential reason for the resettlement project is to make the people of Gambela Ethiopian (*etiopiyawi lemadreg*). About 90% of the locals had refugee cards. Hence, they do not relate themselves to Ethiopia culturally or historically.²¹¹

I argue that, this statement is totally wrong because all the people of Gambella should not be refugees and they would not copy other culture to be an Ethiopian, not by force.

For instance, the resettlement program as brought more than 60,000 peasants from northern and southern Ethiopia were resettled in four sites in the Gambela region, radically was growth of the demographic size of the highlanders. Four resettlement sites were established in Ukuna, Tata Zuria, Perpengo, Ubala and a mixed combined resettlement scheme was launched along the Baro River called the BARSP (Baro-Abol Rehabilitation and Support Program). The four conventional resettlement sites were exclusively designed for the highlanders. The task of the Anywaa was to cater to their needs, which above all meant the appropriation of some of their lands and excessive corvee labour. In the BARSP the Anywaa were forced to join the highlanders and were organized into five Peasant Associations.²¹²

All of the highlanders from North and South part of the country were resettled in Anywaa land. Apart from losing part of their lands to the highlanders and the environmental changes from the large-scale deforestation, the dramatic nature of the resettlement has formed a demographic nervousness on the side of the Anywaa, who saw themselves, being inserted between Nuer pastoral increase and state-supported resettled highland farmers²¹³

The new demographic difference had a political meaning, for the Anywaa found them being reduced to a minority in their own land. Moreover, the resettlement programme was involved to the state farms (particularly the Abobo state farm), that's collective produce seriously reduced the

²¹¹ *Ibid* and Informants: Asefa Girma, Negash Belay and Temesgen Markos

²¹² According to a 1999 UNICEF census of Abobo district, 64% of the district's 31,700 population are highland resettlers (Dereje, p.25) and Informants: Ogatu Ojulu, Owiti Oboya and Cham Lwal.

²¹³ The total population of the target area was 10,000, 30% Anywaa and 70% highlanders (*Ibid*).

price of Anywaa agricultural produce. As if this were not enough, more grain was imported from another state farm (*Angereb*) from the neighboring highland region of Wollega.²¹⁴

Additional major and with a long term effect was the social cost of the resettlement programed such as the spread of village alcoholism, which had weakened productive labor and work ethics. Social peace was interrupted with the spread of theft and movement to the towns, further evacuating the villages and making them more in danger to land invasion by the Nuer.

This social failure is called by educated Anywaa influential which they mention to by the short form the “four Ks”: *käc* (hunger); *kwac* (begging), *kap* (prostitution) and *kääö* (theft). Due to the social failure, Dereje cited and described on this process of social failure and economic freezing out closely related to the activities the Ethiopian state, mainly during the Derg period as follows:

After the destroyed of *Dimui* the Anywaa people begun to marry by money... Now those young people, why do they not multiply at all? It is because of beer. Those young boys who did not drink, they have now started drinking. Now those young boys, they do not bear around ten children as their fathers did... Now people believe in *gaba* [market]. People go to the market and buy things and forget the work at home. Because of the maize which is brought for *welo* [guests in reference to the highlanders and the refugees] people left their work and think about the market.²¹⁵

In 1981, Cultural Survival International Quarterly revealed that, “the rich land of the Anywaa has been marked recently for a large scale of agricultural projects by Ethiopian government” the article also revealed that such plan was in the making since in the mid of 1960’s followed the famine in Wollo (the Amhara) province. According to these documents, the plans for such projects were first outlined under the United States direction, but the final proposal was submitted to European Economic Commission with whom an agreement was signed in 1978. The project also calls for clearing and the construction of dams and fences. Most important, the plan calls for removal and displacement of the Anywaa people from their lands; and prepare the place for the resettlement of the Amhara of Wollo and Tigrean from Tigray.²¹⁶

The Mengistu government resettlement and villazition program were rife with problems, which include forced displacement of populations accompanied by serious human rights violations in

²¹⁴*Ibid.*

²¹⁵Dereje, p.26.

²¹⁶ Cultural Survival Quarterly, “Resettlement and Vallaization” *Tool for militarization in South West Ethiopia*, (1987), pp, 11 -14.

which dissenting opinions were silenced by fear of retribution. According to one Ethiopian Scholar Mulatu Wubne, “the verdict on villagitation was not favorable. Thousands of people fled to avoid villagitations; others died or lived in deplorable conditions after being forced to resettle”. Moreover, the government security forces intimidated, beat, detained, and arrested those resisting to be removed. As a result, Anywaa fled into Sudan.²¹⁷ Again in 1984, Cultural Survival Quarterly indicated, genocide is conducted against the Anywaa people in Ethiopia by several means: 1) by dispossessing their lands through the resettlement program; 2) by undermining their resource base through the destruction of their agriculture and ecological degradation; 3) by destroying their traditional way of life(meaning, destroying their tradition of politics, and socio-cultural administration); and 4) by using them as cannon fodder in the various civil wars.²¹⁸

What had manifested was that the resettlement and villagization program of Mengistu regime was implemented through the use of force. According to human rights organizations and Cultural Survival, “government security forces committed arbitrary detention, rape, extrajudicial executions, and torture”. As results, many people fled to Sudan. Over the years that followed until the government of Mengistu was overthrown by TPL/EPRDF, the current ruling party in 1991, more than 80 thousand northern Ethiopian were resettled in Gambella.²¹⁹

4.5. GPLM resistance against the Government of Mengistu Haile Mariam

Historically, the GPLM, Gambella People’s Liberation Movement was formed in 1976. By then it was called Gambella Liberation Front (GLF). It was renamed Gambella People’s Liberation Movement (GPLM) in 1979 at critical time when the late leader Olemi was killed in operation by Ethiopian military forces in Jikaw district, Gambella.²²⁰ The GPLM was the movement of the Anuak of Gambella which had been formed under the Sudanese patronage in 1980 primarily by young Anuak fleeing conscription into peasant militias to fight in the northern

²¹⁷Mulatu Wubne, “Resettlement and Villazation.” *In Thomas P. Ofcansky and Laverle Berry, eds., A Country Study: Ethiopia* (Library of Congress Federal Research Division, 1991).

²¹⁸ Cultural Survival Quarterly, “Resettlement and Vallaization” *Tool for militarization in South West Ethiopia*, (1987), pp. 11 -14.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²²⁰ Informants: Okwer Omod, Ogala Owar and Ariet Oman.

war in the late 1970s. Another grievance of the Anuak was the increasing incorporation of Nuer into the local administration by the *Derg*.²²¹

As an organization formed to fight for the liberation of Gambella people from all forms of domination, the GPLM leadership considered the policies of resettlement by the government of Mengistu as economy and social aimed at replacement of the Anywaa and other indigenous people of Gambella from their lands. And therefore, must be resisted. Though in those days of struggle, the GPLM was led by high school graduates and was ill-trained, and can be said to have been politically unprepared for the unfortunate future; the GPLM leadership was well conscious about the unfolding political situation in Ethiopia and the suffering of the people of Gambella.²²²

Crucial authority throughout the *Derg* period was nonetheless in the hands of the highlanders and the Nuer politicians worked as their junior associates. Nuer supremacy in regional politics became more obvious, however, after the *Derg* recognized WPE (Workers Party of Ethiopia) in 1984 when another Nuer, the verbal politician Thuwat Pal, was appointed as the party's regional representative. In 1987 the *Derg* promulgated a new constitution that made administrative and self-ruling regions. Gambella was one of these self-governing administrative regions; an important raise from being an *awraja* district within a province) district during the imperial period.²²³

Another thing that the Anywaa dislike was also location within the setting of geo-politics, the Gambella region was one of the small areas of the cold war. The *Derg* showing placed within the eastern camp by the end of the 1970s the regimes in Khartoum sought alliance with western governments. A consequence to the "mutual subversion" that the two states were involved in, both of them actively helped each other's liberation fronts. If the several regimes in Khartoum ideologically and militarily supported the Eritrean liberation fronts so the *Derg* give a critical military and diplomatic support to the SPLA. In fact, the *Derg* was considered as a defector

²²¹Regassa Bayissa, "The Derg-SPLM/A Cooperation: An Aspect of Ethio-Sudan Proxy Wars", *EJOSSAH* Vol. V, No. 2, Addis Ababa University, 2007, p.37.

²²²*Ibid*

²²³Dereje, p.24.

ideological mentor to the SPLA, including discouraging its secessionist posture in favor of a ‘united’, hopefully, socialist Sudan²²⁴

In the late 1980s the *Derg* government was long-suffering by an increase of ethno and regional nationalist movements, mainly in the northern part of the country where two rebel groups were gaining military strength and diplomatic recognition: The EPLF (Eritrean People’s Liberation Front); the TPLF (Tigrean People’s Liberation Front), the OLF as well as the GPLM. All these liberation fronts were supported by the Sudanese government. The *Derg* replied by strengthening its military support to the SPLA in return for which it also expected the SPLA to take part in its war against the Sudanese-backed Ethiopia’s liberation fronts. It is within this difficult geopolitical context and association of forces that the political struggle between the Anywaa and the Nuer educated leaders needs to be placed.²²⁵

It was not by accident that the “newcomer” Nuer elites were gradually supported in regional power politics, a political process that the Anywaa educated leaders totally disliked. It was rather because they could deliver a better and real political service to the *Derg* by serving as the absent connection with the SPLA formation, which after all had a solid Nuer component than the Anywaa, who on the other hand were prominent in the leadership of *Anyanya I* of the 1960s. This association of forces had also a demographic implication. Regional politics dominated by the Nuer, refugee’s arrival as many as 300, 000 by the mid of 1980s from South Sudan to the Gambella region became a lot easier and faster; more so because many of the refugees were ethnic Nuer. Pressed by Nuer refugee arrival from the west and resettled highland farmers from the east Anywaa demographic worry. The Anywaa unhappy finally formed a movement called the Gambella People’s Liberation Movement (GPLM).²²⁶

As part from the outside support by the Sudanese government the GPLM search for inside supporters. By the late 1980s there were more than twenty ethnic-based and regional political movements against the *Derg* regime.²²⁷ Of these the militarily strongest were the EPLF, the TPLF and the OLF. The GPLM first wanted cooperation with the OLF. While the OLF firstly gave military support to the GPLM, its hegemonic desires over the Gambella region and its

²²⁴*Ibid*, p.26.

²²⁵*Ibid*, Informants: Ogula Oman, Abang Omod and Kwot Agid

²²⁶*Ibid*.

²²⁷*Ibid*

natives did not seat well with GPLM's political objective. OLF wanted to control GPLM as a outpost organization to be used to spread its authority over who it called the 'black Oromo' (peoples of the western borderlands) in post-*Derg* Ethiopia²²⁸

At the end, GPLM in its place joined the TPLF in 1989 and changed itself into the EPRDF (Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front); an ethnic alliance containing of Tigrean, Amhara and Oromo based armed political organizations. With the EPLF's and EPRDF's change of military operations from northern to western Ethiopia, the GPLM performed as an vital political organization and enjoyed a higher political outline, with a confirmed political independent of releasing of the Anywaa (Gambela) from highlander and Nuer supremacy and it carry out a strong attacks on the resettlement places.²²⁹

The informants and Dereje pointed out that, it was after the establishment of GPLM that Anywaa was militarized against the Ethiopian state. This had more covered the political union between the *Derg* and the Nuer. Then the Anywaa came in to be defined by the *Derg* as *wonbede* (literally outlaw, an Amharic pejorative term for rebels), and it stated that:

The *wonbede* or rebels in the region are not coming from another region or even supported by a neighboring country like Sudan. They are Anywaa farmers and youth from Cham kebele. The Nuer is not part of the *wonbidinet* (banditry). The problems creators' are the Anywaa who have not yet come to the revolutionary fold.²³⁰

I argued that, the ideas were right. But not only Anywaa of Cham that resisted the *Derg* plan to assimilation, resettlement of the Anywaa people and also used Nuer to reduced the power of Anywaa because Nuer refugees that can go back where they came from. However, the Anywaa of Cham started the resistance against *Derg* regime.

As the *Derg* government got involved in the several wars against the opposition forces, it boarded on large-scale powerful enrollment of the youth into the army. The state military service had additionally separated the Anywaa youth and pushed them into the GPLM camp. Near to the administrative centers and defined 'more' Ethiopian than the Nuer, the Anywaa were under

²²⁸*Ibid.*

²²⁹ As a result the GPLM attended the EPRDF's conference in the Sudan to build a common front against the *Derg* regime and 500 GPLM soldiers were sent to Mekele, the Tigrean capital in northern Ethiopia, for military and political training (Dereje, p.27.)

²³⁰*Ibid* and Informants: Kwot Agid, Ajack Olami and Obang Oriemi.

attack for mobilization, as the SPLA concentrated on the Nuer, as if there was a unstated understanding between the *Derg* and the SPLA on separation of subjects with their ownfake right. In 1986 GPLM launched military actions in *Nyikwo* and *Pinykew* villages in Gambela district. In the conflict that followed, 5 GPLM soldiers were killed and 3 captured in an attack on the *Baro-Abol* resettlement site that killed 5 resettles; destroyed a clinic and grain store.²³¹

The sameaction was carried out in Itang district and 6 ETCA (Ethiopian Transport and Construction Authority) workers (all highlanders) were killed and 5 kidnapped. A severe political control by the *Derg* (then only represented by the Nuer) followed in which more than eighty Anywaa were killed, while, dependent on the state and sharing its insecurity in the politically fragile Gambella, the resettlers were armed by th *Derg* as a counterbalance to GPLM engage in warefare.²³²

The Socialist regime did not capture the Nuer as much it did the Anywaa. The Nuer was not targeted because they lacked leaders. The political organization of the Nuer, widely known as the segment lineage system, made the Nuer appear a society without center. The few educated Nuer were integrated in to the regional government structures. What started as buying individual services by the state had taken an ethnic turn since the Anywaa were increasingly called as *wonbede*.²³³

Before his collapse in May 1991, President Mengistu paid a visit to Gambela; a region that he thought would be the last support of “the national war”. Instead he was challenged by Anywaa political criticisms, including their progressive failure in the regional authority politics controlled by their Nuer challengers. Anywaa political grievance also focused on the SPLA and its atrocities against the Anywaa near the refugee camps. Anywaa’s against-Nuer and against-SPLA sentiment went straight to the core issues of the geopolitical alignment of forces. It is no wonder then president Mengistu construed Anywaa political criticisms putting in risk the “national agenda”, i.e., the regionalhonesty of the country in the context of advancing armed ethno-liberation fronts. In fact he was so agitated that he could not contain his emotional outburst when he said “how come that people who could not even feed themselves squabble over political

²³¹*Ibid.*

²³²*Ibid.*

²³³*Ibid.*

offices?” After the tea break, president Mengistu asked for a public apology for being ‘insensitive’.²³⁴

However, he still reasoning his sensitivity by making a similar with ethno-national movements in a different place in the country: “that was how it started in the Ogaden and in Eritrea. Problems that the same thing is making in the Gambela region, once again the Ogaden threat in the eastern periphery was raised by the Ethiopian state to make common sense of the looming risk in its western periphery, as *Derg*’s predecessor, the imperial government did in the 1960s!.”²³⁵

After it become known a few months later the Derg and the “garrison socialism” that it dreadfully wanted to organization and support crumbled, then after new political order that essentially reorganized the Ethiopian state appeared in its wake built on an ethnic group. The GPLM, as part of the winners, took over political power in the newly established Gambella regional state within the ethnic federation of post-*Derg* Ethiopia. Once again the beginning of a new century appeared to have brought a new field of political opportunity for the Anywaa once again to work out significant autonomy, cultural restoration and economic empowerment.²³⁶

The desire though did not last long; as the GPLM had already have a fall out with EPRDF whose centralizing pushed in a federation produced significant illogicality within the new political command. Gambella quickly moving as the epicenter of the recent global investment rush in great scale commercial agriculture, dubbed land taking, on the other hand has forced Anywaa land emotional response, once again provoking Anywaa liberation movements, this time with a broader world wide touch than a mere cross-border dimension of a local demonstration.²³⁷

²³⁴Dereje.p.27.

²³⁵*Ibid.*

²³⁶*Ibid.*

²³⁷*Ibid.*

Conclusion

The areas where the Anywaa population today lives were occupied by them in the early 16th century, it was in the 15th century that Luo began to migrate from the Bahr Ghazal. Among the three Luo groups that started migration, the third group which was led by the Gilo marched to north and east to the Sobat River which they continued following the river way to Ethiopian border (present day Gambella). The Anywaa people were segregated from economic, social and political administration. Their settlement was to accessible areas; which were considered as hot land, periphery and highly infected by malaria and other epidemic diseases. The Anywaa people were also considered as “uncultured and unmanageable” to the existing rule of time. The Ethiopia’s Luo Anywaa is a continuation of the Southern Sudan’s Anywaa located in the Upper Nile Region; Gilo descendants, the youngest of Nykango and Dimo. The speculations are as far as the ancestral linkages are a main concern.

At the end of the 19th century, the forces of Emperor Menelik III led by *Dejazmac* later *Ras* Tasama Nadaw Occupied and incorporated Illubabur. In 1898 the force of *Ras* Tasama incorporated Gambella and its surrounding; the area where the majority population of Anywaa settled. This incorporation brought the Anywaa people in to the modern Ethiopian empire formed by Emperor Menelik II. With this conquest, other settlers from the north and other place came and settled in the Anywaa land. Through time, some influences began to be felt on the Anywaa caused by raidings for slaves by the soldiers.

During the Italian occupation of Ethiopia, Gambella was captured by the Italian forces in 1936 and abolished slave trade. Since British authority had established business interest in Gambella and Ethiopia was an ally with the British and sent its troops to Gambella to protect its business interest and to help Ethiopia. After a bloody battle, the British controlled Gambella. As a result, the British retained Gambella from 1941 to 1950 until the war was over. When the war ended, in 1951, Gambella was re-incorporated into Ethiopia before the British end its colony of the Sudan.

After the Second World War, Gambella region became the sources of economic base for the country. These economic benefits, were due to the fact that the "Openo" or Baro river is an accessible to the international navigation water, which was used to export and import goods in trade between the British-Sudan and Ethiopia. The "Openo" river which flows into the Nile River was linking British-Sudan and Egypt. During this period particularly the British

government and other European marketers bought gold and ivory from Ethiopia through Gambella's market. During the same time, the third Ethiopian National Bank branch, followed Addis Ababa and Harare was opened in Gambella.

The life of the Anywaa people changed from bad to worse. After the *Darge* regime had a mixed reception among the Anywaa. While the Anywaa who had a stronger stake in tradition (the Kwaari, Nyiye felt threatened, others, particularly the youth viewed the revolution as an opportunity, because the abolishment of the ancient régime meant not only new political space but also positions of leadership in the new government bureaucracy as opposed to the hereditary mode of governance. With the ban on dimui, the youth felt 'liberated' from the elders as this allowed them more freedom of marriage. In the mid-1970s, there were many sisters less bachelors (bouth) who were unable to marry because of the scarcity of dimui.

The Mengistu government resettlement project brought some 50,000 to 60,000 settlers from the highland (northern Ethiopia) in which all settlement and projects were located on Anywaa land. Government resettlement and villazition program were rife with problems, which include forced displacement of populations accompanied by serious human rights violations in which dissenting opinions were silenced by fear of retribution. The verdict on villazition was not favorable. Thousands of Anywaa people fled to avoid villaitions; others died or lived in deplorable conditions after being forced to resettle. Moreover, the government security forces intimidated, beat, detained, and arrested those resisting to be removed. As a result, Anywaa fled into Sudan.

Ultimate power during the *Derg* period was nevertheless in the hands of the highlanders and the Nuer politicians worked as their junior partners. By early 1980s they, too, took up arms against the *Derg* regime, mending their differences with the 'traditionalists' whom they were busy deconstructing only years before. With a rapprochement between the modernists and the traditionalists, Anywaa discontent crystallized into a liberation movement known as the Gambella People Liberation Movement (GPLM). It also entered an agreement which later violated by the government with the founding members of Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), mainly the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and the Ethiopian People's Democratic Movement (EPDM) in 1989. As was agreed, it has fought

alongside the EPRDF against the Mengistu government and continued to operate in Gambella against the government until the Mengistu regime was overthrown in 1991.

The thesis has its own contribution in the study of the Anywaa people. It helps as a reference for the researchers both on the people of the Anywaa and other peoples in the region. Therefore, this thesis has tried to open the necessary ground for further study of thr Anywaa socirty.

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III.List of Informants

No	Name of informants	Age	Sex	Date of interview	Place of interview	Remark
1	Abang Omot (<i>W/ro</i>)	56	F	10 /March/2018	Gambella	She is a daughter of Kwaaro Omot of jor, and she explained me the abolishment of dimui and its impact on Anywaa youth.
2	Abrham Mulugeta(<i>Ato</i>)	50	M	21/March/2018	Itang	He had a good memory about the land tenure system.
3	Abwola Opiew (<i>Ato</i>)	43	M	12/March/2018	Itang	He is son of Kwaaro, and he had a good memory about the traditional administration.
4	Achala Oman (<i>W/ro</i>)	46	F	13/March/2018	Gog	She is a respected women in the area, and told me about the interaction of Anywaa and opo.
5	Adissu Taka (<i>Ato</i>)	47	M	18/March/2018	Abobo	He is a farmer, and told me about the right to the land.
6	Adula Ojwato (<i>Ato</i>)	52	M	15/ March/2018	Abol	He had a good memory how Menelik incorporated the Anywaa of Gambella.
7	Agud Oriet (<i>W/ro</i>)	40	F	11/March/2018	Akado	She is the daughter of Nyibur, and she told about the kwaaro cabinet.
8	Agula Ochain (<i>W/ro</i>)	65	F	03/Feb/2018	Gambella	She got married through lwobu, and told me more about traditional marriage.
9	Ajack Omot (<i>Ato</i>)	51	M	27/ March/2018	Opanya	He is a famous village elder, he told about the raid of the Nuer by the Anywaa king
10	Ajulu Ogur (<i>W/ro</i>)	44	F	12/ Feb/ 2018	Thatha	She is well known women in the area, and told me about the traditional conflict resolution.
11	Akello Obang (<i>W/ro</i>)	42	F	05/Feb/2018	Elay	She knows more about the traditional marriage.
12	Akello Omod (<i>W/ro</i>)	59	F	02/Feb/2018	Pinyman	She is a good informant, and responded me well about the traditional political system.
13	Akello Oriet (<i>W/ro</i>)	44	F	22/ March/2018	Okuna	She had a good memory about the condition of Anywaa in the post-liberation period.
14	Akwata Obang (<i>W/ro</i>)	66	F	26/ March/2018	Itang	She is the daughter of king Akwei, and told me how king funeral took place.
15	Apiew Obang (<i>W/ro</i>)	44	F	26/March/2018	Abobo	She is a teacher, and told me

						about the ideology of Anywaa purity.
16	Apiew Oman (<i>W/ro</i>)	45	F	14/ March 2018	Pokedi	She is civil servant and told me about Anywaa language and their relation with other luo family like pari and traditional marriage.
17	Ariet Obang (<i>W/ro</i>)	40	F	12/ Feb/2018	Akado	He told about the Slave raid by the Menelik.
18	Ariet Oman (<i>W/ro</i>)	52	F	10/Feb/2018	Chobo Kir	She told me about the burial of men and legend about the origin of Kingdom political system in Anywaa history.
19	Asefa Girma (<i>Ato</i>)	51	M	20/Feb/2018	Gambella	He explained me that Imperial wanted to destroy the culture practice of the Gambella peoples.
20	Awar Cham (<i>W/ro</i>)	38	F	18/Feb/2018	Jor	She is a teacher, and told me about burial ceremony.
21	Awili Agwa (<i>W/ro</i>)	55	F	01/Feb/2018	Abol kir	She is a respected woman in the area, and told me about the tradirional marriage.
22	Bachak Opiew (<i>Ato</i>)	55	M	11/Feb/2018	Itang kir	He told me about the traditional administration.
23	Bey Ochar (<i>W/ro</i>)	43	F	23/March/2018	Itang	She is respected women in the area, and told me about conflict resoluton and management.
24	Bringi Qwal (<i>Ato</i>)	54	M	16/Feb/2018	Pokong	He is a well known elder in the area, and two of his daughter gotmarry to Anywaa men, and had a good memory about Anywaa and Komo.
25	Cham Lwal (<i>Ato</i>)	58	M	14/Feb/2018	Gog	He ia a farmer, and knows more about marriage.
26	Chol Deng (<i>Ato</i>)	58	M	03/Feb/2018	Lare	He told me about the rule of Haile Selassie affected the culture practice of Gambella Peoples.
27	Chol Riek (<i>Ato</i>)	57	M	23/March/2018	Itang	He explained me how Anywaa were pushed by the Nuer since from the beginning up to now.
28	Deng Kwach (<i>Ato</i>)	55	M	20/Feb/2018	Gambella	
29	Didumo Okach (<i>Ato</i>)	62	M	15/ March/2018	Abol	His father was taken as war

						prisoner and never came back and he explained how the Menelik raid the Anywaa in Gambella.
30	Gemechu Asefa (<i>Ato</i>)	55	M	13/March/2018	Gog	He is well known elder in the area he explained about the Colonel Lamma in Gambella.
31	Hailu Fufa (<i>Ato</i>)	56	M	22/Feb/2018	Bonga	He had a good memory about Colone Lamma.
32	Kong Jock (<i>Ato</i>)	44	M	03/Feb/2018	Lare	He told me about the Anywaa and Nuer relation and he got marry to Anywaa women.
33	Kwach Okach (<i>Ato</i>)	50	M	18/March/2018	Abobo	
34	Kwach Opiew (<i>Ato</i>)	48	M	22/Feb/2018	Bonga	His father was one of the soldier that participate during the campaign against Nuer raid
35	Kwot Agid (<i>Ato</i>)	53	M	20/March/2018	Gambella	He was the first commender of GPLM, and he explained me how want to destroy and mixed the Anywaa and with settlers from highland.
36	Lwal Omot (<i>Ato</i>)	52	M	17/March/2018	Ongogi	He is a good man, and told me about the conflict resolution. And also explained the land right.
37	Mereth Etheffa (<i>Ato</i>)	54	M	23/March/2018	Itang	He was a deacon of the orthodox church in Itang and had memory about the land priveded for deacon.
38	Metho Oman (<i>Ato</i>)	63	M	09/Feb/2018	Anyale	He is a good man, and explained me about the types of Marriage.
39	Mohammed Mustafa (<i>Ato</i>)	47	M	26/March/2018	Abobo	He a good memory on how Lamma rule Gambella.
40	Negash Belay (<i>Ato</i>)	63	M	10 /March/2018	Gambella	He is a marchant, and he had a good memory about land holding system.
41	Neguse Abera (<i>Ato</i>)	44	M	03/Feb/2018	Gambella	He knows more about the land tenure system.
42	Obang Oja (<i>Ato</i>)	49	M	01/Feb/2018	Abol kir	He is a farmer and he told about the political condition in the post-liberation period.
43	Obang Okello (<i>Ato</i>)	44	M	25/March/2018	Polum	H had a good memory about the resstlemnt scheme and tradional political system.
44	Obang Oriemi (<i>Ato</i>)	50	M	22/Feb/2018	Bonga	He is a former village

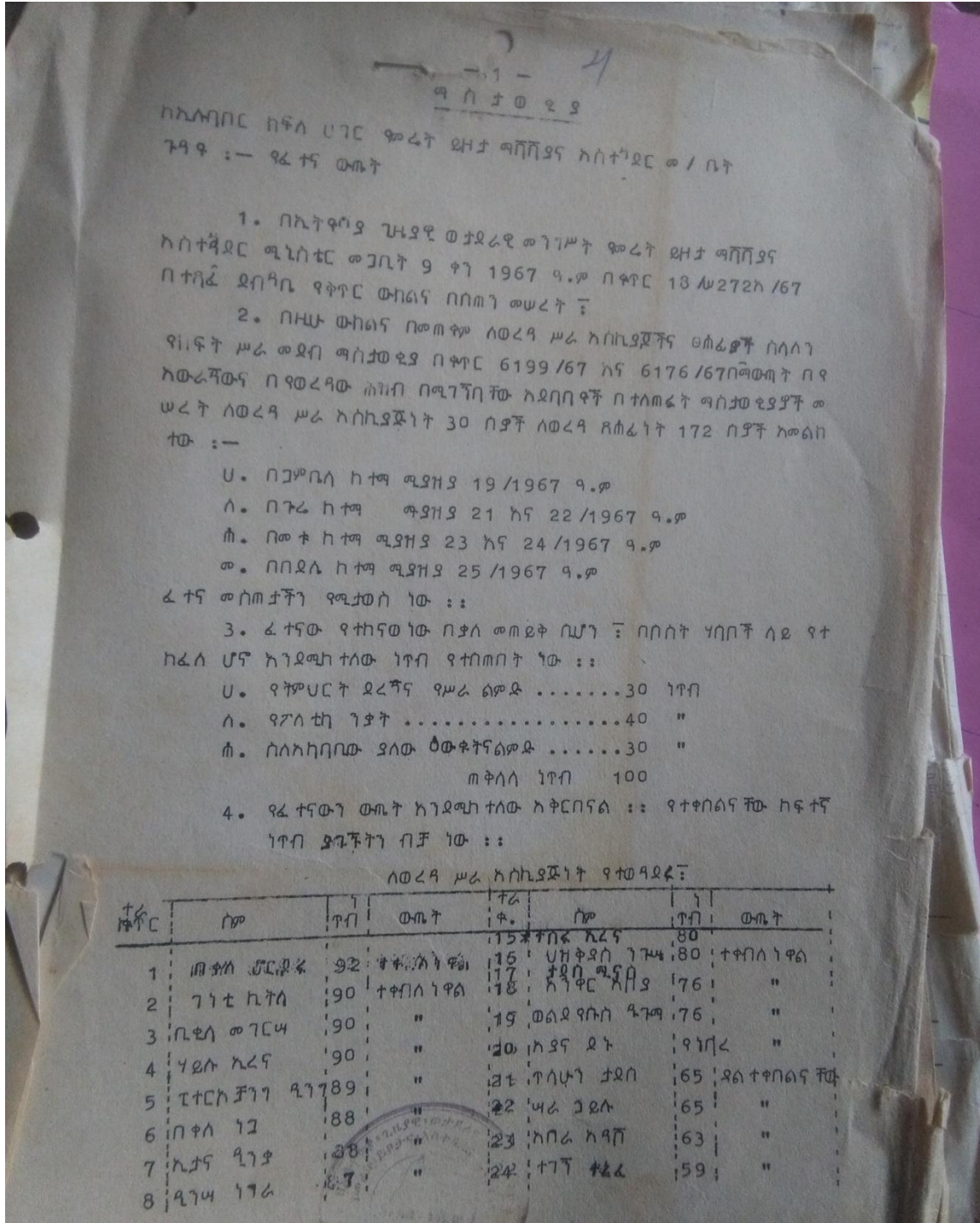
						headman, and gave me important information about derg regime.
45	Obang Owar (<i>Ato</i>)	55	M	04/Feb/2018	Pomoli	He is a kwaro of the village, and he participates in the resistance against the expansion of Menelik toward Gambella.
46	Obongo Ogut (<i>Ato</i>)	63	M	23/March/2018	Itang	He is one of the member pf GLF, and he told me about the emerging of GLF latter GPLM.
47	Ochain Oman (<i>Ato</i>)	43	M	04/ Feb/2018	Pomoli	He is a good informant, and he explained me about the worse condition of derg.
48	Ochalla Obang (<i>Ato</i>)	51	M	16/ Feb/2018	Lagabure	He is a farmer and he had a good memory about the Anywaa and opo relation.
49	Ochalla Owar (<i>Ato</i>)	59	M	26/Feb/2018	Elay	He is a farmer, and explained me about the funeral of Nyiya (king).
50	Ochudo Obang (<i>Ato</i>)	43	M	25/Feb/2018	Imar	He is a son of Olami chief of the area, and explained very well the structure of traditional administration system.s
51	Odiel Olock (<i>Ato</i>)	50	M	18/Feb/2019	Jor	He is farmer, and told me about kwaro burial.
52	Ogala Owar (<i>Ato</i>)	57	M	04/ Feb/2018	Pomoli	He was a Nyikugu, and told me how the appointed cabinet fulfilled their duty.
53	Ogula Oman (<i>Ato</i>)	52	M	17/March/2018	Ongogi	He was a soldier of derg, and he told me about the administration of derg.
54	Oguta Ojulu (<i>Ato</i>)	51	M	04/Feb/2018	Pomoli	He is a respected informant he told me about the resettlement program.
55	Ojulu Oriemi (<i>Ato</i>)	44	M	20/March/2018	Gambella	He is respected men in the area, and told me about the social organization of the Anywaa.
56	Ojwato Agwa (<i>Ato</i>)	60	M	06/Feb/2018	Akado	He is a farmer, and told me about the types of Anywaa traditional marriage.
57	Okello Obang (<i>Ato</i>)	52	M	25/ Feb/2018	Itang	He is farmer, and he told me about the Nuer invasion of

						Anywaa. And land tenure system.
58	Okello Okugn (<i>Ato</i>)	40	M	29/March/2018	Gog	He now more about Anywaa language.
59	Okongo Ojay (<i>Ato</i>)	56	M	08/Feb/2018	Gambella	He ia civil servant, and explained me about the traditional marriage.
60	Okway Omod (<i>Ato</i>)	46	M	29/March/2018	Gog	He is well kwown, and had a good memory of their leadership.
61	Okwer Omod (<i>Ato</i>)	64	M	11/Feb/2018	Itang kir	He is a well known elder in the area, and his father was the victim of Menelik and told me about the incorporation of Anywaa.
62	Oman Oboya (<i>Ato</i>)	57	M	15/Feb/2018	Pinykwo	He is a farmer, and told me how elders resolve the conflicts.
63	Oman Ochan (<i>Ato</i>)	51	M	17/March/2018	Ongogi	He explained how Anywaa in post-liberation forced to resist the rule of Imperial regime.
64	Oman Omot (<i>Ato</i>)	52	M	13/Feb/2018	Jor	He is civil sevant and told me about the ressetlemnt program.
65	Omot Okach (<i>Ato</i>)	56	M	24/Feb/2018	Akony	He explained me about the Anywaa social organization.
66	Omot Oriemi (<i>Ato</i>)	54	M	10/Feb/2018	Nyikwo	He is a good teacher and told me more about the Anywaa language and their realtion with other Nilotic language
67	Otong Omod (<i>Ato</i>)	62	M	27/ Feb/2018	Pinykwo	He is a well known elder in the village, and he had a good memory about the interaction of Anywaa and Nuer.
68	Owar Obang (<i>Ato</i>)	52	M	24/Feb/2018	Abobo	He explained me how the Nyiya appointed his cabinets
69	Owiti Oboya (<i>Ato</i>)	55	M	15/Feb/2018	Pinykwo	He had a good memory about the slave that raid by Menelik after incorporation.
70	Oyith Okidi (<i>Ato</i>)	54	M	28/Feb/2018	Ibaga	He told me about king Gilo Ochudho that believed to be the first Anywaa king and it origin and it role on the development of the traditional political system of Anywaa.
71	Pach OJulu (<i>Ato</i>)	59	M	01/Feb/2018	Abol kir	He is also memers of GPLM,

						and he told me about the resistance of GPLM against the bad derg regime.
72	Peter Deng (<i>Ato</i>)	55	M	03/Feb/2018	Lare	He ia good man, knows more about the burial ceremony.
73	Peter Lew (<i>Ato</i>)	45	M	03/Feb/2018	Lare	He told me about the commercial relationship of Anywaa and Nuer.
74	Temesgen Markos (<i>Ato</i>)	61	M	26/March/2018	Abobo	He told me about land reserved for the Imperial soldier.
75	Twol Lwal (<i>Ato</i>)	54	M	07/ March/2018	Gambella	He is a respected elder in the area, and he had married to majang women and he explained me the majang and Anywaa relations.
76	Yadesa Gur (<i>Ato</i>)	48	M	16/Feb/2018	Pokong	He told me about the marriage relation of Komo and Anywaa relation.

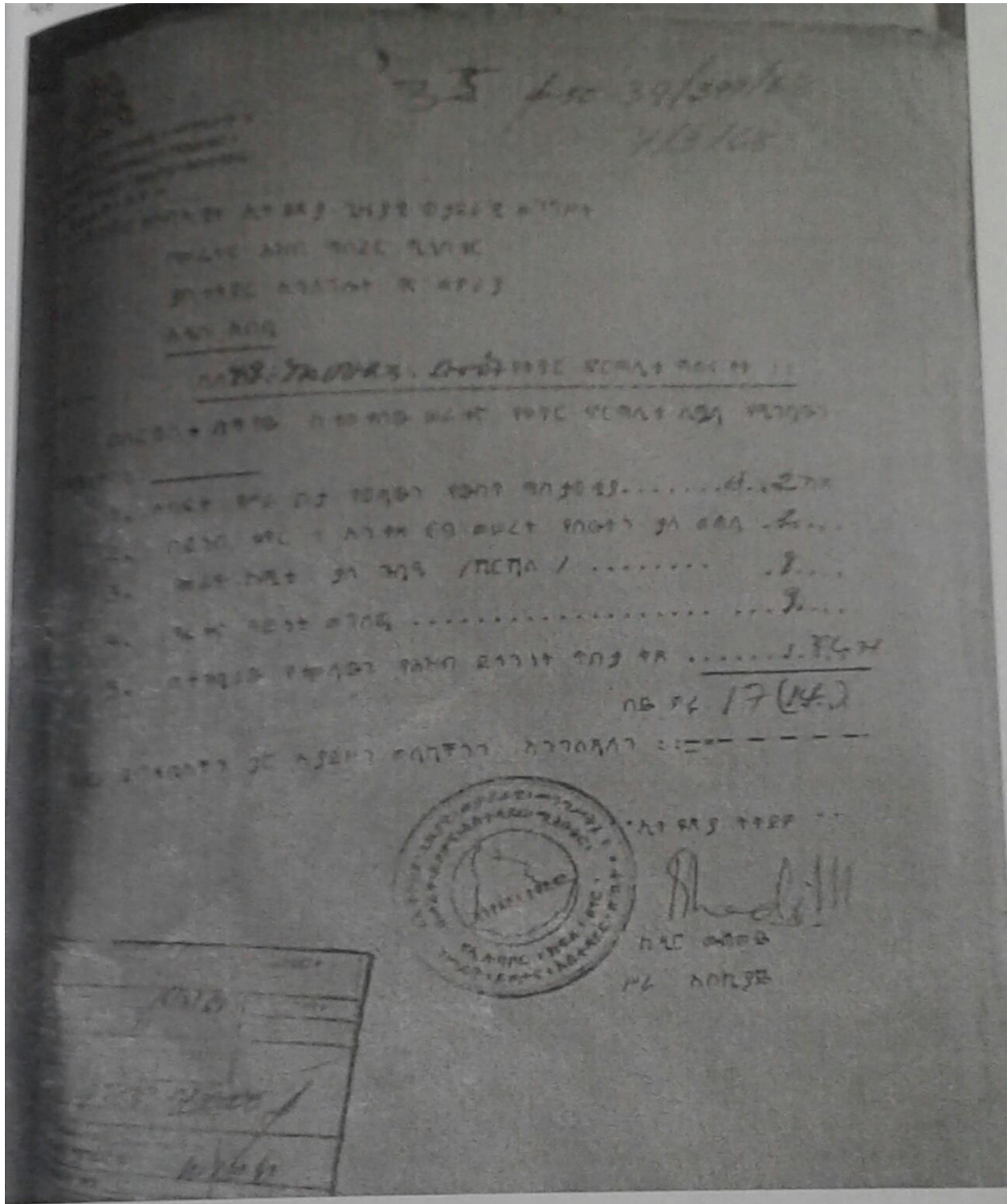
APPENDICES

Appendix-A

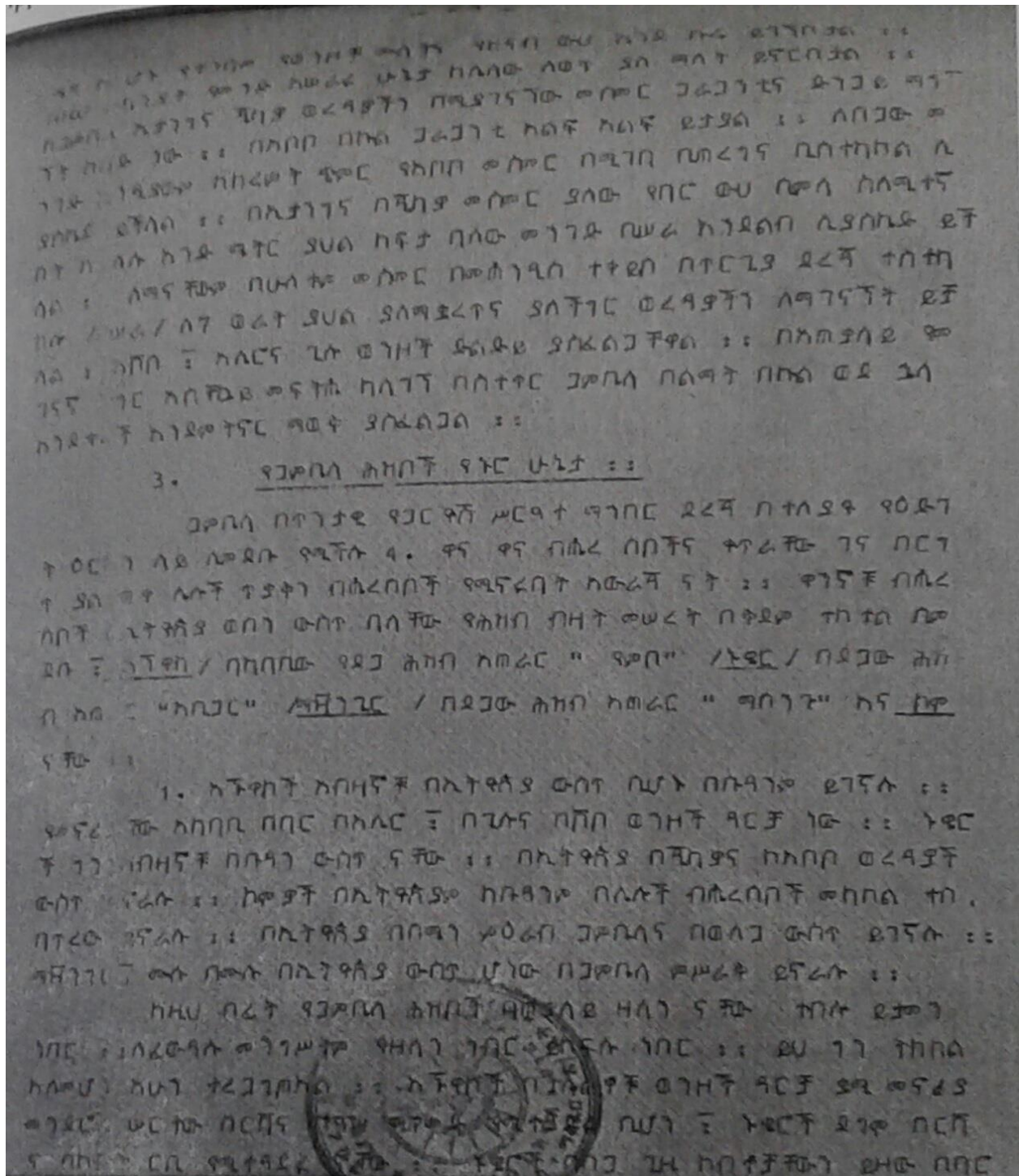


A letter tells us about the results of the exam for the position in government office.

Appendix-B

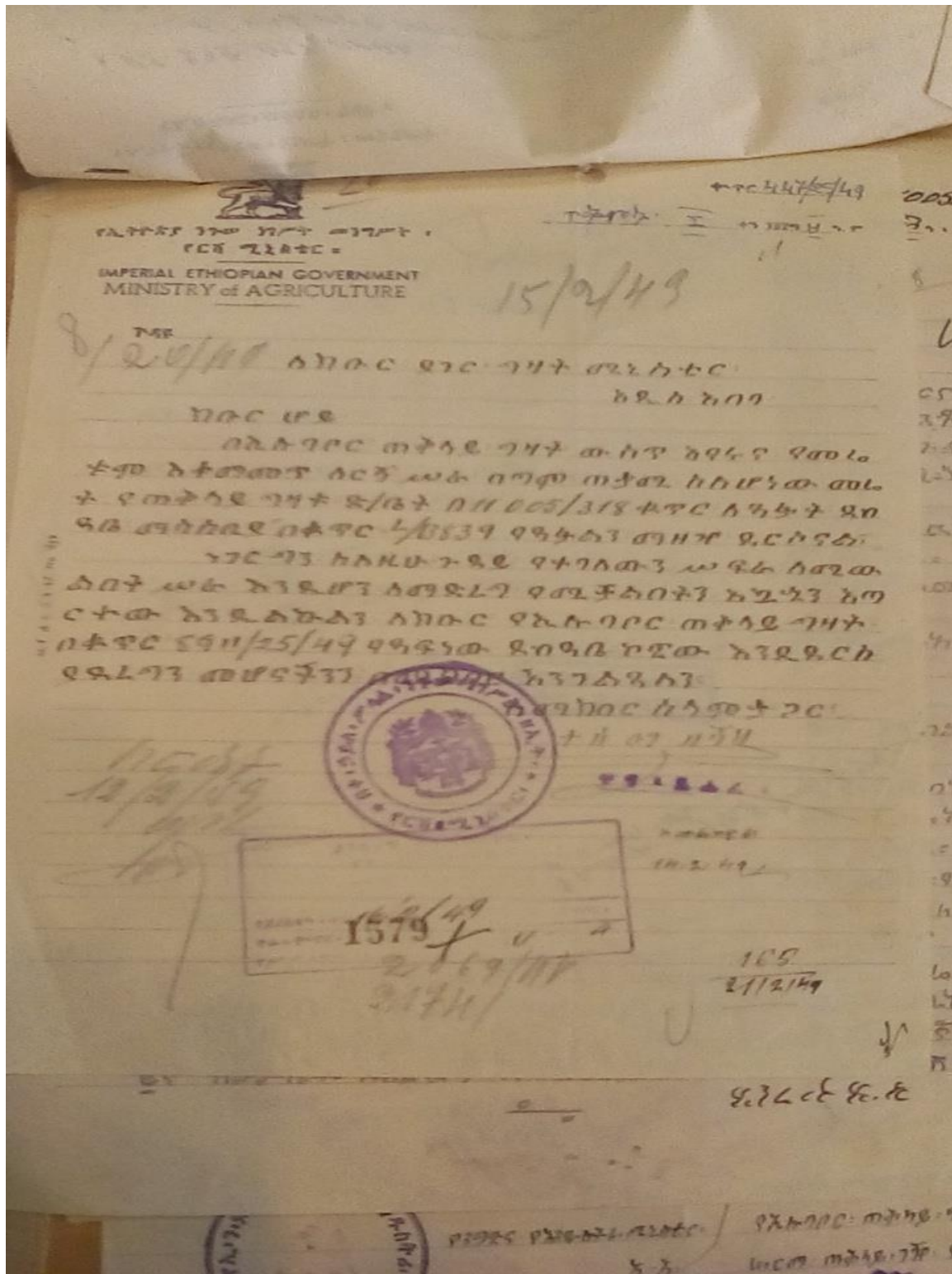


A letter that tells us about a government vacancy that makes one of the Anywaa man became a government employee as a security guard



A letter that describes the problem of transpotation, the economic activity and the system of all native Gambella peoples including Anywaa.

Appendix-D



A letter tells us about the Illubabur land is very suitable for agricultural purpose including Gambella. But there is a shortage of agriculture equipments.

Glossary

List of Amharic words

*Awrajas*____ a provincial administration above district level consisting of a number of
District it has been phased out toward the end of the derg

*Dejazmach*____ commander or general of the gate Equate with a count.

*Degenga*_____highlanders

*Fitawrari*____ a military title meaning commander of vanguard of traditional Ethiopian armed
force. Equate with a baron.

Lij _____ child, honorific title reserved for sons of royal family or nobility

*Ras*_____literary “head” one of the powerful non-imperial commanders of army.

*Warada*____ administrative unit below or sub-province

List of Anywaa language

Aroc _____ harpoon

Abai _____ maize

Acieni _____ curse

Agem _____ village revolution

Bap _____ grassland

Bithi _____ spear

Caala/kweri _____ hoe

Dimui _____ bead for bridge wealth

Dhootto _____ sub-clan

Dha-anywaa _____ Anywaa language

Geebo _____ a plant used for demarcate a farm of two individuals

Goolo _____ hand hook

Gejira _____ machete

Jwok _____ God

Keeno _____ gourd

Kwaaro _____ chief

Kwon _____ porridge

Kado _____ stew

Lul _____ forest

Mai _____ fishing

Nyimi _____ sesames

Nyiya _____ king

Okonno _____ pumpkin

Ojang _____ a name given to majang by Anywaa

Paai _____ honorific title

Tung _____ clan

Teo _____ bead

Thaba _____ tobacco

Wimac _____ a place where family gathered to eat and shared ideas. Specially men's.

Wok _____ woodland

DECLARATION

I, undersigned, declare that this thesis is my work and that all sources materials used in the thesis have been duly acknowledged. The thesis has not been presented to any university for degree or any other awards.

Name _____

Signature _____

Date of Submission _____