



JIMMA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE
MANAGEMENT

A HISTORY OF NA'O PEOPLE OF GOBA
WÄRÄDA, KAFA ZONE, SOUTHWEST
ETHIOPIA: Ca.1897-1991

By AEMERO GESESE

JIMMA, ETHIOPIA

November 2019

**A HISTORY OF NA'O PEOPLE OF GOBA
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ETHIOPIA: Ca.1897-1991**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
STUDIES OF JIMMA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
ARTS IN HISTORY

By AEMERO GESESE

Advisor: DHERESSA DHEBU (PhD)

Co- Advisor: MR. TEMESGEN LEMESSA (PhD CANDIDATE)

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Approved by board of examiners

DHERESSA DHEBU (PhD)

Adviser

Signature

Date

Examiner

Signature

Date

Examiner

Signature

Date

Moderator

Signature

Date

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Key to Transliteration System

I. The seven orders of the Ethiopic alphabet are represented as follows:

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

II. Palatalized Sounds are represented as Follows:

ሸ	= Shä
ቸ	= Č
ነ	= N
ሻ	= Zhä
ጸ	= Jä

III. Glotalized sounds are represented as follows:

ቀ	= Qä
ጠ	= Tä
ጭ	= Chä
ፀ	= Sä

III. Geminata should be written as Follows

Example:

አበበ *Abäbä*

ወረዳ *Wäräda*

ቀበሌ *Qäbälé*

ዘማች *Zämač*

Acronyms

ARCCIKCL	Association for Research and Conservation of Culture, Indigenous Knowledge and Cultural Landscape
DWA	Decha <i>Wäräda</i> Administration
KLF	Kafa Liberation Front
KGMA	kafa [Bench] Majji <i>Awerajja</i>
KZA	kafa Zone Administration
KZCTSD	kafa Zone Culture, Tourism and Sport Department
PA	Peasant Association
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
SNNPRS	Southern Nation Nationality and People Regional State
MTU	Mizan Tepi University

Abstract

The objective of this research is to reconstruct the socioeconomic and political history of Na'ò from 1897 to 1991. The Na'ò are one of the indigenous peoples of Southwest Ethiopia. The Na'ò were referred by different names in various written sources and their neighbors. They are called "Tol" by Sheko and "Tolwo" by the Me'en in the west, while the Me'en in the east of Sharmi River referred to the Na'ò as "Suc" or "Su". Though the researcher is unable to derive satisfactory meaning for these words; the people call themselves as Na'I and Na'ò at the sometime. The Na'ò were strong and numerous and had their own sociopolitical entity before they were controlled by the kafa Kingdom in the mid-19th century. It was the expeditionary force of Ras Wäledä-Giyorgis passing through the region towards Lake Rudolf that conquered the kafa including Na'ò in 1897. After the conquest, the kafa area including the Na'ò was administered by Ras Wäledä-Giyorgis. Particularly, Na'ò area was administered by one of Ras Wäledä-Giyorgis's follower, Fitawrari Alämu (1897-1936). After Ras Wäledä-Giyorgis's administration gained a firm base in kafa, the imperial forces of Menilek II settled näftäna (armed settlers). The Na'ò and other indigenous peoples of the area were summarily reduced to gäbbar or serfs and began to provide labour services and a share of their produces or crops for the soldiers. They were subjected to war and slavery which reduced their numbers until the Italian invasion. Since the Italian eliminated the manipulative gäbbar - näftäna systems, they found the period less oppressive than that of the previous imperial regime. Yet the relative peace of Italian not long lasted and their rule was characterized by harsh treatment. The people were forced to construct road and garrisons for their army. People of Na'ò in the post liberation period passed through difficult years with full of challenges. Some of these problems came from the administration, the nature of land tenure, increased taxation, lack of peace and stability, outbreak of diseases and lack of infrastructures. The outbreak of the 1974 revolution resulted in sweeping changes in the system of political administration and land tenure. The land reform proclamation of 1975 was the major historical watershed of the revolution. It abolished landlordism, and the landless tenants greatly benefited from it, being welcomed by the people of Na'ò. Yet, later due to its forceful implementation of collectivization program and other polices; and downgraded their former administrative status Meketel Wäräda gezat to Qäbälé, the military government was hated and faced stiff resistance from the Na'ò even up to execution of Zämač (campaigners).

Acknowledgments

Thanks to almighty God! I have been supported by many peoples to finalize my study and bring this thesis into reality. First and foremost, I would like to forward my sincere gratitude to my advisors, Dr. Dheressa Dhebu and Mr. Temesgen Lemessa for their guidance, critical comments and suggestions for improvement of the drafts of this work. Without their constructive suggestions and comments, this study would not have been accomplished. I am extremely grateful to all of my informants who share their knowledge and experience with me. Without their assistance, this study would not have been successful.

I would like to thank and express my sincere appreciation to my family, kafa zone administration and Bonga University for their moral and financial support to pursue my interest. I am deeply appreciative to all those who have helped and contributed to the successful completion of this study particularly to Mr. Eyayu Alämu and Mr. Abeyu kafale. The last but solid credit is to my wife *Wäyzäro* Berhane Woldegebrial for her sustained encouragement and who is always eager to see my achievement.

Preface

This research is A History of Na’o ca.1897 to 1991. The year 1897 used as the point of trigger as it was the year in which the kingdom of kafa as well as Na’o people were conquered by the expanding force of Emperor Menilek II of Ethiopian empire led by *Ras Wälédägiyorgis*. The final year 1991 was the end of *Därg* regime and the coming to power of EPRDF and the subsequent recognition of the identity of the Na’o as a people. Until recent times, the History of South Western Ethiopian people in general, History of Na’o in particular was out of the domain of the history of Christian Highland Ethiopia and Paradigms of Ethiopian Studies. Thus the major objective of this thesis is to reconstruct the socioeconomic and political history of the Na’o people. In addition, this study could be used as a starting point for further investigation to enrich historical research finding in the area. Most importantly, as an approach to historical research, it will add its own findings and fills the knowledge gap; inform policy makers, researchers and concerned governmental institutions who need to reconstruct the history of Na’o people.

This research has four chapters. Chapter one deals about geographical and the historical background of *Na’o* people. The second chapter narrates about Na’o from the conquest of Emperor Menelik II up to the Italian invasion. The third chapter deals with the restoration of imperial regime and the response of Na’o to the restored government. The last chapter is about the Na’o during the *Därg* regime and their subsequent response to the newly established administrative system. For this thesis purpose two kinds of historical documents (sources) are used. These are secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources are published material which includes; books, journals, study reports and documentations relevant to the research. However literature concerning the history of Na’o is almost non-existence. There is no available source that directly deals with the social, economic and political history of the people with the subsequent period of the study. The second type of sources which used in this research is a primary source which includes manuscripts, oral information and archival documents. I have gathered oral information from the knowledgeable key informants who represent the community and individuals being near by the time and the place and/or received from their forefathers. Archival document which are used in this thesis are collected from Decha *Wäräda* of kafa Zone and Aäbeyu kafale personal archival collections. While conducting this research, I suffered several problems. Firstly, there is no archival document of Na’o at Addis Ababa both at Institute

of Ethiopian Studies Library in Adis Ababa University (Wolde Meskel Tarkiu Memorial Archival center) and NALA. Archival documents in kafa Zone and Decha *Wäräda* are not available for researchers. Finally, thanks to Bonga resident *Ato Aäbeyu kafale* who collected archival documents that I used some archive in this thesis. Even the archival documents which I used were kept mixed with other documents and disarranged; they do not also have folder numbers. Language problem is another challenge that I, faced to communicate with the local people while collecting oral information

Chapter One

Geographical and Historical Background of Na’o

1.1. Geographical Setting and Location

1.1.1. Geographical Location

The study area is found in Southern, Nations Nationalities Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS), more specifically in Kafa Zone. This zone has 12 *Wäräda* and two town administrations. The districts include: *Gimbo, Decha, Bita, Geisha, Syelem, Gawata, Tällo, Adeiyo, Chäna, Chäta, Goba and Shishinda Wäräda*. The town administrations are *Bonga and Wacha*. The latter two districts and *Wacha* town administration were established in 2018 (2011E.C).¹ The people of Na’o scattered in three zones of the SNNPRS. A few of them live some 150 kms away from Bonga in Dulkuma Village of Shä-Bénc *Wäräda* of Bénc-Majji Zone, which is predominantly inhabited by Bénc and Me’en people. Some others live in Aybera, Kosa and Jomodods Villages of Shäko *Wäräda* of Bénc -Majji Zone and Shäka Zone which inhabited by Shäko, Majang and Bénc people. The majority of the Na’o typically lives in *Goba Wäräda* of Kafa zone, predominantly in Dishi, Angela and Ogoye *qäbälés*.² The district consists of 20 sub- districts and Dishi is the center of administration. Dishi is 543km far from Addis Ababa and 47km from Bonga, seat of Kafa Zone. The District has common boundary with Salamago District of South Omo in South, with *Decha* District of Kafa Zone in the North, in the West with Menite Goldiya and Menite Shasha of Bénc Majji Zone and in the East *Chata* District of Kafa Zone.³

The area was administered under kafa province by the name called *Gobe Rasho* (Goba province) until the kingdom of kafa was conquered by the expansionist *Neftegna* in 1897. After the incorporation of the area by Emperor Menelik II the administration system was changed and Goba became *Wäräda gezat* until 1946 and became *Meketel wäräda gezat* of kafa *awrajja* until the coming to power of *Därg* in 1974. During the *Därg* regime the area was administered as

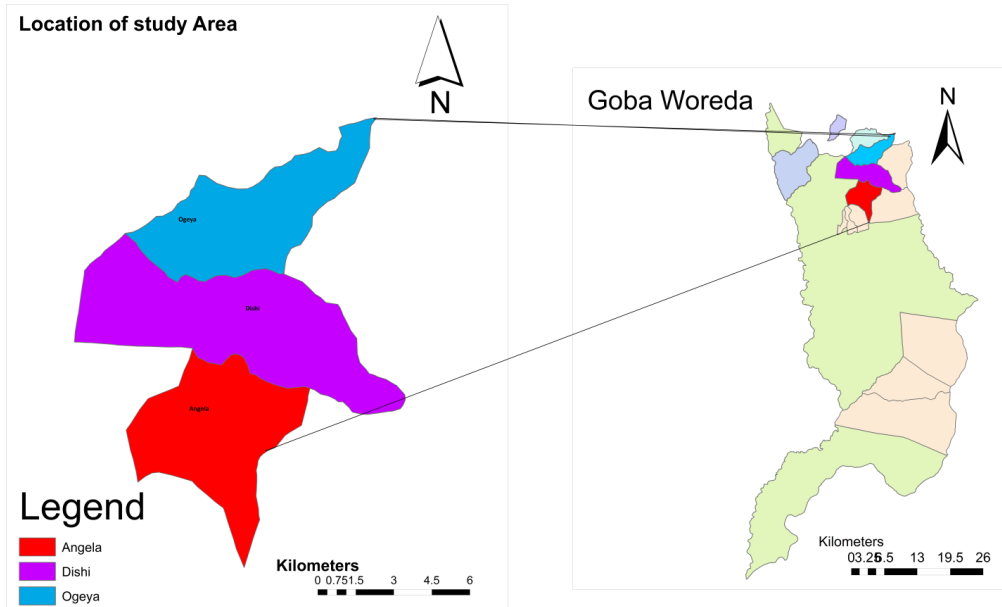
¹ Kafa Zone Finance and Economic Development Office, Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Zone (Bonga, 2011), p 10; Ye Goba Wäräda Astedader ŞefätBét, “Ye Goba Wäräda mesereta ” (Dishi, Yäkatit, 2011 E.C), p.2 .

²*Ibid*; Informants: Mëleräsha Dämese Bongo, Ato Gibo Aero&Ato Gizaw Yäbo; Bisrat Lema and Alemayehu Abraham, “The Na’o People With Endangered Identity: Reconstructing its Ethno- History” (Mizan Tepi University, 2019), p.3.

³Ye Goba Wäräda Astedader sefätBét, p.4.

qäbälé (sub- district) under *Decha Wäräda* until November, 2018 (*Hédare* 2011) when the area was established as one Districts of kafa zone.⁴

Map1: Physical Map of Goba Wäräda.



Source: Adopted from kafa Zone Finance and Economic Development Office, 2019.

1.1.2. Topography and Climate

The Na’o lives at an altitude of 1500-2500 meters, which is not easily accessible. The area was one of the Districts of the kafa Zone being endowed with dense forest. Due to this, it is the one which gets heavy amount of rainfall throughout the year and its annual rainfall coverage ranges from 1700 to 1775mm⁵ and average temperature ranges from 15.1^{0c} to 22.5^{0c}. The climatic condition is *Däga* 2 %, *Wäinadega* 36 % and *Kolla* 62 % respectively.⁶

1.1.3. Population

The people of Na’o are speakers of *Nayee noone* (Nai language) which is grouped under Omotic languages family and many of the dialects of *Nayee* are strongly related with *Dizu*, *Bénc* and

⁴*Ye Goba Wäräda Astedader sefäbét*, pp.3-7; Informants: *Mëleräsha* Dämesé Bongo & *Ato* Gibo Aero.

⁵Atenafu Mitiku, “A History of Chara People, South West Ethiopia ca. 1897-1991” (Jimma University, MA. Thesis in History, 2017),p. 4.

⁶ *Ye Goba Wäräda astedader sefät Bét*, p.4.

Shäko. The Na'ö were referred by different names in various written sources and their neighbors. The etymology of the word Na'ö or *Nayoo* remain controversial among scholars. Lange argues that, it was a name given by the *Kaffecho* for the Na'ö people because they consider them as child.⁷ Yet, according to my informants, most likely the *Kaffecho* use the word “*Bushoo*” for child.⁸ The Na'ö are called “*Tol*” by *Shäko* and *Bénéc*, “*Tolwo*” by Me'en of the West, “*Suc*” or “*Su*” by the Me'en in the East of *Sharmi River* and “*La'andi*” by *Chara*.⁹ However, the researcher is unable to derive satisfactory meaning for those words; the people use the word Na'ö and *Nayee* simultaneously to call themselves. The word Na'ö indicates the nation and *Nayee* indicates their language. So, the researcher uses the word Na'ö for the purpose of this thesis.¹⁰

According to Ethiopian Central Statistics Agency/CSA's 2007 Population and Housing Census, the total population of Na'ö is 9,796, among which 5, 018 is male and 4,778 is female.¹¹

1.2. Economy

1.2.1. Agriculture

The people of Na'ö are subsistence farmers. The harvest and planting pattern of Na'ö people have been the same with their neighbors. During dry season (*gäru*) the harvest collected and the farm land cleared then collected together and burned. During the wet season the fields are plowed and different crops are planted and cared for. This time is called “*Turti*” in *Nayee nonee* (*Nayee* language). *Täpsu* (Hoe), *ala* (bush-knife) and *gastiru* (wooden rake) are the most frequently used traditional agricultural tools among the people of Na'ö.¹²

Na'ö *gabara* (peasants) including those in Goba District cultivate variety of permanent (not requiring replanting for several years) and temporary annual crops like *Enset* (*udo*) *Ensetvectriyama*, *zanga* (sorghum), *tempa* (wheat), *gacco* (teff), maize (*wayda*), *gops* (barley),

⁷ W.Lange, [*Bench*] (*Remnants of A Vanishing Culture*) (Frankfurt: Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, 1975), pp.63-64.

⁸ Informants: *Ato Tekele Luti*, *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo* and *Ato Tämene Fäsya*.

⁹ Lange, [*Bench*] (*Remnants of A Vanishing....*) pp. 63-64.

¹⁰ Informants: *Mêleräsha Demese Bongo*, *Ato Gezaw Yäbo* and *Ato Gibo Aero*.

¹¹ Central statics Agency (CSA), *The 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, 2010), p.91.

¹² *Bisrat* and *Alemayehu*, p.11; *Ye Debub Bhir Bhiresbochna Hizeboch Mekerbet, Ye Behiresboch Profile* (Hawasa, 2004), p.182.

beans, cabbage and peas. A pi-cultures and coffee cultivation supplied subsistence peasants with a meager cash income. *Kallu* (Coffee) is found scattered in wild form through much of it in the Na'o area. Most of the Na'os life is entangled with crop type called, *ensete (udo)* *Ensetvectriyama*. They produced meal (*Ibu*) out of (*udo*) enset. For them *udo* has also religious value. They planted (*udo*) enset at the spot were Umbilical cord of the newly borne child after birth of buried.¹³

The Na'o also produces avocado, *afmomum corrorima* "corrorima", piper capense, "timze." Fishing, handicrafts and gathering a pi-culture are played as secondary economic activities of Na'o people. They regularly conduct large-scale organized fishing expedition to the Sharmi River during the dry season using mats (*dabos*) made of *enset* fibers. Trade was most likely important at least among the clan rulers, since the area was the sources of lucrative trade item.¹⁴

1.3. Historical Background of Na'o People

1.3.1. Settlement Pattern and Origin of Na'o

The origin and early settlement of the people of Na'o is vague because of lack of information. Both scarce written document and oral accounts also diverge on several points about Na'o's homeland, the direction of their movement and the period of settlement. However, all of my informants note that almost all clans had the same ancestor and traced their origin to *Majji* area of Béné Majji Zone. In this regard, informants recount a tradition which indicates that in ancient times, the Na'o, came particularly from *Dulumita* of *Majji* area.¹⁵

In fact there is disagreement among sources regarding the homeland of Na'o before they settled in *Dulumita* area, about which there are numerous stories. Some informants, particularly those from the ruling class of the Na'o, claim that their 'origin' was from the north. This claim imitated in their oral traditions and explained by the etymological similarities of names found in northern part of Ethiopia and in the present Na'o. Yet, majority of my informants stated that the

¹³ *Ibid*; Informants: *Ato Gibo Aäero, Ato Gizaw Yäbo & Mëleräsha Dämese Bongo.*

¹⁴ *Ibid*; *Ye Goba Wäradä astedader sefätBét, p.2.*

¹⁵ Informants: *Mëleräsha Dämese Bongo, Ato Alalo Yäbo & Ato Gibo Aero.*

descendants of Na'ö with followers settled in Dulumita area (a place in Majji), which was uninhabited at that time.¹⁶

According to the sources the three brothers called *Nayikiyazu*, *Saaimaje* and *Shäko* moved up to the direction of kafa. Among these three groups a group the people of Na'ö led by *Nayikiyazu* (leader of Na'ö) moved to the direction of kafa. They first inhabited the areas between the Adaa, Gäbera, Shärma and Gummi Rivers. Later they expanded and settled to the present day areas like Goba- Dshi, Angela, Ogeya and other localities of Goba District until they were incorporated under kingdom of kafa ca.1840s. When, the Kingdom of kafa was conquered by emperor Menilik II in 1897 the Na'ö had remain in the area.¹⁷ Brothers of *Nayikiyasu* who came with him, *Saaimaje* and *Shäko* moved to *Shäko* and *Dizu* area and lived with the previous settlers.¹⁸

The causes of the movement remained to be another subject of controversy. Some tell that in the culture of Na'ö when the sons reached manhood, they should live far away from their father, unless the “*Qay*” spirit of their father possessed them and the father would die soon. Therefore, this tradition is one category of story regarding reason for their expansion from their origin.¹⁹ There are also two interrelated views reflected by the informants on the factors that triggered the migration of Na'ö people to their present highland settlement. Some informants stated that the Na'ö people came to their present land due to drought in search of pasture land and water for their livestock.²⁰

Other informants suggested that the causes for migration was due to loss of their livestock by the cattle epidemic disease called *tsetse fly*.²¹ There is controversy in regards to the period that the people of Na'ö came to their today's place. Some scholars argued that the people of Na'ö were settled in the area before the arrival of *Minjo* dynasty of kafa in the area. Though there was ambiguity on the history and origin of kafa kingdom, it was traced back to 14th century. As sited by A. Orent and Beber. O until the beginning of *Minjo* dynasty in ca. 1390 it was known that

¹⁶*Ibid*; *ye debub kelel mekerbet*, p.182; Bisertat and Alemayh, p.8.

¹⁷ Lange, [*Bench*] (*Remnants of a Vanishing Culture*),p.63; Informants: Ato Gizaw Yäbo , *Mêleräsha* Dämesse Bongo and AtoTämene Fäsya; Bisrat and Alemayehu, p.15.

¹⁸*Ibid*; Bender, M. L, *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages* (Muenchen: LINCOM EUROPA, 2000), pp.150-153.

¹⁹*Ibid*.

²⁰ Informants: Ato Adeto Byene, AtoTämene Fäsya and Ato Asäfa Gäberämariam.

²¹ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämesse Bongo, Ato Gezaw Yäbo and Ato Gibo Aero.

there were some small clans such as the *Manjo*, *Nao*, *Benesho*, *Shä*, *Masongo* and others, all of whom were small ethnic groups in and around the kafa territory. Each of these people had their own kingdoms.²² The kingdom of Na'o was the one at the time of the arrival of *Minjo* king (ca.1390 A.D) at the area and it was original group and independent until it was conquered by kafa kingdom in mid-19th century during the region of *Kayee Sharochi*.²³ So it is believed that the Na'o people are one of the indigenous people of the Southwest Ethiopia. The Na'o were strong, numerous and had their own sociopolitical entity before they had been controlled by the kafa Kingdom.²⁴

Thus, from the above argument one can understand that probably the people of *Na'o* arrived and settled in today's place before 14th century. Nevertheless, the cause for their movement to present highland settlement from the Majji in which they lived for many years, was drought, famine, and loss of their stock by the cattle disease (*tsetse fly*) the specific date of the movement is not known.²⁵

1.4. Social and Political Organizations of Early Na'o

1.4.1. Social Stratification of Na'o People

Information revealed that the people of Na'o have 22 clans and Social stratification of Na'o was structured into these twenty two clans. These twenty two clans were organized in to three social classes. Those are the high classes, medium classes and occupational caste. Accordingly, the highest class is (*Naykiyasu*) Kings and its family, *Turbabisiyab*, *Gesubez* (a village headman, or the head of an area and their relatives), *Turbez*, *Diggi/Qaya* (a ritual expert) and his relatives. The medium class includes *Karsu* (the retainer). The roles played by the *Karsu* are mainly to assist *kiyazu* (chief), to help a *Gesubez*, conduct rituals, and to transport or bury their bodies in

²² Orent A, "Refocusing on the History of Kafa prior to 1897: A Discussion of Political Processes" (*African Historical Studies*, 1970), p.266; Bieber. O, *Secret Kaffa: In the Home of the Emperor-Gods* (Vienna, Austria, 1948), p.68.

²³ Hantingford, *History of the [Oromo] of Ethiopia: With Ethnology and History of South West Ethiopia* (African Sun publication, Oakland, California,1993), pp.8-11.

²⁴ *Ibid*; Bisrat and Alemayehu, p.10.

²⁵ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämesse Bongo, *Ato* Gezaw Yäbo and *Ato* Gibo Aero.

funerals. The last is Koykes/Kiyumu (a man not originally Na' o). According to informants the last social class maternal descendants were craftsmen.²⁶

Though informants admit the dominance of ruling class and land ownership by *Bushasho* clans, they argued that there is no class differentiation among clan members of Na' o people. They claimed that the existed occupational castes are not an indigenous clan of Na' o people rather they are settlers and importation of “colonizers.”²⁷ According to oral traditions unlike Kafi *tätto* of kafa kingdom the administrative system of Na' o was called “*Na' i Kiyas*” means kingdom of Na' o. The system had its own king and the title given to the king of Na' o were called *Naikayizu* or *Nai Taatt* literally it means king like “*Tätto*” of kafa. It was hereditary and the hereditary king was made king from *Bushasho* clan of Na' o.²⁸

In regards to the kingdom of Na' o it is significant to raise the subject that facilitated internal and external causes for the establishment of Na' o kingdom by organizing these clans. Even though it is tricky to clarify on how the kingdom of Na' o was established, it is likely possible to do it by investigating the Na' o oral informants and the hypothesis of state formation. In relation with the state emergence researchers like Jan Vansina argued that there are internal and external factors which allied with the emergence of state. According, to him the invasion of outside force, well-organized in military and political organization, and the quest of the unorganized and scattered society for leaders to systematize them in to state are the external factors. Though he gave due attention for the influence of external factors, he did not fully ignore the contribution of internal factors for state formation especially when economically developed group imposed itself over another.²⁹

According to some of my informants the above two factors contributed for the state formation of Na' o kingdom. The people of Na' o were ruled by three dynasties: these were *Hammo* and *Bushasho* dynasty of Na' o and *Minjo* dynasty of kafa kingdom.³⁰ Both *Hammo* and *Bushasho*

²⁶Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämesé Bongo, Ato Gebo Aero and Ato Gezaw Yäbo; Beserat Lema and Alemayhu, p.28.

²⁷Informants: Ato Gebo Aero, *Mêleräsha* Dämesé Bongo and Ato Käbädä Gobänä.

²⁸ Lange, *Vanishing Culture of Bench...*p.65; *Ye Debub Bhir Bhiresbochna Hizeboch Mekerbet*, p.282.

²⁹ Jan. Vansina and L.V.Thomas, *The Historian in tropical Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp.88-89; J.Lonsdale, “State and Social Processes in Africa: A Historical Survey” (*African Studies Review*. Vol. XXIV,1981)P.139.

³⁰ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämesé Bongo, Ato Gebo Aero and Ato Gezaw Yäbo.

dynasties were established within the social group of Na' o and ruled Na' o until it was subjugated by the expansionist force of kafa kingdom in mid-19th century, whereas *Minjo* dynasty was a dynasty which ruled Na' o from its incorporation to kafa up to the conquest of kafa kingdom by the force of Emperor Menelik II in 1897.³¹ The kingdom of Na' o was fully subjugated by kafa kingdom around 1840s during the reign of kafa *Täto Kami (Kayee Sharochi)* who ruled kafa from (ca.1843-68). This period was characterized by period of “colonization” of Na' o administrative system by kafa kingdom and this time onward the Na' o political entity were assimilated to kafa.³²

1.4.2. Political and Administrative Structure of Early Na' o

Except the name of the dynasty, the history of Na' o under the *Hämmo* dynasty (prior to the *Bushasho* dynasty) is largely unknown. Though sources are scarce to know the exact ruling period of *Hämmo* dynasty yet, some of my informants and scarce document associated the pre-19th century Na' o kingdom with *Hämmo* clan of Na' o. According to sources the Na' o kingdom of *Hämmo* clan were the supreme political as well as religious figure of early Na' o state until the coming to power of *Bushasho* though the exact date were unknown. Due to scarce source the period of the *Bushasho* dynasty is relatively better known than *Hämmo* dynasty. According to sources until the conquest of Na' o by kafa kingdom in mid-19th century *Bushasho* dynasty ruled Na' o without the influence of external force.³³ Since its Subjugation under kafa ca.1840s in overshadow of kafa kingdom administrative system the conqueror established a nominal administrative councilor in the Na' o area in which the highest political power was detained by the *Bushasho* clan of Na' o. This nominal administrative councilor is called “*bohairyabab*” or “*Mikira*”. The term *Mikira* might be adopted from the kafa word “*Mikiricho*” councilors of kafa kings. Like that of kafa “*Mikiricho*” the member of “*bohairyabab*” or “*Mikira*” (councilor) are seven in number.³⁴

³¹*Ibid*; Lange, [*Bench*] *remnants Vanishing Culture of ...* pp.98-99.

³²Lange, *History of Southern Gonga (South-Western Ethiopia)* (WIESBADEN,1982),p.210.

³³Informants: *Ato Asefa Gebermariam, Mëleräsha Dämesse Bongo and Ato Gibo Aero*; Lange, [*Bench*] *Remnants of A Vanishing Culture...*pp.96-98.

³⁴*Ibid.*

Since there is no king or paramount chief who dominates the Na’o as a whole before the influence of kafa kingdom, the chiefs were superior in any case, and the informants do not seem to take much heed of other ranks. But later on, probably due to the influence of kafa kingdom, there emerge a notion of king or paramount chief who dominates the Na’o as a whole. In this regard the rank name *käiyazu* (*Nayikiyazu*) began to be considered as king. Thus informants remember the name of successive *Nayikiyazu* and *balabates* of Na’o who administer until the downfall of Imperial regime. Accordingly, *Nayikiyaz Sera*, *Nayikiyaz Duma*, *Nayikiyaz Wästa/Waštea*, *Nayikiyaz Zuti*, *Nayikiyaz Şata* , *Nayikiyaz Bula/Gula*, *Nayikiyaz Gulli* (who become *Fitawrari* Gäbremedhn after conquest of kafa kingdom in 1897), *Balambaras* Gäbreselassie, and *Gerazmač* Temesgen Gäbreselassie, who was deposed and detained by Därg regime.³⁵

According to documents and oral informants, the seven *mikira* members under nominal king of Na’o were: *Annemé rasha*, *Agä rasha*, *Ogé rasha*, *Shäwé rasha*, *Dubä rasha*, *Machä rasha* and *Gäysa* (*Gayskis*). Accordingly, *Annemé rasha* were responsible to administer “Ogäya” near Decha District. *Agä rasha* were administrators of “Gola” which is believed to be probably the cemetery site of founding father of Na’o *Bushasho* clan mother and father. *Machä rasha* were responsible to control the area of “Gäya” which found on the north-west side of the residential place of *Goba* District. The rest three *Ogé rasha*, *Shäwé rasha* and *Dubä rasha* was member and advisers of *Naiykaizu*.³⁶

Land Ownership was the main criteria to appoint an individual as member of councilor, in addition to social acceptance and outstanding warrior. With the exception of *Gayskis* these representatives were appointed from the *Bushashe* clan of Na’o. Oral tradition stated the exception of *Gayskis* that he was the only councilor member not from *Bushasho* clan because he had no fief. Its duty was accompanying (*Naikiyas*) king of Na’o on all his travel and he was also spokesman of the king.³⁷ *Bohaiyabab*” or “*Mikirä* were represented both the kafa *mikrecho* and

³⁵Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo, *Ato* Gebo Aero and *Ato* Gezaw Yäbo ; *Ye Goba Wäradä Astedader sefet bet...* p.22.

³⁶Lange, [*Bench*] *Remnants*pp.92-94; Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo *Ato* Asäfa Gäbermariam, *Ato* Asäfa Alemayu and *Adeto* Beyne.

³⁷ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo, *Ato* Gizaw Yäbo and *Ato* Gibo Aäero.

Goba Rasha (province of Goba). In addition they were considered as the representatives of the area that they recruited since they would be appointed as administrator of the area.³⁸

While they were appointed as District chief and councilor members of Na'ò state by the kafa king the officer's task was keeping the politico-economic interest of kafa in the rich and productive Na'ò state. So, to show their commitment primarily their duty was collecting tax from the people that they administered. Though *Agä rasha* were responsible to organize military troops of the state in addition to chief administrator of Golä, all chief administrators were expected to protect their border with intensive military. Up on the demand of the kafa king the councilors were expected to recruit troops in their jurisdiction and the state councilors were expected to confirm their commitment for kafa king by coming to Anderacha residence of early kafa king.³⁹ It was king of kafa, who had the power to dismiss or appoint a new provincial governor since its incorporation. The position was hereditary.⁴⁰

No doubt the people of Na'ò were administered by their own king until the kingdom was incorporated by the *Neftagna*. Documents and informants who had information about administrative system of Na'ò before the kingdom was incorporated under kafa kingdom ca. mid 19th c are scarce. The kingdom of kafa was divided into twelve (eighteen since the mid-nineteenth century) provinces, each administered by a governor called *Wärafä rasho* (lit: ruler of chiefs). These officials were appointed from among the higher clans who had "prescriptive rights" to occupy these positions in provinces where they had established their own centers.⁴¹

Each of the provinces was in turn divided into several districts and administered by the *Räshä shawo* (lit: chief of the lands).⁴² Over the centuries the kings of kafa had continually reorganized and centralized their administrative structure in response to strengthening the kingdom's military postures. Furthermore, in part to insulate the kingdom from the perennial threats of invasions from the larger of their neighboring states to the east, the kafa kings expanded their tribute base through, among other mechanisms, conquering smaller kingdoms in their vicinity. The direction

³⁸Lange, [*Bench*] *Remnants of A Vanishing Culture...* p.91; Informants: *Mëleräsha* Dämesè Bongo, Ato Gizaw Yäbo and Ato Gibo Aäero.

³⁹*Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Informants: Ato Asefa Gebermariam, Ato Alemayhu Ambo and Ato Belay Bongo.

⁴¹ Orent.A, "Refocusing...."p.283.

⁴² *Ibid*, p.292; Lange, *History of Southern Gonga..* p.210.

of territorial expansion of the kafa kings was, with minor exceptions, westwards into the more heavily forested regions of present day Ethiopia's southwestern border.⁴³

Annexation of these lands meant enslavement of their inhabitants and exploitation of their natural resources; the resultant economic reality translated into unparalleled prosperity and power for kafa owners. Thus, Na'os are the original inhabitants of the area which conquered by kafa kingdoms.⁴⁴ It was believed that the territorial expansion toward kingdom of Na'os was started during Bonge *Tätto* ca. 16th century.⁴⁵ In this regard, Gezahegn and information obtained from local oral tradition suggests that the original inhabitants of kafa; the Na'os, Menja, Shä, Majang and other small kingdoms were apparently displaced by the royal clan of the Minjo of kafa since mid 19th c.⁴⁶

This indicates that the Na'os probably fallen under the kafa domination even before the period of expansion in the mid-19th century. However, the Na'os maintained their autonomous existence despite the claim of the kafa kings that Na'os and its territory being one of the eighteen provinces as *Gobe Räsho* in which Na'os leader had sovereign right over it. They marked off the highland territories which they had carved out for themselves with *yiri'a* (trench) systems, the crossing of which was only possible at a few *kellu* (gates) guarded by the low clans called *tseberiyab/cebera*.⁴⁷ Meanwhile, all available evidence indicate that active colonization by the kafa state since the annexation of Na'os kingdom into its realms during *Tatteno* Kami/Kajee Sharochi (ca. 1843 – 1868) led to complete absorption and assimilation of the Na'os people language, culture and its land into the kafa polity. Kafa annexation involved the replacement of the Na'os ruling dynasty by kafa social grouping convinced of its destiny to rule, by Nai *Bushasho* clan.⁴⁸

⁴³ Orent, A, "Linage Structure and supernatural the kafa"... P.75; Lange, *History of Southern Gongga*... p.210; Hantingford, p.11.

⁴⁴ Lange, *History of Southern Gongga*... , p.198.

⁴⁵ Orent, Amnon, "Refocusing...", P.278; Lange, *History of Southern Gongga*..., p.210; Hantingford, p.11

⁴⁶ Gezahine Petros, "Land Tenure and Natural Resource Management in Bonga, South West Ethiopia: The Case of Kaffecho and Manjo" (Addis Ababa University: MA. Thesis in History, 1996), p.56.

⁴⁷ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämesse Bongo, *Ato* Tekalinge Sheferaw and *Ato* Tamene Fayisa.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*; *Debube Behersboch Mekerbet*, p.183; Bisrat and Alemayhu, p.35.

Chapter Two

The Conquest and Aftermath to 1941

2.1. The Conquest of Na'ο by Menilek II

The last two decades of 19th century were essential for the process of territorial expansion of Imperial regime. Menilek's territorial conquest towards the Na'ο could not be seen independently from his general policy of expansion toward the South and South-Western parts of Ethiopia.¹ The economic riches of the region by lucrative trade items like ivory, civet, gold, slaves and other several agricultural products remained the main attraction.² In addition controlling the profitable long distance trade routes particularly kingdom of kafa which was known for its commercial activities, where the main caravan trade routes in the nineteenth centuries converged became the prime objective of the conquerors.³

After the defeat of Italy, in 1896 at Adowa Emperor Menelik II territorial conquest toward kafa province in general and Na'ο area in particular was intended to create a buffer zone against the European colonial powers. A Russian cavalry Alexander Bulatovich, who moved to the area with the forces of Menilek, witnessed that in December 1897, the Abyssinians Emperor Menelik II proposed three major expeditionary routes in the conquest towards South-West to the Nile and Lake Rudolf.⁴ He gave orders to attack kingdom of kafa which was unconquered in pre-Adwa battle. He entrusted the overall leadership to *Ras Wäldägiyorgis*, whom he had granted the right of ownership of all the land he conquered.⁵

Regarding the conquest of kafa kingdom, Bahru Zewede stated in the following manner:

..... Expeditions aimed at subjugating the kingdom of kafa had been repulsed more than once. The final reckoning came in 1897. A strong force was organized under

¹Desalnge Dargaso, "A History of Bench People, South West Ethiopia ca.1898 to 1991"(Jimma University:MA. Thesis, History department,2016),pp.24-25; Bulatovich. A, *With the armies of Menelik II* (Moscow, 1971), p.74.

²Amare Fantaw, "A History of the Shekacho (1898-1974)" (Addis Ababa University:MA Thesis, History Department, 2010),pp.59-60.

³*Ibid*; R. Pankhurst, "The Trade of southern and western Ethiopian and the Indian Ocean Ports in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century's" (*Journal of Ethiopian studies*, III, 2, July 1965),PP. 157-60; Guluma Gameda,"Gomma and Limmu, the Process of State Formation in the Gibe Region, 1750-1889" (Addis Ababa University:M.A. in History, 1984),p.148; R. A .Caulk, "Territorial competition and the battle of Embabo" (*Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, XIII, 1975) P.71.

⁴ Bulatovich, A, pp.74-75.

⁵Lange, *History of Southern Gonga*....p, 215; A. Orent, "Refocusing on the History P.282; Bekele W/Mariam, p.146.

the leadership of Ras Wäldägiyorgis, designated governor of kafa in advance, and including *Däjjach* Täsamma of Gore, in Illubabor, *Däjjach* Dames of Wallaga, Abba Jifar II of Jimma, and the rulers of [Dawro] and Konta the last three serving as guides to break the intricate defense system of kafa. The decisive assault of the four pronged attack was made by Ras Wäldägiyorgis from the direction of [Dawero], which was not as strongly fortified as the kafa- Jimma boundary. The despotic rule of Tato Gaki Sherocho, king of kafa, had in any case rendered mass mobilization against the invading force difficult. After Wäldägiyorgis triumphant entry into the capital city, *Andaracha*, the tato fled. For nine months, he remained a fugitive in his own kingdom. He was finally captured, fastened with silver chains of his own supply, and taken to Addis Ababa, the eleven-year-old capital of Shawa and of the Ethiopian empire, to spend the rest of his life in miserable captivity.⁶

The conquest of kafa by the expanding force of Menilek II led by *Ras* Wäldägiyorgis in 1897 followed by further campaign to conquer the land of kafa in late 1897.⁷ According to Lange and informants, initially *Ras* Wäldägiyorgis before he went to kafa for the conquest he promised to God to construct church if he defeated king of kafa. According to his promises to God he built church of *Anderacha Medehanialem* on the site of the former residence of kafa kings, and the harmonized sacred of that class lost its last central figure with the death of king Gaki Sharochi at Ankober in 1919.⁸

The process of conquest of Na'ö by force of *Ras* Wäldägiyorgis was left by Alexander Bulatovich, who illustrated that the conquering armed forces under *Ras* Wäldägiyorgis met confrontation only in the Dishu border by the Na'ö. He also reported that until the arrival of Menilek's forces, the Na'ö was leading a peaceful life but their excellent white cows stir up the appetite of the army for looting. The Na'ö being aware of the fact that the expedition was directed towards them gathered their forces to protect their borders. Nevertheless, unable to stand up to the forces of the invaders, they took refuge in the forests, and made occasional and sudden attacks on Menilek's army. In order to protect themselves from the bullets, the Na'ö were climbing trees but not saved.⁹

Though battle of Adewa had a great contribution for the downfall of kafa king as external factors, sources indicate that the disappointment of Na'ö ruler *Gulli* to resist the force of Menelik

⁶ Bahru Zewede, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991* (Addis Ababa: Addis Ababa University Press, 2002, second edition), pp.66-67.

⁷ Marcus H. G, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, Los Angeles (London: University of California Press, 2011),p.104; Bulatovich, A, p.29.

⁸ Lange, *History of South west....* p.215; Informants: *Ato* Asefa Gäbermariam and *Ato* Täkalinge Sheferaw.

⁹Bulatovich .A, p.76; Ambachew kädädä, *Kä Ašte Menlik serawit gar* (Addis Ababa university press, 2001),p.69.

It was an internal cause. The Na' o king not only failed to resist the invading forces of Menilek II but also provided assistance to *Ras Wäldägiyorgis* his Na' o warriors before the ultimate kafa defeat.¹⁰

Informants insisted that evidently the Na' o leaders saw an opportunity to reap greater profits from the new Amhara conquerors of suzerain kafa kings by cooperating with Amhara against the kafa. In this plan he personally profited by being rewarded with the titles of *Goberasha* and *Fitawrari* for his valuable help. In addition *Ras Wäldägiyorgis* baptized *Gulli* and gave the name Gebermedehn. Since the time *Gulli* was called by the name *Fitawrari* Gebermedehn and *Ras* built St. George church at *Gushi* in the land of Na' o today this church is called *Gushi gargish*. The lot of the hard-pressed Na' o people, however, hardly improved following conquest of the area.¹¹ Most of the Na' o informants remember the harsh rule of *Fitawrari Alämu*, the first *neftegna* leader of Na' o area, after their submission.¹²

In many areas the administration system of the conquered regions were exemplified by the military success of expansionists. Complex socio- cultural and political system was laid over the conquered regions. In this regard with no doubt the former administrator and their system lost their power.¹³ As a result, the administration of the southern regions was classified into three groups of *qurṭ gäbbar* or fixed tribute paying regions, the *gäbbar* or tribute paying territories and the borderlands or frontier zones. The specific nature of administration of the *gäbbar* or tribute paying territories and “fringe peripheries” was characterized by direct control and administration by the loyal northern soldiers and imposition of heavy taxation. In addition to the payment of annual tribute to the imperial treasury, they were expected to supply the soldiers with varying services and provisions.¹⁴

The Na' o people seem to fall within the tribute paying territories. After the conquest, the kafa area including the Na' o was administered by *Ras Wäldägiyorgis*. Particularly, Na' o area was administered by one of *Ras Wäldägiyorgis* follower; *Fitawrari Alämu*. After *Ras Wäldägiyorgis* administration gained a firm base in kafa, the imperial forces of Emperor Menilek II settled

¹⁰ Informants: *Ato Asefa Gäbermariam*, *Ato Asefa Alemayu* and *Ato Gerema Kidane*.

¹¹ Informants: *Melerasha Demese*, *Ato Gibo Aero* and *Ato Tamene Fayisa*.

¹² Lange, [*Bench*] *remnants*....p.68; Bekele W/Mariam, p.146.

¹³ R. Pankhurst, “The Trade of Southwest.....pp. 99-101.

¹⁴ Bahru Zewede, *Modern History of Ethiopia*, P.67.

neftegna (armed settlers) in the area. The Na'ö and other indigenous peoples of the area were summarily reduced to *gäbbar* or serfs and began to provide labor services as well as a share of their produces or crops for the soldiers. Though this process was started in the early years of imperial rule, it grew harsher progressively as the time went by. In fact, in the 1920s and 1930s, it became the most oppressive *gäbbar* system.¹⁵

Regarding this, people of the area had one popular saying to express the oppressiveness of the imperialists and comparative goodness of the former:

Yeer shisk'na komene hin gem, We prayed to God to bring us good thing

*Amarana ye komega!*¹⁶ But he brings to us “Amahara”

Even though they asked their God to live better life nothing was changed.

During the expansionist rule of Ethiopia the Na'ö land was administered as District (*Wäräda gezat*) under the province of kafa. On the eve of the conquest as well as since incorporation province of kafa was divided into 18 *Wäräda gezate*. The Na'ö administered under *Goba Wäräda gezat* one of the districts of kafa at the time. After the incorporation, the administrative position of indigenous administrators was overwhelmed by the conquerors.¹⁷

The system of administration applied to a certain region varied on the basis of different factors such as the intensity of resistance during conquest, the economic value, the location of the region and strategic significance to the empire.¹⁸ As a result the administration systems of *Ras Wäldägiyorgis* in Goba District differ from the rest Districts (*rasho*) of kafa.¹⁹

The initial administrative system of Na'ö under the imperial regime was more or less the same with the former local administrative system. The only difference was the substitution of province name, administrator and their subordinate officials' title by the northerner name. For instance the former *Naikayizu*, *rasha* and *Tameerasha* were substituted by *Balabat*, *Fitawerari*, and *abegaz*

¹⁵ Bisrat and Alemayhu, p.39.

¹⁶ Informants: Dämesse Bongo, Gebo Aäero and Wärequ Wäldemariam.

¹⁷ *Ibid*; KZCT, *Bunno annual magazine*, p.19.

¹⁸ Tesema Ta'a, "The political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia: From the mid 16th century to early 20th century" (PhD Dissertation Michigan state University : University Microfilm International, 1986), pp.156-160.

¹⁹ Lange, [Bench] remnants.....p.68; Informants: *Ato* Asäefa Gäbermariam, *Ato* Gizaw Yäbo and Dämesse Bongo.

respectively. Accordingly the former provisional and subordinate titles of Na'ö were given positions in accordance with their earlier positions. Thus, the title of the *balabat*, *abegaz* (*Wäräda* administrator), *chikashum* (the village head) and up to the lowest administrative, positions were given to the former Na'ö *Bushasho* clan.²⁰

According to informants initially the people of Na'ö accepted the imperialist government positively because they believed that it might be better than the former but they relate the first Amahara ruler of Na'ö *Fitawrari* Alämu as oppressive ruler. They told me that he forced our fathers to work on his fields and his house at *Tepa* near Dish. According to informants the influence of imperial regime on Na'ö was not only name replacement.²¹

They also contribute different animals in annual ceremonies and provided food for the soldiers. At this stage, the conquerors did not have direct relations with the land but with the peasants. According to informants those who lived in the land of the land lords were also made to pay tribute. The main beneficiaries of the system were the local *balabats* (the land lords) because economically they were not ejected from their fertile land and they were beneficiary from tax collection and slave trade. The peasant did not get the imperialist as they expected in reward they were forced for multiple exaction. Informants told me that the new Showan administration system was an extraordinary exploitation and oppression as compared with the former.²²

Mechanism of surplus extraction was the *gäbbar-malkagna* (as came to be generally the case in the south) or the *gäbbar-naftagna* relationship. This was also the focal point of class contradiction. Such condition laid the base for the *Gäbbar* system. The *Gäbbars* with their wives were forced to provide free labor to the soldiers including looking for their horses and peasants were also obliged to provide daily provisions of the *neftegnas*.²³

Informants insisted that peasants of Na'ö opposed the multiple impositions of imperialists. The reaction of the peasants began in providing low quality of food and water for the *naftegnas*, and later developed to physical attack of the soldier's family and settlers.²⁴ The Na'ö people also

²⁰Informants: *Ato* Alemayhu Ambo, *Mëleräsha* Dämese Bongo and *Ato* Gezaw Gäbere.

²¹*Ibid*; Lange, [*Bench*] remnants....p.69

²²Informants: *Ato* Alemayhu Ambo, *Mëleräsha* Dämese Bongo and *Ato* Gezaw Gäbere.

²³*Ibid*.

²⁴ *Ibid*. Not the right way of citing a source!

took refuge by retreating to the dense forests whenever the northerners came to the area for tribute collection in grain and honey as well as in form of captives both in cattle and people. In the years before the conquest, the Na'ο did not possess guns and had less power to resist their overlords. Firearms were introduced for first time and the Na'ο received their first guns from the northern raiding parties and learned the skills of using it from their captives. Furthermore, the armed bandits from the Bench and Na'ο fled to the Maji and soon firearms began to be used as payment for ivory and slaves. Later the provision of slave supply to the northerners became the main source of obtaining guns for the Na'ο.²⁵

2.2. Slavery and Slave Trade

The slavery and slave trade were highly intensified in the first decade of twentieth century in south west Ethiopia. Ivory was replaced by slaves as the major trading commodity and economic base of the region. Goba, where the people of Na'ο found was one of the sources of lucrative trade items like slave.²⁶ However, raids were more commonly intensively practiced within the Ethiopian south-west regions as compared to the cross border raids. The borderland regions of kafa kingdom of Goba area were the major raiding lands of captives and the main suppliers of the Ethiopian slave markets. For instance, the expedition of Lej Iyasu to kafa and Anuak country yielded up to forty thousand captured slaves. On one of his raids towards [Bench] and Na'ο area in 1912, he captured from six to eight thousand slaves dominantly of women and children, and two-third of them were sold in the slave market of Jimma.²⁷

According to Lange and informants, during Lij Iyasu's "hunting expedition", many people of Na'ο were killed by his forces even though the Na'ο *balabat*, Gābremedhin, offered to all his wishes and even traveled with him from Tēpa to Gola Eccī, where a great massacre of Me'en people took place. The force of government also massacred a great number of Na'ο people at a place called Eccī- Maholi (6km southwest of Udi hill) on the first day of their expedition and repeated the performance at Damuti (3km southeast of Udi hill) on the second day.²⁸

Leaders of imperialist, who succeeded the departing governor of Na'ο, had also succeeded in enrolling their followers by favoring a plunder and their arrival opened the way for another phase

²⁵*Ibid.*

²⁶ Bekele Woldemariam, p, 162; A.Orent, "refocusing.... p.282.

²⁷ Desalegn Dargaso, pp. 30-31.

²⁸Lange, [*Bench*] *Remantes*.....pp.69-70; Informants: *Ato Gibo Aäero* and *Mēleräsha Dämese Bongo*

of slave raiding. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the governors appointed to the area used to raid captives and extremely involved in the slave trade including governor and *balabat* of Na'ò. The arrival of Lij Iyassu to the area opened the way for another phase of slave raiding. So we can conclude that the intensive exploitation of slavery and slave trade by successive *Nāftāna* leaders, affected the subjects of Na'ò as of their neighbors. Due to this the Na'ò continued in their opposition to the *gäbbar* system and the inter-tribal raids were also widespread in the area. The armed resistance against slave raiding and *gäbbar* system continued until the Italians arrived in the Na'ò area in 1937.²⁹

2.3. Land Tenure System

During their administration under kafa kingdom until 1897, the peasant of Na'ò had land owning right though it was based on the wish of the king and the land was referred by the name *Tatte Shaewo* (land of kings). Regarding the land holding system, there were two distinctive social classes who were capable of owning land and those did not. Those who didn't own land were ruled under the feudal system of administration where land was divided for the landless peasants by the governors and it was not in a manner of *Tenant* and *Rist* system until the land tenure system was changed.³⁰ The South and South West Ethiopia land tenure system was reorganized with due consideration of the extent and the fertility of the land in the area as of 1897. Accordingly there were different types of land like *Yesemongna Meret*(temporal land), *YebalabtMeret*(the land of the lords), *Yädasta märèt*(land given to who carried and paying the rent of the land), *Yegebarmeret* (the land of the tribute payers), *YemilmilMeret* (the land of the recruits) and *Siga Bet Meret* (land of butcher).³¹

Land tenure system which was practiced in southern part of Ethiopia was different from the northern part land tenure system. Land tenure system which was practiced in the north was “rist” which is communal or kinship, church and state tenure.³² Though state and church land were found in the south, the most familiar and dominant land tenure system during Imperial regime was private tenure system. In such land tenure system, government officials and loyal servants of kings were permitted to use the land than the indigenous people. The indigenous people were

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Informants: *Ato Asefa Gäbermariam, Ato Feqere Gäbere and Ato Gizaw Yäebo.*

³¹ Informants: *Ato Alalo Yäebo, Mèleräsha Däemese Bongo and Ato Berhanu Keto.*

³² *Ibid.*

highly deprived to use their original land and they were forced to become employees of the conquerors or land lords.³³

However, Shawans did not alienate the land from the local people in the first few years after the conquest. The retainers and soldiers of generals were assigned a number of tribute-payers (*gäbbar*) commensurate with their rank to the subject of Na'ö. These *gäbbars* of Na'ö peasants provided various forms of tribute, mostly in kind in form of traditional, clan based communal land holding and also rendered labor services and they were made to pay regular tribute annually (known as *qurt gäbbar*).³⁴

Like the other places in the processes of land measurement, land in Na'ö area was classified in to three categories. These classifications were *Yamengist Meret* (government land), *Samon Meret* (Church Land) and the *siso* lands. Informants stated that land classification of the time was inaccurate because of inaccessible forests. Streams and trees were used as landmarks.³⁵

Informants told that there was stiff resistance from the Na'ö *balabats* and peasants during land classification in the area. It was begun after discussion of *Fitawrari Alämu* (rulers of the area) with the *balabats* and the people. Accordingly *balabats* were allowed to select freely lands as their *siso* land. It is said that quite naturally they selected areas that were suitable for agriculture. The remaining areas were registered as government and church land (*Yamengist* and *Semon Meret* respectively). It was from the government land that land grants were made to soldiers as *Maderia* and land rents were made to people for farming.³⁶

Accordingly a *gasha* of land was given to an ordinary soldier, while two *gashas* were allocated to *mättoaleqa* (officer of 100 men) and three to the *shambels* or *qegnzmach*. Each Church in the region owned money *gashas* of *siso* land, which it then redistributed to priests and deacons. The land was called *metekeya* (a more or less permanent grant).³⁷ Church land (*Semon Meret*) was given to the Church to be cultivated by the peasants. The first church to be established in Goba was *Gushi Gargish* (*Gushi giyorgis*/st. George established ca. in 1898 by *Fitawrari Gäbermdihin*

³³Richard. P, "The trade of Southwest,p.68.

³⁴ Informants: *Ato Alemayhu Ambo*, *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo* and *Ato Gezaw Yäbo*.

³⁵ Informantes: *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo*, *Ato Gibo Aero* and *Ato Asefa Geberemariam*.

³⁶ Informantes: *Ato Alemayhu Ambo*, *Ato Gizaw Yebo* and *Ato Alemayhu Alalo*.

³⁷ Informants: *Ato Alalo Yäbo*, *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo* and *Ato Berhanu Keto*.

with the order of *Ras Wäldägiyorgis*. The Church of St. Mikeal of Udda Deshi which was established during Häile Selase and *Fitawrari Alämu* was responsible for its construction.³⁸

The informant revealed that during the imperial government it was obligatory for peasants of Na'ö who held ownership rights on their land to give a third of their land. Those peasants who did not own land became peasants over *siso* land than the other land categories. According to them except *siso* land category *semon and yemengest meret* (church and government land) were not suitable for agriculture. Furthermore peasants who lived on the land of church and government had no claim on the land; they could be evicted at any time when they were unable to pay taxes. Moreover taxation imposed on peasant who lived on the land of *sämon* and *mängestmäret* was greater than peasants who lived on the *siso* (productive) land.³⁹

According to my informants the tax paid by the peasants who lived on the *siso* land and peasant who lived on government land were equal that was 15 *thaler* per one *gasha*. As we have seen in the above the productivity level of *siso* and government land was very different. *Siso* land was productive than government land. Yet, the taxation system was too heavy for those who settled on *yämängistmeret* (government land). Informants insisted that this created instability in the area.⁴⁰

To solve this government was forced to proclaim a new form of land taxation system. Accordingly, the land of Na'ö was again categorized in to three parts based on their degree of fertility. These categories were *läm* (productive land), *läm-täf* (semi fertile) and *täf* (infertile). These terms denoted the degree of cultivation and human settlement, not, as is commonly assumed, the fertility of the soil. Different rates of taxation were levied on the three land categories. The rate ranged from 15 to 5 *thaler* per *gasha*. *Läm* land owner paid the highest and *täf* the lowest rate of tax.⁴¹

We can say that the objective of the newly land categorization system was proclaimed not only to solve the problems of peasants but also it was designed to facilitate the collection of tax. The newly system was encouraged peasants to settle on *yämengiste märet* (government land) Mainly

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Informantes: *Mälerasha* Demese Bongo, *Ato Gibo Aero* and *Ato Alalo Yebo*.

⁴⁰ Informants: *Ato Gizaw Yebo*, *Ato Tamene Fäyisa* and *Ato Asefa Gebermariyam*; Amare Fentaw, p.75.

⁴¹ Amare, p.76; Informants: *Mêleräsha* Demese Bongo, *Ato Gibo Aero* and *Ato Alalo Yebo*.

in *Yädasta märèt* (land given to men who carried and paying the rent of the land), *Yedinquan Mèrète* (land given to retainers who carried and put up rents) and *Yämar Meret* (land for which tribute was paid in honey). My informants argued that, though the system encouraged to settle the peasants, it was not suitable for agriculture in addition to undulating landscape and stick forest nature of the area. In addition to this, low productivity and the heavy amount of tax that they paid resulted in emergence of both direct and indirect popular grievances. So, the issue of land became the intrinsic problems in Na'ò area up to 1974 revolution.⁴²

2.4. Na'ò during the Italian Occupation 1936-41

The major cause for the Italian aggression was their humiliating defeat at the battle of Adwa in 1896, which left a scar. However, the Italians began to disguise their aggressive intention by establishing friendly relations with Ethiopia.⁴³ The Italian forces under the command of Marshal Badoglio entered Addis Ababa on 5 may 1936.⁴⁴ Marshal Rodolfo Graziani took responsibility from Mussolini for the invasion of South West Ethiopia. Accordingly Graziani invaded southwestern Ethiopia in September 27, 1936 and General Malta occupied Bonga the administrative center of kafa *awrajja* on November 13, 1936.⁴⁵

After the occupation of Bonga, the subjugation of other parts of kafa province took relatively a longer period due to the remoteness and backward infrastructure of the area. Accordingly, the Italians occupied Na'ò in February 1937 almost a year after the occupation of Bonga. The village of Na'ò near the Udi post was bombarded by the Italian planes on February 1937. The Italian invasion was primarily resisted by the Amhara rulers. The governor of Na'ò fought the advancing force of Italians north of Na'ò town.⁴⁶ However, he retreated back after two days of clash with the Italians as he was unable to defend Na'ò any longer. The Na'ò submitted to the invading Italian forces with little resistance were even inclined to considering the Italians as

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Bahru Zewde, *Modern History of Ethiopia*...p.15.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, pp.155-157; Belete Bizzuneh, "An Agrarian polity and its pastoral periphery: State and pastoralism in the Borena border lands (Southern Ethiopia) 1897 to 1991" (PHD dissertation, Boston University Graduate School Arts and Science, 2008), pp.70-72.

⁴⁵ Desalnge Dargaso, p.44.

⁴⁶ Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Yebo, *Ato* Tamene Feyisa and *Ato* Gibo Aero.

“liberators” from the Amhara tyranny. Subsequent to the occupation of the area, the Italians declared the abolition of slavery in apparent attempt to legitimize their invasion.⁴⁷

Though it did not improve the living standard of the people Five year (1936-1941) occupation brought the end of slavery and *Näftanga-Gäbbar* system in the area.⁴⁸ Peoples of Na’o explained the demolishing of the *Näftegna* system by Italian and the goodness of Italian in the following proverbs;

“*Go'xin kiyaa kiyabixabateno* since the white became administrator

*Aa'su nooguso qiyabateno!*⁴⁹ No *gäbbar* (taxation) to *Näftanga*

Following the occupation of Na’o, the Italians appointed Colonel Antonelli as governor of the area and *Fitawrari* *Gäbermedihin balabat* of the area in pre- Italian occupation remained as *balabates* of *Goba* until the evacuation of Italian. Colonel Antonelli shifted the former administrative center of Na’o from *Angela to Golla Eccì*. According to informants it was due to its strategic importance for observation post the Italians selected *Golla Eccì* as their military site until their evacuation. They told me that a number of Ethiopian soldiers with few Italians and *nae'tatee* (*Fiawerari* *Gäbermdihin*) came together and built grass roofed house at *Golla Eccì* for Italians. The houses were alive prior to the return of Haileselese I and later burned by the patriots after the defeat of Italians.⁵⁰

Italians did not bring any substantial change in administration rather they restored the old and the traditional administrative system.⁵¹ Accordingly, informants recalled how the Italian government re-established the previous structure of the Na’o. According to the informants, the Italian governors summoned the dispersed descendants of Na’i *bushasho* clan administrative system. The Italian governor replaced the administrative structure with the previous structure of the kafa Kingdom, restoring the *Worafe rasha* of the former *Naikayzu* (Na’o

⁴⁷ *Ibid*; Bisrat and Alemayhu,p.48.

⁴⁸ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*....p.168.

⁴⁹ Informants: *Ato Gizaw Yebo, Ato Tamene Takele, Mêleräsha Demese Bongo and Ato Gibo Aero.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid*; Lange, [*Bench*] *remnants*.....p.69.

⁵¹ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia*....p.168.

kingdom) called *Gobe rasha*. After the Italians left Ethiopia in 1941, positions such as Naikyizu, Gobe rasho, were abolished by the restored Ethiopian empire.⁵²

Although Italians abolished the *Näfetenga gäbbar* system, their rule was characterized by harsh treatment and the people were forced to construct road and garrisons for their army. According to informants, Italians used the forced labor for any work. The most frequently mentioned work was hunting wild animals or capturing them alive. Italians ordered the people to hunt and capture alive wild animals such as leopard, monkey, ape, buffalo, porcupine, and others in the region which *Na'o rasho* collected from the people and took to Abba Qasto, who finally handed them over to the Italian governor to Bonga.⁵³

Later, the Italians began to brutally treat the local people. The peoples of Na'o area were forced to provide labor service to the Italian garrison and they were forced to provide labor in road construction. The road from *Golla ecchi* to Omo River was constructed by human force during Italian occupation. The failure to participate in the forced labor tasks and the failure to accomplish the tasks would result in punishment. In addition to this informants claimed that their practice was totally opposite to the culture of the peoples.⁵⁴ Five year Italian occupation of Ethiopia was full of challenge for the Italians because of stiff resistance and struggle of Ethiopian patriots.⁵⁵

Nevertheless the people struggle in the south west Ethiopian received little attention from historians, there was a patriotic resistance in Na'o area. The most prominent guerrilla fighters in this regard were a group led by *Wäterasha* Kefele Gebersilase and his son Shiferaw Kefele from Kafecho in the south west side of Bonga and a group led by *Ato* Mamo Gäbremdhin and *Ato* Bayu Jashi in *Goba* area.⁵⁶ According to Lange (which is substantiated by my informants) due to their oppressiveness following their defeat in 1941 (1933) the local people were anticipated to kill the Italians which found at *Golla Eccci*, but they were stopped by *Fitawrari* Gäbremdhin and he allowed them safe passage to Bonga.⁵⁷

⁵² Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Yebo, *Ato* Tamene Takele, *Mêleräsha* Demese Bongo and *Ato* Gibo Aero.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Belete Bizzuneh, pp.70-72.

⁵⁶ Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Yebo, *Ato* Tamene Takele, *Mêleräsha* Demese Bongo and *Ato* Gibo Aero.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*; Lange, [*Bench*] remnants.....p.70.

Chapter Three

Na'ò from Liberation to the Revolution (1941-1974)

3.1. Reaction and Resistance of Na'ò to the Restored Imperial Government

Following the expulsion of the Italian Fascist government from Ethiopia, Emperor Hailesillase I returned from his exile in London on May 5, 1941. However, there were a nationwide social, political, economic and cultural crisis and instabilities in the country. Nevertheless, the people struggle in southwest part of Ethiopia particularly kafa, Na'ò area gets little attention from historian; there was a popular uprising which began immediately after return of Emperor Hailesillase I.¹

When *Fitawreari* Gezhagn Gobbeze was appointed as governor of kafa, Maji and [Bench] area (1942-1949) and *Lij* Alämu Belachew was appointed as *Mesläné* of Goba chara by the restored government they immediately tried to suppress the relative right and autonomy enjoyed by the Na'ò during Italian occupation. With the order of *Fitawreari* Gezhagn Gobbeze, *Lij* Alämu Belachew *Mesläné* of Na'ò area began to revive the conditions as of pre-1935 together with *Fitawrari* Gäbermdihn (*balabats* of the area).²

According to the information obtained from elders, in order to divide the local lords of the area, *Fitawreari* Gezhagn Gobbeze used different systems like evacuating the influential persons by appointing them as administrators of *wäräda* and creating marriage alliance with local *balabates* of the area. Accordingly, *Fitawrari* Gezhagn gave recognition to *Fitawrari* Gäbermdihn as *balabates* of Goba area and recognized his weapon. Then the later welcomed the former and arranged marriage alliance of *Lij* Alämu with his sister then reached in terms to govern the area by their own. Accordingly, *Lij* Alämu Belachew became *Mesläné* of Na'ò and *Fitawrari* Gäbermdihn became *balabate* of the area.³ In addition, *Fitawrari* Gezhagn (governor of KGMA) deliberately tried to evacuate *Gerazmač* Pawelos from Bonga using the pretext of appointing him to become the vice governor of *Goba Chara Meketel meselene*. This was in order to surrender

¹ Informants: *Ato* Asefa Geberemariam, *Melerasha* Dämesese Bongo, *Ato* Yohanes Yeshe and *Hämesaleqa* Abäbä Gäberegiyorgis.

² Informants: *Ato* Gezaw Yebo, *Melerasha* Dämesese Bongo and *Ato* Gibo Aero.

³ *Ibid.*

the weapon and property of Italian which owned by *Gerazmač Pawelos*. Then *Ato Geberetinsa'e Tesfaye* was appointed as patron of the store. After that the person called *Ato Taffese Gedebe* who was appointed from the central government as director to *Fitawrari Gezhagn* began his first task of dealing with the property issue.⁴ Though *Fitawrari Gāzahagn Gobeze* and *Ato Tafese Gedebe* had common stand on the basic issue, they varied in the means of implementing the idea. According to my informants, even though, *Ato Tafese* understood basically the weakening of the resistance; he failed to follow the strategy of *Fitawrari Gāzahagn* and took an immediate action. Thus *Ato Tafese* marched to *Bareta* and continuously asked the opening of the store counting of the property and its immediate hand over from *Gerazmač Pawelos Tesfaye* but failed to reach on consensus.⁵

The strong criticism and insult of *Ato Tafese Gedebe* on *Gerazmač Pawelos Tesefaye* assured the inevitability of the outbreak of the war. During the event the two right hand brothers of *Gerazmač Pawelos Tesefaye*, named *Mattiwos Tesfaye* and *Jorjo Tesefaye* were following the act of *Tafese* seriously. *Ato Tafese* was also guarded by two soldiers. Finally the brother of *Gerazmač Pawelos*, *Mattiwos* who was antagonized by the act of his brother enemy, was realizing that they are parching to take forceful action on his brother then he killed one of the guards of *Ato Tafese*. This event became the immediate factor for the outbreak of the war between government and *Gerazmač Pawelos*.⁶

This time onward *Gerazmač Pawelos Tesfaye* and other elites excited the people against the oppressive system of Emperor Haile Selase I. The peasants of Na'ο indeed accepted the call of *Gerazmač Pawelos* and rose up for resistance. The main cause for resistance was in fear of the restoration of pre-1935 administration system and quest for right and liberty, because people knew the restoration would bring back the former oppressive *gābbar* system. Informants argued that even though, this quest for right and liberty has long been denounced as banditry activity, the basic objective of the struggle was contrary to this assumption.⁷ According to informants *Fitawrari Gezhagn Gobeze* tried to depart the local lords by giving incentive, then two divisions were created among local lords of the area. The first group was the supporter of

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Informants: *Hāmesaleqa Abābā Geberegiyorgis*, *Ato Asefa Geberemariam* and *Ato Tesefaye Kito*.

⁶ Informants: *Ato Asefa Geberemariam*, *Melerasha Dāmesese Bongo* and *Ato Gizaw Yābo*.

⁷ Informants: *Ato Asefa Geberemariam*, *Melerasha Dāmesese Bongo*, *Ato Yohanes Yeshe* and *Hāmesaleqa Abābā Gābertegiyorgis*.

Fitawrari Gezhagn and prepared to weaken the struggle led by *Gerazmač* Pawelos through their subversive act using Aba Kesto. The other group consisted of those who kept their promise and prepared to join the battle field in the struggle for their dignity and liberty.⁸

Accordingly *Gerazmač* Pawelos with his followers became a bandit in Decha *Wäräda* and the war was started in 1943. Thus *Fitawreari* Gezhgen Gobeze tried to re-establish the threatened system to execute the mission of the central government. However, the people of the area had grievance to the system. The group crossed *Gicha* River under the leadership of *Gerazmač* Pawelos consisted of individuals like *Däkerasha* Mamo, *Kaderasha* WäldeMikail, *Shasherasha* Demeke and other opponents of imperial government.⁹ *Fitawrari* Gäzahagn Gobeze who call *Wäräda gezats* (district administrators), for the war and he assigned Aba Kesto to lead the operation. *Kicherasha* Wälde Meskel and *Decherasha* Adelo were from Decha *Wäräda*, and Lij Alämu Belachew and *Fitawrari* Gebermedihin (*balabate*) of Goba were among fore front participants of the war to attack *Gerazmač* Pawelos.¹⁰

The war was between two force with unbalance military force and army. The well armed and huge in military size of the followers *Fitawreari* Gezhagn Gobeze and Aba Kesto was on the first side. However, less armed, small in military size but had the support of the local people and who waged guerrilla warfare under the leadership of *Gerazmač* Pawelos Tesefaye, *Dekerasha* Mamo, *Kederasha* Woldemikail and *Balambras* Karloon on the other side. The war was conducted at Gutibicha, Shasha and Maligawa. According to informants, *Fitawrari* Gezhagn with half of the army, Aba Kesto with armed soldiers crossed through *Meligawa* (near Goba) and joined the war. Informants insisted that patriots were injured at the battle of *Meligawa*. However, this large military size failed to crush the force led by *Gerazmač* Pawelos Tesefaye and his followers. The second battle was conducted at the battle of Agaro Bushi (Decha *wäräda*) in 1944. In this battle Aba Kesto was attacked and wounded, later died during the campaign in the same year.

⁸ Informants: Demese Bongo, Gibo Aero, Gezew Yebo, Tekalinge Shiferaw and Asefa Gebermariam

⁹ *Ibid*; Archive: No folder number, File No.1982, letter from kafa, and [Bench] Maji *awrajja* to *Gerazemačh* Abateles, meselene of Goba chara order to participate in *Gerazemačh* Pawelos camping. *hidar* 1935EC.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

According to the archival documents *Gerazmač* Pawelos destroyed the house of Aba Kesto by fire during the war period in 1944.¹¹

The force led by *Gerazmač* Pawelos Tesefaye controlled areas like Shasha, Decha, Ogeya and Meligawa. Later with increased popular support of *Gerazmač* Pawelos, *Fitaweari* Gezhagn Gobezze tried to appease him by returning back the newly arrived fresh army.¹² Also *Fitawrari* Gezhagn wrote a letter to Emperor Haile Selasi I stated that *Gerazmač* Pawelos Tesefaye rebellion was not by hating the restored government rather it was due to the mistake made by the director Tafese Gedebe and requested the emperor for apology to *Gerazmač* Pawelos. In return they wrote fake letter as it was written from the emperor but he did not accept the letter because the letter had no seal. Later original letter which was written from the central government representative was sent to deliver the message and *Gerazmač* Pawelos accepted the letter which bears the legal seal.¹³

After a series up and downs, the war which caused immense human and material causality concluded through peace agreement. On the side of the government the participants of the agreement were Ato Belihu Tessema (The treasure of the *awrajja*), Ato Tegegne Fäläkä (Bonga town municipal employer), *Metoaleqa* Mängäsha (head of the security force), *Gembrasha* Haile Keto, Ato Täsefaye G/mariam (reporter of the *Awrajja*) and Ato Geberetinsa'e Tesfaye who represented *Fitawrari* Gezhagn. From the rebellion leader's side, *Gerazmač* Pawelos, Ato Mattiwos, *Däqerasha* Mamo and *Käderasha* Wolde Michale became participants of the peace agreement. Accordingly, *Gerazmač* Pawelos was sent to Adis Ababa in reward and became civil servant later died by car accident in Addis Ababa.¹⁴

¹¹Informants: *Hämesaleqa* Abäbä G/giyorgis and Ato Girema Kidane; Archive, Bonga, file number 1615, 1816, letter from Kafa Aweraja to KGMA, File No.1654, from KGMA, to Leej Käbäde Woldeyohanes request of additional soldiers, Meskerem, 1935.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid*, Informants: *Hämesaleqa* Abäbä Gebertegiyorgis, *Mëleräsha* Dämese Bongo and *Awerasha* Alemu Axo.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

3.2. Administration of Na’o from 1941 to 1974

Though the restored government promised not return to the pre 1935 administrative system there were a countrywide social, political, economic crisis and unrest. Therefore, after liberation, the restored government began reorganizing its administration through a series of declaration in 1942 which was aimed to enhance its presence in the peripheries as well as to build a centralized bureaucracy. In fact, the 1942 declaration was fundamental for the foundation of local administration in the period 1942-1974. Thus, according to the 1942 decree, Ethiopia was divided into 12 *awrajas*, 60 *Wäräda*, 339 *meslanes* and 1176 *meketel meslanes*.¹⁵

Under this reorganization, Decha *Wäräda* in which Na’o were living, became *Wäräda meslanes* with Goba being its *meketel meslanes* under KGMA.¹⁶ The administrative decree of 1942 was amended by 1946 re-administrative regulation. Accordingly, this administrative regulation changed the previous name, the *awrajas* were given the designation of *teqlay-gezat* while the *Wärädas* were elevated to the status of *awrajja*. Likewise, the *Wäräda meslanes* were designated as *Wäräda gezats* and *meketel meslanes* became *meketel Wäräda gezats*.¹⁷ The kafa province (*Teklay-Gezat*) was one of the administrative divisions and it was divided in to six *Awrajjas* in which Jimma became the capital of *kafa Teklay-Gezat*.¹⁸

As a result, *Decha* was promoted to the status of a *Wäräda gezat* under kafa *awrajja*. The latter itself had been a *Wäräda* but the same decree promoted it to the status of an *awrajja gezat* under *kafa Teklay-Gezat*. Similarly, the *Goba Chara meketel meslanes* under Decha *wäräda* was promoted to the status of *meketel Wäräda gezate*. Decha *Wäräda Gezat* was further subdivided into three *Meketel Wäräda gezats*. These were *Goba chara meketel Wäräda gezat*, *Goka meketel Wäräda gezat* and *Gucha Meketel Wäräda gezate*. Accordingly, the new government structure

¹⁵ Bisrat Lema,p.24; Desalnge Dargaso,p.51; Bantayehu Demissew, p.56: J.Keller, E "Making and Remaking State and Nation in Ethiopia" (In Ricardo Rene,2005),p.93.

¹⁶Abeyu kafale, No. box number, 2889, letter from governor of kafa *awrajja* to Goba *meketel wärädä*, *thasahe* 22, 1935 E.C

¹⁷ Bisrat Lema,“A History of Humbo *Wäräda*, 1941-1991” (Addis Ababa University, Department of History, 2011), p.24; Desalnge Dargaso,p.51; Bantayehu Demissew,“Inter-Ethnic Conflict In South Western Ethiopia: The Case Of Alle And Konso”(Addis Ababa University MA. Thesis,2016) p.56:J.Keller, E. ,p.93.

¹⁸ Yonas Seifu, “A Historical Survey of Jimma Town (1936-1974)”(Addis Ababa University MA thesis in History ,2002),p.26.

began to reorganize the newly administrative system through the appointment of *Endrases* as general governors at *Awrajja* level.¹⁹

A new form of administrative arrangement was also made in the early 1960s at the country level. In the same approach, the administrative division of *kafa Teklay-Gezat* was been changed in the 1960s. In this regard, the Ministry of Interior passed an order to *kafa Teklay-Gezat* to let the latter abolish all the *meketel wärädas* in the early 1960s. In spite of this, no attempt was made until 1966.²⁰ In the late 1966, however, the governors of six *awrajjas* under *kafa Teklay-Gezat* (Limmu, Jimma, and Majji, “Kulo” konta, the [Bench] and *kafa awraja*) were met at the office of *Teklay-Gezat* under the guidance of *Ato Mengesha Mekonnen* to discuss over the re-arrangement of administrative divisions. The governors of Limmu, Jimma, Maji, ‘Kulo’ - Konta, “the [Bench] and *kafa awrajja* respectively were *Däjjazmač* Youhannes Girmay, *Däjjazmač* Abajebel Abajifar, Litenant Colonel Käbädä Tässemma, *Ato Deneqe Fanta*, *Ato Seyum Yakob* and *Ato Tadesse Woldemikael*.²¹

Informants and documents insisted that, the discussants unanimously agreed on the abolition of all *meketel Wäräda*. The reason that they put forward was that it could facilitate and made efficient the administration. Moreover, as other documents and secondary sources indicate, the main intention of the government was to diminish the administrative costs by abolishing the *meketel Wäräda*. In addition to this, the elimination of *meketel Wäräda* would decrease the level or extent of exploitation of peasants by different officials. Even if, it was implemented in most areas of the country the *meketel Wäräda* continued to exist in the Na’o area until the initial period of the revolution, though the reason was not mentioned.²² The *meketel Wäräda* had also different sub divisions which were administered by the Na’o *balabats*. In other words, the Na’o chiefs retained some authority over the peasantry, serving at least theoretically, as intermediary between the local population and the administrators from the north. Moreover, their duty was to supervise the collection of taxes for the state from the cultivation of the land. The prominent ones among them after the 1940s were *Fitawrari Gäbermdhin*, *Balambaras Gäberäselase* and

¹⁹ Informants: *Ato Asefa Gebermariam*, *Hämesaleqa Abäbä Gäberegiyorgis* and *Awerasha Alemu Ato*.

²⁰ *Ibid*; Desalnge Dargaso, p.53.

²¹ *Ibid*.

²² Informants: *Ato Asefa Gebermariam*, *Hämesaleqa Abäbä Gäberegiyorgis* and *Awerasha Alemu Axo*; Desalnge Dargaso, Pp,56-57.

Gerazmač Temesegen Gebereselase (detained by Därg) though, political dominance was over handed by *enderase* appointed from the central government.²³

Nevertheless, my informants did not remember their administration period; they only remember the names of *enderases* or *meselene* (as my self) of *Goba chara* since 1940s to 1960s. Accordingly, *Lij Alämu Belachew*; *Gerazmač Feleqe*, *Gerazmač Abateles* and *Gerazmač Asefaw* were *meselene of Goba chara meketel Wäräda gezate*. Informants remember the name of governors of the area appointed from the central government starting from 1965 to 1974. Consequently, *Gerazmač Mekonen Agängew* (1965-1969), and *Balambaras Telahun Buta* from (1970 to 1974) were administrators of *Goba Chara Meketel Wäräda gezate* until the coming to power of Därg. Among those appointed governors, none of them belonged to the local people and they had no the knowledge about the society of Na’o.²⁴

The mission of the governors was leading the people in accordance with the central government commanding chain and performing the task of dividing the land (which was the very base of the feudal economic system) to the ruling class. According to informants, it was during *Gerazmač Mekonen Agengew meselne* of Goba Chara and *Balambaras Wäldäselase balabate* of the area the site of Goba administrative center was shifted from *Gola ecci (Teepa)* to *Udda- Dish*.²⁵

In most cases, governors were incompetent, ineffective and highly corrupt in carrying their work in administration. They were concerned only with skimming human and material resources of the region. Nepotism, bribery and unfair court procedures were common in the area as other parts of the *awraja*. Regarding this, informant told me one proverb in the following saying:

Alabuuka teen with evacuation of Italy
*Amaara sanyeeek’n gex’n!*²⁶ Oppressor came again!

Generally, the period from 1942 to 1974 was marked by complete political domination of the *naftannas* (the centrally appointed officials) over the local people. Almost all of the governors at the top were the *naftannas*, either in *awrajja*, *wäräda* or *meketel wäräda* level.²⁷

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Informants: *Ato Gizaw Yäbo*, *Ato Gibo Aero*, *Ato Tamene Feyesa* and *Adeto Bäyne*.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Informants: *Melerasha Demese Bongo*, *Ato Wärequ Wäldemariam*, *Ato Alalo Yebo* and *Ato Getahun Mäshäsha*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

3.3. Land Tenure and Taxation in Na’o in Post Liberation

The post 1941 imperial land policy in southern Ethiopia in general and among Na’o in particular was primarily concerned with land privatization, *gäbbar* system, and Land granting to patriots, exile, civil servants and nobility's in order to get support.²⁸ Local *balabates* and other high officials were allotted lands for the provisioning of their households, and they appointed their own *Mesläné* (as myself) to administer them. Government granted land as compensation for high officials, nobles, *melkegnas* and *Meslänés*. Accordingly, *Maderiya* land was granted for officers, soldiers and patriots in temporary base which later changed to private ownership.²⁹

Accordingly, those who led expansion during the invasion of the area and consequently ruled the area were rewarded with grants of large amount of land and rights over vast areas containing large number of peasants. The nobilities were other applicants of land holding rights in Na’o land. For instance, *Gerazmač* (*Garamanjo*) Mekuriya Belay (who had 31 tenants) and *Balambaras* Gäbreselase and their family were the case in point who owned large tracts of land in Na’o area.³⁰ Another group which received a large share of confiscated land of Na’o was the clergy. They received such land in the name of *Samon* land and also individually. As it is known, one of the first undertakings of Ethiopian regime in all conquered area was the building of churches, and an army of northern clergy migrated to the south to staff them.³¹

Likewise, many churches were built in Na’o land following the conquest and owned large tracts of land in the name of *samon meret*.³² Even though the order of giving land for patriots was too late, land was given to those who were directly involved in liberation and to families of patriots who lost their life in the course of the war.³³ According to informants, the major problem during land classification for patriots in Na’o area was the presentation of falsified evidences. Those who did not participate in the campaigns gained *maderia* land and those who actually participated were denied.³⁴ Informants blamed that *maderia* land was not given for patriots of Na’o, *Ato Mamo* Gäbremdhin and *Ato Bayu* Jashi. They owned no land and gained no

²⁸ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo and *Ato Gibo Aero*; Baheru Zewede,p,191; Desalng Därgaso, p,64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo, *Ato Alalo Yebo* and *Ato Gibo Aero*.

³¹ Desalnge Därgaso,p,68.

³² Informants: *Ato BälayBongo* and *Ato Gibo Aero*.

³³ Informants: *Ato Gibo Aero*, *Ato Tamene Feysa* and *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo.

³⁴ *Ibid*; Abeyu Käfale Archive, Bonga, Folder number 80/55, to *Fitawerari Zekariyas Takele Käfa Täqelay gezate meketeEnderase*,1956.E.C

advantages of being a patriot instead in the name of patriots the family of nobility were owned land.³⁵ However, one thing that marked the post-1941 period was that the government allowed part of the lands given to those individuals in the name of *maderiya* into their permanent possession. Thus, the post-1941 land policy of restored regime thoroughly altered it into a system of inalienable inheritable private property, which in turn facilitated the process of isolation and eviction of peasants of Na'ö from their land.³⁶

Regarding the situation, Lapiso G.Delebo illustrated that land became the question of wars and revolutions and land was unable to be the base of the peoples social progress and development rather it became the source of chaos. Hardships became the manifestation of Ethiopia's culture and system. The officials of the government in name of the people became chief exploiters. The government and the people became the two opposing forces, unable to live neither together nor alone. Hardships failed on the shoulder of the peasants.³⁷ As can be understood from documents and informants the land ownership and its serving in the transaction activity clearly indicate that in order to privately own land and to possess political and economic rights, one must be either land lord or member of the ruling class.³⁸

Parallel with the privatization process government was pre-occupied with its income from land. Therefore, in 1942 the first land tax was issued. As major steps to the modernization effort, these regulations were intended to end the old tributary system paid in kind. Thus, officials were prohibited from collecting taxes other than the one fixed by the state. The other purpose of 1942 proclamation was to establish a uniform rate of taxation. This focused on land taxation which forced to pay land tax in cash. Accordingly, the level of land was designated as *Läm* (cultivated), *Läm-täf* (semi cultivated) and *täf* (uncultivated land). The tax to be paid was fixed and based on these peasants should pay 15birr per *Gasha* for cultivated land, 10 for semi-cultivated land.³⁹

According to the informants, the amount of tax fixed for *Läm* (fertile land) was beyond the capacity of the peasants and the 1944 revision of land taxation which raised the taxation from 15

³⁵ Informants: *Ato Gibo Aero, Ato Tamene Feysa, Mëleräsha Dämese Bongo.*

³⁶ Informants: *Mëleräsha Dämese Bongo, Ato Alalo Yebo and Ato Gibo Aero.*

³⁷ Lapiso Ge.Delebo, *Yä Etiopia Yämekera gezi Na Yä Eritria teyaqe*(Addis Ababa, 1985),p.21.

³⁸ DWA, *file.no.1896*, letter written from kafa *awerajja* to Goba chara meselene issue regarding to give one *gasha* land to Gobeze Gäbereselase, *Hidar*4,1935 E.C.

³⁹ Informants: *Mëleräsha Dämese, Ato Tesefaye Kaito and Ato Gibo Aero; Asefa Gebrmariam;Pp.25-30*

to 50, 10 to 40 respectively further complicated the matter. *Tithe* was paid in cash, which used to be paid in kind in the past.⁴⁰ The Ministry of Finance selected *balabats* to measure the quantity of the harvest from each plot of land and to determine its fertility. They were also made responsible for the collection of *tithe*.⁴¹ Informant stated that, in such circumstances *balabats* of the Na'o area became beneficiaries in two ways. Firstly, they often underestimated the amount of harvest on their own land. Secondly, they collected more money from one *gasha* of fertile land than demanded by government. This enabled them to keep the remainder after they paid fixed birr to the Ministry of Finance. They gave some to local officials to keep them happy. Thus, they drained peasants to get more and more money. In addition to this, the *balabats* failed to pass money to the Ministry of Finance on time after they collected the taxes.⁴²

Sometimes, they even refused to give to the Ministry of Finance at all. The officials and the *balabats* were corrupted. They used the recurrent outbreak of disease and crop failure as pretext and government did not take any action. So, peasants of Na'o, most of whom already became tenants, were forced to work on the lands of landlords who possessed huge amount of land. Consequently, the land holders exploited the peasant labor in increased manner to produce cash crop. Indeed, under the *malkagna or naftagna* system, all possible mechanisms were applied to skim off the human and material resources.⁴³

Until 1940s unmeasured land was projected in terms of *Kurit gäbbar* units for purpose of taxation which was based on the number of families, animals and the quality of the soil. This would happen after the local peasantry were counted and distributed among soldiers and administrators as *gäbbars*. According to archival document and secondary sources, the first land measurement in Na'o area was begun in 1963 (1955E.C) and *Mêleräsha* Tebäbu Gäberäwold whom he was deputy administrator of Goba Chara *meketel wäräda gezate* was responsible for the measurement. The second round of Land measurement in Na'o area was conducted in 1960 E.C (1968) and *Ato Däbäbä Huluf* was responsible for the measurement. The unit of

⁴⁰Informants: *Ato Gibo Aero*, *Ato Tamene Feyisa* and *Ato Alalo Yebo*.

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²*Ibid.*

⁴³*Ibid*; Informants: *Ato Gizaw Yebo*, *Demese Bongo* and *Ato Gibo Aereo*.

measurement employed was the *gasha* and the instrument used to measure was a piece of rope called *qalad*.⁴⁴

Measured land was known alternatively as *gasha* land or *qalad* land. However, the measurement was not applied to all Na'ö land. As informants pointed out, even in the so-called measured lands, most of the land was not measured at all, being merely measured by eye, *gashas* determined in this way being referred to as *ayngamad* (eye rope). Then the local people were registered as *gebir amchi* (tax payer).⁴⁵ According to the archival document the land measurement of the time was characterized by corruption. For instance *Läm* (fertile land) was registered as *täf* (un fertile land). In contrast government did not take any measure against the corrupt officials and *balabats*.⁴⁶ Thus, people of Na'ö in post liberation passed through difficult years with full of challenges until the outbreak of revolution in 1974 . Some of these problems came from the administration, the nature of land tenure, increasing taxation's, outbreak of diseases and lack of infrastructures. This had devastating consequences that it increased peasant grievances and was the reason why the new land tax- proclamation was not fully implemented in Na'ö area.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Abeyu käfale, Bonga, folder No. 1951/35, Date *Hidar* 1/1935.E.C.; Abeyu kafale180/60, Ter 17/1960 E.C; Atenafu Miteku, p,63; Desalnge Därgaso ,p,70.

⁴⁵ Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Yäbo, *Ato* Gibo Aero and *Ato* Asäfa Gäbärmariam.

⁴⁶ Abeyu kafale... 32/56 & 158/56, *Lä Ethiopia Neguse negest mengest Kafa awerjja gezate Şefetbet*; receipt no. 00889, Model 157, sir.no U/4.

⁴⁷ Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Yebo, *Melerasha* Demese Bongo and *Ato* Gibeo Aero.

Chapter Four

Na’o during the *Därg* Regime (1974-1991)

4.1. Introductory Remark

Due to the outbreak of revolution in 1974 in pretext of stabilizing the country higher military officials from different army units organized themselves and began to lead the country calling as “revolutionary *Därg*” and put an end the imperial regime. The outbreak of the 1974 revolution resulted in sweeping changes in the system of political administration and land tenure. Politically, the revolution has not only brought an end to the long reign of Emperor Haile Silassie I but also the century’s long rule of the Solomonic dynasty.¹ Having put an end to the Monarchy the revolutionary *Därg* proclaimed itself the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC). Even though *Därg* faced stiff resistance by its assumption of power, it banned all strikes and demonstrations. For instance *Därg* executed 60 prominent figures of the old regime who had opposed *Därg* including *Lieutenant* general Aman Michael Andom.² After this *Därg* declared the initiation of *Edeget Beheberet Zämäčä* /Development through Cooperation Campaign/ to achieve the slogan of “*Ethiopia Tiqdem*” which was, the most significant slogan through which *Därg* caught the attentions of the people at the time.³

In order to implement the missions of the *Zämäčä*, teachers and students from universities and secondary schools were sent to the rural areas of the country in the name of *Yälwete Häwariyate* (“the gospels of changes”). According to different sources the aims of *Zämäčas* were to spread literacy and organizing peasant association in pretext of creating good condition for implementation of 1975 land reform. On contrary it was believed that it was designed by the government to remove its civilian opponents from the center of the country.⁴

¹ Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987: A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.74-80.

² *Ibid.*

³ Teferra Haileselassie, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1991, from a Monarchical Autocracy to a Military Oligarchy* (London and New York, 1997), pp.136-139

⁴ Bantayehu Demissew, p.37; Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Yäbo , *Ato* Gibo Aero and *Ato* Tämene Fäysya.

4.2. Response of Na'ο to *Därg* regime

Like other areas of Ethiopia, *Zämač* (campaigners) were assigned to *kafa awrajja* in general and *Decha Wäräda* in particular. According to informants Meseret and Mohamed were the first campaigners assigned to the Goba and arrived in Na'ο area in 1975 (1967E.C). The *Zämač* (campaigners) were intended to meet with the influential persons. Accordingly they made contacts with *Gerazmač (Goberasha)* Tämesgen Gäberselase (son of *Balambaras Gäbereselase*, the former *balabtes* of the area), *Garamanjo (Gerazmač)* Mäkuriya Bälay /traditional belief leader of the area and the former administrative agents. Their aims were to meet the peasants through these influential persons and aware the people about their mission.⁵ Initially, these individuals welcomed the *Zämač* and called people of the area at *Dishi* (former capital of *Goba Chara meketel Wäräda gezate*). Then campaigners began to aware the people by advocating the new government and negative impact of *Gäbbar nefetanga* and the oppressive rule of imperial regime. Campaigners were promised to redistribute land to the land less peasants by convincing as well as evicting land from land lords or *balabates*.⁶

Därg proclaimed land to tiller on March 1975 and all rural lands were nationalized. The proclamation abolished all private land holdings and allocated 10 hectares as maximum hold for a family. So, the poor Na'ο peasants expected to get fertile land. In hope of this, the campaigner as well as the newly established government got acceptance and welcomed by the Na'ο peasant (tenants). But, it was not as such easy for the militia group to take land from the *balabates* and from their family voluntarily. Though, it had acceptance from the peasants, the new military government faced stiff resistance from Na'ο *balabates*.⁷ According to informants *Goberasha/Gerazmač* Temesgen *Gebereselase* and his family, *Gerazmač* Mekuriya Belay and his two sons had large land tract in the area. While the campaigners promised to peasants of the area to redistribute land, they did not feel good about the new government land reform policy.⁸ The military government intended to spread literacy in the Na'ο land like to other areas of Ethiopia. To achieve this, government established one campaign center (*Zämäčä Tabiya*) at *Goba-Dishi* in Na'ο. In this campaign center all adult above 18 years old were obliged to come

⁵ Informants: *Melerasha Demese, Ato Alalo Yebo Ato Gibo Aero and AtoTämene Fäsya*.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Informants: *Ato Gäberesenbet Haile, Ato Gizaw Yäbo and Mëleräsha Dämese Bongo*.

⁸ *Ibid.*

and attain the program (*golemasa temhired*).⁹ Further to this with no difference based on race, sex, religion, nation and wealth, the regime witnessed the spread of education to Na'ò area. Moreover, the former tenant and occupational castes (“*anasa gosa*”) built confidence and were satisfied by the principle of equality of the regime and redistribution of land. They were active participants of the regime. But the government plan brought a series shocks to the *balabates* and spiritual leaders in Na'ò area. Because in this program the spiritual leader, *balabate* and occupational castes were forced to sit together on one chair in one house and eat in one dish.¹⁰

Even though the campaigners thought socialist ideology of equality of all human beings, and tried to create awareness of the people about impact of discrimination they were not successful in changing the attitude of *balabates*, traditional religious leaders and their family. In contrary they encountered resistance and opposition which resulted in execution of campaigners (*Zämač*) Meseret and Mohamed in 1975.¹¹ One of prominent example for this history was the case of *Garamnjo* (*Gerarämač*) Mäkuriya Bälay whom he was land lord and traditional belief leader of the area in pre-1974. According to informants, initially he was the first who welcomed the campaigners and he was active participant in gathering the people for the campaigners. Generally they argued that he had good relation with the *Zämačs* (campaigners) at the begging. Their harmonious relation encountered problem and changed to dispute when campaigners began teaching equality of human being versus social discrimination and when they promised to distribute land by evicting from land lords. The campaigners were forced him to eat with the occupational caste (Manjo clan) and allowed the *Manjo* to sit on his spiritual chair, which was untouchable by other person.¹²

It was during this time that the two sons of *Gerazämač* Mekuriya Belay called Telahun Mekuriya and Kidane Mekuriya antagonized by the action of *Zämač* Meseret and Mohamed. Since, they were following attentively; Telahun and Kidane brought their guns and rumbled on both campaigners. My informants' memory regarding this is fresh and they are irritated when they remember the situation. According to an eye witness of my informant *Mêleräsha* Demese Bongo, after they killed them they collected the dead bodies of the two *Zämačs* to grass house

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämesè Bongo, *Ato* Asefa Geberemariam and *Ato* Gizaw Yäbo.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Yäbo , *Ato* Gibo Aero and *Ato*Tämene Fäsya.

and burnt the house. My informants told me that it was difficult even to bury the dead bodies. Then, the two sons of *Gerazmač* Mekuriya Belay became bandit and began their resistance in 1975.¹³

Accordingly, their father *Gerazmač* Mekuriya Belay was arrested and taken to Bonga. Government sent message to Telahun and Kidane that their father could be killed unless they submitted to government. Later they submitted to government in fear of losing their father. According to informants it was *Hämesaleqa* Abäbä Woldegiyorgis who brought them to Bonga by promising they could not be killed rather they would be sent to Addis Ababa for training (*tahdeso*).¹⁴ However, they were detained in Bonga in August, 1975 and later taken to Addis Ababa and executed by military government on the way to Addis Ababa. Informants remembered that their execution was announced by radio.¹⁵

Due to their minor resistance the militia group categorized the youth and the influential persons of the area as members of kafa Liberation Front (KLF) and arrested and executed them. Among these who had large land tract in Na'o area, *Goberasha/Gerazmač* Temesgen *Gebereselase* of Na'o, who was *balabat* of the area until the down fall of imperial regime (1969-1974), was detained in Bonga and later killed by the military government around *Kentari* near Bonga Teacher Education College in 1975.¹⁶ *Gerazmač* Mekuriya Belay (traditional belief leader), *Ato* Gäbretsadik Shawo (the first Administrator of Decha *Wäräda* in 1974), Täräfe Gäbretsadik (Teacher), *Ato* Demssie Bekelle, *Ato* Asäfa Wäldemikael and *Ato* Adamu Gäberäselase (little brother of *Gerazmač* Temesegen Gäberäselase) were some remembered by my informants who were arrested and sentenced to death by militia group from Decha *Wäräda* in general and Na'o area in particular.¹⁷

¹³ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo, *Hämesaleqa* Abäbä Woldegiyorgis and *Ato* Abyeu kafale.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Informants: *Ato* Tamene Takele, *Ato* Asefa Gäbermariam and *Ato* Wärequ Wäldemariam.

¹⁶ Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo, *Ato* Gizaw Yäbo, *Ato* Gäberesenbet Haile., and *Hämesaleqa* Abäbä Wäldägiyorgis; Asefa Gebermariam, p.210.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*



Picture 1- *Gerazmač Tämäsegen Gäberäsélesi, balabates of Goba-Chara meketel wäräda gézate* from 1969 to 1974 E.C, executed by *Därg* in 1975, photo taken from gallery of *Hämésaléqa Aäbäbä*, April, 2019.

Until the late 1970s, the *Därg* regime made no reforms in the administrative structures of the country. The only new thing was the establishment of Peasant Associations that served as the lowest administrative bodies of the country below the *wäräda*.¹⁸ The administrative system was a little bit reorganized in late 1970s. As a result, the former *Täqalay Gezat* was replaced by the name *Kifile-Häger* and stayed agent of the central government. The *awrajjas* and the *Wärädas* were left as they were. The previous *meketel Wäräda gezate* was abolished and changed to *qäbälés*.¹⁹ In general, the military junta or *Därg* regime organized the Country in to 14 administrative regions (*Kifile-Häger*) and *Kifile-Häger* was divided in to 102 sub regions (*awrajjas*) and 556 districts (*Wärädas*).²⁰

Kafa *Kifile-Häger* was one of the administrative regions among the 14 and its administrative capital was Jimma, and the provincial town of kafa *awrajja* was Bonga. The area inhabited by Na'o people *Goba Chara meketel Wäräda gezat* was abolished and replaced in to Goba-Chara *qäbälé* PA under Decha *Wäräda* Peasant Associations. In the late 1980s, the *Därg* made another administrative reform in response to the question of “nationalities and regional autonomy”. It set up five “Autonomous Regions” and twenty five “Administrative Regions” in order to decentralize the administrative system. *Awrajja*’ was maintained as the second rank of administrative subdivision and *Wäräda*’ was abolished and Peasant Associations began to run

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹ Abeyu kafale..... 9/67, administrative reorganization of imperial government by *Därg*, from *Kefilager* to *täqalay gezat*, Date 3/7/1967E.c.

²⁰Bantayehu Demissew, p.35.

the administrative functions of *Wäräda*. The administrative reform of the late 1980s was made mainly for the administrative convenience and, the previous Decha *Wäräda* was upgraded to the rank of Decha *awrajja*, Chiri town (today its name is changed to Awerada capital of Decha *Wäräda*) served as the administrative capital of the *awrajja* until the coming to power of EPRD.²¹

4.3. Peasant Association and Land Reform in Na’o Area

Proclamation of land to tiller by Därg in 1975 was land mark and significance in contemporary history of Ethiopia in answering the basic question of 1974 revolution. The proclamation declared nationalization of all rural land and farm land of households over ten hectares. According to this legislation all privately owned lands by land lord were to be distributed to peasants. To implement the legislation, government established peasant association as organ of government from the top to local area. Everyone who would be settled within maximum of an eight-hundred-hectare area was obliged to form PA. Accordingly, these landless peasants, tenants, land lords with less than 10 hectares and occupational castes became members of PA.²²

The responsibility of organizing Na’o farmers in association was given for the campaigners. The PA was established at four levels of *qäbälé* (Sub-district), *Wäräda* (District), *aweajja* and at *kefelager* (province). Members at *qäbälé* level used to meet in a general assembly and select their own leaders among the members. All Peasant associations within *Wäräda* were delegate representatives of *Qäbälé* and each *qäbälé* would come together and form higher PA at *Wäräda* level and all higher PA at *Wäräda* level would come together and form PA at *Awrajja* level then form PA at *Kifele Häger*. Accordingly, *Decha Wäräda* was organized in to 64 PAs. Among these sixteen (16) associations were found in *Goba* area a place where Na’o people found.²³

Concerning the organ of peasant association it had three structures. General assembly (*Tekelala gubaye*) was the first organ of the association and it was responsible in making decision. The organ contains all members of the PA. The second organ was in charged with the implementation

²¹ Informants: *Ato Asefa Gäbermariam*, *Ato Feqere Gebere* (mayor of Bonga during Därg regime) and *Ato Gäbersenbet Haile* (the then Kefilager PA secretariat).

²² *Ibid*; Marcus, H. G, p.192.

²³ *Ibid*; Informants: *Ato Gäbersenbet Häile*, *Ato Abeyu kafale* (the then campaigner) and *Shambel Aserat Häile* (the then campaigner);DWA, file No. 83, Decha *Wäräda Şefetbet* to kafa *awrajjaşefet bet*, Date, 5/6/ 1972E.C.

of General Assembly's decision. The highest officer of this organ is called *leqemnber* (chairperson) and he/she was selected from members of General Assembly by the members. The other organ of the association was in charged with creating peaceful environment in the region. This organ was called *ferdshengo* (tribunal body). Nevertheless the security problem of the area was not solved.²⁴ Accordingly, *Ato Wäldägiyorgis Qocci* (1976 to 1978), *Ato Gibo Aero* (1978 to 1981), *Ato Mängesha Gindo* (1981 to 1983), *Ato Meday Gäbermikil* (1983 to 1985), *Ato Alemayu Abi* (1985 to 1987) and *Ato Gärkisho Häbtegiyorgis* (1987 to 1991) were *leqemnbers* of *Udda-Dishi* Peasant Association.²⁵ The leaders of PAs were responsible for the equitable redistribution of land within their jurisdictions and to convince the peasants under their jurisdiction to pay tax on time. However there was problem of tax collection in Na'ö area due to lack of infrastructure, security problem and unwillingness to pay tax.²⁶

4.4. Villagization Program and its Impacts on Na'ö

The 1984/85 famine and drought forced the military government to design new project of resettling peasant from the drought areas of northern and central Ethiopian to the fertile lands of south west Ethiopia. Accordingly, Decha *Wäräda* of kafa *awrajja* was one center of resettlement program. According to informants Mäligawa and Baskadiri Sub-districts of Decha *Wäräda* were resettlement sites where the northerners were settled during the time. Informants told me that except Mäligawa and Baskadiri most of PAs (*gäberemahebär*) of the Na'ö area were free from resettlement program. The informant insisted that it was because of security problem, continuous happening of epidemic disease and shortage of infrastructure that the area was free from the program.²⁷

Villagization program was popular than resettlement in Na'ö land and it was the villagization program, which was implemented in Na'ö land. The program in the study areas was put into operation in 1986/87. According to the then kafa *kifel-ager* PA secretariat *Ato Gäbersenbet Häile*, the mission of villagization was regrouping the scattered rural households in to new village. Here, relatively flat lands and open fields were used to construct new villages, which, in most cases, were located near to major roads. It was intended to distribute or expand social

²⁴Informants: *Ato Gäbersenbet Häile* and *Ato Feqere Gäbere* ; DWA, fill No.80,kafa *awrajja astedadär* to Decha *Wäräda astedadär* police *sefet bet, chiri*, 1971E.C.

²⁵ Informants: *Ato Gibo Aero*, *Ato Alalo Yebo* and *Melerasha Demese Bongo*.

²⁶*Ibid.*

²⁷ Informants: *Ato Gizaw Yäbo*, *Ato Gibo Aero* and *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo*.

services. Moreover, it was aimed to make the peasants participants of cooperative association. However, there was no cooperative association in Na'ò area rather they were forced to go to Chiri to get the commodity sold by PAs.²⁸

According to informants, however, villagization program was projected to afford social services like school, health center, water supply and infrastructures. There were no social services and infrastructures which were established after villagization program in the area. Rather the scarce infrastructures and social services in Na'ò area had been established before villagization program in 1971E.C (1979). So, the program had no sense of worth for the Na'ò both economically and socially. They provided low social services due to absence of infrastructures such as road transport, clean water and others in the area.²⁹ In contrary informants insisted that, villagization program in Na'ò area was intended to make peasants of the area under direct control of military junta because of their initial ferocious response to military government campaigners (*Zämač*). They believed that it was the execution of the campaigners by the two sons of *Gerazmač* Mekuriya Belay which brought “bad” program on them. According to the informants there were three well known collectivization sites in Na'ò area. These are *Uda-Dishi*, *Angela* and *Ogeya*. Having settled the villagers on those sites the government began to teach the peasants, adults, women and even children about the value and importance of socialism and the “brutality” of feudalism. So, collectivization program was one tool of the military government to achieve its political goal.³⁰

Informants argued that the aim of villagization program in Na'ò area was different from other areas of *kafa Awrajja*. According to them the aim of villagization program in other *kafa awrajja* areas was highly intended to achieve economic goal. Government assumed that the industrial sector could be developed by increasing agricultural product. To achieve this goal government began collectivization program. One of their arguments was before the program while peasants were settled sparsely it was difficult to expand infrastructure. Shortage of road and transportation was problem for farmer cooperatives to sell their product in market and factor for economic crises.³¹ So, villagization program in other areas of *kafa awrajja* was begun and government

²⁸ Informants: Ato Asefa Gäbermariam, *Mêleräsha* Dämese Bongo and Ato Gibo Aero.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Informants: Ato Gizaw Yäbo, AtoTämene Fäsysa and Ato Gibo Aero.

³¹ *Ibid.*

constructed road for selected village areas to transport agricultural products to market. So, villagization program in other areas of *kafa awrajja* was intended to achieve economic mission of the military government.³²

On the other hand villagization program in Na'ò area aimed to settle security problem of the area rather than getting economic benefit from the area. As the area was border of the Pastoral there was security problem in Meneit as it has been mentioned in chapter one. So, in addition to make them under direct control of military junta and it was aimed to enable the peasants to keep themselves and their property from the attackers and insurgents of the area.³³

Regarding the reaction of Na'ò to villagization program, it was characterized by both positive and negative responses. Concerning the positive response informants told me that in villagization program peoples were made to live together. Socialist ideology of equality forced the military government to set rules and regulations which enhanced social integration of all people including minority groups. So, villagization program of Na'ò area was made the occupational caste (*Manjo*) of the area and the highest social group of the area in one village.³⁴

Those occupational groups who lived away from the Na'ò village thanks to the program now settled to the next door of the Na'ò. Though, it was not the will of settlers, social segregation and cultural barriers were somehow artificially broken. It was during the *Därg* regime that the *Manjo* began to participate in formal and informal social institution like Idir, and others. They were participant and members of PA and Women Association. While the villagization program was land mark in creating social integration it had positive impact for the occupational groups and their response was positive for villagization program of *Därg* regime.³⁵

In contrary peasants of Na'ò refused the villagization program at the beginning as well as after settlement. According to informants this happened due to various reasons. The first one is initially peasants of Na'ò had no willingness to leave their former villages. From 1986 onward while the villagization committee organized at *qäbälé* (sub-District) level failed to convince the

³² Informants: *Ato Aefa Gäbermariam, Ato Täkalinge Shiferaw and Mèleräsha Dämese Bongo.*

³³ Informants: *Ato Gizaw Yäbo, AtoTämene Fäsya and Ato Gibo Aero.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid*; Van Halteren, B, "The Social-Cultural and Socioeconomic Position of the Manjo of Kaffecho-Shekacho Zone," Identification report (Bonga, 1996), pp.12-14; Informants: *Ato Kameto Keto* (from Manjo clan) and *Ato Gizaw Yäbo.*

farmers about the importance of villagization program, they began to uproot the peasants from their original settlements and forced the peasants to settle in the new villages. Though sources are scanty to know how many farmers were uprooted from their original villages, informants remembered the negative impact of the program.³⁶

In addition to agriculture their source of economy was based on gathering NTFP (None Timber Forest Product) Such as *Ogiyo* (*Aframomum corrorima/cardamom*), *Turfoo* (*Piper Capense/wild pepper*), honey and other product. So, if they left their original village they may lose income which they earned from these crops and other forest products. Above all, the farmers of Na'ö give cherished value for their garden plant called *enset* (false banana) on which their diet is depending. So, they were uprooted by losing all the above. Therefore instead of working for the success of the program, majority of the Na'ö farmers were looking alternative period to return to their original village.³⁷

In fact it was the resettlement and villegization program of the regime that changed the early social stratification of the country. For instance in resettlement program large number of people left their original area and moved to different regions of the country and began to live with indigenous people.³⁸ At the same time villagization program in Na'ö area during the *Därg* was artificially changed the socio-cultural integration of the *Manjo* (occupational caste group) and Na'ö. But the effort of creating social integration with occupational caste group encountered stiff resistance from the non-occupational caste group of the area since the program forced the superior and the inferior social groups to live together in one village. This did not get acceptance from the so called superior group. Due to problems mentioned above majority of Na'ö returned to their former village immediately after the down fall of military government in 1991.³⁹

³⁶ Informants: Ato Belay Bongo, Ato Berhanu Keto and *melerasha* Dämesse Bongo.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ YOSHIDA, O, "The Struggle against Social Discrimination: Petitions by the Manjo in the Kafa and Sheka Zones of Southwest Ethiopia" (*Nilo-Ethiopian Studies*, pp.1-19, 2013), p.8; Informants: Ato Ademasu Alemayhu, Ato Alalo Yebo and Gezaw Gäbere.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; Informants: Ato Aefa Gäbermariam, Ato Täkalinge Shiferaw and *Mëleräsha* Dämesse Bongo.

4.5. Expansion of Infrastructure and Social Institution to Na’o

Angela town was founded by the Na’o king called Gulli and became the administrative center of the kingdom. The town was remained as administrative seat of the imperialist regime without any significant development until Italian occupation. During their occupation Italians shifted the administrative center from Angela to Teppa near Dishi current administrative center of *Goba* District. The Italians also did not bring any development. In post liberation period Angela again became center of *Goba Chara mektele Wäräda gezate* until 1965 (1957 E.C.), when administrative center of *Goba Chara mektele Wäräda* was shifted from Angela to *Dishi* by *Balambaras* Gebereselase, *balabate* and *Gerazmač Mekonen, meselne* of *Goba chara*.⁴⁰

Informants raised two main reasons for the shift of administrative center from Angela to Dishi. The first is in addition to security problem Dishi is nearer to center of *awrajja* Chiri and Bonga. Due to this government officials faced challenge to collect tax and work other orders of government. The second one is government officers and their families continuously encountered malaria disease at Angela and they found the topography of Dishi better. Dishi remained as administrative center of *GobaChara Meketel Wäräda gezate* without any development of infrastructure and social institution until the coming to power of military government in 1974.⁴¹ The reorganization of administrative unit during the Därg regime abolished the former *Meketel Wäräda gezat*. Among these *Dishi* the former *Goba Chara Meketel Wäräda gezate* was demoted to (sub-district) *qäbälé* level. Yet the sign of development was seen during military regime.⁴²

Archival and other documents indicated that the construction of infrastructure and social institution in Na’o was started by military government from 1979 on ward. Among the infrastructure the road which connected *Chiri* (capital of *Decha Wäräda*) with *Dishi* (current capital of *Goba Wäräda*) was constructed in 1971E.c (1979). As informants clearly underscore, in construction of road *Meto Aleqa* Mataworq the then administrator of *Decha* took the initiatives in ordering the *qäbälé* administrators and *Agenange Mekonene* (officers who connect the people

⁴⁰ Informants: *Ato* Tamne Yohanes, *Ato* Alemayhu Ambo and *Ato* Gibo Aero.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Informants: *Mêleräsha* Dämesse Bongo, *Ato* Alalo Yebo and *Ato* Gäbersänbet Häile.

with the administrators) to clear the forest.⁴³ In reference to this one of archive of Decha *Wäräda* written in 1971E.C as follows:

....ከወረዳ ውረዕሰ ከተማ አስከጎባዲሺ ከተማ ያለውን መንገድ ከኢትዮጵያ ጊ/ወ/ መንግስት መጋቢት 1967 በወጣው አዋጅ መሠረት ለማስፈጸምና መኪና ለማስገባት በአዋቂ ተቀይሶ የወጣውን በአካፋና በደማ ለማስተካከል ስቸኩዋይ የሥራ ዘመቻ ለማድረግና በጥር 30/ 1971 ዓ.ም መ ኪና ዲሺ ከተማ እነዲባ በወረዳው አብዮትና ዘመቻ ኮሚቴስ ለተወሰነ ስራው ከጥር 15/5/1971 እስከ 25/5/1971 ተከታታይ ስራ ዘመቻ ተደርጎ ሕዝቡን በአጠቃላይ ሊቀመን በሮችና አገናኝ መኮንኖች ይዘው በስራ ቦታ እነዲገኙ.....⁴⁴

.... To 6 PA of Goba areas this is to announce you that the road from the town of Chiri (capital of Decha) to Dishu would be constructed on *Tire* 30/1971 (1979).

Accordingly, you have to mobilize the community for the duty....

Accordingly the road which connected Dishu with Chiri was constructed by man power in 1971E.c (1979) and car arrived *Dishu* town for the first time. Before the construction of this road the people of *Na'ö* suffered from lack of transportation for a long period of time. Though the area was cash crop area their trade activity was limited to the local market, it was difficult to transport their product to *Wäräda and awrajja* market centers. The problem of infrastructure not only affected free movement of the people but also it was challenge for government to control the security problem which happened around the area. While, newly constructed road began to connect Dishu with Chiri and Bonga problem of peasant and government itself minimized.⁴⁵ The introduction of modern education to *Na'ö* land was recent phenomena. It was in 1971E.C (1979) that the first elementary school was established in Dishu Town. Though the school was constructed students' enrollment was meager and dropout cases were numerous. Students who succeeded completing their elementary education often went to Bonga to pursue and complete their secondary education until 2005 E.C. Although primary school was opened in *Chiri* in 1963E.C, until 1998 there was no secondary school. Like that of *Na'ö* area students who accomplished their elementary school went to Bonga to follow secondary education.⁴⁶ Like other social services the provision of health care service was also underdeveloped, having an impact on both humans and their livestock. In 1971E.C (1979) the first health center was established in Dishu but lacked personnel and medicine.⁴⁷ However, health related problems as

⁴³ Atenafu Miteku, p.68.

⁴⁴ DWA, folder No 168/71, Order of mobilization letter to the *qäbälé* administrators from district PA office, Date, 2/5/1971EC.

⁴⁵ Informants: *Ato* Gizaw Yäbo, *Ato*Tämene Fäsya and *Hämesalqa* Abäbä Geberegiyorgis.

⁴⁶ Informants: *Ato* Ademasu Alemayhu, *Ato* Alalo Yebo and Gezaw Gebere; Asefa G/mariam, p.17.

⁴⁷ Informants: *Ato* Gezaw Yäbo , *Ato* Gibo Aero and *Melerasha* Dämesse Bongo.

the result of the frequent outbreak of epidemic diseases complicated the life of peasants. The 1978/79 outbreak of epidemic diseases in the area killed many people and it was the worst in *Goba* area.⁴⁸ Informants insisted that Peasants were forced to contribute labor, money and time for any developmental activity of the area until 1991.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ DWA, File no 688/1970, letter of order from Decha Wäräda health center to *chiri* health center to control outbreak of epidemic disease in Goba Chara area, Date 30/8/1970E.C.

⁴⁹ Informants: *Ato* Gibo Aero (the then kebele administrator), *Ato* Tamene Takele and *Ato* Alalo Yäbo.

Chapter Five

Some Cultural Aspects and Interaction of Na'ö with their neighbors

5.1. Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms of Na'ö

The Na'ö people had their own traditional conflict resolution mechanism called *Shuna* being practiced since ancient period of time. Since the society settled along the clan affinity, minor disputes are resolved by elders of the area. Problem solved by the elders is ended with warning and compensation. If disputes were not settled by the elders, it would transfer to clan leaders. According to the informants, there are many reasons that facilitated dispute among the people of Na'ö as well as their neighbors. They believed that the disputes are categorized under economic and social issues. Economic causes of dispute among the Na'ö are agricultural land border dispute, looting of cattle, beehives... etc. On the other hand, abduction of girls and disputes among clans are some social causes.⁵⁰

Their conflicts which are mainly resulted from competition over natural resources and abduction could be solved by their conflict resolution committee called *turbabisiyab/babusiyab*. This committee is manned by three to five people and headed by one of the members of the committee. *Kaiyazu* (the clan leaders) are responsible in organizing the committee. To be member of the conflict resolution committee one should have *duma* (a bracelet) inherited from his father to express as he is possessed by the spirit of his father. Women cannot be members of the committee but they can be governed by it.⁵¹ The crime investigation process of the conflict resolution committee depends on the nature and depth of the conflict between the accused and accuser (*tagibab*). The committee has its own traditional militia called *turgena* caring a stick given from the *kaiyazu* or leader. The stick indicates the accused person that the *turgena* is sent from the *kaiyazu*. Therefore, in fearing the spirit of the *kaiyazu* or the clan leader, the accused

⁵⁰ Bisrat and Alemayehu, pp.25-26; Informants: *Mëleräsha* Dämese Bongo, *Ato* Ademasu Ekalo and *Ato* Getachew Meshesha.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

person directly moves to the traditional court with the *turgena*. The committee investigates the committed crime by using different mechanisms including eyewitness evidences (*mixxa*).⁵²

If there is shortage of evidences and eyewitnesses, the *kaiyazu* invites the clan leader whose spirit is feared by the accused and the accuser. According to the tradition of the Na'ò, families of the accuser and the accused persons will die if they lie in front of the *kaiyazu*. Therefore, the accused person tells the truth to the committee and he/she will be penalized by the committee based on the crime he/she committed. The penalty also differs based on the degree of crime committed.⁵³ For instance those, who come into conflict and committed minor crimes which are related to natural resources is mostly penalized by offering oxen or bulls. On the other hand, those who committed sever crime like killing of person may be penalized the so called *cuushu*.⁵⁴

The Na'ò people also have their own dramatic tradition of resolving conflicts which are resulted into loss of life which is known as *cuushu* (types of penalty) . Sometimes people committed killing of others mainly due to abduction. According to informants, the one who kills other person immediately moves into other areas by crossing rivers. He requested the clan leader of the area to which he moved to negotiate with families of a person he killed. Therefore, the requested clan leader or the *kiyazu* arranged negotiation session with the deceased relatives.⁵⁵

To resolve the conflict, families of the killer are expected to prepare a sheep or cattle to be slaughtered and a girl to be married by one of the deceased family. A heifer (young cow) is also given to the deceased family. On negotiation day, both families of the killer and the deceased move to river together with the leader of the two clans (the deceased clan and clan in which the killer hosted). After the two families gathered on the two sides of the river, there are two practical and dramatic events. Firstly, the *kaiyazu* held a banana steam on the river course and one of the deceased families shoots the steam by spear to express as they are stratified by killing the evil that led them into conflict. The second dramatic event is the two sides of the intestine of the slaughtered sheep are held by *kaiyazus* of the two clans who stand on both sides of the river.

⁵²*Ibid.*

⁵³*Ibid*; *Ye Debub Bhir Bhiresbochna Hizeboch Mekerbet*,p,182.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*

⁵⁵*Ibid*; Informants: *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo, Ato Ademasu Ekalo and Ato Getachew Meshesha.*

Thus all families' members come and back four times through the intestine of a slaughtered sheep or cattle.⁵⁶

Finally, the *kaiyazu* cuts the intestine and lets it to be taken away by the river with the steam of the false banana. Therefore, the two families express their happiness by the negotiation. As a conclusion of their negotiation families of the deceased person move to their house with the given heifer and a girl who is expected to be delivered and to replace their son. If the two families have blood relation and could not establish marriage alliance, the girl will marry to other clan member who can provide wealth pride for families of the deceased person.⁵⁷ Serious issues and matters which are not settled by both *turbabisiyab* and *kaiyazus* were transferred to spiritual leaders called *Gäramnjo*. *Gäramnjo* is a traditional belief leader of Na'o and the neighbors and it is the highest possession cult of Na'o.⁵⁸

Unlike the spirit of Kaffecho traditional religious believers *Eqqoo* the spirit of Na'o is "Qay". A person on whom, this spirit possessed, is called *Gäramanjo*. This spirit *Gäramnjo* is believed to be a gift of prophecy. So, he plays a vital role in dispute resolving which happened among members of "Qay" followers and supposed to have solution for any conflict. Accordingly the highest power of resolving conflict among the Na'o is *Gäramanjo*.⁵⁹ Unique characteristics of Na'o traditional conflict resolving mechanism was the involvement of spiritual leaders as it was believed that the violation of decision of traditional religious leader may cause illness and death. Due to this, the decision passed by *Gäramnjo* would be the final and has no appeal. According to the informants even dispute which solved by the formal judicial court is seen by *Gäramnjo* to make the reconciliation more sustainable and to minimize revenge.⁶⁰

However the traditional conflict resolving mechanisms are getting declining and their contribution for conflict resolving is minimizing due to different reason. Bisrat Gebru argued that modernization and globalization are causes for the declining of traditional conflict resolving

⁵⁶ Informants: *Mëleräsha* Dämese Bongo, *Ato* Tamene Feysa and *Ato* Alemayhu Ambo; Bisrat and Alemayehu, p.27.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid*; *Ye Debub Bhir Bhiresbochna Hizeboch Mekerbet*, p.182.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*; Lange, [*Bench*] *remnants*.....p.108.

⁶⁰ Informants: *Ato* Gibo Aero, *Wäyezzero* Wäyinitu Bälay and *Ato* Tamne Fäyisa.

mechanism.⁶¹ Beside this informant claimed that the main cause for the declining of traditional conflict resolving mechanism is the expansion of new mode of religion in which the indigenous religious process face problem from the non-followers of “*Qay*” who detested and regarded the followers as backward.⁶²

5.2. Traditional Belief and Forest Conservation Mechanism among Na’o

Though kafanization policy of kafa kingdom had detrimental effect on the traditional beliefs, of Na’o, few of former religious system have survived in form of possession cults. The Na’o beliefs in Supreme Being of the Spirit called *Yeer* (the sky-god). According to informants *Yer* is the creator of every living and non-living thing. The spirits of Na’o are divided in to two: the Spirit of *Qäwala* (earth spirit) and the Spirit of “*Qay*” (ancestral spirit). The spirit medium of both “*Qay*” and *Qäwala* is *Gäramnjo* (a title given for traditional belief leader). So, *Gäramnjo* is the spirit of traditional religion and the highest possession cult of the Na’o. The follower of *Gäramnjo* spirit is widely known in organizing festival by scarifying and giving gift to *Gäramnjo*.⁶³

The ritual celebration of *Gäramnjo* cult was celebrated at *Gäramnjo* spirit house called *Kay’i* which is traditionally constructed by *Shäshina* (*Cyathea manniana*) wood in the dense forest. The annual ceremony of *Gäramnjo* spirit was held during *Gänna and Mädekamo* (Christmass and Easter). During this occasion the followers are expected to give gifts like bull, goat, sheep or money to *Gäramnjo*. It was believed that if the gift is not presented, the person will get ill and death. The connotation behind the ceremony held at the time of *Gänna* was that it is a time of harvesting cereal crops like *teff* (*Gacco*), sorghum (*zanga*) and other crops.⁶⁴ According to the informants if the new harvest was tested before bless of *Gäramnjo*, it may cause illness and death. Accordingly the followers of *Gäramnjo* spirit bring bull and *Gäbezu* (local beer) which is made from the newly harvested crop. Subsequently, the bull would be slaughtered and the meat

⁶¹Bisrat Gebru, “Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms in kafa Society Of Ethiopia” (*Üniversitepark Bülten, Bulletin, Volume 7, Issue 2, Pp. 128–142, 2018*), p.134.

⁶² Informants: *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo, Ato Ademasu Ekalo and Ato Getachew Meshesha.*

⁶³ Informants: *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo, Wäyizero Baroge Habetemariam and Ato Alemayhu Ambo.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

and the *Gäbezu* served to *Gärmanjo*, he blessed and tested it then after which the participants take it according to their age.⁶⁵

Spiritual values are concerned with beliefs that forests are considered as spiritual spaces; ancestral spirits rest in wilderness; a belief that forests needs to be respected. Sacred landscapes involve beliefs that forests are considered sacred where human activities are restricted and exclusively reserved; except for certain individuals on certain occasions. This promotes conservation of biodiversity.⁶⁶

In forests of Na'ö area there are parts of forest patches that people associate themselves spiritually. The association is demonstrated by periodic thanks giving at sacred sites to that particular community. Despite their cultural assimilation; the people of Na'ö have indigenous knowledge of forest conservation called *Qäwala Shawa* and *Bamba* or *Qaaye*.⁶⁷ The Na'ö community describes *Qäwala* from different points of view. The first one is that in Na'ö *Qäwala* is believed to be forest dwelling spirit. In some cases, *Qäwalais* supposed to have live in the rocks, passageways and most revered streams. In general it is forest spirit. According to their tradition it looks like human beings inhabited in forests of the specific compound. The community perceives that all things, soil, water, land and domain found in the forest belong to *Qäwala* and a practice associated with the product of harvest and it is the actions performed in terms of family groups or clan.⁶⁸

Bamba or *Qäy* is sacred arrangement of family or kinship worship forest set aside within private compound. It is locally called *Bamba* or "*Qay*" which is related with *Guudo* of Kaffecho. Here the believers are descendants of traditional belief leaders i.e. *Gärmanjo* and it literarily means a person with traditional spirit called "*Qay*".⁶⁹

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Terborgh. J, "Overcoming impediments to conservation" (*Making Parks Work*, 2002, pp. 243-249), p.240.

⁶⁷ Informants: *Ato Gizaw Yäbo* and *Ato Gibo Aäero*; KCT, *Bunoo Magazine*, *Qetse 1 nouber 10 Mägabit* Special Edition, (Addis Ababa, 2003), P. 40.

⁶⁸ Informants: *Ato Gizaw Yäbo*, *Ato Gibo Aäero* and *Mêleräsha Dämese Bongo*: According to traditions of Na'ö *Qawala* means spirit; *Shawa* means 'soil' the whole phrase means an offering to the fertility spirit.

⁶⁹ Zegeye W/Mariam, "Change and continuity in the indigenous institution of Qoollee deejjoo ritual practice and its role in forest resource management among the Kafecho: The case of Gimbo *Wäräda*" (*African Journal of History and Culture*, pp.15-26, 2017), p.18; Käbäde Seyiume ena Shewabäkinge Lakewe, p. 3.

The Na'os considered *Gäramanji naayo* as an important traditional institution for forest resource and conflict management. The values and respect of people attach mostly to their natural environment and especially the forest lands originate from amalgamation of these age-old traditional religious beliefs in forest spirits. This close attachment to nature might be ascribed to their belief in the interaction of the sky God (*yer*) and the earth God (*Qäwala*).⁷⁰ In order to prevent the happening of crop failures, they perform an annual ritual sacrifice ceremony for their forest spirit known as *Qawala, and maay* which are accountable for the natural and man-made devastation.⁷¹ In both cases ceremony practicing areas are sticky forests due to taboos. Here the *Gäramnjo* can enter in to the forest, but it is not allowed for ordinary or followers to inter to the forest.⁷²

However, globalization and modernization minimized the effectiveness of traditional forest conservation mechanism of the area. According to Moges Tekele and informants as a result of Movement of people from outside the area who have no knowledge and esteem for traditional system of the area, some tree species that could not be used for firewood can be used due to carefree attitude nowadays. The other problem threatening use of local knowledge in conservation is modernization. Modernization has affected youths as it does not regard the local traditional institution. Consequently, the declining knowledge in conservation practices would have negative effect on the conservation perceptions among the younger generations.⁷³

5.3. The Interaction of Na'os with Their Neighbors

The Na'os were part of the big pre-sixteenth century Gonga population that stretched from the Gibe-Omo River in the East to the edge of the Western Ethiopian escarpment.⁷⁴ The Na'os had the experience of both hostile and peaceful relation with their neighbor states and peoples.⁷⁵ Though written document lacked information about relation of Na'os and Kaffecho in the past, informants stated that they practiced harmonious relation with the people of Kaffecho until now

⁷⁰ Informants: *Mëleräsha* Dämesse Bongo, *Wäyizäro* Asägedech Ekalo and *Ato* Käbäde Gobäna.

⁷¹ Informants: *Ato* Tämene Fäsysa, *Ato* Adäeto Bäyne and *Ato* Agedew Demeqe.

⁷² *Ibid*; Käbäde Seyiume ena Shewabäkinge Lakewe, p.55.

⁷³ Moges Tekle, "Challenge and opportunities of community based participatory forest resource management practice in Ethiopia: The case of *Gimbo Wäräda,kafa* Zone, SNNPRS"(MA thesis, Hawassa University, Department of Governance and Development studies,2017),p.13; Bunno Magazine, pp.41-42; Informants: *Mëleräsha* Dämesse Bongo, *Wäyizäro* Asegedech Ekalo and *Ato* Käbäde Gobena.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*; Bender, M. L, pp.150-153.

⁷⁵ Lange, [*Bench*] *remnants* ... p.66.

and the relation of their nominal king with kingdom of kafa experienced hostile relation since ca.1890s.⁷⁶

The first wave of relation of Na'ò with kafa was begun with conquest and settlement. The people of Na'ò had inhabited the area before the Kafceho's arrival and settlement in the area. Later on after the incorporation of the area under kingdom of kafa, the Kaffecho had begun to settle in the land of Na'ò. Lange argued that the main indication for their harmonious relation was there were no force full interaction and there were no trench between the two nations. In addition there was no "Chabara" (toll keeper) along the border. In contrary there were trench and "chäbara" between Men'n (Menit) and the Na'ò part of kingdom of kafa border, south and West Omo River.⁷⁷ Having marriage alliance with its neighbors was one mechanism of kafa kingdom to make harmonious relation and trade alliance. Accordingly, King *Galli Sharochi of kafa* who ruled the kingdom ca.1868-1890 had married the daughter of *Nayikiyaz Bula/Gula* and vice versa to make the relation harmonious and consistent.⁷⁸

The above close social and political relation got a little bit hostile during the subjugation of kafa kingdom by Emperor Menilike II in 1897. According to sources their hostility began with divorce of kafa royal Na'ò marriage. The main cause for the hostility was the permeation given by *Gobe Rasha Gulli* (Administrator of Na'ò area and who become *Fitawrari* Gäbremedin after conquest) to *Ras Wäldegiyorgis*, warrior of Menelik II to cross the border and assisted him to travel to *Anderacha* (residence of kings of kafa kingdom).⁷⁹ Even though, such confrontation was existed at state level, the ethnic relation of both Nao and Kaffecho is still strong. The social stigma of the past Nao- kafa relation is now shaped and their strong social-cultural and economic interaction being continued.⁸⁰

Sources are scarce regarding the relation of Na'ò and Chara despite their geographical proximity. According to Atenafu, the Na'ò and Chara had experience of harmonious relation which existed until the present. The indication of their peaceful relation is that their

⁷⁶ Informants: *Ato Adäeto Bäyne*, *Dämesè Bongo* and *Ato Gizaw Yäbo*.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*; Lange, [*Bench*] *remnants*..... p.68.

⁷⁸ Bekele W/Mariam, *The history of kingdom of kafa: The birth place of coffee 1390-1935* (Addis Ababa, 2010) pp, 142-143; Informants: *Ato Adäeto Bäyne*, *Dämesè Bongo* and *Ato Gizaw Yäbo*.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*.

⁸⁰ Informants: *Mêleräsha* *Dämesè Bongo*, *Ato Asefa Geberemariam* and *Ato Feqere Gebere*.

neighborhood interaction, the same geographical location and administrative system of former kafa administrative province and the present kafa zonal administrative structure of Goba District. The religious belief and practice is their unique feature that they worship a common ancestral spirit called *Gäramanjo*.⁸¹ Informants stated that marriage alliance, trade relation, cattle exchange and mutual alliance to fight their enemy are good relations that they experienced through their life. In contrast these people came into hostility in rare instances due to territorial and grassland enlargement and abduction of girls.⁸²

Regarding the relation of Na'ö with the people of *Men'n* ("*Shuro*"), oral tradition indicates that the people of Na'ö had both hostile and positive relationship. Yet, commonly their interaction with the people of *Men'n* is characterized by hostile relation. The main cause for their hostile relation is stated in different ways by my informants. Informants of Na'ö explained that the cause of hostility was looting of animals by the *Men'n* ("*Shuro*") pastoralists.⁸³ On the other hand other informants contend that the cause of conflict was related with a repeated attempt of Na'ö ruler under kafa kingdom to subjugate small state of *Men'n* and other small groups to make their tributaries.⁸⁴

However, Lange argued that their cause of conflict was economic rather than politics. According to him; it was extremely dangerous for the Na'ö to enter to the land of Me'en for fishing. He stated that ca. 200 Na'ö men were traveling through northern Chara community to Sharma River for expedition of fishing and if the Na'ö went to fish in smaller group the Me'en may kill them.⁸⁵ Informants also agreed on the idea of Lange. So, some one can understand that the cause of their conflict with *Men'n* ("*Shuro*") was competition to exploit the rare economic resource.⁸⁶

⁸¹Atenafu Mitiku, pp.39-40; Lange, [*Bench*] remnants, P. 67; Informants: Ato Gizaw Yäbo and Ato Gibo Aero.

⁸²*Ibid*; Informants: Ato Tekle Luti, Ato Adeto Bāyene and Ato Tāmene Fāsya.

⁸³ Informants: Ato Adeto Byene, Ato Ashenafi Alemu and Mēlerāsha Dāmese Bongo.

⁸⁴ DWA, Folder No, 140, Conflict occurred at Goba chara, Date, 1/13/1971 E.C; Informants: Mēlerāsha Dāmese Bongo Ato Alalo Yäbo and Ato Gibo Aero.

⁸⁵ Lange, [*Bench*] remnants...p.68.

⁸⁶ Informants: Mēlerāsha Dāmese Bongo, Ato Alalo Yäbo and Ato Gibo Aero.

Conclusion

The Na'ο hardly exists any longer as people due to their assimilation by kafa have their own historical background. But, annexation of small kingdom by the dominant one resulted in loss their autonomous existence, since they had their own king. Yet, the kafa claim that the Na'ο and their territory was one of the eighteen provinces as *Gobe rasha* in which Na'ο leader had sovereign right over it. The annexation of Na'ο kingdom into kafa realms in the mid-19th century led to complete absorption of the Na'ο people and their land into the kafa polity. In addition to this the annexation involved the replacement of the indigenous social group by conquerors social grouping convinced of its destiny to rule. The contemporary Na'ο are very few in number and live in three linguistically different places that affected their language and culture strongly. The language of Na'ο is called *NA'yi Noonee* which is grouped under Omotic languages. According to different documents, the Language status of Nayi is threatened with extinction. So, concerned body should work hard to save it.

Like other parts of Southwest part of Ethiopia, Na'ο land was conquered by the Shewan force at the last quarter of 19th century. It was Emperor Menilek's force under *Ras Wäldägiyorgis* that conquered Na'ο land which was part of the kingdom of kafa without any resistance from *Gobe Rasha* Gulli (Governor of Na'ο) during the conquest. In need of better administrative system the Na'ο ruler and peasants of the area failed to resist the invading forces of Emperor Menilek II. Evidently the Na'ο leaders saw an opportunity to reap greater profits from the new Amhara conquerors by cooperating with Amhara against the kafa suzerain kings. However, the lot hard-pressed Na'ο people, hardly improved following conquest of the area. Moreover with the introduction of administrative system the subjects highly suffered in paying heavy taxation and from harsh administrative system. So, the subject didn't get the newly administrative system as they expected. Most of the Na'ο informants remember the harsh rule of *neftegna* leader after their submission up to Italian invasion. Though it did not improve the living standard of the people, the *Na'ο* regarded Five year (1936-1941) Italian period as liberation from the hard Shewan rule. The Italian eliminated the manipulative *gäbbar-naftagna* system.

The Na'ο found the period of Italian occupation less oppressive than that of the imperial regime. However, although Italians abolished the *nefetenga gebar* system, their rule in Na'ο area was characterized by harsh treatment and the people were forced to give labor service for any activity

of their army. 1941 was a year of the evacuation of the Italians from Ethiopia and the return of Emperor Haile Sellassie I to power. Moreover the post liberation period was characterized by complete political domination of the *nefetengas* over the local people. Almost all of the governors at the top were the *naftannas*, either in *awrajja*, *wäräeda* or *meketel wäräda* level. One of the major features of post liberation was land privatization. Land was distributed to patriots, exile and civil servants in order to get support from the masses and it was possible to sale land. This led to the concentration of land in the hands of the few rich individuals, which resulted in the expansion of tenancy. For instance *Garmanjo (Gerazmač)* Mekuria Belay, *Gerazmač* Temesgen Gäberselasi and their family were landlords in Na'o area. Due to this peasants of Na'o became landless tenants. The farmers were forced to pay tax in kind and cash along with labour service. Thus, the people of the area had grievance and resistance led by *Gerazmač* Pawlos and continued until 1974 revolution.

The military regime got acceptance and welcomed by the Na'o tenants not only for their liberation from the oppressive imperial regime but also brought a basic change in the socio-cultural aspects. Moreover, the former tenants and occupational castes ("*anasa gosa*") built confidence and satisfied by the principle of equality of the regime and redistribution of land. They were active participants of the regime. Illiteracy was eradicated through the cooperation campaign. Further to this with no difference based on race, sex, religion, nation and wealth, the regime witnessed the spread of education to the area. Yet, villagization program and its teaching of equality of human being and social integration brought more series shocks to *balabats* and land lords of the Na'o area than other areas of *kafa awrajja*. Moreover, the resistance resulted in the execution of Na'o *Goberasha (Gerazmač)* Temesgen Gebereselase who was *balabat* of the area until the down fall of imperial regime as well as *Garamnjo (Gerazämač)* Mekuriya Belay a spiritual leader of Na'o area and his two sons Telahun Mekuria and Kidane Mekuriya.

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List of oral Informants

No	Name of informants	Age	Place of interview	Date of interview	Remark
1.	Abäbä Gäberegiyorgis, (<i>Hamesaleqa</i>)	72	Bonga	3/7/2011E.C	From kafecho. He has good information about the reaction of Na'ö to Därg regime.
2.	Abeyu Käfale (<i>Ato</i>)	62	Bonga	8/7/2011E.C	From Kafecho. He has deep knowledge on the period Därg regime.
3.	Ademasu Alämayhu (<i>Ato</i>)	56	Udaa-Dishi	11/5/2011E.C.	His Knowledge about cultural of Na'ö was important.
4.	Ademasu Atumo (<i>Ato</i>)	63	Bonga	15/4/2011E.C.	From Kafecho. He is well known elder.
5.	Ademasu Eekalo (<i>Ato</i>)	45	Uda-Dishi	26/5/2011E.C	He is a good farmer and His Knowledge about cultural of Na'ö was important.
6.	Adeto Bäfte (<i>Ato</i>)	48	Angela	21/4/2011E.C	He is an experienced informant.
7.	Agedew Dämeqe (<i>Ato</i>)	40	Angela	21/4/2011E.C	He has some information about cultural of Na'ö people.
8.	Alalo Yebo (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Udda-Dishi	11/5/2011E.C.	He belongs to Na'ö Bushasho clan.
9.	Alämayhu Alalo(<i>Ato</i>)	45	Udda-Dishi	12/5/2011E.C.	He is a farmer.
10.	Alämayhu Ambo (<i>Ato</i>)	63	Udda-Dishi	12/5/2011E.C	He is skilled farmer.
11.	Alämayhu Bongo (<i>Ato</i>)	60	Bonga	13/4/2011E.C	A merchant and provided me information about social stratification of Na'ö and their conquest.
12.	Asäfa Alämayhu (<i>Ato</i>)	54	Bonga	14/4/2011E.C	From Kafecho. He has valuable information about the conquest of Na'ö by kafa

					Kingdom.
13.	Asäfa Gäbermariam (<i>Ato</i>)	64	Bonga	12/4/2011E.C.	From Kafecho. He is experienced informant.
14.	Aserat Haile (<i>Shambel</i>)	49	Bonga	9/7/2011E.C	He was campaigner (<i>Zämac</i>) during Därg.
15.	Ashenafi Alämu (<i>Ato</i>)	36	Bonga	12/4/2011E.C.	From Chara. He is government official worked at SNNPR FM radio Bonga branch. Members <i>Chara</i> . He provided me information about the relation of Na'o and Chara people.
16.	Aswedch Eekalo (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	40	Angela	10/5/2011E.C.	A farmer and she provide valuable information about traditional belief of Na'o.
17.	Alämu Ato (<i>Awerasha</i>)	82	Bonga	3/7/2011E.C.	He was one of the local chief in Decha area during imperial period. Has valuable information about the reaction and resistance of Na'o to imperial government.
18.	Baroge Habetemariam (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	38	Angela	10/5/2011E.C.	A farmer and she provide valuable information about traditional belief of Na'o.
19.	Bälay Bongo(<i>Ato</i>)	57	Bonga	3/7/2011E.C.	He provided me valuable information about Na'o .
20.	Berhanu Keto (<i>Ato</i>)	55	Angela	10/5/2011E.C.	He is a farmer and afforded me information about Na'o during Därg regime.

21.	Dämesse Bongo (<i>Mêleräsha</i>)	76	Bonga	11/4/2011E.C.	He is a well-known elder. Particularly his eyewitness information about the execution of campaigner Meseret and Mohamed by Telahun and Kidane Mekuria is vital to develop history of Na'ö During Därg regime.
22.	Feqere Gäbere (<i>Ato</i>)	61	Bonga	3/7/2011E.C.	From Kafecho. He was mayor of Bonga town during Därg period and provided me information about Na'ö during the Därg regime.
23.	Gäbersenbet Haile (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Bonga	5/7/2011E.C	From Kafecho. He was <i>kafa Kefelager</i> PA secretariat during Därg and he provided me information about Villigaization program and its challenge in <i>Decha Wäradä</i> particularly <i>Goba</i> area.
24.	Gerima Kidane (<i>Ato</i>)	65	Bonga	5/7/2011E.C	He is descendants of the ruling family of Kafa has valuable informant about the resistance and reaction of patriots in kafa.
25.	Getachew Mäshäseha (<i>Ato</i>)	42	Angela	10/5/2011E.C.	A Farmer and has good information about traditional conflict resolution mechanism.
26.	Gezaw Gebere. (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Uda-Dishi	13/5/2011E.C	He is a knowledgeable farmer.
27.	Gezaw Yebo(<i>Ato</i>)	75	Uda-Dishi	14/5/2011E.C	He is a skilled farmer.
28.	Gibo Aero (<i>Ato</i>)	80	Uda-Dishi	13/5/2011E.C	He was chairman of Dishi PA during Därg.
29.	Kameto Keto (<i>Ato</i>)	52	Bonga	10/7/2011E.C.	He is government official and member of <i>Manjo</i> clan.
30.	Kebede Gobena (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Ogeya	17/5/2011E.C.	A Farmer and has valuable information about Na o.
31.	Tamene Fäysa (<i>Ato</i>)	75	Uda-Dishi	13/5/2011E.C.	A farmer who provided

					information about the interaction of Na'ö with the neighbors.
32.	Tamene Takele, (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Angela	11/5/2011E.C	A farmer, who provided significant information about reaction of Na'ö to restored imperial government.
33.	Tamne Yohanes (<i>Ato</i>)	73	Uda-Dishi	14/5/2011E.C.	He is a skilled farmer.
34.	Täkalinge Sheferaw, (<i>Ato</i>)	71	Bonga	14/4/2011E.C.	From Kafecho. A farmer and he is an acknowledged informant,
35.	Taye Ado (<i>Ato</i>)	68	Bonga	8/6/2011E.C.	He was teacher. Has information about the resistance of Na'ö to Därg regime.
36.	Täkelie Luti (<i>Ato</i>)	58	Uda-Dishi	14/5/2011E.C.	Member of Chara nationality which provided valuable information about the relation of Na'ö and Chara people.
37.	Wäynitu Belay (<i>Wäyzäro</i>)	42	Angela	10/5/2011E.C.	She is a farmer. Her information about traditional belief of Na'ö is valuable.
38.	Wäräqu Alämu, (<i>Ato</i>)	38	Bonga	8/6/2011E.C.	Experts of government office who afforded information for the study.
39.	Wärequ Wäldämariam (<i>Ato</i>)	57	Bonga	8/6/2011E.C.	He is working in KZCTSD and has a good knowledge from the conquest to the downfall of Därg.
40.	Yohanes Yäsho (<i>Ato</i>)	73	Bonga	7/7/2011E.C.	He was a teacher. He has a good knowledge.

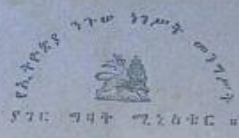
Glossary

<i>Ato</i>	A civil term to address an adult male which is equivalent to “Mr”
<i>Awerasha</i>	A titel given to local rulers
<i>Awrajja</i>	an administrative unit below the level of province
<i>Balabat</i>	Landlord or local hereditary chief
<i>Balambaras</i>	A military title just below that of <i>Gerazmač</i>
<i>Bohaiyabab/Mikira</i>	councilor
<i>ÇeqaŠum -</i>	Village head during the Imperial Regime
<i>Chabara</i>	toll keeper
<i>Däjjazmač</i>	“commander of the gate”, a politico military title bellows <i>ras</i> .
<i>Därg</i>	the military government of Ethiopia which replaced the imperial government
<i>Ferdshängo</i>	tribunal body
<i>Fitawrari</i>	Commander of the vanguard, a military title below <i>Däjjazmač</i>
<i>Gäbbar</i>	tribute paying peasant
<i>Gabara</i>	peasants
<i>Garamanjo</i>	tittle given to traditional belief leaders of Na’o
<i>Gaša</i>	Traditional unit of land measurement one <i>Gaša</i> is equivalent to 40 hectares.
<i>Gerazmač</i>	“Commander of the left” military title above <i>balambaras</i> during imperial regime
<i>Gezate</i>	an administrative unit
<i>Ibu</i>	Meal

<i>Käiyazu</i>	king
<i>kellu</i>	gate
<i>Läm</i>	fertile
<i>Läm-täf</i>	semi-fertile
<i>Madäriya</i> land	land given by government to soldiers & officials as remuneration of services
<i>Meketel Wäradä</i>	an administrative unit below the level of district
<i>Meketel Mesläné</i>	an administrative unit below <i>mesläné</i> prior to 1974
<i>Mêleräsha</i>	Tittel given to local ruler
<i>Mesläné</i>	A sub district governor (as me).
<i>Leqemnber</i>	Chair person
<i>Näftäha</i>	who carries a gun”, soldiers who were settled in the area following the conquest.
<i>Naiykaizu</i>	title for king of Na’o
<i>Qäbälé</i>	sub-district within local area.
<i>Qäññazmač</i>	“commander of the right,” a politico military title above <i>gerazmač</i> .
<i>Ras</i>	“head”, a greatest politico-military title next to <i>negus</i> .
<i>Räsho</i>	title for administrators
<i>Säfär</i>	neighborhood or camp
<i>ŞefätBét</i>	Office
<i>Täqlay Gezat</i> –	An administrative division during the imperial period equivalent to province
<i>Tatto</i>	title for king of kafa

<i>Wäräda</i> –	district
<i>Wäyzäro</i> -	A title given to married women, which is equivalent to “Mrs”
<i>Yeer</i>	God
<i>Yiri’a</i>	trench
<i>Zämač</i> –	campaigner
<i>Zämäča</i>	campaign

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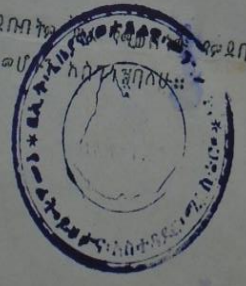
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አሁን ወረትን የሕዝብ ለግደረገ በታወቀው ወረት በአዲስ ወለድ በወረራ
ጀት ላይ ይገኛል። በዚህም አገገር የደቂቅ ወክሎች የሰበረች የፍ የፍ
የሥራ ዘርፍን በፍጥነት የተሠረዘ ለሆነ በአገገገዮቹ ላይ በፍተኛ ልምድ
ልና ለወጥ ተደርጋል።

ከፍ በሉ በተጠየቀው ወሰን ላይ የሥራ የሥራ የሥራ ወይን
ስለተሠረዘ፣ በሥነ ምግባር አዲስ አቋም፤

- በ ስፊ በፍላ ሀገር
- በ ስፊ አውራጃ
- በ ስፊ ወረራ
- በ ስፊ ነት፣ በሥነ ምግባር ደረጃ

ደውሮን አገገገው አድስታው ቀሁ፤
አሁን ለተደረገው ሥነ ምግባር ሥራ ደረጃ የሥራ ወይን
ወደፊት የሚገለጽበት ወሰን ላይ የሥራ ወይን



"አስተዳደር ትቅደም"
የሥነ ምግባርና ጥቅም
ደውሮን

ገለባ፣ ለአስተዳደር ገዛፊ ወይን ወይን
የወገን ሠራተኞች ስለተደረገ ጠ/ጠ
አዲስ አበባ።

- ሰ ስፊ በፍላ ሀገር አስተዳደር ጠ/ጠ
- ሰ ስፊ " " በፍርገራ ጠ/ጠ
- ሰ ስፊ " " ወረት ወክሎ ጠ/ጠ

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Appendix 15

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የ 3/8/76


ለጥሪ ዘመን


ጥሪ

በደገ ወረዳ በገዛ ግራ በጋራ ገበያ ገበያ ግብር
የተለፈ በሽታ ጋንባታዎች በዚህ ዓመት 50 በመቶ ጋንባታ
ነፃ 1000 ቶን በግለሰብ በደገ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጸ/ቤት በ
MC 19 / 194 / 46 / 70016 / 8 / 700 ለ በኮሌግራፊያዎች
የተዘገቡ ገለባዎች ደርሶ ገለባ ተሰጥቷል።

በዚህ አሰራር ጋንባታው በጋራ ገበያ ገበያ ግብር ጋንባታ
ወይንም ጋንባታ አንዳንድ ጋንባታዎች ጋንባታዎች።

"ኢትዮጵያ ንቅሌት"


ደ/ኮሌግራፊያ
የግብርና ደ/ኮሌግራፊያ
የግብርና ደ/ኮሌግራፊያ

ለደገ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጸ/ቤት


DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, and is not submitted to any institution elsewhere for the award of any academic degree, diploma or certificate. All sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Student's name AEMERO GESESE

Signature _____

Date _____