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**A HISTORY OF COFFEE PRODUCTION, PROCESSING AND
MARKETING IN LIMMUU SAQQAA, JIMMA ZONE, ca. 1891
1991**

**BY
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**A HISTORY OF COFFEE PRODUCTION, PROCESSING AND
MARKETING IN LIMMUU SAQQAA, JIMMA ZONE, ca. 1891-1991**

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Title A History of coffee Production, Processing and
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Abstract

This thesis reconstructs a history of coffee production, processing, and marketing in Limmuu Saqqaa, Jimma zone, from ca. 1891 to 1991. The study covers a century, starting from the incorporation of the study area and its surroundings into the Ethiopian empire to the downfall of the Därg regime. The study period was the era when peoples of the country as a whole including the study area had passed through major political and socio-economic changes. Several sources were collected and carefully analyzed for the reconstruction of a history of the study subject. Published and unpublished written documents, oral sources, and some archival sources have been used to write the thesis. Qualitative research method, which is more narrative and descriptive method, has been applied for this study. The thesis explains how different Ethiopian regimes have brought impacts on coffee production, processing, and marketing in Limmuu Saqqaa during the period under study. The research findings exhibit that coffee production and marketing which had been already expanded by the indigenous peasants during the second half of the nineteenth, was mostly abandoned and claimed by the näfäñña lords after the area was conquered by Menelik's forces. Thus, the situation greatly disturbed the peasants' production and benefits. Though the expansion of coffee production and marketing could revive by the 1920s, largely by the new governors, during the subsequent one and half decades, due to both global and domestic factors it was declined. However, following an increase in coffee demand in the world and the suitability of some conditions in the country, coffee production and marketing in which the participation of indigenous peasants to some extent increased between the 1950s and 1960s. Consequently, following the downfall of the imperial regime, with the implementation of the 1975 land reform of the Därg government, peasants were given lands where they had grown coffee and other crops. Even though still the landholding system and different policies of the military regime seriously affected the livelihood of coffee growing farmers, its production and marketing were largely expanded in the study area. During this period, coffee processing and quality control were also given more attention in the study area through different institutions. Thus, coffee production, processing, and marketing have passed through different stages. Indeed, there were many factors (globally and domestic) that facilitated and hindered coffee production, quality and marketing in the study area as analyzed in the main body of this thesis.

Preface

The nomenclature of Limmuu Saqqaa is related to a history of the Limmuu Oromo who occupied Ennarya region at the time of their expansion and their action of making a path or opening up the land covered by grass or locally called *citaa saaqqaa* (opening grass). Before its incorporation to the Ethiopian empire Limmuu Saqqaa had been part and parcel of Limmuu Ennarya. After Menelik's control of the all Gibe region and its surroundings it became part of Kaffa *ṭäqlay gezat* (governorate general). Following the restoration of imperial government, Limmuu Saqqaa had been organized as one of the districts of Limmuu *awuraja* (sub-province) under Kaffa *ṭäqlay gezat* in 1942. With the formation of the Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Republic (EPDR) in 1988, Limmuu Saqqaa had been reorganized as an *awuraja* under Iluubbaaboor Administrative Region until 1991. After the formation of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), Limmuu Saqqaa with the current Noonnoo Beenjaa district became one of the districts of Jimma zone of Oromia National Regional State. Later on, in 2006 when large *aanaas* (districts) were split into two districts, Limmuu Saqqaa was divided into the present-day Limmuu Saqqaa and Noonnoo Beenjaa districts. I would like to notice that I have determined to refer Limmuu Saqqaa as district after 1941 i.e. *wäräda* or *aanaa* locally in Amharic and *afaan* Oromo-respectively

This thesis focuses on exploring a history of coffee production, processing, and marketing in Limmuu Saqqaa from the last decade of the nineteenth century to the downfall of the military government (ca. 1891-1991). The landmark period 1891 marked the period when coffee land began to transfer to the *näṭṭäñña* lords and 1991 indicated the year at which large scale coffee production and free coffee marketing became free. Indeed, there are few works produced on some aspects of this area merged with other Gibe states and former Jimma and Limmuu *awurajas* (sub-provinces). Nevertheless, little concern has been given to a history of coffee production, processing, and marketing in Limmuu Saqqaa under the period of investigation. Many works produced on the study area have emphasized on agricultural aspects rather than the historical development of the study subject. That is why this research work has been conducted to address the gap left by different written documents.

Although the 2020 global crisis, COVID-19 pandemic, restricted many activities of the researcher, to conduct this research work, the researcher has made frequent fieldwork visits to the study area to collect sources for the reconstruction of a history of coffee production,

processing, and marketing in Limmuu Saqqaa. Gathering sources was started during my MA studies for the production of some seminar papers on the study area. However, worthy sources had been collected after the title of the thesis was officially approved. Data was collected from knowledgeable and informed personalities of the study area through interview, both from rural and urban areas. Written sources have also been collected from different institutions including Limmuu Saqqaa and Jimma zone Administration, Agriculture and Natural Resource, Culture and Tourism, and Finance and Economic Development Offices.

In the process of investigating different sources, the researcher has faced different problems. Among these, the major ones were: different libraries and archive centers found in Jimma and Addis Ababa universities, which could support me in providing sources for the reconstruction of my thesis were locked out due to the COVID-19 pandemic, some key informants were also much reluctant to meet the researcher and share their knowledge and experiences due to the same case, many archival material from Jimma zone different offices, which could also provide me with some sources were taken by Jimma University for its archive center and due to poor handling, many archival material of the study area under the period of investigation were also destroyed. Some documents were simply discarded like a dead document and removed from the offices. Thus, the researcher has been used all his best to alleviate the challenges.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. The first chapter is introductory part that deals with the geographical setting and historical background of the study area. It assesses the location of the study area, demographic conditions, ecology, and relief of Limmuu Saqqaa district. Likewise, an overview of coffee in Ethiopia, the origin of coffee and the spread of coffee drinking and cultivation have also been investigated.

Chapter two focuses on the general analyses of coffee production issues in the study area. It includes the investigation of coffee production and about different coffee production systems (forest, semi-forest, garden, and plantation coffees) during the period of study. Chapter three examines a history of coffee processing (dry and wet coffee processing), factors affecting the quality of coffee, and the structure of coffee marketing in the study area have also been investigated in this chapter.

In the last chapter of this thesis, opportunities, challenges and impact of coffee production and marketing have been assessed. In the opportunities or favorable conditions: suitable natural conditions (ecology), the aspiration and competition of different officials, the decline of natural resources (ivory) and government's interest in coffee production and marketing, and the availability of land for peasants have been examined. Similarly, the constraints include the insecurity of land tenure, lack of adequate transportation facility, the influence of coffee diseases, coffee price volatility, and the impact of Ethiopia's coffee trade policy have also been explored.

Lastly, though this study has attempted to fill the gap left by other literature, still, it is far from being complete and comprehensive due to different problems and limitations stated above. However, this study can help others as one material for further investigation and study on the subject of the study and the study of the area in general.

Acronyms

AD	<i>Anno Domini</i>
AOI	<i>Africa Orientale Italiana</i> (Italian East Africa)
CBD	Coffee Berry Disease
CBE	Commercial Bank of Ethiopia
CIP	Coffee Improvement Project
CPPA	Coffee Production and Processing Authority
CSA	Central Statistics Authority
CTDMA	Coffee and Tea Development and Marketing Authority
CWD	Coffee Wilt Disease
DBE	Development Bank of Ethiopia
E.C.	Ethiopian Calendar
ECEA	Ethiopian Coffee Exporters Association
ECMC	Ethiopian Coffee Marketing Cooperation
ECTA	Ethiopian Coffee and Tea Authority
ECX	Ethiopian Commodity Exchange
EPDR	Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Republic
EPSE	Economic Policy of Socialist Ethiopia
ETB	Ethiopian Birr
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GAIN	Global Agricultural Information Network
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IAR	Institute of Agricultural Research
ICA	International Coffee Agreement
ICO	International Coffee Organization
IDA	International Development Association
IES	Institute of Ethiopian Studies
JARC	Jimma Agricultural Research Center
LCPDE	Limmu Coffee Plantation Development Enterprise
MCTD	Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development

MT	Metric Tone
MT\$	Maria Theresa Dollar
NCBE	National Coffee Board of Ethiopia
OCTB	Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau
PAs	Peasant Association (s)
PCs	Producers' Co-operatives
PH	Power Hydrogen (indicator of acidity or alkalinity)
SCs	Service Co-operatives
SNNPNRS	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' National Regional State
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USD	United States Dollar

Key to Transliteration System

In writing Ethiopian names (*Afaan* Oromo and Amharic), the following transliteration system has been adapted for this thesis.

A) *Afaan* Oromo Transliteration System

I. *Afaan* Oromo words are spelled according to the writing and reading system of an Oromo alphabet called *Qubee*. *Afaan* Oromo has basically five short and five long vowels:

Short Vowels

a

e

i

o

u

Long Vowels

aa

ee

ii

oo

uu

II. Length in vowels brought change in meaning

Examples: ***Afaan* Oromo**

Short: *Laga*

Long: *Laagaa*

Short: *Bona*

Long: *Boonaa*

English

River

Palate

Winter

Proud

III. A sequence of more than two vowels are possible only if separated by glottal (‘).

Examples: ***Afaan* Oromo**

Afyaa’ii

Bu’aa

Re’ee

English

Spokesperson

Profit

Goat

IV. Oromo consonants (phonemes) are stressed or germinated by doubling similar phonemes and clustered by devoicing two consonants.

Examples: ***Afaan* Oromo**

Abbaa

Madda

Aaddee

English

Father

Source

Mrs

V. There are five paired phonemes that are formed by two different consonants. These are ch, dh, ny, ph and sh. Of these, dh, ny and ph have sounds different from the English consonants.

dh: voiceless, dental, implosive as in *dhoqqee* (mud); *dhadhaa* (butter).

ny: voiceless, palatal, nasal as in *nyaata* (diet, food); *nyaara* (eyebrow).

ph: voiceless, bilabial, ejective, stop as in *happee* (glue); *kophee* (shoe).

In addition, c, q and x have different sounds from the English consonants.

c: as in *cabbii*- ice

q: as in *qaama*- body/organ

x: as in *xiinxaluu*- evaluate

VI. A non-vocalized consonant is not required to be followed by a vowel, but followed by dissimilar consonant as in *sirba* (song), *sangaa* (bull, ox), *balbala* (door).

B) Amharic Transliteration System

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

Vowels	Symbols	Examples
1 st order (<i>ge'ez</i>)	ä በ	Bä Abäbä አበበ
2 nd order (<i>ka'eb</i>)	u ቡ	Bu <i>Bunna</i> ቡና
3 rd order (<i>sales</i>)	i ቢ	Bi Ministér ሚኒስቴር
4 th order (<i>rabe</i>)	a ባ	Ba Abata አባታ
5 th order (<i>hames</i>)	é ቤ	Bé <i>Bét</i> ቤት
6 th order (<i>sades</i>)	e ብ	Be <i>Lej</i> ልጅ
7 th order (<i>sabe</i>)	o ቦ	Bo Gobäna ጎበና

II. Palatalized sounds are represented in the following way:

Consonant	Symbol	Amharic	Example
ሽ	Šä	ሽዋ	Šäwa
ቸ	Čä	ቸሎት	Čelot
ኘ	Ñä	ነፍጠኛ	Näḥṣäñña
ጆ	Jä	ጆበና	Jäbäna
ዝ	Zhä	ዝንጉርጉር	Zhengurgur

III. Consonants which have Glottalized sounds are represented as follows:

Consonant	Symbol	Amharic	Example
ቀ	Qä	ቀበሌ	<i>Qäbälé</i>
ጠ	Ṭä	ጠቅላይ	<i>Ṭäqalay</i>
ጨ	Ĉä	ጨካ	<i>Ĉaka</i>
ፀ/ጸ	Ṣä	ፀሐፍ	<i>Ṣähäfe</i>
ጸ	Pä	ጸዲሎስ	<i>Pa'ulos</i>

IV. For words having the sound of the sixth alphabet (*sades*) at the end, it is not necessary to add the representing letter of the sound.

Example: ሀገር	<i>Hagär</i>
ርስት	<i>Rest</i>
ራስ	<i>Ras</i>

V. Stressed sounds are mostly represented by doubling the consonant.

Example: ገባር	<i>Gäbbar</i>
ከበደ	<i>Käbbädä</i>

VI. Most of the time, consecutive vowels are separated by apostrophe (').

Example: ወልደሚካኤል	<i>Wäldämika'él</i>
ናትናኤል	<i>Natna'él</i>

VII. General Examples: ወረዳ *Wäräda*

አዉራጃ	<i>Awuraja</i>
ደጃአዝማች	<i>Däjjazmač</i>
ግራአዝማች	<i>Gerazmač</i>

N.B. For those familiar and well accepted names like, Gibe, Jimma, Oromo, Kaffa, Ennarya and etc., I have employed and accepted the conventional spelling.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

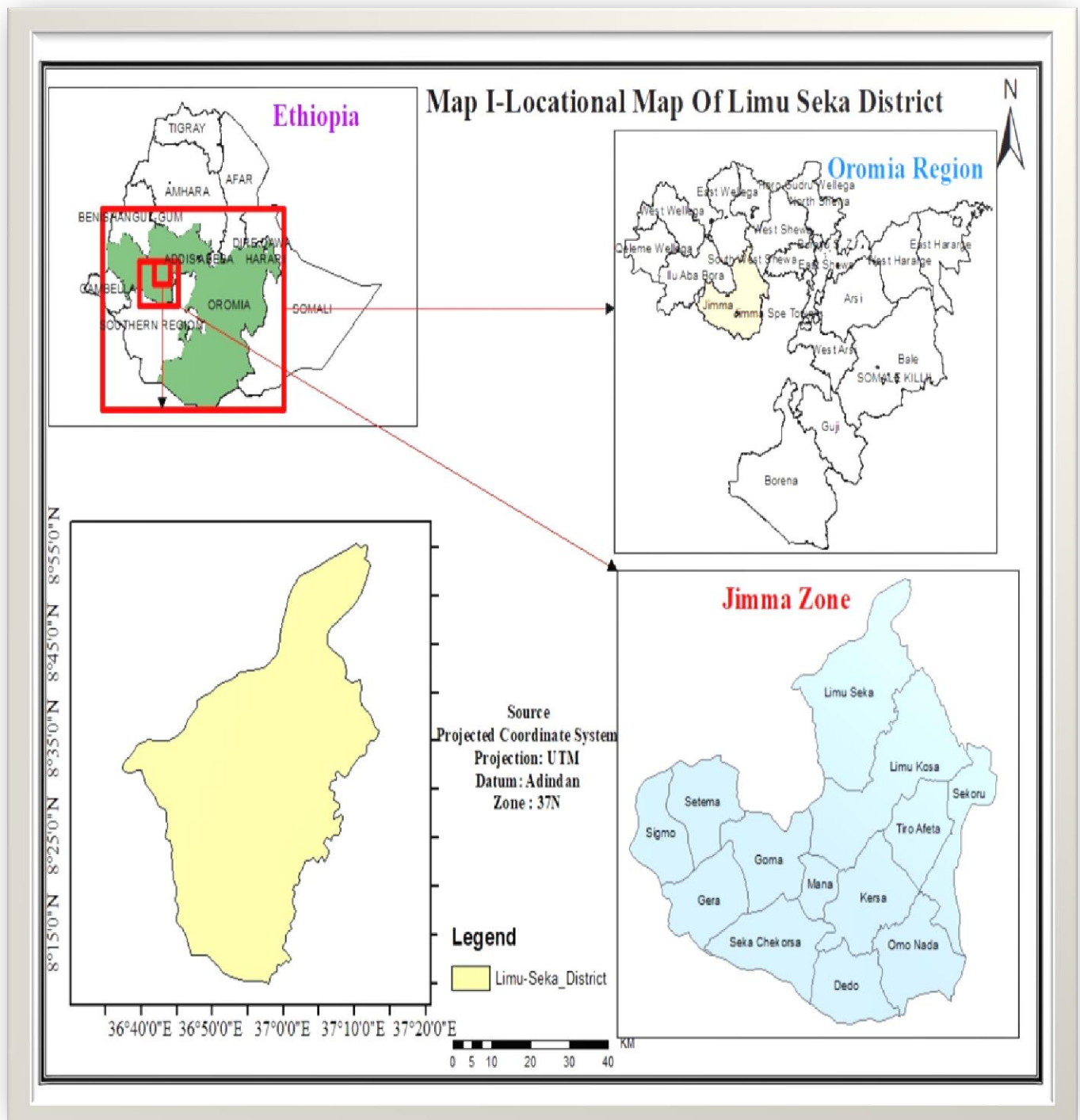
1.1 Geographical and Physical Setting

Limmuu Saqqaa district was one of the four districts of the former Limmuu *awuraja* of Kaffa *ṭäqlay gezat* (governorate general) and later Kaffa *keflä-hagär* (province). Currently, it is one of the twenty-one districts under the administration of Jimma zone of Oromia national regional state with its administrative center at Atinaagoo. The district's administrative seat Atinaagoo is located at a distance of 444 kilometers to the southwest of Addis Ababa, and 109 kilometers to the north of Jimma town. It is bounded by Noonnoo Beenjaa district in the north, Chooraa Botor district in the east, Limmuu Kossaa district (along the Gibe River) in the south, Boorachaa district (along the Dhidheessaa River) of Iluubbaaboor zone in the west and Nuunnuu Qumbaa district (along the Waamaa River) of East Wallaggaa zone in the northwest. Astronomically, the district is located between 8⁰20'N latitudes and 36⁰52'E longitudes.¹ The district covers an area of 1,777 km² and is divided into 38 rural *gandaas*, *qäbälés* (local administrative units) and two administrative towns (Atinaagoo and Koomaa). It is one of the largest districts which cover 11.4 percent of the total coverage of the zonal area.²

¹ Limmuu Saqqaaa District Finance and Economic Development Office, "Physical and Socio-Economic Profile Document of Limmuu Saqqaa District," (Atinaagoo, 2017), pp. 3 and 6; Limmuu Saqqaa District Culture and Tourism Office, "*Seenaa Aanaa* Limmuu Saqqaa ('A History of Limmuu Saqqaa District')," (Atinaagoo, 2014), pp. 12-13; Tadesse Habtamu *et al*, "Diets of the African Civet *Civettictis Civetta* (Schreber, 1778) in Selected Coffee Forest Habitat, Southwestern Ethiopia," in *African Journal of Ecology* (June 2017), p. 2.

² *Ibid*; Limmuu Saqqaa District Finance and Economic Development Office, "Physical...", p. 3; Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office, "Basic Data Document of Limmuu Saqqaa Distric," (Atinaagoo, 2012), p. 8.

Map 1: Map of Location of the Study Area



Source: Projected Coordinate System

According to the 2007 national census report, the total population of this district was 189,463. Of whom, 95,869 were males and 93,594 were females. From the total population, the rural people accounted for 97.26 percent and the urban dwellers covered 2.73 percent. Among the district's total population, the most populous religion was Islam which constituted 62.13 percent. The other Orthodox Christianity, Protestant, Catholic, traditional, and others constituted 19.27 percent, 17.86 percent, 0.25 percent, 0.14 percent, and 0.35 percent, respectively.³ The two largest ethnic groups reported in Limmuu Saqqaa district were the Oromo (95.19 percent), and the Amhara (3.4 percent); the other ethnic groups made up 1.41 percent of the population.⁴

The district's climatic zone is characterized by 13 percent highland (*baddaa*), 55 percent mid highland (*badda daree*) which is ideal for agriculture; both for cereal and agro-forestry as well as human settlement, and the remaining 32 percent is lowland (*gammoojjii*). Its altitude ranges between 1,400 and 2,200 meters above sea level. The average annual rainfall of the district is over 1550 mm. In the district, the rainy season starting in the middle of March and ending in October, and the dry season is occurring from November to early March. Its mean minimum and maximum temperature are 13.6⁰c and 26.9⁰c, respectively.⁵ In the district, 13,439 hectares (ha) is currently covered with forest and bush, while 52,964 ha is under cultivation of different type of crops production. Natural and manmade forests are available in the district. Gaabanaa, Booqaa, Caaltee, and Uummoo are the district's notable natural forests that are demarcated and governed by government or locally called *bosona mootummaa* (government's forest) to protect them from destruction. The varied topography of the district includes hills, undulating landscape, and plains. Moderately dense vegetation coverage includes forests, bushes, scrublands, and grasslands could be seen in the district.⁶

³ Central Statistics Authority (CSA), *2007 Census Report for Oromia Region*, Vol. I (Addis Ababa, 2012), pp. 8 and 340; Limmuu Saqqaa District Culture and Tourism Office, "A History of...", p. 17.

⁴ Limmuu Saqqaa District Finance and Economic Development Office, "Physical...", p. 42.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 3; Tadesse, p. 2; Limmuu Saqqaa District Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, "Annual Development Plan Document," (Atinaagoo, 2018), p. 8; Capacity Building for Scaling up of Evidence-based Best Practices in Agricultural Production in Ethiopia (CASCAPE), "Participatory Rural Appraisal Report: Limmu Seka Woreda, West Oromia Region," *Technical Report* (Jimma University, Ethiopia, April 2014), p. 4.

⁶ Limmuu Saqqaa District Environment, Forest and Climate Change Authority Office, "Basic Data Document of Limmuu Saqqaa District," (Atinaagoo, 2019), p. 3; Limmuu Saqqaa District Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, "Annual...", p. 9.

The district's potential for agriculture is estimated to be around 78,727 ha of land. The major cultivated crops include maize, sorghum, *tef* (*Eragrostis tef*), and groundnut. Even though cereal crops cover almost half of the district's agricultural land, coffee was the major cash crop produced by many farmers as the main source of income and for local consumption, which covers more than 25,576 ha of land.⁷ According to different literature and reports of the five major coffee producer districts of Jimma zone, Limmuu Saqqaa was one of the most notable ones.⁸ However, this does not mean that all areas, of Limmuu Saqqaa district have produced coffee in an equal amount. According to the district's Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, almost half of the district's total *gandaas* were the producers of coffee in addition to producing other different types of crops.⁹

1.2 Historical Background

According to Limmuu Saqqaa District Culture and Tourism Office and oral tradition, the nomenclature of Limmuu Saqqaa is related to a history of the Limmuu Oromo who occupied Ennarya region at the time of their expansion and their action of making a path or opening up the land covered by grass or locally called *citaa saaqqaa* (opening grass). During the expansion of the Oromo people to the southwest region of present Ethiopia, the Limmuu Oromo of the *Sadachaa* confederacy (the Confederacy of the Three) settled in the Gibe region, specifically, in the areas of the former Ennarya state. Thus, the present Limmuu Saqqaa district was part and parcel of the former Ennariya kingdom. Consequently, the name Limmu was adopted from the Oromo of Limmuu, and Saqqaa was derived from an action of how some Oromo peoples were settled around the present Saqqaa during their expansion. After a long journey when they arrived at a present Saqqaa they tired very much. Finally, they said we could not go further and let us settle here through opening this grass. They said that:

*Sichi deemuu hin dandeenyuu citaa kana saaqqaa asuma qubannaa.*¹⁰

Hereafter we could no more go, let us clear this area and settle here.

⁷ *Ibid*; CASCAPE, p. 4.

⁸ Geremew Haile, *Discourses of the Origin of Coffee* (Africa Printing PLC, Finfinne, Ethiopia, 2015), p. 10; Limmuu Saqqaa District Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, "Annual...", p. 13.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Limmuu Saqqaa District Culture and Tourism Office, "A History of...", p. 5; informants: Abbaa Duulaa Haji Adam and Zeenuu Abdallaa.

Thus, the name Limmuu Saqqaa was derived from both, the name of the Oromo of Limmuu and the action of clearing (opening), *saaqaa*.¹¹

Before its incorporation to the Ethiopian empire Limmuu Saqqaa (study area) had been part and parcel of Limmuu Ennarya kingdom. Following the collapse of Limmuu Ennarya under the Ethiopian empire the former kingdom was separated into different administrative units with the local rulers called *balabbates*. Subsequently, after Menelik's control of Kaffa in 1897, all Gibe Oromo states including Limmuu Ennarya became part of Kaffa *Ṭäqalay gezat* (governorate general).¹² The Italian fascist government reconstituted a colonial empire called Italian East Africa (*Africa Orientale Italiana* (AOI) which had six major regional divisions: Eritrea, Amhara, Šäwa, and Addis Ababa, Harär and Dire Dawa, [Oromo] and Sidamo (Sidama), and Somalia. The former Kaffa *Ṭäqalay gezat* administration and the new Italian administrative region of [Oromo]-Sidama with its administrative center at Jimma town was called “*Piccolo Roma*” (the Little Rome) by Italians.¹³ After a year of Emperor Haile-Selassie I's restoration to the throne, in 1942 the imperial government proclaimed a decree of reorganizing the empire into a new administrative system. Consequently, the country was divided into fourteen *Ṭäqalay gezats* (governorate generals), one hundred three *awurajas* (sub-provinces), five hundred five *wärädas* (districts), and nine hundred forty-nine *miketel wärädas* (sub-districts). The new structural administration system aimed to make a land assessment and tax collection simpler and to administer different governmental agencies of the country easily.¹⁴

At local levels, the administrative units were also created basically on their historical background and geographical proximity. Accordingly, Kaffa *Ṭäqalay gezat* had six *awurajas*: Limmuu,

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Dagim Alemayehu, “Historical Survey of Limmu Genet Town from its Foundation up to Present,” *International Journal of Scientific and Technology Research*. Vol. 6, Issue. 07 (Bule Hora University, Ethiopia, 2017),” p. 296.

¹³ Deressa Debu, “Historical Ecology and Ethnography of Gibe-Gojab-Dhidheessaa Triangle (From 1933-2010),” (PhD Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, History, 2018), p. 45; Sagni Gemechu, “A History of Coffee Production, Processing and Marketing in Gomma District (Jimma Zone): 1900-1991,” (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2018), p. 7.

¹⁴ Mulugeta Belew. “A History of Limmu Genet Town, Jimma Zone: 1950-1991,” (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2018), p. 18.

Jimma, [Dawro] Konta, Kaffa, Gimira [Benchi] and Maji Goldia. At the same time, Limmuu *awuraja* consisted of four *wärädas* (districts): Limmuu Saqqaa, Limmuu Kossaa, Gommaa, and Geeraa.¹⁵ Following the decline of the monarchial government and the rise of military rule, a new administration system was also established. The former governorate general (*Ṭäklay gezat*) was deserted and substituted by *Keflä-hagär* (province). Subsequently, the *Keflä-hagär* was established: the former Jimma *awuraja* and its districts continued under Kaffa *Keflä-hagär* with its former administrative headquarter at Jimma town and Limmuu *awuraja* also continued with its former four districts with its administrative center at Aggaaroo town.¹⁶

¹⁵ Laurent Bossolasco, *A Study Case on Coffee (Coffea arabica L.)* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2009), p. 22; Sagni, p. 8.

¹⁶ Dagim, "Historical Survey of Limmu Genet...", p. 297; Limmuu Saqqaa District Culture and Tourism Office, "*Seenaa...*," p. 9.

Map 2: Map of Kaffa *Ṭäkläy gezat* later called Kaffa *Keflä-hagär* (province) 1974-1987



Source: Sagni, p. 13

Before the downfall of the *Därg* regime (1974-1991) with the formation of the Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Republic (EPDR) in 1988, the former Jimma and Limmuu *awurajas* (sub provinces) of Kaffa *Keflä- hagär* (province) and the all Ilubbaaboor province were restructured and formed a new administrative system called Iluubbaaboor Administrative Region, with its capital at Jimma town. Consequently, Limmuu Saqqaa (study area), one of the former Limmuu

awuraja's districts became an *awuraja* with its administrative center at Atinaagoo until 1991.¹⁷ Nevertheless, with the formation of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), the administrative system was replaced by regions, zones, and *aanaas* (districts) or *woredas*. As a result, Limmuu Saqqaa with the current Noonnoo Beenjaa district became one of the districts of Jimma zone, Oromia National Regional State. Later on, in 2006 when large *aanaas* (districts) were split into two districts, Limmuu Saqqaa was divided into the present-day Limmuu Saqqaa and Noonnoo Beenjaa districts with their administrative center at Atinaagoo and Algaa, respectively.¹⁸ Thus, since the district of Limmuu Saqqaa was split after my last year's temporal scope (1991), the spatial scope of my study covers both districts of the present Limmuu Saqqaa and Noonnoo Beenjaa.

1.2.1 An Overview of Coffee

As repeatedly written by different researchers and scholars, agriculture dominated the economy of our country for a long period until today. Accordingly, in 1950, agriculture contributed about 78 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and employed an estimated 90 percent of the population.¹⁹ Similarly, in the 1960s, eighty percent of the populations were engaged in agriculture and the sector contributed about 60 percent of the GDP. Consequently, more than 90 percent of the country's exports were derived from agricultural products, of which coffee became the leading export commodity by covering 60 percent of the total.²⁰ According to the result of different researches, still the contribution of agriculture in GDP, export and employment opportunities was very high. Coffee by taking the great share provides 35 percent of the country's foreign exchange.²¹

¹⁷ Deressa, pp. 51-52; informants: Abbaa Maccaa, Abbaa Ammayyaa and Seläše Täsfayé.

¹⁸ Bossolasco, p. 23; informants: Kadir Sirnaa, Faaxumaa Abbaa Maccaa, and Tashoomaa Irkisaa.

¹⁹ Shiferaw Jammo, "An Overview of the Economy, 1941-74," In *an Economic History of Ethiopia: The Imperial Era 1941-74*, Vol. 1, Edited by Shiferaw Bekele (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1995), p. 17.

²⁰ Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855-1991*. Second Edition. (Addis Ababa University Press, Addis Ababa, 2002), p. 191; Dessalegn Rahmato, "Peasant Agriculture under the Old Regime," In *an Economic History of Ethiopia: The Imperial Era 1941-74*, Vol. 1, Edited by Shiferaw Bekele (Dakar: CODESRIA, 1995), p. 164.

²¹ Admasu Shibiru and Aklaus Froberg (eds), *Coffee Development and Marketing Improvement Plan in Ethiopia* (EIAR, Addis Ababa, 2008), p. 11.

Coffee is the second most commercial commodity in the world market next to petroleum. According to different sources, almost eighty developing countries in the world are producing and exporting their products to the world market. For many of these countries including Ethiopia, coffee is the most important source of hard currency.²² Recent studies show that there are about 103 coffee species. Among these varieties, only three of them: *Coffea arabica*, *Coffea canephora* (Robusta) and *Coffea liberica* have economic values. Out of these, Arabica coffee is the best in terms of cup quality and good flavor. Robusta coffee is the next important commodity in the world market next to *Coffea arabica*. *Coffea arabica* is the most popular and widely cultivated coffee species in the world, dominating 70 percent of total production and over 80 percent of the world market. The remaining production and coffee market in the world, 30 percent, and 20 percent, respectively come from *Coffea canephora*. *Coffea liberica* has only minor local importance in some parts of western Africa.²³

Ethiopia has been known for its producing and exporting one of the best highland coffees in the world. The coffee sub-sector was and is still very important to the Ethiopian economy and generated huge amount of foreign exchange earnings annually. The crop plays a great role in maintaining the livelihood of more than one million coffee-growing households and an estimated fifteen million people in total. In Ethiopia, the majority of coffee is cultivated by smallholders, either cultivating coffee on their land or collecting from forest and semi-forest coffees. While the remaining, few percent grown on modern commercial farms.²⁴ Ethiopia is gifted with a suitable environment for the production of coffee with a combination of favorable altitude, temperature, rainfall, soil type, and PH. Though Ethiopia has huge potential to increase coffee production as it

²² Yared Berhe, "The Legal Regime Regulating Coffee Trade in Ethiopia," (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Business Law, 2010), p. 1.

²³ *Ibid*, pp. 1-2; Taye Kufa, "Sustainability of Coffee Environments and Genetic Resources in Ethiopia," In *Proceedings of the 24th Annual Conferences of the Biological Society of Ethiopia (Co-hosted by Dilla University)* (The Biological Society of Ethiopia, Addis Ababa, 2014), p. 12.

²⁴ Samuel Gabreselassie and Eva Ludi, "Agricultural Commercialization in Coffee Growing Areas of Ethiopia," *Research Paper for Future Agricultures Consortium* (the UK, Department for International Development, 2008), p. 2; Nicolas Petit, "Ethiopia's Coffee Sector: A Bitter or Better Future?" *Journal of Agrarian Change*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Blackwell Publishing Ltd, Henry Bernstein, and Terence J. Byres, 2007), p. 226.

is endowed with the aforementioned environmental conditions, its productivity (total production per hectare) is still low, which is around 0.7 MT (Metric Ton).²⁵

According to different sources, in Ethiopia, the coffee production system is generally categorized into four systems: forest coffee, semi-forest coffee, garden coffee, and plantation coffee. Forest coffee accounts for 10 percent, semi-forest coffee covers 30 percent, garden coffee accounts for 50 percent, and plantation coffee takes 10 percent of the total coffee production, respectively.²⁶ Ethiopia is Africa's top producer of coffee and is the fifth largest producer in the world next to Brazil, Vietnam, Colombia, and Indonesia, contributing about seven to ten percent of total world coffee production. Ethiopia has been well known for its original homeland of Arabica coffee, which was the most important coffee in the world. Ethiopia's traditional way of coffee production and management system was mostly characterized by limited use of fertilizers and pesticides or herbicides. There were only a limited number of farmers who use pesticides despite the presence of coffee diseases. Such trends made Ethiopian coffee to be known for its good quality, aroma, and flavor on the world market.²⁷

During the 1970s, Ethiopia produced 200,000 tons of coffee and supplied 100,000 tons to the world market.²⁸ Consequently, in the following farm years Ethiopia's coffee production and marketable supply were continuously increased in a very great amount. Coffee in Ethiopia had both socio-cultural and economic values. About 50 percent of its production is consumed domestically.²⁹ The major coffee producer regions of the country are Oromia Regional State and Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' National Regional State (SNNPNRS). Of which

²⁵ Girma Bayu, "Analysis of Determinants of Coffee Value Chain Performance in Ethiopia," (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Logistics, and Supply Chain Management, 2017), pp. 2-3.

²⁶ Alemayehu Asfaw, "Coffee Production and Marketing in Ethiopia," *European Journal of Business and Management*, Vol. 6, No. 37 (Jimma University, Ethiopia, 2014), pp. 110-11.

²⁷ Global Agricultural Information Network (GAIN), *Ethiopia's Coffee Annual Report* (USDA Foreign Agriculture Service, Addis Ababa, 2013), pp. 1-2; Aron Davis and Justin Moat, *Coffee Farming and Climate Change in Ethiopia: Impacts, Forecasts, Resilience, and Opportunities. Summary Report* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2017), p. 6.

²⁸ Jimma Zone Administration Office Archival Document, Folder No. 002/70, File No. 28/70 (15 Ter 1970 E. C.) or see appendix XII.

²⁹ Alemayehu, pp. 110-11.

63.3 percent is from Oromia, 35.9 percent is from SNNPNRS and 0.8 percent is from the Gambela region.³⁰ From Oromia regional state, Jimma zone is the leading producer of coffee with an estimated 40 percent of the total production of the region.³¹ Currently, eight districts are producing coffee in Jimma zone. These districts are: Limmuu Saqqaa, Limmuu Kossaa, Gommaa, Maannaa, Geeraa, Saqqaa Coqorsaa, Qarsaa, and Dedoo. Accordingly, the study area, Limmuu saqqaa has been historically known for its production of coffee from the very beginning.³² So, the district's history of coffee production from ca. 1891 to 1991 will be examined in this chapter.

1.2.2 The Origin of Coffee

Regarding the historical origin of *Coffea arabica* (coffee Arabica), there has been confusion. The controversy was due to its first cultivation, distribution, and first knowledge of beverage in South Arabia or Yemen. The scientific name of Arabica coffee was also given by Linnaeus as it was from Arabia. Currently, however, most historians and other scholars agree that Arabica coffee was first originated in the forest of the southwestern part of Ethiopia.³³ Accordingly, for the historical root of Arabica coffee, there are different traditions and written sources which attribute their own stories. Among the various traditions, the most widely known is the Islamic tradition. This tradition is mostly known as Arab tradition. As to Islamic tradition (Arab tradition), the first discovery of Arabica coffee was in South Arabia (Yemen). The Islamic tradition is also known as the legend of Sheikh Omar.³⁴

³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 2; Petit, p. 233; Teshale Fekadu, "Value Chain Analysis of Ethiopian Coffee (*Coffea arabica*.)" *Archives of Current Research International*. Vol. 11, No. 1 (Arsi University, Ethiopia, 2017), p. 2.

³¹ Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (OCTB), *Oromia: The Birth Place of Coffee Arabica* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2014), p. 11.

³² Dagim Alemayehu, "A History of Coffee Production and Marketing in Limmu Awuraja 1900-1991," (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2016), pp. 26-27; Geremew, p. 10.

³³ Demel Teketay, "History, Botany and Ecological Requirements of Coffee," The article, 20 (the Botswana University of Agriculture and Natural Resources (BUAN), 1999), PP. 2 & 6; Till Stellmacher and Peter P. Molling, "The Institutional Sphere of Coffee Forest Management in Ethiopia: Local Level Findings from Koma Forest, Kaffa Zone", *International Journal of Social Forestry (IJSF)*. Vol. 2, No. 1 (2009), p. 43.

³⁴ Sagni, p. 15.

It was during the thirteenth century that the Islamic legend of Sheikh Omar was narrated. According to this legend, while Sheikh Omar had been living in bad conditions in the desert of Mocha (South Yemen), he was starved and came near to death. It was at this critical time that he observed the birds while they were eating the red coffee berries. Later on, Sheikh Omar discovered the coffee tree which he had never known before. He chewed the beans and drank the liquid. He immediately felt relief from his hunger. Though there are different versions of this legend, Sheikh Omar also discovered coffee as potent medicine and that it helped cure people of epidemic diseases.³⁵ However, the above legend was not supported by scholarly literature which made its credibility uncertain.

The other well-known tradition about the origin of coffee was the Christian tradition. This legend elucidates that the coffee plant was discovered by a goat herder called Kaldi during the mid-ninth century A.D. This fable narrated that Kaldi observed his goats after eating the bright red coffee berries from some bushes started to prance about excitedly. Then Kaldi himself tried the berries and enjoyed their stimulating effect. Subsequently, the monks to whom Kaldi told his discovery and took some of the berries roasted and brewed them and tried out the beverage. As a result, they were kept awake in the night during their long prayers. From that day on, they experienced the habit of drinking coffee.³⁶ Though the legend of Kaldi explains that coffee was discovered as a stimulant and beverage during the ninth and before the end of the seventeenth centuries, it is far more likely that other sources argue that coffee drinking was not known among the Christians due to religious influence until the end of the seventeenth century. Thus, the fable is less likely convincing and it is quite dubious.³⁷

³⁵ F.C Wellman, *Coffee: Botany, Cultivation, and Utilization* (Great Britain University Press, 1961), p.34; Gordon Wrigley, *Coffee*: Longman Publisher (Singapore, 1988), p.10.

³⁶ Demel, p. 5; Tadesse Woldemariam, *Coffee: Ethiopia's Gift to the World* (Environment and Coffee Forest Forum (ECFF), Addis Ababa, 2015), p. 6.

³⁷ Merid W. Aregay, "The Early History of Ethiopia's Coffee Trade and The Rise of Shewa," *Journal of African History*. Vol, 29, No. 1 (Cambridge University Press, Great Britain, 1988), pp. 19-20; Richard Pankhurst, "The History of Coffee in Ethiopia to the early twentieth century," *Kaffa*. Vol. 1, No. 1. Edit. Asrate H. (Ethiopian Coffee Exporters Association, Addis Ababa, 1972), pp. 42-43.

The tradition of Kaffa also attempts to reveal the first discovery of coffee. According to this tradition, coffee was first discovered by a goatherd man called Kalli or Kalliti during the second century A.D. The legend states how coffee was discovered in Kaffa as follows.

It was sometimes about second century A.D that a goat shepherd called Kalli or Kalliti noticed the special smell of coffee from the breath of goats. Kalli followed the route of the goats and observed the type of plant leaves which the goats anxiously ate. Kalli then picked some of these leaves. He first observed the stimulating properties of wild coffee.³⁸

The above quotation describes that coffee was first discovered in Kaffa before other traditions and Kaffa rewarded it to the world. Even though the originality of coffee in the locality of Kaffa is supported by some researchers like Bekele Woldemariam,³⁹ there is confusion with the sources and the above legend. For instance, the above Kaffa tradition is said to be narrated during the second century A.D. But here the fable and the supporting literature contradict other sources. Because in the second century we have no sources which show the introduction of Christianity into Ethiopia. Late alone in Kaffa, Christianity was introduced into northern Ethiopia in the fourth century A.D (330 A.D). Kaffa's affiliation with Ethiopian Christianity was also started in the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ Besides, it is also not convincing that whether the nomenclature of coffee was adopted from Kaffa or not, because, it has no credible scientific assertion and it has many different names throughout the world including our country.⁴¹ Thus, the reliability of Kaffa's tradition and that literature which claims the historical root of coffee in Kaffa with a particular area of Mankira is still questionable and needs further investigation.

The other popular tradition about the origin of coffee is the Oromo tradition. This tradition discloses that *ganda Coocee Lamii* of Jimma zone of Gomma district; a particular area of Kattaa Mudhugaa (reach for anointing) is the original homeland of *Coffea arabica*. According to this

³⁸ Endalkachew Lelisa, "Discourse Analysis of Origin and Distribution of Coffee Arabica," *American Research Journal of History and Culture*. Vol. 4, Issue. 1 (Bule Hora University, Ethiopia, 2018), pp. 3-4.

³⁹ Bekele Woldemariam, *The History of the Kingdom of Kaffa: The Birth Place of Coffee 1390-1935* (ARCCIKCL, Hawassa, 2010), pp. 49-60; Dagnachew Tolessa, "Coffee and Food Crop Production in East Wallaga in the 20th Century: An Overview," *American Research Journal of History and Culture*. Vol. 3, Issue, 1 (Wollo University: Ethiopia, 2017), p. 2.

⁴⁰ Sagni, p. 19; Geremew, p. 76.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, pp. 115-118; Endalkachew, p. 4.

legend, coffee was discovered by a goat herder named Kaalid at a specific place called *Kattaa Mudhugaa* (Coocee) just in the vicinity of this study area thousand years ago.⁴² The oral tradition of the Oromo people, which indicates the origin of coffee at *Kattaa Mudhugaa* (Coocee) is also supported by different literature that argue that coffee had been growing in the dense forests of Ennarya some hundred years ago.⁴³ Various sources claim that the Oromo of Ethiopia had been consuming the forest coffee before any other community in southwest Ethiopia.⁴⁴ For instance, according to the description of James Bruce, who traveled in Ethiopia to discover the source of the Nile between 1768 and 1773 cited by Demel said that it was the Oromo of Ethiopia who started to use the ground and roasted coffee beans mixed into a ball with oil or fat which carried as food into the dessert.⁴⁵

Although most scholars and historians agree that, the southwest region of Ethiopia is the original homeland of coffee Arabica, still there is controversy regarding its specific geographical area. The controversy is mostly between the areas of the north of Gojeb River or the former medieval kingdom of Ennarya and later Jimma and Limmu *awurajas* (currently Jimma zone) and the areas to the south of Gojeb River or the present Kaffa zone. During the imperial and *Därg* regimes, both regions (north and south areas of Gojeb River) were parts of Kaffa *Ṭäqlay gezat* or province. However, according to different literature and oral tradition of the area, the southwestern region of Ethiopia, particularly the areas of north *awurajas* or the present Jimma zone of Gomma district at specific place of *Kattaa Mudhugaa* (Coocee) is the birthplace of coffee Arabica.⁴⁶ From this area, it spread to the rest of the world.

⁴² Dagim, “A History of Coffee...,” p. 27; informants: Abbaa Simal Abbaa Bulguu and Abbaa Jihaad.

⁴³ *Ibid*; Erin Sue Smith, “The Evolution of Coffee Markets for Sustainable Development: A Honduran Cooperative’s Experience with Fair Trade,” (MA Thesis, California State University, Anthropology, 2010), p. 22; Jira Mekonnen Choroke, “Understanding the Place of Coffee in the Daily Life of the People: The Case of Dedo and Gomma Districts of Jimma zone, Southwest Ethiopia,” (PhD Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, Social Anthropology, 2017), p. 53.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*; Tadesse Woldemariam, p. 6; Dagim, “A History of Coffee...,” pp. 27-28; informants: Kamaal Abbaa Milkii, Kamaal Imaam, Abbaa Diggaa Abbaa Garoo and Abbaa Simal.

⁴⁵ Demel, p. 4; Jira, p. 53.

⁴⁶ Geremew, pp. 139-140; Tefera Ragasa, “History of Coffee Production and Trade in Eastern Wollaga Zone from 1880s to 1991,” (MA Thesis, Bahir Dar University, History, 2016), 14; Endalkachew, p. 8; informants: Mohaammed, Abbaa Tamaam, Amiinaa Shifaa, and Abbaa Simal.

1.2.3 The Spread of Coffee Drinking and Cultivation

Though the use of coffee by human beings has a long history, no one undoubtedly suggests when and how coffee came in to use first as a beverage crop. There is no convincing account that shows the exact date when coffee was first drunk. Nevertheless, it is well known that the drink was first discovered in south Arabia probably during the middle of the fifteenth century.⁴⁷ It was also not clear how coffee was taken from its origin, southwest Ethiopia, to where it was first cultivated in South Arabia or Yemen and spread to other parts of the world. There are different arguments: some sources claim that coffee came into South Arabia via Persia and other sources suggest that it was introduced into Yemen directly from Ethiopia. Thus, there is a sort of controversy between the two opinions to show whether coffee was introduced into South Arabia from Persia or Ethiopia. Of course, there is no evidence which indicates that coffee is grown and used in Persia before that of Ethiopia. Besides, there is no effective justification there why coffee was introduced to South Arabia indirectly from Persia rather than taking it directly from its neighbor (Ethiopia.)⁴⁸

Another account suggests that the coffee was brought to Arabia from Ethiopia, by Sudanese slaves who chewed the berries on route to help them survive the journey. It was probably during this time that the Sudanese had sold coffee to South Arabia via the Danakil desert in eastern Ethiopia. Consequently, the Mocha had grown in Yemen.⁴⁹ Despite different arguments most probably coffee was first taken (stolen) by Arab merchants to South Arabia where it was first cultivated for stimulation to avoid sleep for sustained praying. After it was known, Yemen Persians introduced it to the rest of East Asia and the Middle East. Though people had been using coffee in different forms for a long time, the system of coffee preparation by roasting coffee beans, grinding, and mixing the ground coffee with boiling water was started and introduced by the Arabs perhaps about the second half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Demel, p. 6; Merid, p. 19.

⁴⁸ Sagni, p. 24; Endalkachew, p. 6.

⁴⁹ Selamta, *The In-Flight Magazine of Ethiopian Airlines*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Addis Ababa, 1996), p. 2; Geremew, p. 92.

⁵⁰ Wellman, pp. 8-9; Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 29.

The habit of coffee drinking spread all over the Muslim Middle East and the first coffee house emerged in Cairo in 1510, Constantinople (now Istanbul), and Turkey in 1554. The opening of many coffee houses for all classes promoted the drinking of coffee among the people of the Middle East. These coffee houses provided the town dweller with cheap social activities and became communication centers.⁵¹ However, the situation motivated religious riots which temporarily closed the coffee houses, but eventually, coffee drinking was permitted by Muslim religious scholars.⁵² In the same way until the end of the seventeenth-century coffee drinking among the Ethiopian Christians was forbidden. Because, before this time the Ethiopian Orthodox church prohibited Christians from drinking coffee, smoking tobacco, and chewing khat (*Catha edulis*.) According to the doctrine of the Ethiopian Christian all the stated substances were associated with Muslims and pagan peoples.⁵³

In the seventeenth century, coffee drinking spread throughout Europe. By a German man called Rudolf the news of coffee brought to Europe for the first time. He chewed the coffee first in Aleppo (Syria) in 1573 and explained it on his return to Germany. A Venetian Petro Delle Valle also brought coffee from Turkey to Venice at the beginning of the seventeenth century and soon coffee houses opened in the Piazza San Macro, Rome, Paris, Vienna, London, and Amsterdam. The first coffee house in England emerged in Oxford in 1650, and by 1675 there existed two thousand coffee houses in London alone.⁵⁴ Coffee first emerged in Paris in 1672 when Pascal began to sell coffee in a tent. Accordingly, in 1840 about three thousand cafes were opened in Paris. In the same way, coffee was also introduced into Vienna in 1669 by the Turkish agents.⁵⁵

Coffee was introduced into the USA by Captain John Smith, who founded the colony of Virginia at Jamestown in 1607. Thus, Captain Smith was the first to bring the knowledge of coffee to North America.⁵⁶ Subsequently, coffee houses were opened in New York, Boston, Baltimore,

⁵¹ Demel, pp. 6-7; Sagni, pp. 24-25.

⁵² Endalkachew, p. 7; Merid, p. 19.

⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 19-20; Teshome Mulat, "A Short Note in the Revenue Effectiveness of Ethiopia Coffee Export Taxation," (MSc Thesis, Addis Ababa University, 1977), pp.51-52; Pankhurst, pp. 42-43.

⁵⁴ Smith, p. 23; Dagim, "A History of Coffee....," p. 29; Geremew, p. 92.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 93-94; Sagni, p. 25.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*; William H. Ukers, "All About Coffee": *The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal* (New York the Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1922), p.111.

and Philadelphia. In the beginning, coffee had been used exclusively for Americans through coffee houses. Dorothy Jones, who was an American woman, opened the first coffee house in Boston in 1690. However, coffee was not popular until the "Boston Tea party" of December 16, 1773, when three cargoes of tea were thrown into the harbor as a protest against the Colonial British government's tea tax. Eventually, coffee became a beverage of mass consumption in the United States.⁵⁷

The spreading of coffee drinking into many countries created a lucrative trade for the Arabians which they guarded jealously for many years. Accordingly, by the seventeenth century because of its increasing importance both as a beverage and a prodigious source of income, the European big colonial powers began to compete with each other to establish coffee plantations among their colonies. The Dutch were the first to plant coffee seedlings, next to South Arabia. By taking a coffee plant from Mocha they introduced plantations in Sri-Lanka in 1658. After seeing its excellent production and development in Sri-Lanka, the Dutch also transplanted coffee from Malabar to Java (Indonesia) or Dutch East Indies. Coffee plants from Java were also sent to Amsterdam and in 1706 seedlings were grown in botanical gardens and distributed to horticulturists throughout Europe.⁵⁸

For the first time, coffee was planted in the continent of South and Central America in 1718 early, when the Dutch planted coffee from Amsterdam in Suriname. Then it was introduced to Cayenne (French Guiana) in 1722. Consequently, coffee was introduced to Brazil in 1727 from French Guiana by Francisco *de Melo Palheta*, who was a Brazilian Army Officer.⁵⁹ Coffee was taken by Catholic missionaries to Tanzania and Kenya at the end of the nineteenth century and it reached Uganda in 1900. Eventually, the story of coffee's journey came to end by circulating the world when the British laid the foundation for Kenya's coffee industry by introducing coffee plants to British East Africa in 1878.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Dagim, "A History of Coffee....," p. 30.

⁵⁸ Smith, p. 24; Demel, pp. 7-8; Endalkachew, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 8; Demel, p.9; Wrigley, pp. 47-48.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*; Sagni, p. 26; Geremew, p. 95.

CHAPTER TWO

COFFEE PRODUCTION IN LIMMUU SAQQAA, ca. 1891-1991

According to different literature and oral informants of the region, a history of coffee production in Limmuu Saqqaa can be traced back to the first half of the nineteenth century. During this period, in Limmuu Ennarya, including the present-day Limmuu Saqqaa district, coffee production was much more expanded than in any other states in the Gibe region. During this period coffee forest in the kingdom belonged to the royal family, which spread the fame and prestige of the Limmuu Ennarya kingdom.⁶¹ Geera and Kaffa were also known for their forest coffee at the same period as that of Limmuu Ennarya. Unlike the kingdoms of Kaffa, Limmuu Ennarya, and Geera, Jimma, Gommaa, and Guummaa, where coffee did not grow much naturally were actively encouraged and participated in coffee production by the second half of the nineteenth century due to the increasing demand of traders for coffee. Consequently, Jimma emerged as the largest coffee-producing area throughout the Gibe region.⁶²

The production of coffee in Limmuu Ennarya including my study area was also asserted by the observation of a missionary called Charles T. Beke before many years ago. Beke, who visited Limmuu Ennarya region in the 1840s, observed the widely grown natural coffee trees, which were exclusively king's property and preserved by the slaves of the king. The natural environment of the kingdom contributed to the production of coffee to be developed much better than other regions in the southwest.⁶³ Guluma and informants from Saqqaa also argue that by the mid-nineteenth century, the kingdom of Limmuu Ennarya was already known for its coffee production. In the 1840s, King Abbaa Bagiboo (r. 1825-61) had a vast farm covered with coffee, and Saqqaa, the political and commercial center of the kingdom became a great trading center in the Gibe region.⁶⁴ The duties of picking and storing the ripe coffee berries of the king in Saqqaa and its surroundings were the king's female slaves. Until it was sold to caravan merchants the

⁶¹ Mohammed Hassen, *The Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), , p. 122; informants: Abbaa Waarrii, Zeenuu, and Abdusalaam Huseen.

⁶² Bossolasco, p. 34; Mohammed, pp. 122-123.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 122; Beke, pp. 257-258.

⁶⁴ Guluma Gameda, "Land, Agriculture, and Society in the Gibe Region: Southwestern Ethiopia, c. 1850-1974," (PHD Dissertation, Michigan State University, History, 1996), p. 97; informants: Abbaa Duulaa and Yaayyaa Ita'aa.

royal coffee was dried and stored in the king's treasury. Then, it was taken and sold to different regions.⁶⁵

The increase of profit from the coffee trade in the second half of the nineteenth century facilitated the production of coffee in the Gibe region in general and Limmuu Ennarya in particular. Subsequently, the kings intensified coffee plantations and cared well for the coffee that grew naturally in the forest. They also encouraged wealthy men and peasants to plant coffee in the shade of the forest tree.⁶⁶ In the same period on his way to Kaffa, Massaja, cited in Guluma remarked vast coffee plantations owned by the rulers of Limmuu Ennarya, Guummaa, and Geeraa. In his stay in Kaffa, he planted about three thousand coffee trees around the Catholic station in Saappaa, the first political center of Limmuu Ennarya. Consequently, the expansion of coffee cultivation by the second half of the nineteenth century made the Gibe region and Limmuu Ennarya including the study area (Limmuu Saqqaa) the most economically notable area of Ethiopia.⁶⁷ The increasing volume of coffee trade by the late 1870s was due to the vast production in the 1840s and 1850s, using partly slave participation. By the rulers' encouragement, peasants of the Gibe region also contributed to the expansion of coffee cultivation after the 1830s. As a result, coffee became the most dominant trade item in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁶⁸

Although coffee plantations were flourished in the Gibe region and study area before Menelik's control of the region, it was damaged during the conquest and the early Abyssinian administration. Consequently, in the 1880s and 1890s, the coffee production that expanded in the 1850s and 1860s was largely abandoned. During the period of resistance, indigenous peasantries deserted their coffee farms and shifted to the production of subsistence crops for household consumption and provision of rations to the garrisoned imperial soldiers.⁶⁹ Much of the

⁶⁵ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society...", pp. 97-98.

⁶⁶ Mohammed, p. 123; informants: Abdusalaam, Abbaa Biyyaa, and Haadha Jiaad Abbaa Leencaa.

⁶⁷ Guluma Gameda, "Gomma and Limmu: The Process of State Formation among the Oromo in the Gibe Region, c. 1750-1889," (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 1984), p. 109.

⁶⁸ Sagni, pp. 30-31; Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society...", p. 124.

⁶⁹ Guluma Gameda, "The Rise of Coffee and the Demise of Colonial Autonomy: The Oromo Kingdom of Jimma and Political Centralization in Ethiopia," *Northeast African Studies, New Series*. Vol. 9, No. 3 (Michigan State University Press, 2002), p. 58; informants: Yaayyaa, Mohammed Wadaajoo, and Abbaa Tamaam.

abandoned coffee plantations had reverted to wild coffee due to lacking conservation and continued human care. The coffee farms deserted by their owners during the early stages of conquest were claimed mostly by *näṣṭäñña* lords as wild or forest coffee. Thus, throughout the Gibe region except in the Jimma kingdom, coffee became the exclusive property of the Abyssinian governors. The *gäbbars* (serfs) were forced to collect coffee berries for the governors during every harvesting time. Accordingly, only a small amount of coffee was left to the peasants, for household consumption.⁷⁰

According to informants, the Abyssinian monopoly of the region (study area) disrupted the growth of agricultural production and trade activities including coffee production. The period was known for its great reduction in the volume of coffee production. As they were not this much beneficiaries from the production peasantries were reluctant to coffee cultivation. Heavy taxation and provisions of different labor services to the *näṣṭäñña* by the indigenous peasantries weakened their cash crops to the market. As a result, the previous vast coffee productions were wasted and the ripe berries were left in the forest without collections. This greatly happened in many *gandaas* (*qäbälés*) of the district where coffee was largely produced at a time.⁷¹ Despite the unsuitable phenomenon that existed during the resistance and early period of conquest, after a few decades, coffee production began to revive in the region. Some coffee continued to reach the market after the end of the 1890s. Subsequently, the penetration of foreign merchant capital in the country's trade activities largely Indian, Greek and Arab, and the improvement of some transportation system after 1900, gradually rehabilitated the old coffee farms and favored the expansion of new ones in the Gibe region in general and Limmuu Saqqaa in particular.⁷²

By the early decades of the twentieth century, the *näṣṭäñña* and the *balabbates* (local rulers) both began to engage in coffee production due to the increasing need for cash for their purposes. It was at this time that the Abyssinian impact on indigenous labor increased. With a changing market economy and the rise of coffee, the imperial government wanted to control agricultural production and trade. Then, the *qälad* system, a policy of land appropriation, was implemented throughout southern regions including the Gibe region except Jimma kingdom until the 1940s.

⁷⁰ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society...", p. 173; informants: Mohammed, and Kamaal Imaam.

⁷¹ Informants: Abbaa Simal, Abbaa Duulaa, Abbaa Jihaad, and Seläše.

⁷² Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society...", pp. 176-177.

This new policy made the peasants dependent on the state and landlords and disrupted their production than the previous *gäbbar* system.⁷³ The recovery of coffee production in the 1910s and 1920s was indicated by the increasing volume of coffee sold by different chiefs of the time in the region including Limmuu Saqqaa. For instance, *Däjjazmač* Habtärika'él, the governor of Limmuu, and his wife, Wäsänyäläš Wäldägiyorges, had delivered 20.4 tons of coffee to Nassir Awad, an Egyptian coffee merchant in 1924 and agreed to increase their supply in the following consecutive production years.⁷⁴

Accordingly, in the 1920s, the Abyssinian governors actively participated in the expansion of coffee plantations. To increase their revenue, they began to add new plantations to the existing coffee plots that they had already confiscated from the indigenous farmers. Many young imperial governors started their coffee plantations instead of dependable on the collection of tribute from the subject farmers. Consequently, the Abyssinian coffee export, which came mainly from the southwest region including the study area, increased significantly throughout the decade.⁷⁵ Its export data or improvement will be discussed in the next chapter. Though coffee was widely cultivated and emerged as the most export commodity in the 1920s, since then, it began to decline starting from the 1930s and to the end of the 1940s.⁷⁶

According to different sources and oral tradition, several factors contributed to the decline of coffee production and its trade. These were: first, with the implementation of the *qälad* system, the *näffäñña* lost the previous unrestricted access to the *gäbbar* labor for their coffee production and other service provisions. The landless peasants were free either to enter into sharecropping contracts with the landlords or migrated to other provinces mainly to Jimma kingdom for their better profit. Secondly, the world depression of the 1930s also discouraged the production of coffee and its economic activities. The impact of world depression on the coffee trade in particular will be discussed in the next chapter. Lastly, the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935/36 and

⁷³ *Ibid*, pp. 187-188; informants: Adam Abbaa Cabsaa, Abbaa Maccaa, and Kamaal Milkii.

⁷⁴ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture and Society...", pp. 188-189.

⁷⁵ Guluma, "The Rise of Coffee...", p. 59; James C. McCann, *People of the Plow: An Agricultural History of Ethiopia, 1800-1990* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), p. 174.

⁷⁶ Yonas Seifu, "A Historical Survey of Jimma Town (1936-1974)," (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 2002), pp. 43-44.

the Italians occupation period greatly disrupted the production of coffee and its trade activity. During the period of Italian occupation (1936-1941) due to its agricultural policy, the production of coffee and its market was largely declined. The Italians focused on the production of cereal crops and mineral resources rather than coffee for their colonial purposes.⁷⁷

Soon after the Italian invasion, coffee recovery was also very slow in the Gibe region in general and the Limmuu Saqqaa district in particular. Among the constraints which contributed to the decline of coffee production and marketing in the 1940s were the shortage of labor and heavy taxation imposed by the restored imperial government. Due to the abolition of slavery and tenancy, labor was scarce. The expensive transportation system and unfavorable marketing system have also influenced the cultivation and commercialization of coffee. The high cost of transportation discouraged the supply of migrant laborers and WW II affected Ethiopia's international coffee market.⁷⁸ Unlike the past two consecutive decades, coffee production was enormously increasing during the 1950s and 1960s in Kaffa in general and Limmuu Saqqaa district in particular. This was mainly due to an increase in coffee demand in the world, the availability of labor and capital, social stability, and the development of modern transportation systems. During these decades in addition to government officials and local *balabbates*, some peasants have also participated in coffee cultivation. The establishment of financial institutions (Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (CBE) and Development Bank of Ethiopia (DBE)) in Jimma town in 1947 and 1953 respectively facilitated the development of coffee production in Jimma and study area by granting different loans to coffee growers.⁷⁹

Contrary to the expansion of coffee cultivation during the stated decades the production of food crops was greatly declined in Jimma and Limmuu *awurajas* including the study area. According to Guluma and Yonas this resulted from the reduction of suitable land that could be used for the production of cereal crops due to more land devoted to coffee production. The increasing population size without immense economic development of the time also contributed to highly

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 44; Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society....," pp. 227-29; informants: Zeenuu and Yaayyaa.

⁷⁸ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society....," pp. 241-42.

⁷⁹ Yonas, PP. 44-47.

increasing food prices.⁸⁰ Though coffee production and land commercialization were expanded in the 1950s and 1960s, the more beneficiaries were the government officials (bureaucrats) and the merchants who used political authority and the cash economy respectively to purchase extra land.⁸¹ Accordingly, Ras Mäsfen Siläši, the governorate general of Kaffa (1945-1954) and his family purchased and confiscated vast lands of *gashaas* (one *gasha* is equal to 40 ha) from Saqqaa, Deegoo, and Geejjib *gandaas* for coffee plantation in Limmuu Saqqaa district at different times between 1945 and 1954 years.⁸²

According to informants, Mäsfen was remembered as a pioneer in a modern coffee plantation in Limmuu Saqqaa district starting from the middle of the 1940s. He motivated different government officials and landowners of the district to expand their coffee production. He also encouraged the local peasants to produce their own coffee instead of collecting the coffee yield of other people. Consequently, as the number of coffee growers increased from time to time, in the 1950s Limmuu Saqqaa district became one of the most important coffee-growing areas in Kaffa governorate general. It was during this period that different laborers were brought to the district from various regions of the country mostly by higher government officials. Thus, the coffee-growing *gandaas* of the district has experienced with various ethnic diversification.⁸³ Accordingly, starting from the 1950s the coffee production system of the district was mainly categorized into four main types. These were: forest coffee, semi forest coffee, garden coffee, and modern coffee plantations.⁸⁴ Their details are described hereunder.

2.1 Types of Coffee Production System in Limmuu Saqqaa

2.1.1 Forest Coffee Production System

In this kind of production system coffee is naturally grown in the natural forest under different ecosystems. Hence, forest coffee was self-sown and grown under the full coverage of natural

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 44; Guluma Gameda, "Some Notes on Food Crop and Coffee Cultivation in Jimma and Limma Awrajas, Kafa Administrative Region (the 1950s to 1970s)," *Proceedings of the Third Annual Seminar of the Department of History* (Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, 1986), pp. 94-95.

⁸¹ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture and Society...", p. 272; informants: Tashoomaa, Gäberämika'él Gäberämäden, and Jamiilaa Abbaa Garoo.

⁸² Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society...", pp. 306-307; informants: Tashoomaa and Gäberämika'él.

⁸³ Informants: Gäberämika'él, Täsfayé Dässaläñe, Haadha Jihaad, and Sulxaan Abbaa Raagoo.

⁸⁴ Informants: Gammachuu Abarraa, Seefuu Taaddasaa and Tashoomaa.

forest trees, and has a wide diversity for selection and breeding for disease resistance. Nationally it represents around nine percent of the total land covered by coffee and provided about ten percent of the total coffee production.⁸⁵ Subsequently, in the study area, local people called forest coffee *buna baddaa* (*yäcäka bunna*). In the district, for hundreds of years ago forest coffee was found in the forests of Geejjib, Gaabanaa, Booqaa, Baddaa Uummoo, and Caaltee. According to the district's Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, due to the increasing rate of deforestation from time to time, these forest coffees are now in danger. Still, some forest coffees are usually found in the middle of the forest and on the top of the hills and hillsides. These forest coffees have been very old and taller. Peasants called such aged coffee trees as *baggaajjaa* to mean old forest or wild coffee.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Ayele Kebede, “Delimiting the Interface between Garden Coffee Expansion and Forest Coffee Conservation and its Implication for Protected Area Management: The Case of Kaffa Coffee Biosphere Reserve,” (MSc Thesis, Klagenfurt University, Austria, Management of Protected Areas (MPA), 2011), P. 41.

⁸⁶ Informants: Adam, Kamaal Milkii, Abbaa Tamaam, and Tashoomaa.

Figure 1: Caaltee natural forest where some forest coffee is found in Limmu Saqqaa district



Source: Photo by the Researcher, 2020

According to informants, forest coffees have been greatly expanded in the district until the middle of the twentieth century. During the reign of Abbaa Bagiboo (r. 1825-1861) many forest coffees in Saqqaa and its surrounding *gandaas* had been owned by the king and royal family and were mainly harvested by the king's slaves. Even after the incorporation of the region by the Menilek's forces, there have been immense forest coffees in the district. Among the earlier forest coffee of the district Geejjib, Gootuu, Dooraa, Qeeransoo, and Saddeeqaa forest coffees were the well-known ones. Without any management except access clearing to allow movement in the

forest during harvesting time, local people used this type of coffee for many hundreds of years.⁸⁷ However, after the middle of the 1940s, the majority of these forest coffees were taken by *Ras* Mäsfen and his families, *Lej* Yilmaa Dheeressaa, *Lej* Abata Mulat, and some *balabbates* (local rulers) and changed into Semi forest coffee and modern coffee plantations until some of them were diverted into state coffee plantation (Geejjib and Dooraa). Those in other areas were given out to laborers and indigenous peasants by the *Därg* government. Still, some very aged coffee trees are standing in Geejjib forest of the modern coffee plantation branch in Limmu Seka district.⁸⁸

Forest coffees of the district were largely declined due to the expansion of semi forest and plantation coffee; mainly by the imperial government officials. Indigenous peasants were also participated in the reduction of forest coffee. When coffee's demand globally increased, particularly starting from the middle of the twentieth century, many peasants seized forest lands with its forest coffee and demarcated as their own property. As this forest coffee had no management and grown traditionally, its yield was also very little. With the interventions of peasants, many forest coffees were changed into semi-forest coffees. Consequently, many forest coffees were also cleared for food crop production land by peasants, including the new settlers in the region. Thus, due to a variety of reasons, including increment of population number, new settlers who were initially brought there by the imperial government officials as laborers for coffee plantations and later settled by resettlement program of the *Därg* regime, and the expansion of modern coffee plantations, forest coffee or wild coffee has been declined in area coverage.⁸⁹

2.1.2 Semi-Forest Coffee Production System

The semi-forest coffee production system is also referred to as semi-wild or semi-domesticated coffee, evolved from the forest coffee production system with the intervention of humans. It represents the production system in which forest coffee is manipulated through thinning of dense trees, removal of ground vegetation, and filling of empty spaces in the forest by transplanting naturally regenerated or raised seedlings. This production system represents about 24 percent of

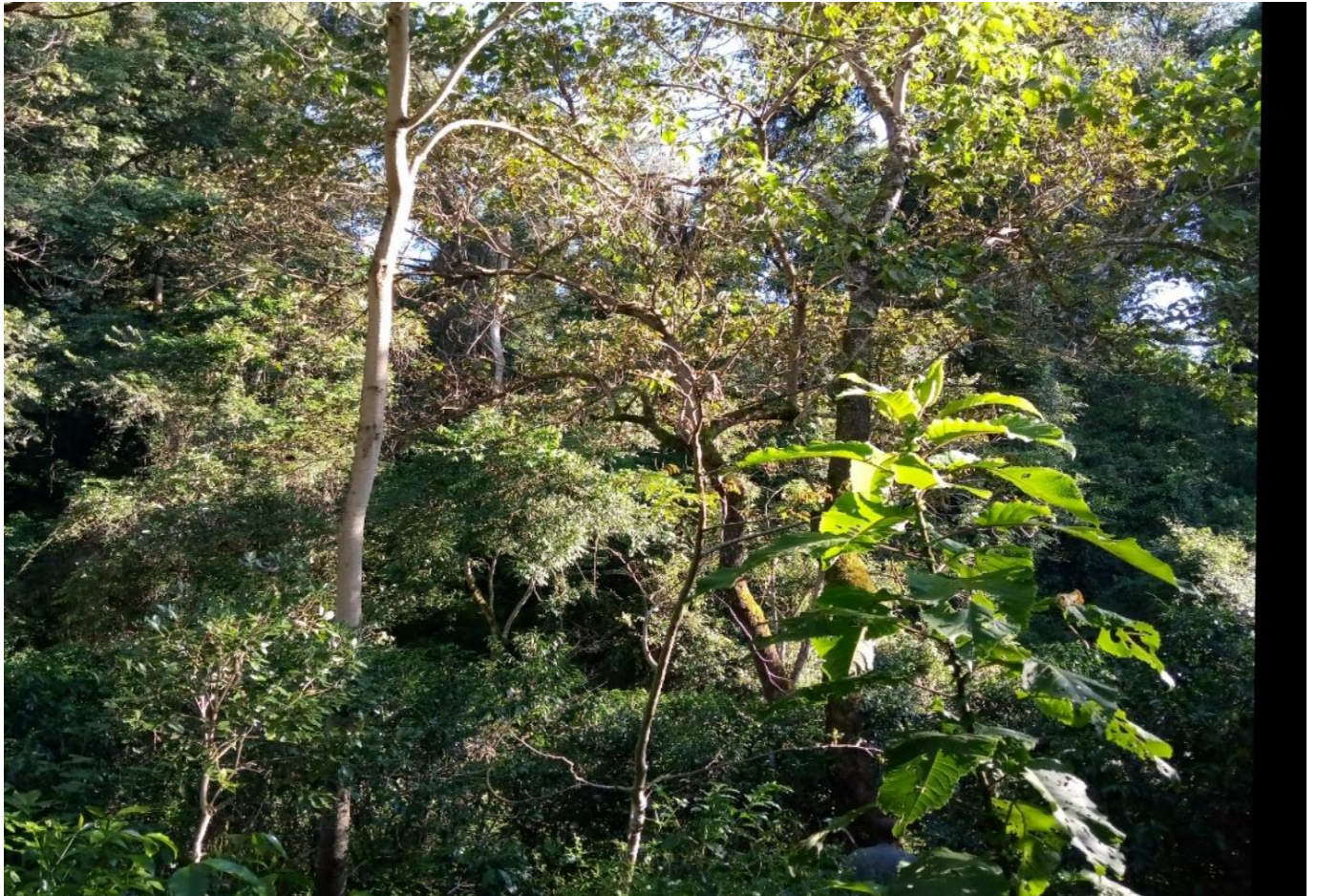
⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Informants: Abbäa Duulaa, Abbäa Maccaa, Sulxaan, and Abbäa Jihaad.

⁸⁹ Informants: Abbäa Maccaa, Abbäa Milkii and Abbäa Biyyaa.

the total land covered by coffee and contributes about 35 percent of the total production of the country.⁹⁰ Accordingly, people of the study area are named semi-forest coffee as *baddaa makaa* or *käfil êaaka*. It has been found in the forests of Saddeeqaa, Gollaa, Gabbaalloo (Ceekaa), Jirruu, Dooraa, Kaanchiboo, etc. As to the district's Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, in the semi-forest coffees there were a lot of shade trees such as *Acacia abyssinnica*, *Cordia africana*, *Hyphaene the baica*, *Croton machrostachyus*, *Ficus vasta*, *Albizia schimperiana*, *Mangifera indica*, *Ensete ventricosum*, and *Grevillea robusta*. These forests have been decreasing because of human interferences, agricultural practices, firewood, construction, and settlement activities.⁹¹

Figure 2: Semi-forest coffees in *ganda* Saanxoo of Limmuu Saqqaa district



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

⁹⁰ Jira, p. 73; Ayele, pp. 42-43.

⁹¹ Informants: Mohammed, Abbaa Simal, Tashoomaa, and Abbaa Diggaa.

Like that of forest coffees, the majority of semi-forest coffees have been seized by different government officials, local *balabbates*, and wealthy personalities (*soressoota*) until the downfall of the imperial regime. Later on, during the *Därg* regime there were distributed among indigenous peasants and laborers, who were brought there by bureaucrats before. Since the management of the semi-forest coffee system was a very restricted and traditional way its product has been also very low. Starting from the 1980s, by using different activities like agricultural extension the *Därg* government began to discourage the semi-forest coffees by realizing that it had no great value on the world market. Consequently, peasants had widely experienced coffee production in their garden on a small plot of land.⁹²

2.1.3 Garden Coffee Production System

Garden coffee, also referred to as smallholder coffee was much familiar among the people of Limmuu Saqqaa district which is locally termed as *buna qe'ee (buna boroo)*.⁹³ Its production system was mainly based on traditional practices that are experienced by the uncontrolled growth of branches and the main stem. Garden coffee has been cultivated on plots of land of varying sizes around dwelling areas. It has been commonly intercropped with a variety of fruit, root, and cereal crops. It was from this type of production system that a large amount of coffee product came to the market in the past and up to these days.⁹⁴ In Ethiopia, coffee has been a family crop of which contributed to national production was estimated at around 95 percent, of which 50 percent from homestead gardens. Generally, these coffee crops were not taller than three *facaasaa* (one *facaasaa* is equal to 0.25 ha). *Facaasaa* is a traditional unit of measurement used for coffee land and other crops of the land in the study area and its surroundings.⁹⁵

⁹² Informants: Alii Ibree, Kair, Sinqee Maammoo, and Yaayyaa.

⁹³ Informants: Jamiilaa, Sulxaan, Kadir, and Adam.

⁹⁴ Sagni, p. 39; informants: Seefuu, Gammachuu Abarraa, Nagaash Abbaa Kadir and Haadha Jihaad.

⁹⁵ Bossolasco, p. 41; Sagni, pp. 39-40.

Figure 3: Garden coffee production system in *ganda* Daammee of Limmuu Saqqaa district



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

The work of Guluma argues that starting from the 1950s and 1960s; the fields around many peasants' homesteads were put under garden coffee production, even though its size varied from peasant to peasant. The expansion of such a coffee production system finally caused the prevalence of anti-grain animals such as apes and monkeys around villages which resulted in the scarcity of food crop production of the time.⁹⁶ Accordingly, garden coffee production was largely expanded in the study area during the *Därg* regime when each peasant have got access to farmland with the establishment of the land reform program of 1975. Though many peasants produced garden coffee for home consumption, they were also used for commercial purposes. The management in the garden coffee production system was by far better and efficient compared with the forest and semi-forest coffee production system. Consequently, its yield has been by far greater than that of the two systems. However, there was little or no utilization of modern agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, pesticides, insecticides, watering, etc. They sometimes used mulching or manure fertilizers and other organic materials.⁹⁷

According to written sources and the district's Agriculture and Natural Resource Office peasants have been used the local coffee varieties which were traditionally called *Maaloo* or *Oromee* for garden coffee production until the coming up of the socialist government. These varieties could not give high yield and resist different diseases. The species were not planted in rows but usually spaced one meter to one and a half meters. Finally, during the reign of the *Därg* regime hybrid varieties were selected by Jimma Agricultural Research Center (JARC) and these seedlings were distributed to the peasants of the study area and its surroundings. Currently, these selected varieties are planted and familiar with the peasants.⁹⁸ Consequently, peasants have been used in different traditional ways of harvesting systems. Among these methods what the people locally called *shimxaaxoo* was the most widely known. This was the method of collecting both the ripe and unripe coffee berries together. Peasants used mats made of *zämbaba* or meadow for this method of picking. While they were using this system, the collectors bending the coffee trees and its branches in different directions to pick the cherries easily. Though this method enables the collectors to pick many coffee berries per working a day, it had an adverse effect on the quality

⁹⁶ Guluma, "Some Notes on Food Crop and Coffee...", p. 95.

⁹⁷ Informants: Seefuu, Gammachuu, Nagaash, and Haadha Jihaad.

⁹⁸ Dagim, Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 43; informants: Gammachuu and Seefuu.

of coffee as well as on the following years of its production due to the damage to its physical appearance. Currently, this method is applied in the study area in a very rare case among very few coffee growers.⁹⁹

The other method which was more advantageous in various ways, but time and human labor-consuming was locally called *milmaaloo* (hand picking). This was the process in which the only ripe coffee cherries were collected. This harvesting method was very important for both coffee quality and its future production due to the method's care for coffees' physical health. Though it was more suitable for both coffee production and its quality, the *milmaaloo* method was more tiring and boring. Nowadays almost the majority of the district's coffee farmers are using this method. Peasants also used the method locally termed as *aggoo* or *ciroosh* (harvesting remnants). This was the collecting of the coffee berries which have been fallen on the ground, due to not collected while they were ripe enough on the coffee trees. Remnants and coffees dropped on the ground during harvesting by using the above two methods were (*shimxaaxoo* and *milmaaloo*) also collected by *aggoo* or *ciroosh* method. The coffees which were collected by using this system had a great quality problem.¹⁰⁰

2.1.4 Plantation Coffee Production System

Plantation coffee was established on previously cleared land, was a relatively new farming system for coffee cultivation in Ethiopia. It was a modern and intensive form of production system that was characterized by a monoculture (i.e. one crop to one field type) of high yielding, disease-resistant cultivars in nurseries, and transplanting them into well-prepared land.¹⁰¹ As Tadesse discussed in his study, in plantation coffee production systems, coffee plants were well managed and the recommended agronomic practices like improved seedlings, spacing, proper mulching, weeding, shade regulation, and pruning were practiced. In bigger plantations, shade trees are mainly from old forest stands. In small plantations, shade trees are planted. High yield and good quality coffee are obtained from this type of production system. The plantation coffee

⁹⁹ Jimma Zone Administration Office Archival Document, Folder No. hñU/68, File No. 139/68 (17 Ter 1968 E. C.) or see appendix VI; informants: Haadha Qoroo Abbaa Bulguu, Alii, and Täsfayé.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Jira, p. 74.

accounts for five to ten percent of the total coffee production of Ethiopia.¹⁰² Different sources indicate that coffee plantations have been undergoing tremendous changes in Ethiopia in general and the Limmuu Saqqaa district in particular since the 1950s.¹⁰³

In the plantation coffee production system, the planting site was usually selected based on some standardized criteria according to the coffee environmental requirements, by a coffee expert team. Seedlings were produced under a well-managed nursery. It followed an appropriate way of site preparation, planting method, young plantation maintenance, bearing-tree maintenance, harvesting, and processing. Generally, it was the production system that was guided by plan and program of production. These plantations were said modern because all inputs and practices were used.¹⁰⁴ The coffee plantation production system was grown by the state enterprise or coffee plantation enterprise, private companies, and some well-managed smallholder's coffee farms.¹⁰⁵

According to informants, until the downfall of the imperial government, the involvement of the indigenous peasants of study area on coffee plantations was very much limited due to the time of mainly land tenure and taxation system problems. As discussed earlier they were those government officials and local *balabbates*, who were actively engaged in this system particularly after the middle of the 1940s. It was after the nationalization of the land proclamation of 1975 that peasants began to participate in coffee plantations. Consequently, the collectivization of land enabled peasants to own large amounts of cultivated land and empty land which paved the way for peasants to own coffee plantations. However, peasants were not many beneficiaries of the system due to many problems related to the collectivization process.¹⁰⁶ By its nature, it is better to see coffee plantations in the district by classifying into before and after land reform of 1975 hereunder.

2.1.4.1 Plantation Coffee Production System before the Land Reform of 1975

According to Guluma cited in Yonas, the expansion of coffee cultivation in the early twentieth was a result of basically two factors: the establishment of some transport infrastructure

¹⁰² Tadesse Woldemariam, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰³ Sagni, p. 42.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*; Bossolasco, p. 42.

¹⁰⁵ Tadesse Woldemariam, p. 19.

¹⁰⁶ Informants: Tashoomaa, Jamiilaa, Abbaa Diggaa, and Gammachuu.

particularly river and railway transportations that made it possible to carry a large volume of agricultural product over long distance and the eager interest in coffee production by the political-administrative elite including local *balabbates* and government officials.¹⁰⁷ Subsequently, during the 1920s, some government officials and the nobility started large scale coffee plantations in the study area and its surroundings. For instance, *Gerazmač* Bāyānā Semawu was the famous one in possessing vast areas coffee plantations in Saqqaa with a particular area of Qeeransoo coffee plantation. This coffee was granted to him by *Ras Tāfāri Mäkonnen*. Bāyānā had been the official of *Lej* Iyassu and became governor of Limmuu area after the decline of *Lej* Iyassu when he was pushed away from the palace.¹⁰⁸

As it has been explained above, the development of modern coffee production was tremendously increasing during the 1950s and 1960s in the region due to an increase of coffee demand in the world, the availability of labor and capital, and the development of modern transportation system. It was also during these decades that coffee growers were greatly increased. Accordingly, among many officials, who were engaged in plantation coffee, *Däjjazmač*, later *Ras Mäsfen Silaši*, who was the governor-general of Kaffa from 1945-1954 and member of the crown council played a major role in the expansion of coffee plantations in the region and study area in particular.¹⁰⁹ Mäsfen, soon he passed to Kaffa as governor from Iluubbaabboor in 1945, he immediately began buying land and consolidating the abandoned coffee fields. He confiscated, purchased, and took many lands as a gift and employed migrant laborers and even used *corvee* labor (unpaid labor), unlike other modern coffee growers.¹¹⁰

According to informants *Ras Mäsfen* and his family expanded coffee plantations in Saqqaa, Deegoo (Gootuu), and Geejjib *gandaas* of the district by using both purchasing and forceful alienation.¹¹¹ Consequently, between 1945-1954 Mäsfen and his family bought 1.56 *gashas* of land from Saqqaa (Qeeransoo) and Geejjib *gandaas* with 2,300 ETB and an unspecified amount from *ganda* Saqqaa again with 600 ETB for coffee plantations. He also took a large amount of

¹⁰⁷ Yonas, p. 43.

¹⁰⁸ Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 48; informants: Abbaa Waarrii, Abbaa Duulaa, and Zeenuu.

¹⁰⁹ Yonas, p. 47.

¹¹⁰ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society...", p. 265.

¹¹¹ Informants: Abbaa Waarrii, Abbaa Duulaa, and Zeenuu.

forest and cultivated land from the above-stated *gandaas* without any payment. By using his political authority, Mäsfen forced *Gerazmač* Bāyānā Semawu to sell his possession of Qeeransoo coffee plantation to him. Eventually, Bāyānā sold it to *Ras* Mäsfen, who finally made it part of his large coffee plantations in the district.¹¹² According to informants, by strengthening his Qeeransoo and Gootuu coffee plantations *Ras* Mäsfen transferred or gave his Geejjib coffee plantations to *Lej* Yilmaa Dheeressaa, who served as Finance Minister (1957-1970) and had been known for his expanding modern coffee plantation and taking many laborers to *ganda* Geejjib. Still, his dry coffee store is found in Geejjib branch of Horizon Private coffee plantation which is currently used for other purposes (see figure 4 below). After the downfall of the imperial regime *Ras* Mäsfen's coffee plantations of Gootuu and Qeeransoo were distributed to his laborers and indigenous peasants and *Lej* Yilmaa Dheeressaa's Geejjib coffee plantations became Suunxuu state coffee plantation branch in Limmuu Saqqaa district.¹¹³

¹¹² Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society....," pp. 306-307; informants: Zeenuu, Kamaal Abbāa Milkii, Adam and Abba Waarrii.

¹¹³ Informants: Abbāa Maccaa, Kamaal Abbāa Milkii, Kamaal Imaam, and Samu'él Lāggāsä

Figure 4: *Lej Yilmaa Dheeressaa*'s dry coffee store at Geejjib coffee plantation of Limmu Saqqaa district



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

The other remarkable government officials who became coffee plantations grower in Limmuu Saqqaa district was *Lej Abata Mulat*, who was the nephew of *Ras Mäsfen*. Abata had been a civil servant for some years in the early 1940s, working in the Ministry of Finance. After he resigned by the encouragement of *Ras Mäsfen*, Abata engaged in coffee cultivation. Following his visit to Germany and Britain in 1960 for commercial agreements to export sun-dried and washed coffee, Abata has got agricultural experience. Accordingly, he has got a large amount of land by gift and purchasing different government lands, who became finally the owner of a very large scale

coffee plantation in the region.¹¹⁴ According to informants Abata had vast coffee plantation farms both in the neighboring district of Limmu Kossaa and study area at *ganda* Dooraa Gibee, which is now part of Suunxuu coffee plantation enterprise branch in Limmu Seka district. Dooraa Gibee coffee plantation was more mechanized with modern production systems and technical support. This farm was also known for its honey, animal, and milk productions. Abata also hired extension workers like Ato Ṭilawun Sassaba, a graduate of Jimma Agricultural and Technical School. Later he worked as farm manager, even after the farm was nationalized by the *Därg* government. His temporal residence is still found at Dooraa coffee plantation branch which is still serving for the site's agronomist residence. See figure 5 below.¹¹⁵

Figure 5: *Lej* Abata Mulat’s Temporary Residence at his former Dooraa coffee plantation



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

¹¹⁴ Yonas, p. 50.

¹¹⁵ Informants: Sulxaan, Abbaa Diggaa, and Wändäwosan Hirpässa.

In addition to different higher government officials, there were also landowners, local *balabbates*, and some wealthy personalities (*sooressoota*) who were participated in the expansion of coffee plantations in the study area. For instance, *Qäzmač* Dibaabaa Magaal, Haji Abdusalaam Huseen, *Qäzmač* Mohammed Abbaa Waajjii, Haji Bushuraa Gejjoo, *Wäzäro* Askala Boru, and Abbaa Garoo Abbaa Dikoo were the known individuals who were actively involved in coffee plantation production in different *gandaas* of the district.¹¹⁶ According to oral tradition, some foreigners were also participated in a coffee plantation in *ganda* Saqqaa by purchasing some coffee farms from owners temporally through lease contract agreement during the early 1950s to the downfall of the *Därg* regime. Pagano Salbator, who was an Italian origin, expanded coffee plantation in Saqqaa by modernizing the coffee farm who has got through a lease contract agreement. An archive found in Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office also confirms that Pagano had coffee production in Limmuu Saqqaa.¹¹⁷

In general, though plantation coffee production in the study area and its surroundings were largely expanded by the imperial government officials including the higher bureaucrats, the involvement of landowners, local *balabbates*, and wealthy individuals was also very immense. Nevertheless, the participation of indigenous ordinary peasants was very restricted to a few numbers, even the expansion of this commercial crop exposed many peasants to landless.¹¹⁸ Some government officials and the landlords who had already started coffee plantations in the region planned a way to alienate the peasant's land by charging them for failing to pay tax and thereby enforcing the implementation of the land assessment act. As a result, many peasants' possession became government land and they became *gibrätäl* or those who refused to pay taxes. Consequently, some government officials like *Ras Mäsfen* were able to gain excess lands. The land was also granted and purchased by government officials for their need for commercial agriculture. Hence, in the first half of the 1950s about 6,004 *gashas* of land were transferred from the peasants to government land in Limmuu *awuraja* including the study area, which was later sold to different officials at a very low price.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Informants: Abbaa Biyyaa, Abbaa Tamaam, Zeenuu, and Abbaa Maccaa.

¹¹⁷ Limmu Seka District Administration Office Archival Document, Folder No. የቡሕ/48, File No. ቡ34/48 (13 *Hedar* 1948 E. C.) or see appendix I; informants: Yaayyaa, Abbaa Duulaa, and Täsfayé.

¹¹⁸ Informants: Abbaa Jihaad, Abdusalaam, Abbaa Duulaa, and Kamaal Abbaa Milkii.

¹¹⁹ Sagni, p. 45.

Despite the rapid expansion of coffee production in the 1950s and 1960s, the spread of Coffee Berry Disease (CBD) in the late 1960s and early 1970s greatly discouraged those coffee growers. As its name indicates CBD attacked the green berries of coffee. It was introduced to coffee farms of the study area and the Gibe region from neighboring Kenya. By 1971 CBD has spread throughout the Gibe region coffee farms within a short period of years after being emerged, which largely demoralized modern coffee farmers. Consequently, its yield was dropped by over thirty percent in the early 1970s.¹²⁰ Finally, with the end of the imperial government in 1974, the new government proclaimed that every landowner's possession of the land would be under the control and administration of the National Resource Development. Thus, large-scale coffee growers lost the right of property ownership. Accordingly, the proclamation of "land to the tiller" completed the issue of private large-scale coffee plantations and landholding until the privatization of farm collectives took place in 1991.¹²¹

2.1.4.2 Plantation Coffee Production System during the *Därg* Regime (1974-1991)

On March 4, 1975, intending to end the unfair landlord-tenant relationship, the *Därg* government announced its land reform proclamation. To change this reform into action, the government nationalized rural land and abolished tenancy, forbade the usage of wage labor on private farms, abolished the supremacy of the Orthodox Church, and ordered commercial farms to remain under government control. All adult farmers were allowed to have plotted a maximum of ten hectares. No right to sell and exchange land. The transfer of land through long-term lease has also been forbidden. Former tenants were given the fields where they had grown cash and cereal crops and large-scale landlords lost most of their lands.¹²² Consequently, like other parts of the

¹²⁰ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture, and Society...", pp. 280-81; Jimma Zone Administration Office Archival Document, File No. 24/03 (29 *Säné* 1969 E. C.) or see appendix XI.

¹²¹ Informants: Gammachuu, Seefuu, Alii, and Tashoomaa.

¹²² Wibke Crewett, "Land Tenure in Ethiopia: Continuity and Change, Shifting Rulers, and the Quest for State Control," CAPRI Working Paper, No. 91. 2008, p. 12; Stein Holden and Hailu Yohannes, "Land Redistribution, Tenure Insecurity, and Intensity of Production: A Study of Farm Households in Southern Ethiopia," *Land Economics*. Vol. 78, No. 4 (University of Wisconsin Press, 2002), p. 574; Endalkachew Lelisa, "A Historical Survey of Coffee Production and Marketing in Jimma and Limmu Awurajas, 1800-1991," (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2013). P. 80.

country's farmers, the study area peasants were given land use right receiving land-based on family size. The former landless and fewer landowner farmers enjoyed the right to have land-based upon the size of their family. Every young above eighteen years old was also entitled to have a farmland and land use right could be hereditary. It was during this period that many farmers of the district have got coffee land and the production largely expanded.¹²³

The proclamation also established Peasant Associations (PAs), which was to be organized on an 800 hectares area. Every peasant was organized under PAs. The associations were the smallest unit of administrative organizations and responsible for different activities including for the implementation of the new land reform.¹²⁴ With the implementation of the new land reform, when peasants have got access to land the big private coffee plantation was nationalized and became government property. They were collectively named the Southern State Coffee and Tea Plantation.¹²⁵ For the production and marketing of coffee, peasant cooperatives were also established by the district's peasants and its surroundings. There were two types of cooperatives: The Producers' Cooperatives (PCs) and the Service Cooperatives (SCs). Members of the PCs benefited from the services delivered but the productivity of the PCs was lower than that of the private farmers. The SCs were marketing and purchasing cooperatives that provided modern inputs, credit, milling services, the selling of consumer goods, and the purchasing of peasants' produce. However, with the declaration of a mixed economic policy by the *Därg* government most of the peasants transferred from cooperative land to private production system.¹²⁶

According to different sources, before the land reform proclamation of 1975, there was no state coffee farm in the country. It was during the implementation of the new reform that the government-owned fifty to sixty coffee plantations of about 12,000 hectares of land. Except for those medium coffee plantations, which were given to PAs, the big nine coffee plantations became a state farm in the southwest region. These plantations were: Bebeka, Gommaa I, Gommaa II, Kossaa, Suunxuu, Gummar, Olmea, Tepi, and Gololcha. Out of these Kossaa,

¹²³ Informants: Abbaa Tamaam, Haadha Qoroo, Alii, and Sinqee.

¹²⁴ Dessalegn Rahmato, *Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia* (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1984), p. 38; Endalkachew, "A Historical Survey of Coffee...", p. 80.

¹²⁵ Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 56.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*; informants: Abbaa Tamaam, Haadha Qoroo, Alii, and Sinqee.

Suunxuu, Gummar, Gommaa I, and Gommaa II has been found in the present-day Jimma zone.¹²⁷ Among these coffee plantations again Suunxuu state farm was found in both adjacent sides of the study area and the neighboring district of Limmu Kossaa. From the study area, it was found in two *gandaas*: 165 ha in Geejjib and 331 ha in Dooraa and its total area (coverage) in the district is currently 496 ha. Before its nationalization in 1975, as described above Geejjib and Dooraa coffee plantations were owned by *Lej* Yilmaa Dheeressaa and *Lej* Abata Mulat respectively.¹²⁸

According to informants from Geejjib and Dooraa, Suunxuu state farm in the study area, from its nationalization period gradually passed through rapid expansion in production, coffee farm coverage, and the number of laborers. Particularly during the 1980s, the plantations both in Geejjib and Dooraa employed a large number of both skilled and unskilled laborers. Its development paved the way for replacing old coffee varieties with new, effective coffee varieties, which contributed to higher yield and improved coffee processing methods. It was during this period that Geejjib wet coffee processing machinery (pulp station) was planted by the government. The productive varieties or seedlings were provided to the state farms by Limmuu Coffee Plantation Development Enterprise (LCPDE). Nevertheless, in the study area state coffee plantations were not expanded like that of Limmuu Kossaa and Gommaa district where it was greatly and extensively expanded on large-scale farms.¹²⁹

In addition to state coffee plantations, during the *Därg* regime, private coffee plantations were also expanded in the study area by some private individuals. According to the district's Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, among coffee plantations growers *Obbo* Geetaachoo Addunyaa, *Obbo* Mubaarik Kadiir, *Obbo* Seefuu Taaddasaa, *Ato* Germa Täšomä, and *Obbo* Muhiddiin Abbaa Zinaab were the most notable ones. They expanded coffee plantations in Atinaagoo, Deegoo, Ceekaa, Saanxoo, and Komaa *gandaas*. They were role models of the district in modern coffee plantation growing. They actively followed and accepted agronomists' advice and instructions which they used for the expansion of their coffee production. The district's Coffee Improvement Program (CIP) was responsible to provide improved coffee

¹²⁷ Sagni, p. 51.

¹²⁸ Informants: Samu'él, Wändäwosan, Sulxaan, and Abbaa Maccaa.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

varieties with a balanced cost. Thus, during military government coffee plantations coverage, production and its growers in the study area were very much greater than the imperial period.¹³⁰

Figure 6: Privately owned modern coffee plantation in *ganda* Atinaagoo of L/S district



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

¹³⁰ Informants: Seefuu, Germa Täšomä, Muhiddiin Abbaa Zinaab, and Gammachuu.

CHAPTER THREE

COFFEE PROCESSING, QUALITY, AND MARKETING IN LIMMUU SAQQAA, ca. 1891-1991

3.1 Coffee Processing

It is obvious that to make ready for consumption, coffee has to go through further processing. Thus, processing was used to mean the preparation of coffee for market or commercialization as well as for home consumption by taking out all unnecessary bi-products and other unwanted materials such as dust and stones.¹³¹ Starting from using coffee for consumption, peoples of the study area and its surroundings adopted different types of coffee processing. Accordingly, in the beginning, they simply picked coffee from the forest and used it for consumption without further processing work. Later, they practiced drying and hulling coffee seeds from its covering or coffee pulp using teeth and hand and traditional materials called pestle and mortar. Gradually, old and modern dry coffee hulling stations or machines were expanded. Eventually, mostly in the past two decades, the modern way of coffee processing which was called the wet processing method expanded in many *gandaas* of the district where coffee has been grown.¹³²

Coffee processing has been an issue of great attention starting from the early 1950s, the time when the first law which prohibited the export of uncleaned and ungraded coffee was enacted. The present coffee laws also strictly regulate coffee processing. In this respect, the proclamation requires the body which was engaged in coffee processing to “properly clean and process the coffee received by it as per the terms of the contract it entered and deliver the same to the owner with evidence of appropriate cleaning for the quality and grade of the coffee.”¹³³ Consequently, starting from the 1950s, some private coffee growers and the government started to establish coffee processing machines in some coffee-growing areas of the study area including in the neighboring districts and *awurajas* (sub-provinces) of Kaffa province to improve the quality of

¹³¹ Mengistu Gonsamo, “Coffee Production, Processing and Marketing in Aleta Wondo,” (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Geography, 1991), p. 41.

¹³² Informants: Seefuu, Gammachuu, and Nagaash.

¹³³ Yared, p. 45; Federal *Negarit Gazeta*, Coffee Quality Control and Transaction Council of Ministers Regulation No. 161, Art. 2 (1) (c), 15th year No. 22, Addis Ababa, Feb. 2009.

coffee.¹³⁴ Generally, there were two types of coffee processing methods: the dry (natural or sun-dried) and the wet (washing coffee) methods.¹³⁵ Let us delineate them in some detail as it has been done below.

3.1.1 Dry (Natural) Processing

It has been the more traditional method, and is often used by smallholders of coffee producers in rural areas. The harvested ripe cherries are thinly spread over a raised bed and raked at regular intervals to prevent fermentation and ensure even drying. In this method, the coffee cherries have been dried using natural sunlight on beds constructed from local materials and wire.¹³⁶ According to informants, coffee growers of the district dried their coffee cherries using traditional drying of coffee directly on soil, rooftops, and platform which affected coffee quality for a long period, particularly until the 1950s. Later they practiced drying coffee cherries on beds with the help of an agricultural extension.¹³⁷ Drying cherries can take several days to a few weeks, depending on temperature and the intensity of the sun. At night or in case of rain, the coffee was collected to the center and covered up. During the drying process, the cherries shrink in size and eventually became hard and completely dry. Once the process was completed, sacks of dried cherry which were locally called *jānfāl* are taken to either to their house (farmers' house) for future use or to a hulling station for the removal of the outer cherry.¹³⁸

Though, the quality of coffee produced by dry coffee processing method (sun-dried) was lower than that of the coffee produced by wet coffee processing method, until the recent time it constitutes the bulk of Ethiopian coffee produced.¹³⁹ In 1989/90 it was 70.8 percent of total

¹³⁴ Taye Gulilat, "Coffee in Ethiopian Economy," In *the Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. Vol. 1, No. 1 (Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, January 1963), p. 50; informants: Gammachuu and Seefuu.

¹³⁵ Tadesse Woldemariam, p. 25; informants: Seefuu, Gammachuu, and Nagaash.

¹³⁶ Asfaw Takele, "Evaluating the Quality of Coffee Product on Marketing Performance of Ethiopian Commodity Exchange (ECX) Hawassa Branch," In *the International Journal of Social Sciences Perspectives*. Vol. 2, No. 1 (the USA, 2018), P. 60; informants: Zeenuu and Yaayyaa.

¹³⁷ Informants: Gammachuu, Faaxumaa, and Waallee Zalaalam.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Bossolasco, p. 8.

coffee exports.¹⁴⁰ As it was indicated above coffee growers of the study area have been used in the very traditional way of dry coffee processing for a long period. Consequently, during the 1950s, a person called Pipeno Pagano, an Italian origin who had been lived in Saqqaa, planted the oldest hulling station (dry coffee processing machine) in *ganda* Saqqaa. Though it was an old machine, this hulling station actively worked for almost two decades until it was confiscated (nationalized) by the *Därg* government in 1979.¹⁴¹ Currently, this machine is not in use, even it was thrown or rejected from its original station and two of its parts dynamo and motor found on the field (see figure 7A below). Likewise, in the late 1970s, the military government planted one modern dry coffee processing machine in *ganda* Saqqaa. This hulling station was more advanced and modern which is still active and in use even after it was sold to private ownership by this or current government (see figure 7B below). It was starting from this period that many coffee growers and traders of the district began to supply their dried coffee berries to the hulling stations to process their coffee, especially for the market.¹⁴² The coffee processed through this method (dry processing) tend to have a fuller body, thicker viscosity, and more restrained acidity than wet-processed coffees, and are more likely to taste earthy.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Almaw Kifle. 2015. "The Political Economy of Coffee Production, Processing, and Marketing in Gedeo and Sidama: Local, National and Global Developments (1941-2010)," (PhD Dissertation, Addis Ababa University, History, 2015), p. 148.

¹⁴¹ Jimma Zone Administration Office Archival Document, File No. ፱፻፩. 8 (23 *Genbot* 1971 E. C.) or see appendix XIII; informants: Gäberämika'él, Yaayyaa, and Abbaa Duulaa.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Asfaw, p. 60.

Figure 7A: Privately owned old dry coffee processing machine's spare parts in *ganda* Saqqaa



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

Figure 7B: Modern dry coffee hulling (machine) planted by the *Därg* government in *ganda* Saqqaa of Limmuu Saqqaa district



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

3.1.2 Wet Processing

The wet method (washing coffee) was the type of coffee processing in which the red cherry was removed and processed until the bean gets its green color using water. This method involved three stages: removal of the pulp and mucilage, fermentation and washing, and drying and removal of the parchment. Wet processing helped to preserve the natural flavor and intrinsic

quality of the coffee. As a result, it was often better-quality coffee and fetches a higher price than the coffee processed by natural (dry processing). For the wet processing method, coffee cherries should be mature and fully ripe. Ripe cherries have enough or adequate pulp and mucilage which facilitate the pulping process. Cherries in mixed stages of maturity would cause pulping and fermentation problems, which could affect the quality of the product.¹⁴⁴ Even though, washed coffee sells at a significant premium over natural (sun-dried) coffee, its coverage of total coffee exports was very low. It was 9.1 percent in 1980/81 and 29.2 percent in 1989/90.¹⁴⁵

Aiming to get good quality coffee for high prices at national and international markets, the government made different activities or efforts for the expansion of wet coffee processing plants or machines in coffee-growing areas of the country starting from the second half of the 1950s. Accordingly, some pulping machines were constructed in some areas of the former Limmuu and Jimma *awurajas* by the Development Bank of Ethiopia and International Development Association (IDA) loans in the 1950s and 1960s. It was during these periods that wet coffee processing practice or experience began to expand among the very coffee-growing areas of the present-day Jimma zone, particularly in Limmuu Suunxuu or Kossaa and Gommaa districts.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, a history of wet coffee processing in Limmuu Saqqaa district was a phenomenon of 1984, when it was introduced by the socialist government of the country in Suunxuu (Geejjib) state coffee plantation. This pulping station (wet coffee processing machine) is still in use. Even when a researcher was taking its photo the machine was on maintenance to replace some of its spare parts with the new ones to enhance its force or power (see figure 8 below).¹⁴⁷ Though wet coffee processing in the study area was started in 1984, it was only expanded starting from the 1990s, when many wet coffee processing pulper were constructed in many areas of the district by private individuals and farmers' cooperatives.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*; Tadesse Woldemariam, p. 26.

¹⁴⁵ Almaw, p. 148.

¹⁴⁶ Sagni, pp. 57-58; Limmu Seka District Administration Office Archival Document, File No. 11/49 (27 *Teqemte* 1949 E. C.) or see appendix II.

¹⁴⁷ Informants: Samu'él, Jamiilaa, and Kamaal Abbaa Milkii.

¹⁴⁸ Informants: Seefuu, Gammachuu, and Waallee.

Figure 8: An old wet coffee processing machine constructed by the *Därg* gov.t in Gejjib



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

3.2. Coffee Quality

The coffee beverage was consumed for its delight and stimulating effect. The pleasant stimulus of coffee depends on the quality of the coffee. Consequently, the acceptability and price of coffee both domestically and internationally depend upon the quality of the product. However, handling coffee quality has not been fully implemented or put in practice by smallholder coffee farmers in Ethiopia in general and in Limmuu Saqqaa district in particular during the period under study. The idea of coffee quality was not a new development or phenomenon in our context; rather it goes as far back as the 1950s with the establishment of the National Coffee Board of Ethiopia (NCBE).¹⁴⁹ One of the principals' aims of the NCBE was to improve the quality of coffee exported to the world markets. Accordingly, starting from the 1960s, the NCBE organized coffee farmers in cooperatives in different parts of the country to increase coffee yield and its quality.¹⁵⁰ The board also issued regulations to avoid the use of adulteration, contamination, substitution, and many other malpractices to promote the quality of Ethiopian coffee and enhance the development of the coffee trade.¹⁵¹

Following the NCBE, Jimma Research Station (JRS) which is later called Jimma Agricultural Research Center (JARC) was established in October 1967 as a branch of the Institute of Agricultural Research (IAR) and engaged in the study of coffee agronomy, processing, and disease and pest control.¹⁵² The International Coffee Organization (ICO) which was formed in London in 1962 also played an important role to enhance the development economy of the coffee sector globally.¹⁵³ In 1969, the Ethiopian Coffee Exporters Association (ECEA) was also established aiming with different activities including fostering the quality of the coffee. Subsequently, during the *Därg* regime, there were some institutions like Coffee Production and Processing Agency (CPPA) later named Coffee and Tea Development and Marketing Authority

¹⁴⁹ Getachew Alemayehu, "Effect of Some Processing Factors on the Efficiency of Preparation and Quality of Arabica Coffee," (MSc Thesis, Alemaya University, Agricultural Economics, 1990), p. 8.

¹⁵⁰ NCBE, *National Coffee Board of Ethiopia 1957-1972* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1972), pp. 16 and 18.

¹⁵¹ Firmus Bekele, "History of the National Coffee Board of Ethiopia 1957-1985," (BA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, History, 1986), p. 6.

¹⁵² NCBE, pp. 22-23.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 24-25.

(CTDMA) established with the purpose of quality assurance and other different activities.¹⁵⁴ Similarly, at the bottom level including the study area, starting from the 1960s, there were agents or delegated parts of the above institutions that were responsible for coffee quality control in their areas. Despite, different activities and efforts made at the national and local levels, there has been a great coffee quality problem in the district.¹⁵⁵

3.2.1 Factors Affecting the Quality of Coffee

As many sources indicate, the quality of coffee has been governed by two main factors: the inherent properties of the mature beans resulting from the environment and genetic constitution, and how the beans are treated from harvesting time to delivering onto the market. That means, the botanical variety, topographical and weather conditions, and the care taken during growing, harvesting, storing, and transporting.¹⁵⁶ Accordingly, the botanical variety and topographical conditions are constant and dominate the inherent character of a coffee, whereas weather conditions were variable and cannot be influenced. Only growing, processing, storage, export preparation, and transport can be influenced involving human beings' interventions.¹⁵⁷ Though both natural and human factors affected the quality of coffee, the major challenges that influenced the quality of coffee in the study area under the period of investigation were the factors that caused by humans' interference due to poor management of harvesting, processing, and storing.¹⁵⁸

Harvesting has been one of the basic stages that have a significant impact on coffee quality. Unless it is not picked carefully or manageably its quality will be failed and affect the subsequent

¹⁵⁴ Yared, pp. 15 and 20; Jimma Zone Administration Office Archival Document, File No. ከክ/112/69 (21 *Tahasas* 1969 E. C.) or see appendix IX.

¹⁵⁵ Informants: Gammachuu, Seefuu, and Kamaal Imaam.

¹⁵⁶ Gezahegn Garo and Yohanes Mare, "Assessment of Harvest and Post- Harvest Factors Affecting Quality of Arabica Coffee in Gamo Gofa Zone, Southern Ethiopia," In the *African Journal of Agricultural Research* (Arba Minch University, 2016), p. 2158; Demel, p. 24.

¹⁵⁷ Bossolasco, p. 9.

¹⁵⁸ The Ethiopian Coffee and Tea Authority (ECTA), *Ethiopia: Cradle of the Wonder Bean Coffee Arabica (Abissinica)* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1999), pp. 3-9; Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, File No. 88/53 (2 *Teqemt* 1953 E. C.) or see appendix III; informants: Gammachuu, Seefuu, and Kamaal Imaam.

processing stages and the final test or cup quality of the coffee. To ensure the quality of coffee it requires picking selectively the only ripe, red healthy cherries, and picking frequently to avoid dropping of cherries, over-ripening, and drying.¹⁵⁹ Contrary to the above provisions the majority of coffee growers of the study area have been used to harvest mixed stages of coffee cherries (red ripe, unripe, and overripe) simultaneously during the imperial and *Därg* regimes. Such a poor harvesting system of coffee has been greatly affecting the quality of coffee in the area.¹⁶⁰ According to informants during these periods there were no premium prices that encouraged farmers to pay more attention to coffee quality. Such condition was a recent phenomenon in the district; particularly those farmers who supplied quality coffee for cooperatives currently receive high prices.¹⁶¹

The other important activity in coffee production was the processing method which could affect coffee quality, if not properly processed and managed. As it has been explained above in this chapter, after harvesting, coffee cherries undergo either of the two widely applied methods, namely dry (sun-dried) and wet processing.¹⁶² Nevertheless, coffee producers of the Limmuu Saqqaa district mostly practiced the dry processing method until the downfall of the *Därg* regime. Thus, through this method coffee faced significant quality problems during the period under investigation. They dried indiscriminately harvested cherries on uncleaned areas either on soil or floors smeared with cows' waste, which could cause coffee's quality by increasing exposure of cherries to fungal attacks.¹⁶³ Farmers also used to pulp poorly dried cherries traditionally on the cleaned floor by using stones, traditional grinding mills, and mortar. So, the processing method has greatly affected the district's coffee quality during the period of study.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Almaw, p. 311.

¹⁶⁰ Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, Folder No. ፬፬/53-54, File No. ፬114/54 (5 *Hedar* 1954 E. C.) or see appendix IV; informants: Seefuu and Gammachuu.

¹⁶¹ Informants: Nagaash, Waallee, and Alii.

¹⁶² Tadesse Woldemariam, p. 25; Yared, p. 45.

¹⁶³ Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, Folder No. ፬፬/53-54, File No. ፬114/54 (5 *Hidar* 1954 E. C.) or see appendix IV; informants: Kamaal Imaam, Yaayyaa, and Abbaa Jihaad.

¹⁶⁴ Informants: Gammachuu, Yaayyaa, Abbaa Duulaa, and Tashoomaa.

Storage or the way of storing was also another important factor that could impact the quality of coffee and thus needs more attention. It was one of the serious problems which the Ethiopian coffee industry endured since its production. The dried coffee should be stored in an area where it is free from picking up or losing its moisture and any contamination with materials such as oil or fuel and not an attractive smell or aroma.¹⁶⁵ Consequently, starting from its production as a commercial commodity to the 1960s coffee storage was one of the great problems that affected the coffee quality of the district for a long period. According to the district's Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, before the 1970s, the majority of coffee growers of the study area had no awareness of storing and cash to buy the containers or sacks which were suitable for coffee storing. Thus, they used to store with unventilated containers without separate warehouses in their living and animals' houses.¹⁶⁶

It was during the 1970s, that the storage problem began to be alleviated through knowledge created by the expansion of agricultural extension and sacks made of sisal supplied by the government to coffee growers with loans and balanced cost.¹⁶⁷ Many peasants were aware of how they could store the dried coffee. Subsequently, during the 1980s and early 1990s, many problems related to coffee storage had been solved.¹⁶⁸ In general, in the beginning particularly until the 1960s and early 1970s, coffee farmers of the study area and its surroundings were mostly focused on the quantity of coffee production than its quality. As a result, quality problem impacted their economy or market during the period stated.¹⁶⁹

3.3 Coffee Marketing

Ethiopia is probably the oldest coffee exporter country in Africa.¹⁷⁰ However, the period when it was first exported as a commodity is controversial or not known clearly. This is basically due to

¹⁶⁵ Demel, p. 24; Almaw, p. 317.

¹⁶⁶ Informants: Seefuu, Germa, and Muhiddiin.

¹⁶⁷ Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, File No. 5/69 (6 *Mäskäräm* 1969 E. C.) or see appendix VIII; informants: Mohaammed and Gammachuu.

¹⁶⁸ Informants: Seefuu, Germa, and Muhiddiin.

¹⁶⁹ Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, Folder No. ፬፬/63-64, File No. ፱፬፭83/64 (6 *Hedar* 1964 E. C.) or see appendix V; informants: Gammachuu, Muhiddiin, and Waallee.

¹⁷⁰ Petit, p. 232; Ethiopian Commodity Exchange (ECX), *what is in A Bean? ECX and Specialty Coffee Market* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2008), p. 4.

different periods that were indicated for the country's coffee export by various sources.¹⁷¹ For instance, some sources claim that coffee was first exported from Ethiopia, particularly from the southwest part of Ethiopia to Yemen during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and from there expanded to the rest of the world.¹⁷² Some sources argue that coffee was first exported to the outside world as a commodity during the last decade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁷³ Nonetheless, many sources agree that coffee began to be exported from Ethiopia with other many trade items starting from the first half of the nineteenth century, when trade and markets were domestically expanded.¹⁷⁴

Consequently, with the flourishing of long-distance trade in Ethiopia and the rise of the Gibe Oromo states, coffee became an important export commodity to Arabia during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In this regard, after the state was established and Muslim merchants appeared in the kingdom Limmuu Ennarya played a major role in trade activities of long-distance trade, which dominated and monopolized commerce in the Gibe region up to 1847.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, according to different literature and oral sources, a history of coffee marketing in Limmuu Saqqaa (study area) can be traced back to the 1840s. During this period coffee and other different commodities from the study area and its surroundings were sold at the local market of Saqqaa, which is currently one of the rural *gandaas* of Limmuu Saqqaa district. Saqqaa was used as both centers of the *Afkala* (southwest Oromo traders) and the meeting ground for the *Jabarti* traders from the north.¹⁷⁶ In the same period (in the 1840s), when Abbaa Bagiboo (r. 1825-1861) ruled Limmuu Ennarya coffee was exported to the Red Sea trade and northern parts of the country from the Gibe region mainly from Saqqaa.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 73.

¹⁷² Bossolasco, p. 3; Richard Pankhurst, *Economic History of Ethiopia, 1800-1935* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1968), P 208; Heran Sereke-Brhan, "Coffee, Culture, and Intellectual Property: Lessons for Africa from the Ethiopian Fine Coffee Initiative," *THE PARDEE PAPERS*, No. 11 (Boston University, July 2010), p. 9.

¹⁷³ Almaw, p. 78; Merid, p. 22.

¹⁷⁴ McCann, p. 159; Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia from Autocracy to Revolution* (Review of African Political Economy, London, 1975), pp. 38-39.

¹⁷⁵ Abir, pp. 85-86 and 92; Lange, p. 21.

¹⁷⁶ Mohammed, pp. 147-148; informants: Zeenuu, Abbaa Diggaa, and Abbaa Jihaad.

¹⁷⁷ McCann, p. 159; Lange, 21; Mohammed, pp. 148-149.

As indicated above, though coffee was sold extensively at local markets and began to export during the second quarter of the nineteenth century from Limmuu Ennarya in general and study area in particular, its price and demand among the long-distance traders were very low. This was mainly due to the difficulty of transportation to the coast. However, during the second half of the nineteenth century when coffee demand was increased it became an important trade item largely from the Gibe region including the study area.¹⁷⁸ Consequently, by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, the volume of coffee trade from the Gibe region and probably from the national level highly increased.¹⁷⁹

Table 1: Volume of Coffee and other Commodities Sold at Weekly Market in the Gibe region, in the years, 1842 and 1880

Item	Beke (1842)	Cecchi (1880)
Slaves (individual count)	200	400-500
Coffee (kg.)	11.4	100,000
Ivory (loads)	117	-
Gold (<i>waqet</i>)	100	100
Tobacco (kg)		250
Cotton (kg)	100	400-500

Source: Guluma (1996), p. 122.

The above table indicates an observable increase in the volume of the trade of the Gibe region during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. The amount of coffee trade increased almost tenfold in about four decades.

According to data obtained from the district, though coffee marketing began to flourish in the study area and its surroundings before Menelik's conquest of the region, it was disrupted during the conquest and early Abyssinian administration. Subsequently, in the 1880s and 1890s, unlike the third quarter of the nineteenth-century coffee marketing decreased due to the reduction of

¹⁷⁸ Sagni, p. 29; Guluma, "Gomma and Limmu...", p. 108.

¹⁷⁹ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture...", p. 122.

coffee production in the study area by the influence of the *näḥḥäñña* settlers.¹⁸⁰ However, as it is discussed in chapter two of this thesis, by the early decades of the twentieth century, following the penetration of foreign merchant capital into the country's trade activities and the improvement of some transportation system, coffee trade began to rehabilitate in the Gibe region in general and Limmuu Saqqaa in particular.¹⁸¹ Accordingly, starting from the 1910s, and mostly during the 1920s, the volume of coffee export from the southwest region of Ethiopia including the study area, increased very significantly. For instance, its export through the port of Djibouti increased from 619 metric tons in 1915-1919 to 8,991 and 34,337 metric tons between 1920 and 1924 and 1925 and 1929 years respectively.¹⁸²

Similarly, coffee export from the southwest region via Gambella to Sudan was greatly increased through the decades (the 1910s and 1920s). The coffee which Sudan imported through this route constituted 65 percent of its total coffee imports in 1913 and over 75 percent in 1925.¹⁸³

Table 2: Quantity of Coffee exported from southwest Ethiopia to the Sudan 1918-1932 (in tons)

Year	Total	Via Gambella
1918	3,410	2,418
1920	4,219	2,290
1922	4,466	3,151
1924	4,569	2,559
1926	3,183	2,926
1928	3,754	3,061
1930	6,349	3,858
1932	5,093	3,124

Source: Bahru (1987), p. 82.

¹⁸⁰ Informants: Abbaa Jihaad, Abbaa Maccaa, and Abbaa Duulaa.

¹⁸¹ Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 74; informants: Abbaa Jihaad, Abbaa Duulaa and Abbaa Maccaa.

¹⁸² McCann, p. 175.

¹⁸³ Bahru Zewde, "An Overview and Assessment of Gambella Trade (1904-1935)," In *the International Journal of African Historical Studies*. Vol. 20, No. 1 (Boston University African Studies Center, 1987), pp. 81-82.

According to informants, the volume of coffee trade which increased during the 1910s and 1920s were mainly the coffee that was sold by different chiefs of the time. Thus, the indigenous peasants were not this much beneficiaries from the coffee marketing of the period.¹⁸⁴ Though coffee emerged as the most important export commodity mainly in the 1920s, starting from the 1930s to the mid of 1940s, it declined throughout the country including the study area. For instance, in 1928, before its decline, 12,751 metric tons of coffee were sold for MT\$ (Maria Theresa Dollar) 11.5 million, while in 1931 an export of 18,530 metric tons was sold for only MT\$ 8 million and in 1932, 19,990 metric tons were sold for only MT\$ 9.5 million. As has been explained in chapter two, different factors contributed to the decline of the coffee trade during the period stated above. Among the factors, the world depression of the 1930s and the Italo-Ethiopian war of 1935/36 and Italians occupation were greatly disrupted both the production and marketing of coffee.¹⁸⁵

Contrary to the past decade and a half, starting from the mid-1940s just after half a decade of Ethiopian liberation from Italian occupation, coffee trade began to increase extremely due to an increase of coffee demand in the world.¹⁸⁶

Table 3: Coffee Exports from Ethiopia, 1943-57

Year	Exports in English tons	Year	Exports in English tons
1943-44	11,883	1950-51	27,503
1944-45	13,338	1951-52	25,651
1945-46	15,882	1952-53	36,219
1946-47	14,663	1953-54	37,219
1947-48	17,795	1954-55	38,614
1948-49	17,829	1955-56	32,953
1949-50	21,152	1956-57	49,220

Source: McCann, p. 175.

¹⁸⁴ Informants: Abbaa Jihaad, Abbaa Maccaa, and Abbaa Duulaa.

¹⁸⁵ Yonas, pp. 43-44; Charles W. McClellan, "Land, Labor, and Coffee: The South's Role in Ethiopian Self-Reliance, 1889-1935," In *African Economic History*. No. 9 (University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), p. 78.

¹⁸⁶ McCann, p. 175; Endalkachew, "A Historical Survey of Coffee...", p. 68.

Consequently, during the 1950s and 1960s, the volume of coffee supplied to local and national markets from the study area and its surroundings increased due to the rise of coffee prices internationally. It was during this period that coffee growers of the district highly increased. Accordingly, government officials, local *balabbates*, wealthy individuals, and farmers participated in the expansion of coffee cultivation. As a result, the habit of coffee growing greatly expanded among the areas and farmers who were not much experienced before. Many market places or centers were also expanded during these periods. Thus, in addition to Saqqaa market, which was very old and known in the district, Atinaagoo, Daammee, Koomaa and Algaa were the known market centers where coffee has been sold and traders came to there from East Wallaggaa, Iluubbaaboor, and West Šäwa zones including the neighboring districts of Jimma zone. Many indigenous coffee merchants also emerged during these periods. Mostly they used pack animals and their shoulders to transport coffee to the neighboring zones of market centers.¹⁸⁷

Though coffee marketing and its production flourished during the periods stated above, due to the constraints related to its quality mostly in Kaffa province, Ethiopian coffee couldn't meet international quality standards. Thus, peasants and the government were not enough beneficiaries as they were producing and supplying/exporting due to the decline of its price in the international market.¹⁸⁸ Hence, starting from the second half of the 1950s, different institutions/organizations began to establish at the national and international levels to promote the quality of coffee and enhance the development of its trade.¹⁸⁹ Among the institutions, the NCBE was the pioneer one, which was founded mostly to improve the quality of coffee exported to the world market.¹⁹⁰ Subsequently, during the 1960s, the share of coffee from the total national export was highly increased. For instance, in 1960 and 1962, from the total national export the share of coffee

¹⁸⁷ Informants: Mohammed, Abbaa Biyyaa, and Abbaa Tamaam.

¹⁸⁸ Girma Adugna *et al* (ed.), "Coffee Diversity and Knowledge," in *Proceedings of a National Workshop Four Decades of Coffee Research and Development in Ethiopia, 14-17 August 2007* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Institute of Agricultural Research, 2008), p. 11; Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, Folder No. ፲፬/63-64, File No. ፱፻፳83/64 (6 *Hedar* 1964 E. C.) or see appendix V.

¹⁸⁹ Getachew, p. 8; NCBE, PP. 22-23; Firnus, p. 6.

¹⁹⁰ NCBE, PP. 16 and 18.

export was 52 and 54 percent, respectively, while during 1968 and 1970, its share increased to 58 and 61 percent, respectively.¹⁹¹

Similarly, in the study area, it was from this period onwards, that the issue of coffee quality got attention by the government and peasants with the improvement of its quality coffee growers of the area began to fetch good prices.¹⁹² Ethiopia has been exported its coffee based on their areas of origin or type, which were known for their distinct quality and agronomic characters.¹⁹³ Accordingly, Limmuu coffee variety was produced in the study area and its surroundings as one of the best qualities of coffee. It was known for its spicy and winy flavor and attracts many rosters, especially Europe and the USA, had good acidity and body, washed Limmuu was one of premium coffee, medium-sized bean, and greenish bluish mostly round in shape.¹⁹⁴ Consequently, with the downfall of the imperial regime, the *Därg* government which came up with the Economic Policy of Socialist Ethiopia (EPSE) in February 1975 established the Ethiopian Coffee Marketing Corporation (ECMC), with a broad goal of strengthening and developing Ethiopia's coffee market.¹⁹⁵

Accordingly, following the establishment of ECMC, 80 percent of the coffee market and 90 percent of coffee export dominated by this corporation, while the remaining 20 percent of the general coffee market and only 10 percent of coffee export were shared by the coffee cooperatives and the private sector. Hence, the corporation dominated coffee-related transactions and limited the participation of the private sector in the coffee economy.¹⁹⁶ Likewise, according to oral sources, coffee farmers were forced to sell their coffee at fixed prices and times through ECMC. Thus, the corporation collected coffee from peasants and merchants through the market centers expanded by the corporation agent in Saqqaa, Atinaagoo, and Komaa of the district to supply the collected yield to the international market. Coffee farmers sold coffee to the collector

¹⁹¹ Shiferaw Bekele (ed.), "An Economic History of Ethiopia: The Imperial era 1941-1974, Vol. I," (Addis Ababa University Press, 1995), p. 67.

¹⁹² Informants: Gammachuu, Nagaash, and Germa.

¹⁹³ Yared, p. 16; informants: Gammachuu, Nagaash, and Germa.

¹⁹⁴ Tefera, p. 91; Asfaw, p. 9; ECX, P. 4; informants: Gammachuu and Seefuu.

¹⁹⁵ Yared, pp. 19-20.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 21.

merchants, who were whole sellers or coffee merchant corporations, agents. Both collectors and whole sellers sold to the government at a fixed price. So, the coffee marketing system of the *Därg* government had not benefited the producers due to its ineffective rural policies which exploited and depressed the peasants due to its overall control of the market.¹⁹⁷

During the *Därg* regime, though coffee farmers were not enough profitable due to the causes stated above, the government actively did to increase the amount of coffee yield supplied to the international market by allotting (sharing) the national quota or share to each coffee producers' provinces, sub-provinces, and districts.¹⁹⁸ Subsequently, during the production year of 1982/83, Kaffa Province's and study area's quota of coffee production for supplying to the international market was 34,000 and 1,490 tons respectively.¹⁹⁹ Similarly, by the farm year of 1986/87, both Kaffa province and Limmuu Saqqaa district were expected to supply 36,000 and 1,116 tons of coffee yield to the international market respectively.²⁰⁰ Likewise, the coffee quota given or announced to the district was also distributed to producers *gandaas* based on their potential. For instance, during the production year of 1990/91, the quota of Limmuu Saqqaa district's dry coffee berries (*jämfäl*) was 536 tons. By enlarging its quota to 700 tons, the district has distributed to ten (10) Service Cooperatives and 41 Peasant Associations of coffee producers.²⁰¹

3.3.1 The Structure of Coffee Marketing

The history of coffee marketing structure in the Limmuu Saqqaa has passed through different stages until it was developed to its present-day liberal marketing structure. Subsequently, during the imperial period, coffee farmers sold their coffee at different market centers of the district nearby their areas either to local people for consumption or to local dealers and any other traders who were legal and illegal. During this period, most of the coffee was marketed with dry coffee

¹⁹⁷ Informants: Seläše, Kadir, Muhiddiin, and Nagaash.

¹⁹⁸ Informants: Gammachuu, Seefuu and Kamaal.

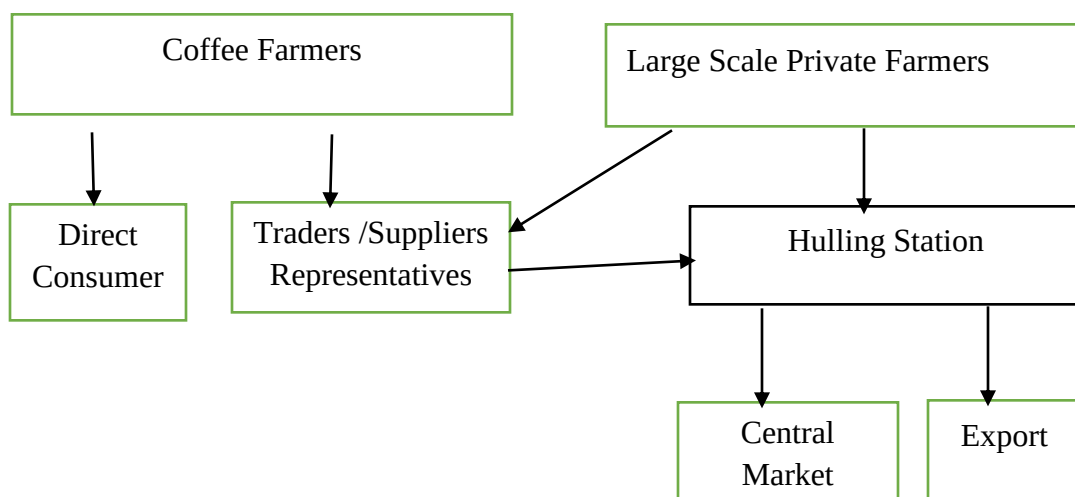
¹⁹⁹ Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, File No. 02/74 (19 *Nähasé* 1974 E. C.) or see appendix XIV.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, File No. 04/78 (5 *Pagumé* 1978 E. C.) or see appendix XVI; *Ibid*, File No. 05/79 (12 *Teqemt* 1979 E. C.) or see appendix XVII.

²⁰¹ Limmuu Saqqaa District Agriculture and Natural Resource Office Archival Document, Folder No. ፬፻፩/83, File No. 4/05 (24 *Mäskäräm* 1983 E. C.) or see appendix XIX.

(*jänfāl*) and in rare cases traditionally and machinery-hulled coffee (*qešer*). Hence, traders took their coffee bought to hulling stations to pulp the dried coffee. Private coffee farmers also could take their coffee to hull stations in the district.²⁰² Thus, during the imperial government, and until 1975, the marketing structure was free and market-based. Coffee was bought by traders at various stages of the marketing chain and exported. A proportion of the crop was auctioned by traders at voluntary auctions in Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa. Government intervention was carried out by the NCBE, which was limited to regulation of the auction process and quality control.²⁰³

Chart 1: Coffee Marketing Chain of the District during the Imperial Regime



Source: Tefera, p. 88; informants: Seefuu, Muhiddiin and Nagaash

Unlike the past imperial regime, during the *Därg* government, coffee growers of the study area could sell their sun-dried coffee most commonly unhulled and in rare cases hulled coffee to service cooperatives, private traders, and ECMC with fixed price and time. There were also licensed private collectors (*säbsabes*) permitted to buy coffee from farmers and local dealers.

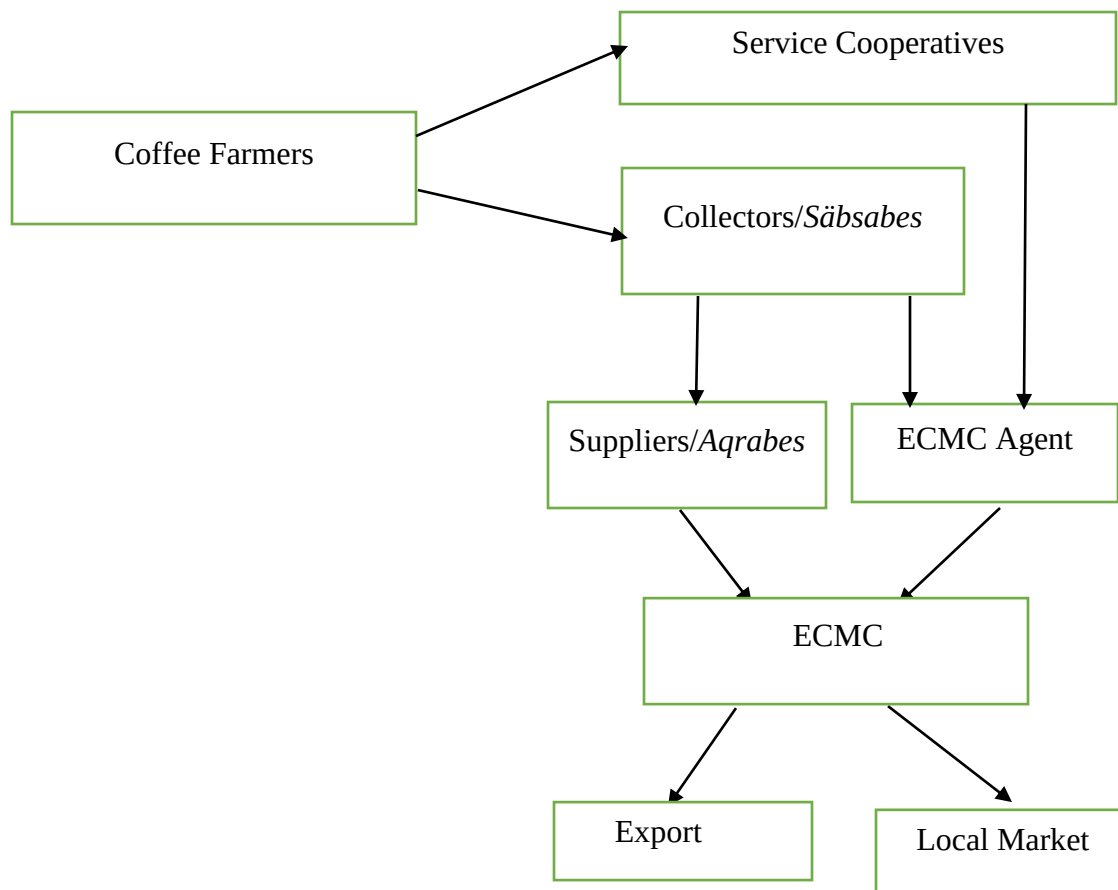
Hence, all the cooperatives and traders were required to sell the coffee bought to ECMC. However, collectors could sell to locally registered suppliers (*aqrabes*). After hulling, the

²⁰² Informants: Seläše, Kadir, Muhiddiin, and Nagaash.

²⁰³ Tefera, p. 92; World Bank (WB), *Marketing and Trading Policies and Systems in Selected Coffee Producing Countries: Ethiopia Country Profile* (New York, USA, 2000), p. 11.

suppliers could sell to the ECMC or could bring the coffee to the auction.²⁰⁴ Thus, during the regime stated a government agency, the ECMC with the Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development (MCTD) took on substantial responsibilities in the internal and external marketing of coffee. It was responsible for handling 90 percent of officially handled supplies. Producers had to sell at a fixed price and there was a little flexibility for them to choose when they sold.²⁰⁵

Chart 2: Coffee Marketing Chain of the District during the *Därg* Regime



Source: Dagim, “A History of Coffee...,” p. 85; informants: Seefuu, Muhiddiin and Gammachuu.

²⁰⁴ Informants: Seefuu, Germa, Waallee fi Zalaalam.

²⁰⁵ WB, P. 11; Tefera, p. 92; informants: Seefuu, Germa, Waallee fi Zalaalam.

CHAPTER FOUR

OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES OF COFFEE PRODUCTION AND MARKETING IN LIMMUU SAQQAA, ca. 1891-1991

4.1 Opportunities

As written sources and oral tradition indicate, there were some factors that contributed to the expansion and marketing of coffee in Limmuu Saqqaa and its surroundings in the period under discussion. These factors were: suitable natural conditions, the ardent desire of different officials for coffee production and marketing for their benefit, an increase of coffee demand in the world, the decline of natural resources, interests of the governments of the country to increase their revenue, the improvement of some infrastructures, the availability of land for peasants with the implementation of Land Reform Proclamation of March 1975, etc.²⁰⁶ The detailed explanations of some factors presented here under in this sub-section.

4.1.1 Suitable Ecology

The productivity and longevity of a coffee production depend upon the environmental conditions and management. Ideal conditions were those which permit good crops to be harvested annually without exhaustion and the numerous pests and diseases. Hence, the best coffee growing areas are those which have a very good combination of sufficient rainfall distribution throughout the year with an annual rainfall of 1524-2286mm, mean annual temperature between 17⁰c and 20⁰c, an altitude of about 1600 to 2000 meters, and deep soils, slightly acid, well-drained and rich in humus content.²⁰⁷ Similarly, many *gandaas* of the study area possess the above mentioned natural conditions which are suitable for coffee production. Its average annual rainfall is about 1550 mm, the mean annual temperature is about 20⁰c, an altitude ranges between 1400 and 2200 masl, and its soil is almost well-drained, deep, and rich in humus content.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Almaw, p. 111; International Coffee Organization (ICO), *Ethiopian Coffee: Challenges and Opportunities* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2012), pp. 9-11; informants: Gammachuu and Seefuu.

²⁰⁷ Demel, pp. 19-21; Guluma, "Some Notes on Food Crop and Coffee...", p. 91; Sagni, pp. 67-68; Asfaw, p. 57.

²⁰⁸ Tadesse Habbitu, p. 2; Limmuu Saqqaa District Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, "Annual...", p. 8; Limmuu Saqqaa District Finance and Economic Development Office, "Physical...", p. 42.

In addition to the district's favorable climatic conditions and soil, its natural forests which are covered with different natural vegetation and rivers facilitated the expansion of coffee in the area. Especially, forests like Gaabanaa, Booqaa, Caaltee, Uummoo, Baddaa Geejjib, Gootuu has been used as the home for forest and semi-forest coffees. Consequently, those rivers: Dhidheessaa, Gibee, Boqoqi, Arangamaa, Warqee, Abuu, and Kaanchiboo were the main rivers that contributed to the study area's agricultural economy including coffee production.²⁰⁹ So, historically starting from many years ago almost half of the Limmuu Saqqaa district's peoples produced coffee for both domestic consumption and commercial purposes due to their areas were gifted with the aforementioned suitable diverse agro-ecology and climatic conditions.²¹⁰

4.1.2 The Aspiration and Competition of Different Officials

After a decade of the total incorporation of the Gibe region by the Menelik's force, during the early decades of the twentieth-century coffee emerged as the major commodity that linked the region with the imperial capital and the world economy. It was in this context that the *näffäñña* and the *balabbat* both began to participate in coffee production and marketing in the region (Gibe region).²¹¹ Subsequently, in the 1920s, *Däjjazmač* Habtämika'él, the governor of Limmuu including the study area, and his wife, Wäsänyäläš, daughter of Wäldägiyorges, signed a contract with Nassir Awad, an Egyptian coffee merchant, to supply 102 tons. There were also several *näffäññas* and *balabbates* throughout the southwest region including the Gibe region, who were highly engaged in coffee trade with different countries of merchants (Egypt, Greek, and Armenia). This implies that a new generation of the *näffäñña* lords was developing an eager interest in coffee cultivation and trade. Though peasants also participated in coffee production, the *näffäññas* dominated its trade by entering into a business relationship with the foreign merchants.²¹²

Likewise, as it was discussed in chapter two of this thesis, during the 1920s, *Gerazmač* Bāyānā Simawu, who had been the official of *Lej* Iyassu and some other local *balabbates* expanded their

²⁰⁹ Informants: Abbaa Diggaa, Abbaa Duulaa, Seefuu, and Abbaa Jihaad.

²¹⁰ Informants: Mohammed, Abbaa Biyyaa, and Abbaa Simal.

²¹¹ Informants: Abbaa Maccaa, Zeenuu, Seläše, and Abbaa Biyyaa.

²¹² Guluma, "Land, Agriculture....," pp. 187-189.

large scale coffee plantations in Limmuu Saqqaa district, particularly in Geejjib, Saqqaa, Dooraa, Deegoo, Saanxoo areas, etc..²¹³ Consequently, during the 1950s and 1960s, due to an increase in coffee demand in the world, many government officials, merchants, and local *balabbates* actively participated in coffee production and marketing in the study area and its surroundings. Accordingly, *Ras Mäsfen Seläše* and his family, *Lej Yilmaa Dheeressaa* and *Lej Abata Mulat* were the notable higher officials who were expanded modern coffee plantations in the district including the neighboring districts. Thus, the role of different government officials, merchants, wealthy individuals, and local *balabbates* in the expansion of coffee production and marketing in the Gibe region in general and the Limmuu Saqqaa district, in particular, was very high.²¹⁴

4.1.3 The Decline of Natural Resources and Government's Interest for Coffee

Though slaves and ivory played a great role in Menelik's trade contact with foreigners, both items declined in the early twentieth century due to the abolition of slavery and shortage of ivory. It was this situation that forced the government to look for other alternative trade commodities to solve foreign currency crises. As a result, coffee production became one of the priorities that won government attention and focus.²¹⁵ The government's shift to a coffee-based cash crop economy when ivory was depleted in the early twentieth century exemplified the overall structural changes that overtook the southern periphery in this period. The government used to land and labor to meet its changing economic needs and cash crop areas exerting influences on surrounding sub-peripheries. Accordingly, different government officials and merchants adopted to produce and export it. The government itself acted to ensure adequate control of the resource, promoting a more efficient means of transport and assigning local administrators with a knowledge of and interest in the commodity. Thus, majorly starting from the 1920s, the production of coffee greatly expanded and it became the keystone of the Ethiopian economy.²¹⁶

²¹³ Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 48; informants: Yaayyaa, Zeenuu, and Abbaa Duulaa.

²¹⁴ Informants: Kamaal Abbaa Milkii, Adam, Abbaa Waarrii, and Sulxaan.

²¹⁵ Jon R. Edwards, "Slavery, the Slave Trade and the Economic Reorganization of Ethiopia 1916-1935," *African Economic History*. No. 11 (University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), p. 6; Almaw, p. 101; McClellan, pp. 79-80; McCann, pp. 173-74.

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 80; Edwards, pp. 6-7.

Similarly, like other coffee-growing areas of the country, with increasing the interest and demand of the government for coffee production and marketing starting from the early twentieth century, its production and trade also began to rise in the study area. It was in this context that coffee growers of the district have been increased from time to time including different higher government officials of the time.²¹⁷ Subsequently, starting in 1980, the *Därg* government also tried to expand coffee production by providing productive varieties or seedlings to the peasants. Thus, coffee production with improved seeds expanded in the district during this period. The district's Coffee Improvement Project (CIP) played a great role in this part. The new varieties were productive and resisted different diseases than the old varieties.²¹⁸ It was during this period (during the military government) that three coffee seedling nurseries (Bakkee Abbaa Tolaa, Anuu Dariixaa, and Ulmaa'ee) and one demonstration site (Molee Alloo) were introduced and began its work of coffee seedling and giving training for coffee growers of the district.²¹⁹

4.1.4 The Availability of Land

As it has been explained in chapter two of this thesis, with the implementation of the land reform proclamation of 1975, all adult farmers and those youths above eighteen years old have got lands or plots where they could grow different crops including coffee production.²²⁰ Though peasants were not more benefited from the land reform proclamation due to the later implemented different policies of the *Därg*, coffee cultivation was highly expanded in the district during this period. After they have got the chance to farm land access, peasants of the district expanded different types of coffee production systems including coffee plantations in some areas of the district. According to *Obbo* Gammachuu Abarraa, who has been working in the district's agriculture and natural resource office starting from the *Därg* regime, due to the expansion of agricultural extension services and some modern agricultural technologies like productive seedlings and pesticides, coffee cultivations expanded than before. Consequently, it was during

²¹⁷ Informants: Abbaa Tamaam, Abbaa Waarrii, and Abbaa Diggaa.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ Limmuu Saqqaa District Agriculture and Natural Resource Office Archival Document, Folder No. ቡሽረ/80, File No. ችግ. 2/3 (28 *Yäkatit* 1980 E. C.) or see appendix XVIII; informants: Gammachuu and Seefuu.

²²⁰ Crewett, p. 12; Holden and Hailu, p. 574.

this period that the experience of coffee production largely spread among different *gandaas* and peasants of the study area who were not much familiar with coffee production before.²²¹

In addition to the above-described factors, the improvement of some infrastructure, the accessibility of labor workers or laborers, and an increase of coffee demand in the world were also stimulated coffee production and marketing in the country in general and Limmu Seka district in particular. Accordingly, the completion of the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway by 1917 and the constructed roads and bridges by the labor force in some coffee-growing areas of the country played a great role in encouraging the coffee production and its marketing.²²² Similarly, during the 1950s and 1960s, mainly due to an increase of coffee needs in the world and the availability of labor, coffee production, and marketing extremely increased throughout the country including the study area. Hence, different government officials, merchants, and peasants were involved in the expansion of coffee cultivation. It was also during this period that migrant laborers came to the district and participated in coffee production for those different imperial officials and rich peasants.²²³

4.2 Challenges of Coffee Production and Marketing

Despite the factors that encouraged coffee production and marketing, some challenges affected the sector from further expansion both in its production and trade in the country in general and study area in particular during the period under discussion. These factors included: the insecurity of land tenure, scarcity of food crops, fluctuating and declining coffee price on the world market, political instability at the local and national level, coffee diseases, ineffective pre, and post-harvest handlings, illegal market (smuggling), high local consumption, Ethiopia's trade policy, lack of different modern agricultural technologies, etc.²²⁴

4.2.1 The Insecurity of Land Tenure

As sources indicate, the land is the foundation of all human activities and its proper management is key to the creation and sustenance of civilized society. It is an exceptionally so important

²²¹ Informants: Gammachuu Abarraa, Kamaal Imaam, and Kadir.

²²² Almaw, pp. 101-102; informants: Gammachuu Abarraa, Kamaal Imaam, and Kadir.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Sagni, p. 65; Tefera, p. 55; informants: Abbaa Jihaad, Seläše, and Nagaash.

resource that the policy on land tenure affects all aspects of peasants' lives: economic well-being, land-use decisions, efficiency in land use, and social relations.²²⁵ Thus, for sustainable economic development conducted agricultural policy and institutional arrangements are very important. The absence of security in the land could lead to improper use of common resources and reduction in production.²²⁶ The Ethiopian land tenure system before 1975 had been known for its most complex tenure systems in the world. The country's geographical, ethnic, and cultural diversity and its historical background were mentioned among those factors that produced highly differential forms of land utilization and ownership. Such complex nature of that tenure was also played a major role in hindering any necessary progress towards a reform of the system. Despite the complexity of the land tenure system, however, the system was mainly categorized into the communal (*rest*) system, which was widely implemented in the north, and the private tenure system in the south.²²⁷ "The classification is done mainly based on how the land was acquired and under what conditions one utilized the land and paid dues (tax or tribute) and to whom the dues were paid. But both categories had changed over time."²²⁸

Consequently, following Menelik's conquest and incorporation of the southwest region, including in the study area, the land was divided into three categories. By retaining one-third of it for the indigenous population the new conquerors confiscated two-third of the lands. The government granted the confiscated land to key political authorities, soldiers, and supporters due to their services and control of native peoples.²²⁹ Their share was significant, the smallest is no

²²⁵ Belay Zerga, "Land Resource, Uses, and Ownership in Ethiopia: Past, Present, and Future," *International Journal of Scientific Research and Engineering Trends*. Vol. 2, Issue 1 (Wolkite University, Ethiopia, 2016), p. 17.

²²⁶ Tefera, pp. 55-56; Deressa Debu, *Agro-Ecological History of Omo-Naaddaa from 1900-2007* (Berlin: VDM, 2010), P. 110; informants: Seläše, Abdusalaam, Abbaa Simal, and Abbaa Biyyaa.

²²⁷ Ketebo Abdiyo Ensene, *The Political Economy of Land and Agrarian Development in Ethiopia: The Arssi Region Since 1941* (Routledge, Taylor and Francis, London, New York, 2018), p. 15; Yigremew Adal, "Review of Landholding Systems and Policies in Ethiopia under the Different Regimes," *Working Paper No. 5* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2002), p. 4.

²²⁸ Ketebo, p. 15.

²²⁹ Hussein Jemma, "The Politics of Land Tenure in Ethiopian History: Experience from the South," *Paper Prepared for XI World Congress of Rural Sociology* (Trondheim, Norway, July 2004), p. 4; informants: Seläše, Abdusalaam, Abbaa Simal, and Abbaa Biyyaa.

less than forty hectares. Nevertheless, vast land was set aside for the imperial palace and royal family members. The church also claimed its part/share and was rewarded in the same manner as the aristocracy. Settlers from the north followed the army to obtain land with the condition of paying tax on it. The undistributed part of the confiscated land remained state land and granted continually until the final days of the regime in 1974. The leftover one-third of the land was given to the indigenous people and local defeated chiefs. They were given *gult* rights and became *gultännās* over their people. In this way, the majority of the southern population found themselves on land confiscated by the state and redistributed to northerners. They became tenants of the new landlords. The new landlords rarely tried to cultivate the land themselves, and the value of a grant was measured in terms of the number of families settled on it.²³⁰

Accordingly, with the Abyssinian monopoly of the southwest region as described above, throughout the Gibe region including the study area except in Jimma kingdom coffee became the only property of Abyssinian governors. The tenants (*gäbbars*) were responsible to collect coffee berries for the governors at a time of every harvesting period. Indigenous peasants were only left with a small amount of coffee for household consumption.²³¹ Thus, the absence of a secured land tenure system existed following the control of the study area and its surroundings by the Menelik force, resulted in the disruption of the growth of agricultural products including coffee production and marketing. As they were not beneficiaries, peasants were also discouraged from coffee cultivation.²³² According to different sources and oral tradition, during the five years of Italian occupation (1936-1941), the Italians had tried to abrogate the old land tenure system mostly to win the allegiance of the indigenous peasants. They freed the exploitation of peasants by the landlords. The peasants were freed from paying different taxes and various provisions used to provide to the landlords.²³³

Nevertheless, in the post-liberation period, the restored imperial government took different actions/measures to alienate land from peasants using land measurement, land sale, land grants, the increment of taxation, etc. Consequently, during this period land masters became landowners

²³⁰ Bossolasco, p. 50; Sagni, pp. 81-82; informants: Abdusalaam, Abbāa Biyyāa, and Abbāa Duulaa.

²³¹ Guluma, "The Rise of Coffee...", p. 58; informants: Abdusalaam, Abbāa Biyyāa, and Abbāa Duulaa.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ Deressa, *Agro-Ecological History...*, p. 112; informants: Abbāa Biyyāa, Mohammed and Abbāa Jihaad.

by beginning to pay annual taxes to the emperor (fifty cents per *facaasaa*). In this way, some owners began to sell their land to merchants. When the owner could not pay the annual tax to the state he would lose his possession of the land, which was transferred to government possession as *gebräṭäl*.²³⁴ Much of the forest lands which were considered as infertile and not taken over by the landowners given as *madäreya* (instead of salary) to the retired soldiers, particularly to those who had been patriots during fascist Italy's war as well as some government officials. With increasing coffee production and scarcity of land particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, previously the lands which were assigned as infertile or semi-fertile were found to be favorable for coffee production. Thereafter, the value of such lands incremented for purchase.²³⁵

Accordingly, as sources indicate, the 1950s and 1960s growing transactions in a land mostly benefited those government officials and merchants. Different wealth classes and government officials in the study area and its surroundings participated in purchasing coffee land and this raised the price of land and influenced poor landless peasants. Tenants had lived by providing their labor to new rich coffee farmers renting their previous land. Thus, the situation highly disrupted the indigenous peasants' coffee production and other crop production.²³⁶ Generally, before 1974, during the imperial period, the land tenure system implemented in the southern region of the country in general and Limmuu Saqqaa district, in particular, had feudal character and more lands were possessed by a few landowning officials. The majority of indigenous peasants who had only small plots of land and rent-paying tenants lacked motivation and encouragement to cultivate coffee and another crop production. The tenants' labors were exploited by both landlords and kings in various ways.²³⁷

²³⁴ Bossolasco, p. 52; Endalkachew Lelisa, "Land Tenure, Labor Allocation and Life of Coffee Farmers in Jimma and Limmuu Awrajaas since 20th Century," *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol. 8, No.7 (Bule Hora University, 2018), pp. 2-3.

²³⁵ Daniel Ayana, "Coffee and Food Crop Production for Self-Sufficiency: The Case of Western Wollaga An Outline," In *proceeding of the Third Annual Seminar of The Department of History* (Addis Ababa University, 1986), p. 50; informants: Gäberämika'él, Zeenuu, Kamaal Abbäa Milkii, and Adam.

²³⁶ Guluma, "Some Notes on Food Crops...", pp. 94-95; informants: Gäberämika'él, Zeenuu, Kamaal Abbäa Milkii, Adam and Abbäa Duulaa.

²³⁷ Bossolasco, pp. 52-53; Endalkachew, "Land Tenure...", p. 2; Sagni, p. 83.

Subsequently, following the Ethiopian revolution in 1974, the new military government, popularly known as the *Därg*, proclaimed the abolition of the imperial political system and the provision of ‘land to the tiller’ or the distribution of land to the peasants.²³⁸ As already indicated in chapter two of this thesis, through the implementation of the March 1975 land reform all private land ownership in Ethiopia including *guilt* were abolished, landlords were dispossessed and land holdings, whether farmland, grazing land or forests, were nationalized and came under the direct control of the state. All rural lands became the Ethiopian peoples' collective property. Land sale and renting became forbidden. The land was divided among peasants according to family size. Hence, former tenants were given the fields where they had grown coffee and other crops and they were transferred into small landholders.²³⁹

However, the command economy of strained control, involuntary labor provisions, forced military recruitment, the increment of taxation, and others imposed on farmers' shoulders exposed them for economic problems. Peasants were forced to provide labor services once or twice a week yearly without compensation to different associations' common farms (peasants, youth, and women.) Thus, farmers could not have enough time for their crop production and they resulted in the reduction of crop products including coffee production.²⁴⁰ Similarly, as the government enforced collectivization and resettlement of peoples on new areas the insecurity of land tenure was intensified among the farmers of the study area and its surroundings. Though the objective of the new relocation program called villagization was to group scattered farming communities into clustered villages for different purposes, the program was not critically planned and difficult for the agricultural economy. The government relocated many peasants far from their historical farm homesteads during planting and harvesting seasons. The newly allocated compounds were too small for the production of different crops including coffee. Thus, the program disrupted and declined coffee production and other agricultural products.²⁴¹

Generally, the military rule which relatively seemed to have implemented better land tenure reform of March 1975, had not ensured effective ownership right to the peasants due to

²³⁸ Dagim, “A History of Coffee...,” p. 100; Stellmacher *et al*, p. 47.

²³⁹ Crewett, p. 12; Holden *et al*, p. 574; Sagni, p. 84; informants: Germa, Waallee, Amiinaa, and Täsfayé

²⁴⁰ Deressa, *Agro-Ecological History...*, pp. 119-120; informants: Germa, Waallee, Amiinaa, and Täsfayé

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

ineffective institutional arrangement of the period which had completely denied the role of the local peasants in economic development. Thus, the system implemented during the *Därg* regime exploited peasants' resources and power in different ways. Finally, with the disintegration of collectivization in 1990, peasants once again gained legal ownership of the crops, plants, and trees on their land. Thus, they have directly participated in a coffee plantation on small scale.²⁴²

4.2.2 Lack of Adequate Transportation Facility

The development of infrastructures particularly the transportation system provides farmers easy access to the market to sell their production at a good price and to purchase agricultural inputs and others without the requirement of a long journey. However, the people of the study area were characterized by inefficient road networks and poor communication networks during the period under study.²⁴³ Similarly at the national level especially during the imperial period lack of efficient transportation system had been one of the major obstacles to the country's economic evolution and growth. For instance, in 1959, the national highway network consists of only 4,761 kilometers. Out of which Kaffa province, where the study area included, had only 2.9 percent, which was very low. Thus, coffee, which was produced deep in the country in general and study area in particular, faced the great difficulty of transportation from producing areas to ports and marketing centers. Even though very few roads were constructed starting from the early twentieth century, the coffee industry had been faced great problems in many parts of the country where coffee was produced.²⁴⁴ Still, during the *Därg* government, the problem was not alleviated. For instance, in 1983 from the total coffee production of the study area 1000 tons was left from taking to the international market due to lack of transportation in the district.²⁴⁵

The absence of such effective transportation infrastructure forced coffee growers and merchants of the study period of the district to use pack animals and sometimes their shoulder as a means of transportation to reach market centers. They traveled a long distance with a small quantity of coffee taking relatively few days. According to oral sources, they used to travel from the

²⁴² Informants: Tashoomaa, Sinqee, and Gammachuu.

²⁴³ Informants: Waallee, Abbaa Jihaad, Abbaa Diggaa, and Kamaal Abbaa Milkii.

²⁴⁴ Taye, "Coffee in Ethiopia...", pp. 51-52.

²⁴⁵ Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, File No. 35/76 (29 *Mäskäräm* 1976 E. C.) or see appendix XV.

district's different centers to the neighboring zonal market centers of Arjoo in East Wallaggaa, Jaajjii in West Šäwa, and Shobokaa (near Nekemte town.) Besides the time and effort of using pack animals as a means of transportation, would decrease the quantity and quality of coffee that could be delivered to the market. Since coffee on animals would be loaded and unloaded several times, it could easily be damaged. Thus, due to lack of efficient infrastructural facility coffee growers of the study area were unable to receive a better price from their harvest which in turn affected the initiations of coffee growing farmers for a great expansion of their coffee production.²⁴⁶

4.2.3 The Influence of Coffee Diseases

As sources indicate among the constraints that affected coffee production and marketing, the coffee disease was the major obstacle that affected the sector's economy of the country in general and the study area in particular in the period under investigation. There were various types of coffee diseases. These include Coffee Berry Disease (CBD), Coffee Wilt Disease (CWD), Coffee Leaf Rust (CLR), Coffee Insect Pests (CIP), etc.²⁴⁷ However, during the period under study, the major coffee disease that affected the economy of coffee production and its marketing in Limmuu Saqqaa and its neighboring districts was CBD.²⁴⁸ The disease was first appeared in Kenya in 1922 and gradually spread to all Arabica coffee growing countries of the African continent. Consequently, CBD first appeared in Ethiopia in the late 1960s and early 1970.²⁴⁹ Similarly, starting from the early 1970s the disease has spread to coffee farms in the Gibe region including study area and its surroundings in Limmuu *awuraja*, which discouraged coffee

²⁴⁶ Informants: Waallee, Abbäa Jihaad, Abbäa Diggaa, Kamaal Abbäa Milkii, and Nagaash.

²⁴⁷ Berhanu Aebissa, "Development A Knowledge-Based System for Coffee Disease Diagnosis and Treatment," (MSc Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Information Science, 2012), p. 48; Endalkachew, "A Historical Survey of Coffee...", p. 51; Alemayehu Teshome, "Coffee Development and Marketing Improvement Plan," In *Proceeding of a National Workshop Four Decades of Coffee Research and Development in Ethiopia* (EIAR, Addis Ababa, 14-17 August 2007), p. 376.

²⁴⁸ Jimma Zone Administration Office Archival Document, File No. 24/03 (29 *Säné* 1969 E. C.) or see appendix XI; informants: Seefuu, Gammachuu, and Muhiddiin.

²⁴⁹ Berhanu, p. 49; Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development (MCTD), *Coffee Research: Supplementary Report of the Preparation Studies for the National Coffee Development Project* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 1988), p. 3; Jimma Zone Administration Office Archival Document, File No. 24/03 (29 *Säné* 1969 E. C.) or see appendix XI.

growers of the region to coffee production.²⁵⁰ Hence, in 1976 Kaffa Province Coffee Production and Processing Agency have sent one survey team to the study area which was led by Ato Mälkamu Därrässä to investigate the status/severity of CBD for further solution and protection of the disease.²⁵¹

CBD, a fungal disease that was called cholera locally, had been affected both the quality and quantity of coffee production. It resulted in the coffee berries black, dried, death of the surface of the berry, empty berries, and useless to commercial production. The disease was spread through the air, the local practice of picking berries, seedling transplanting, and different farm tools.²⁵² According to the district's Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, during the 1970s, CBD devastated vast areas of coffee production mostly in the high altitude *gandaas* of Dooraa, Geejjib, Saqqaa, Deegoo, Yeddoo, Atinaagoo and other parts of the district. In the district probably around twenty to thirty percent of coffee productions were lost by this disease. As a result, many coffee producers who were mainly dependent on coffee income for their livelihood were exposed to different socio-economic problems.²⁵³ Consequently, after three years of its appearance in the Gibe region including the study area, CBD affected the production of coffee by decreasing its yield yearly by over thirty percent.²⁵⁴

²⁵⁰ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture...", p. 280; informants: Seefuu, Gammachuu, and Muhiddiin.

²⁵¹ Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office Archival Document, Folder No. 08/69 (5 *Mäskäräm* 1969 E. C.) or see appendix VII.

²⁵² McCann, pp. 183-84: Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 112.

²⁵³ Informants: Gammachuu, Seefuu, Waallee, and Germa.

²⁵⁴ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture...", pp. 280-81; Sagni, p. 66.

Figure 9: Coffee plants affected by CBD in Atinaagoo rural *gandaa* of Limmuu Saqqaa district



Source: Photo by the researcher, 2020

Accordingly, following the devastation of coffee production by CBD starting from the 1970s, the government of Ethiopia made an effort to minimize and control the severity of the disease. Including using cultural practices, coffee growers of the district were used spraying chemicals and planting resistant varieties provided by the district's Agriculture and Rural Development

Office from the governmental.²⁵⁵ However, due to its price expensive only a few peasants have used the anti-disease chemicals. Though all the means were used to control the disease (CBD) at a time had contributed to some amount, the most effective had been the introduction of new varieties of coffee plants.²⁵⁶ These CBD resistant varieties were introduced and proven by Jimma Agricultural Research Center (JARC). The center worked for the development and use of improved coffee varieties, mainly for disease resistance and high yield efficiency.²⁵⁷ It was after this period particularly starting from 1980, coffee growers of the study area have been used these improved coffee varieties for coffee production and even some of them replaced their former old coffee varieties with these disease-resistant and high yield efficiency varieties.²⁵⁸

4.2.4 Coffee's Price Fluctuation

What Ethiopia shares with other coffee-producing countries, was that it was and still is dependent on international prices that has been affected by the structure and conditions of the world coffee market. According to different sources, what has happened in the international coffee markets had a profound effect on Ethiopia's coffee economy. That was why; Ethiopia's coffee production and marketing had been challenged by the fluctuation of prices at different periods.²⁵⁹ For instance, when the global coffee price was declined because of the world depression, the country's (Ethiopia's) coffee export in the 1930s brought in less revenue than the preceding decade. Thus, the foreign currency earned during these periods greatly declined due to the depression, which discouraged coffee production of the country including the study area.²⁶⁰ Similarly, World War II affected Ethiopia's international coffee market more significantly. The war disrupted the exports of coffee to Europe and the United States. It was in this context that

²⁵⁵ Jimma Zone Administration Office Archival Document, File No. ከከU/69 (22 *Genbot* 1969 E. C.) or see appendix X.

²⁵⁶ Informants: Gammachuu, Seefuu, Waallee, and Germa.

²⁵⁷ Tefera, pp. 66-67; Bossolasco, p. 14; informants: Gammachuu, Nagaash, and Yaayyaa.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ UNDP, *Human Development Report 2005: International Cooperation at a Crossroads, Aid, Trade, and Security in an Unequal World*. (New York: United Nations Development Program, 2005), p. 140; Mengistu E. Seyoum, "Price Transmission System in Ethiopian Coffee Market," (MSc Thesis, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences: Uppsala, Economics, 2010), pp. 45-46.

²⁶⁰ McClellan, p. 78; Yonas, pp. 43-44.

Ethiopia obliged to supply a few amounts of coffee to Anglo-Egyptian Sudan at a fixed and low price than the normal market value. Thus, Ethiopia's coffee prices remained depressed until WWII ended.²⁶¹

Accordingly, during 1967, the world coffee export was also declined by six percent, which was slightly more than in the preceding year. However, in the proceeding years starting from December 1968, coffee export prices were increased due to the successful negotiation of a new International Coffee Agreement (ICA).²⁶² Subsequently, with the rise of neoliberalism from the early 1980s, international coffee trade has been dramatically transformed from a managed market to a free market, which paved the way for coffee price fluctuation repeatedly including in the proceeding decades. Between 1962 and 1989, international coffee trade was regulated through an export quota system that existed under various ICAs implemented by the International Coffee Organization (ICO). According to different sources, though there were problems with this system, it was successful in maintaining relatively high and stable prices, which greatly strengthened the economies of coffee-producing countries.²⁶³

The international coffee market was affected by continuous price fluctuation. There were several factors that affected and determined the world coffee trade and prices. These factors include production, consumption and stock, and other economic, political, and natural factors. Coffee has been one of the commodities highly affected by low and stable prices in the world market. The coffee crisis was mainly caused by imbalances between production (supply) and consumption (demand). According to ICO statistics, coffee production has been increasing at an annual rate of 3.6 percent while demand has been increasing by only 1.5 percent. Starting from the 1990s, the increase in both the quantity and quality of Brazilian and Vietnamese coffees has resulted in a strengthening of their domination of different market segments, which in turn is increasingly marginalizing other coffee producers including Ethiopia. It was in this context that many

²⁶¹ Guluma, "Land, Agriculture...", pp. 242-43; informants: Alii, Tashoomaa, Yaayyaa, and Abbaa Jihaad.

²⁶² FAO, *The State of Food and Agriculture* (Food and Agriculture Organization, Rome, 1968), p. 33.

²⁶³ Petit, p. 229; S. Ponte, "Brewing a Bitter Cup? Deregulation, Quality, and the Re-organization of Coffee Marketing in East Africa," *Journal of Agrarian Change*. Vol. 2, No. 2 (2002), p. 253.

developing countries' coffee exports were and still faced low income, which discouraged many coffee growers.²⁶⁴

The coffee crisis in Ethiopia was not only affected by external sources. Domestically some problems influenced Ethiopia's coffee export and prices. These problems included: poor quality maintenance, low productivity, weak grading and classification system, and lack of promotion in the international market. Lack of adequate communication systems between coffee growers or local markets and central markets was also another factor that affected coffee growers and merchants' benefits and exposed them to the manipulation of brokers.²⁶⁵ The market barriers related to the price fluctuation has so far been threatened the profit of coffee farmers of the country in general and Limmuu Saqqaa district in particular under the period of investigation. Transparent and fair coffee markets not only support the producers' farmer but also enhances foreign income for the country. However, for a long time, coffee farmers have been affected by the unusual fall of coffee prices. It was in this situation greatly starting from the 1980s, that many coffee growers of the district, who had been dependent on coffee income for their livelihood before began to diversify their production instead of only relying on coffee production. They also used to intercrop their garden coffee with other crops.²⁶⁶

4.2.5 The Impact of Ethiopia's Coffee Trade Policy

According to different literature and oral sources during the imperial government, until 1974, Ethiopia's coffee trade policy was characterized by free market-based philosophy. The industry was regulated by the NCBE. Traders were allowed/freed to by coffee at various stages of the marketing chain and exported. A proportion of the crop was auctioned by traders at voluntary auctions in Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa. The role of NCBE was limited to the regulation of the auction process and quality control. Thus, in the imperial period, though many troubles affected the coffee sector, about its (imperial government) coffee trade policy, no problem influenced the

²⁶⁴AbiyTemtime, "Assessments of Coffee Marketing Chain and Its Export Performance in Ethiopian GDP," (MA Thesis, St. Mary's University, Addis Ababa: Ethiopia, Business Administration, 2016), pp. 15-16; Petit, pp. 229-30; Sereke-Brhan, pp. 9-10.

²⁶⁵ Dagim, "A History of Coffee...", p. 116; informants: Seefuu and Gammachuu.

²⁶⁶ Informants: Seefuu, Haadha Qoroo, Adam, and Abbaa Duulaa.

benefits of coffee growers and traders, rather the policy encouraged coffee production and marketing.²⁶⁷

After the revolution in 1974, the NCBE was replaced by the Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development (MCTD), and coffee production and marketing were heavily controlled by the state. While private traders were permitted, the majority of the crop was handled by the state-owned ECMC. ECMC, a corporation within the MCTD was created and took on substantial responsibilities in the international and external marketing of coffee. It was responsible for handling 90 percent of the officially handled supplies.²⁶⁸ Consequently, coffee producers had to sell at a fixed price and there was little flexibility for them to choose when they sold. Thus, during the *Därg* regime, private sector roles in the coffee sub-sector were limited by the government's command of economic policy. Peasants did not have access to the liberalization of coffee production and marketing. Instead, they were subsistence farmers that faced challenges in coffee production. Finally, the liberalization policy of post-1991 paved suitable conditions for overall coffee production and marketing, which encouraged both coffee farmers and traders of the country in general and the Limmuu Saqqaa district in particular.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁷ World Bank (WB), pp. 10-11; Tefera, p. 92; informants: Seläše, Zeenuu, and Abbaa Biyyaa.

²⁶⁸ Petit, pp. 248-49; informants: Seefuu and Gammachuu.

²⁶⁹ Informants: Seläše, Zeenuu, and Abbaa Biyyaa.

Conclusion

The thesis has attempted to examine the historical development of coffee production, processing, and marketing in Limmuu Saqqaa from ca. 1891-1991. Like other areas of the Gibe region, almost half of the study area has been endowed with suitable climatic conditions and soil, natural forests, and rivers which favored the production and marketing of coffee in the region for many years. That is why the study area has a long history of coffee production and marketing which could be traced back to the second quarter of the nineteenth century, when the role of Saqqaa as a political, religious, and trade center was very significant in the southwest region of present Ethiopia. Nevertheless, little has been studied and recorded about the study subject and area. Many works produced on coffee production, processing, and marketing are more focused on Jimma kingdom and former Jimma and Limmu *awurajas*. Thus, they lack specificity and depth on the study area and subject of the study.

Hence, this thesis primarily deals with coffee production, processing, coffee quality, coffee marketing, and factors affecting coffee production, quality and marketing of coffee in the study area during the period of investigation. Accordingly, with the conquest and early administration of the Ethiopian empire coffee production and marketing which had been expanded in the study area by slaves and peasants during the second half of the nineteenth century was mostly disrupted. The *näffäññas* monopoly of the region not only disturbed coffee production and its trade but also all activities of agricultural production including the coffee sector. However, following the penetration of some foreign merchants' capital into the country's trade activities and the improvement of some transportation system, coffee production and marketing rehabilitated in the study area and its surroundings during the 1920s. Consequently, the Ethiopian coffee export and price, from the southwest region including the study area significantly increased throughout the decade.

The study also portrays the causes that discouraged coffee production and its trade in the study area during the 1930s and early 1940s. The world depression and Italian occupation of Ethiopia were the major factors that hampered coffee production and marketing in the research area and its surroundings. As a result, the price of coffee both globally and nationally including the study area had greatly declined. Nonetheless, during the next two decades in the 1950s and 1960s, mainly due to an increment of the global need for coffee, its production and marketing were also

proportionally raised. The establishment of different financial institutions in coffee-growing areas of the country also facilitated the development of the coffee industry. It was during these decades that government officials (bureaucrats), local leaders, and wealthy personalities were actively engaged in coffee production and trade. The plantation coffee production system also began to expand in the study area and its surroundings during these two decades. Though coffee production and land commercialization greatly expanded during the decades stated, the most beneficiaries were those bureaucrats and rich merchants than indigenous peasants.

The issue of coffee processing and quality have also got attention and concern during the 1950s and 1960s, to improve the quality of coffee exported to the world market. Consequently, modern dry and wet processing machineries were introduced and expanded in the study area and its surroundings. Following the decline of the feudal government and the rise of military regime, different coffee production systems were largely expanded in the study area including areas where it was not spread earlier. However, different policies and new programs of the *Därg* government highly exploited coffee producers and other cultivators. In addition to the coffee marketing policy, the collectivization and resettlement programs of the socialist government of Ethiopia challenged the benefit of coffee growers of the district throughout the period.

Coffee production, processing, and marketing had passed through different factors that contributed and challenged the sector in various ways during the study period. Suitable natural conditions, the competition of different officials, the government's need for the sector (coffee), and the availability of farm land during the *Därg* regime were the major factors that helped the expansion of coffee production and marketing. Unlike the aforementioned factors, some challenges hindered the sector from further expansion. These were: the insecurity of land tenure system, coffee diseases, government's trade policy, lack of adequate transportation facility, and coffee price fluctuation.

Therefore, since the study has attempted to fill the gap that is not well examined by the other studies, its findings could contribute to some developments. It could be used as source material for other researchers, who are interested to make further studies on coffee production, processing, and marketing. The results could also be used by concerned bodies in their attempts to promote the production, processing, quality, and marketing of coffee.

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Folder No. ከ ከ U/68, File No. 139/68, 1968 E. C. (1976)

File No. ከ ከ /112/69, 1969 E. C. (1976)

File No. ከ ከ U/69, 1969 E. C. (1977)

File No. 24/03, 1969 E. C. (1977)

Folder No. በ 02/70, File No. 28/70, 1970 E. C. (1978)

File No. የ ሙድ. 8, 1971 E. C. (1979)

Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office, Atinaagoo:

Folder No. የ ቡእ /48, File No. ቡ34/48, 1948 E. C. (1955)

File No. 11/49, 1949 E. C. (1956)

File No. 88/53, 1953 E. C. (1960)

Folder No. ቡቡ /53-54, File No. ቡ114/54, 1954 E. C. (1961)

Folder No. ቡቡ /63-64, File No. የ ቡረ 83/64, 1964 E. C. (1961)

File No. 5/69, 1969 E. C. (1968)

Folder No. 08/69, 1969 E. C. (1968)

File No. 02/74, 1974 E. C. (1982)

File No. 35/76, 1976 E. C. (1983)

File No. 04/78, 1978 E. C. (1986)

File No. 05/79, 1979 E. C. (1986)

Limmuu Saqqaa District Agriculture and Natural Resource Office, Atinaagoo:

Folder No. ቡሻረ /80, File No. ችጢ. 2/3, 1980 E. C. (1988)

Folder No. ቡሻል /83, File No. 4/05, 1983 E. C. (1990)

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III. List of Oral Informants

S. No.	Name	Age	Place of Interview	Date of Interview	Remark
1	Abba Biyyaa <i>Qäññazmač</i> Dibaabaa	88	Saanxoo	10/12/2019	The son of <i>Abbaa Qoroo</i> (sub-district governor) who owned large size of semi forest coffee in Saddeeqaa. He is well-known elder and told me the historical events of past regimes.
2	Abbaa Diggaa Abbaa Garoo	81	Dooraa	22/03/2020	He is wealthy (<i>sooressa</i>) and model coffee farmer. He has good ability of remembering past events.
3	Abbaa Duulaa Haj Adam	75	Saqqaa	11/12/2019	He has deep knowledge about the imperial and <i>Därg</i> regimes land tenure systems. He is also coffee farmer starting from 1975 to present.
4	Abbaa Jihaad Abbaa Maccaa (<i>Abbaa Gadaa</i>)	62	Riigoo	12/03/2020	He is <i>Abbaa Gadaa</i> of the district and has good ability in narrating historical events related with Limmuu Ennarya kingdom and the origin of coffee.
5	Abbaa Maccaa Abbaa Ammayyaa	78	Geejjib	21/03/2020	He has ample knowledge about <i>Lej Yilmaa Dheeressaa's</i> Geejjib coffee plantation. He had been also chairman of Geejjib <i>qäbälé</i> Peasant Association from 1976 to 1981.

6	Abbaa Simal Abbaa Bulguu	81	Daammee	14/12/2019	He had been coffee farmer and merchant from 1950s to the end of 1990s. He has good ability in narrating oral tradition.
7	Abbaa Tamaam Abbaa Siimboo	72	Buluudoo	14/12/2019	He had been chairman of <i>ganda</i> Buluudoo Peasant Association in Limmuu Saqqaa district from 1978 to 1982. He has deep knowledge about the imperial and <i>Därg</i> periods historical events.
8	Abbaa Waarrii Abbaa Luleessaa	87	Saqqaa	7/04/2019	Indigenous residence in Saqqaa who claims his genealogy with royal family of Limmuu Ennarya kingdom.
9	Abdusalaam Huseen (Haj)	88	Kuraa Labuu	12/12/2019	He owned large size of farm land and forest coffee during the imperial period. But it was redistributed to peasants after land proclamation of 1975.
10	Adam Abbaa Cabsaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	64	Geejjib	21/03/2020	He is coffee farmer and local coffee merchant since the late 1970s to the end of 1990s.
11	Alii Ibree (<i>Obbo</i>)	69	Saanxoo	10/12/2019	He came from Walloo as laborer to Saddeeqaa semi forest coffee plantation owned by imperial palace or Haile Selassie I. During 1975, when Saddeeqaa semi forest coffee was shared to laborers and peasants he has got three <i>facaasaa</i> .

12	Amiinaa Shifaa (Aadde)	34	Atinaagoo	9/12/2019	She is a head of Culture and Tourism Office of the district and has good ability in narrating the social impact and economic significance of coffee.
13	Faaxumaa Abbaa Maccaa (Aadde)	62	Riigoo	12/03/2020	She is from landowner family and has good ability of remembering the past events.
14	Gäberämika'él Gäberämäden (Ato)	71	Saqqaa	19/03/2020	He came from Tigray as laborer to Qeeransoo coffee plantation of Ras Mäsfen Seläši found in Limmuu Saqqaa district. Currently he is coffee farmer.
15	Gammachuu Abarraa (Obbo)	59	Atinaagoo	15/03/2020	He is an agronomist since 1980s to present in Limmuu Saqqaa district Agriculture and Natural Resource Office and has good experience on factors affecting coffee production.
16	Germa Täšomä (Ato)	67	Komaa	20/03/2020	He came from Gojame during the early period of the 1970s and become model coffee farmer and merchant in Komaa town of Limmuu Saqqaa district.
17	Haadha Jihaad Abbaa Leencaa (Aadde)	65	Kuraa Labuu	12/12/2019	She is from landowner and coffee farmers' family. She is also well experienced women in narrating oral tradition.
18	Haadha Qoroo Abbaa Bulguu (Aadde)	63	Dooraa	22/03/2020	She is eminent informant and has good ability of narrating the socio-cultural value of coffee in the district.

19	Jamiilaa Abbaa Garoo (<i>Aadde</i>)	57	Geejjib	21/03/2020	She had been chairwoman of <i>ganda</i> Geejjib women association from 1986 to 1989. Her husband has vast coffee farm. She has good ability of remembering past events.
20	Kadir Sirnaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	59	Saanxoo	17/03/2020	He is coffee farmer and merchant since 1980s to 1990s.
21	Kamaal Abbaa Milkii (Sheikh)	61	Geejjib	21/03/2020	He is model coffee farmer and his father had served as representative of <i>Lej</i> Yilmaa Dheeressaa for his Geejjib coffee plantation which is later become part of Suunxuu coffee plantation branch in Limmuu Saqqaa district.
22	Kamaal Imaam (<i>Obbo</i>)	56	Atinaagoo	9/12/2019	He is an expert (employee) of Limmuu Saqqaa district Culture and Tourism Office for a long time. He has collected extensive oral information on the past history of socio-economic and political condition of the region.
23	Mohaammed Wadaajoo (Sheikh)	77	Riigoo	6/04/2019	Tenant farmer of the imperial period due to the land measurement or taxation of the time. He was also chairman of Waddeessaa <i>qäbälé</i> Peasant Association during the early period of the <i>Därg</i> regime.

24	Muhiddiin Abbaa Zinaab (<i>Obbo</i>)	49	Komaa	20/03/2020	He is from landowner and coffee merchant family. He is good narrator of past events.
25	Nagaash Abbaa Kadir (<i>Obbo</i>)	58	Atinaagoo	15/03/2020	Coffee merchant since the late 1970s to present and has coffee store in Limmuu Saqqaa district.
26	Samu'él Lāggāsā (<i>Obbo</i>)	33	Geejjib	21/03/2020	He is an agronomist and coffee expert at Coffee Farm No. 03 (Geejjib) branch of Suunxuu Horizon Coffee Plantation in Limmuu Saqqaa district.
27	Seefuu Taaddasaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	52	Atinaagoo	15/03/2020	He is an agricultural expert in the district and has knowledge about coffee production and processing.
28	Selāše Tāsfayé (<i>Ato</i>)	72	Atinaagoo	6/04/2019	He is from <i>näffāñña</i> family who came from Ankobär (Šäwa) and become coffee farmer and merchant.
29	Sinqee Maammoo (<i>Obbo</i>)	82	Saanxoo	17/03/2020	Hired laborer at Saddeeqaa semi-forest coffee production owned by imperial palace or local people called Haile Selassie's coffee production.
30	Sulxaan Abbaa Raagoo (<i>Obbo</i>)	54	Dooraa	22/03/2020	He is coffee farmer and was chairman of <i>ganda</i> Dooraa youths' association during 1986 to 1990.
31	Tāsfayé Dāssalāñe (<i>Ato</i>)	70	Saqqaa	19/03/2020	He came from Walloo as laborer at Qeeransoo coffee plantation of Ras Mäsfen Selāše in Seka <i>qābälé</i> .
32	Tāšomä Irkisa (<i>Ato</i>)	76	Saanxoo	17/03/2020	He was Limmu <i>awuraja's</i> Ethiopian Peasant Association

					(ጥፋ፣ ጥፋ) secretary during 1977 to 1982. He is well experienced of memorizing past events.
33	Waalee Zalaalam (Obbo)	55	Atinaagoo	15/03/2020	He is coffee farmer and merchant since the <i>Därg</i> regime to present. He has coffee store in the district.
34	Wändäwosan Hirpässä (Ato)	34	Dooraa	22/03/2020	He is an agronomist at Coffee Farm No.04 (Dooraa) branch of Suunxoo Horizon Coffee Planation in Limmu Seka district.
35	Yaayyaa Ita'aa (Obbo)	69	Saqqaa	19/03/2020	He had been technician of coffee hulling station planted by <i>Därg</i> government at Saqqaa <i>qäbälé</i> of Limmuu Saqqaa district.
36	Zeenuu Abdallaa (Obbo)	88	Saqqaa	11/12/2019	A local elder who knows the historical development of coffee production, processing and marketing of the district.

Appendices

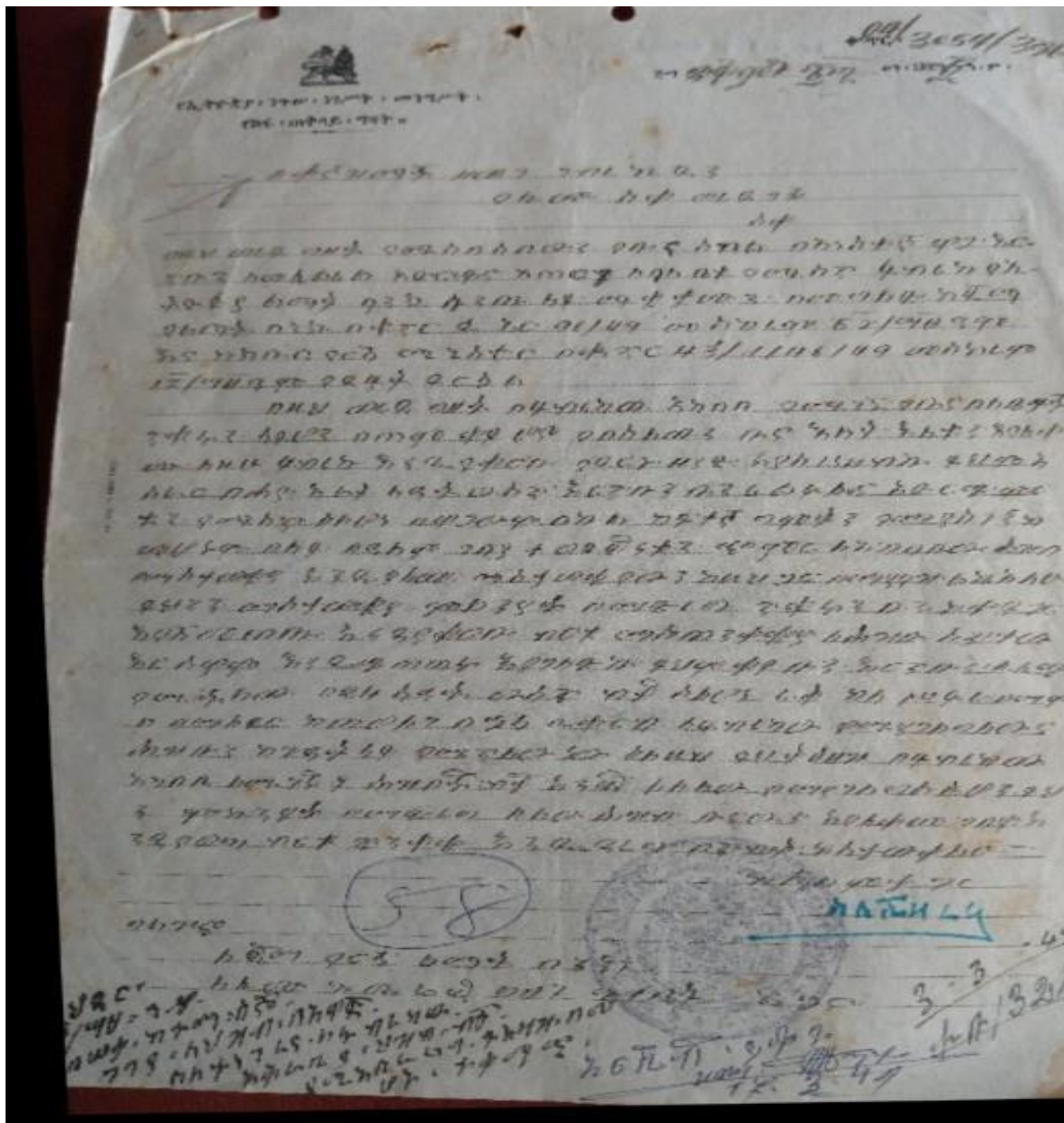
Highlight Translations of Selected Archival Materials

App. No.	Date	Ref. Number	From	To	Highlight of the letter
I	13/3/48 E. C. (1955)	501/48	Pagano Salbator (coffee farmer)	Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office	Petition or request for harvesting his coffee cherries from <i>ganda</i> Saqqaa.
II	27/2/49 E. C. (1956)	04/3054/ 3964	Kaffa Province Administration Office	<i>Qäzmač</i> Zäwugä Gäberäkidan (governor of Limmuu Saqqaa district)	Informing that wet coffee processing machine was planted by NDB at Suunxuu aiming to serve including coffee farmers of study area.
III	2/2/53 E. C. (1960)	6/53	National Coffee Board of Ethiopian Delegate	<i>Gerazmač</i> Gétu Ayälä (governor of Limmuu Saqqaa District)	Notifying the factors that affected coffee quality in the district during harvest.
IV	5/3/54 E. C. (1961)	2/54	National Coffee Board of Ethiopian delegate (Neguse Alemayehu)	Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office	Notifying that coffee farmers should collect only ripe coffee berries and dried on bed carefully
V	6/3/64 E. C. (1971)	14/434/3 159	Limmuu Sub- Province Administration Office	<i>Gerazmač</i> Dästa Kitel (governor of Limmuu Saqqaa District).	Announcing that critical attention should be given for protection of coffee quality.
VI	17/5/68 E. C. (1976)	129/5/68	Kaffa Province Coffee Production and processing Agency Branch Office	Limmuu and Jimma Sub- Provinces Coffee Development Heads	Coffee trees and its branches should not be broken down while coffee farmers were harvesting coffee.

VII	5/1/69 E. C. (1976)	346/1/69 /37	Kaffa Province Coffee Production and processing Agency Branch Office	Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office	Requesting cooperation with a team sent to the district for investigating the degree of CBD.
VIII	6/1/69 E. C. (1976)	5/24/17/ 49	Limmuu Sub- Province Administration Office	Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office	Noticing coffee farmers for paying their last year coffee sacks loan payment.
IX	21/4/69 E. C. (1976)	አበነ /2 499/ 15/69	Kaffa Governorate General	Six sub-provinces Administration Office	Coffee Production and Processing Agency was changed to Coffee and Tea Development and Marketing Authority.
X	22/9/69 E. C. (1977)	579/69	National Coffee and Tea Development and Marketing Authority	Kaffa Province Administration Office	Describing that the government has been made an effort to control CBD through spraying ant-disease chemicals and replacing the varieties by disease resistant varieties.
XI	29/10/6 9 E. C. (1977)	43/2/3/3 586	National Coffee and Tea Development and Marketing Authority	Kaffa Province Administration Office	Describing the impact of CBD on coffee production and the majors taken by the government.
XII	15/5/70 E. C. (1978)	ገጭ/8/ 6	National Trade and Tourism Ministry	Kaffa province Administration Office	Announcing that the province should commit very well in supplying 100,000 tons of coffee at national to the world market.
XIII	23/9/71 E. C. (1979)	አ27/348 1	Kaffa Province Administration Office	Pipeno Pagano	Nationalization of his hulling station (dry coffee processing machine) from <i>ganda</i> Seka.

XIV	19/12/74 E. C. (1982)	8-2/2695/74	Limmuu Sub-Province Administration Office	Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office	Notifying the province's and its districts' share of coffee yield to be supplied to international market.
XV	29/1/76 E. C. (1983)	1-59/83/76	Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office	Limmuu Sub-Province Administration Office	Indicating the amount of left from world market due to transportation problem
XVI	5/13/78 E. C. (1986)	8-2/3717/78	Limmuu Sub-Province Administration Office	Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office	Indicating the quota of Kaffa province's coffee yield to supply for the international coffee market.
XVI I	12/2/79 E. C. (1986)	8-2/247/79	Limmuu Sub-Province Administration Office	Limmuu Saqqaa District Administration Office	Announcing the share of the district's coffee to provide for international coffee market.
XVI II	28/6/80 E. C. (1988)	733/497/80	Limmuu Saqqaa District Coffee and Tea Development Office	Kaffa province Ministry of Coffee and Tea Development Branch Office	Notifying the district's coffee seedling nurseries and demonstration site laborers.
XIX	24/1/83 E. C. (1990)	105/619/83	Limmuu Saqqaa Sub-Province Coffee and Tea Development Ministry Office	Limmuu Saqqaa Sub-Province Party Committee Office	Notifying the sub-province and its <i>gandaas</i> share/plan of coffee yield to be expected to supply to legal coffee market.

[illegible]





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[illegible]

[illegible]

Appendix VII



የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ
የብሔራዊ ግንባርና ግንባር ፌዴሬሽን
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አ.ገ.ፍ
ለገጽ ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
ፍ.ፍ
ለሌሎች ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
ገ.ገ.ገ
ለሌሎች ወረዳ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
አ.ገ.ፍ

በሀገራችን ስለገባው የብሔራዊ ስልጣን ጥናት የብሔራዊ ግንባርና ግንባር ድርጅት መ/ቤት በ1967 እና 1968 ዓ.ም. በተከታታይ አገልግሎት በሚቋቋም በየወረዳዎች ውስጥ በመዘጋጀት የበሽታውን የመቆጣጠር ሁኔታ ማጥናት ይታወቃል። ዘንድርም ለተወሰነ ሥራ ወቅትን በመከተል በአገልግሎት ድርሰት መሪነት አገልግሎት በሚቋቋም የክፍለ ሀገሩ የብሔራዊ ግንባርና ግንባር ድርጅት መ/ቤት አቋም በተከታታይ ወረዳዎች ውስጥ እየተዘጋጀ የበሽታውን ሁኔታ አገልግሎት የሚሰጥ ተሰጥቷል።

የተደጋገመ ጥናት አገልግሎት የታወቀበት የበሽታው ሁኔታ በአገልግሎት ተሰጥቶ ምህንድስና ለቀቀ የሚደረግ ጸባይ ስለሆነ በአገልግሎት ሥራዎች ደገም የሚሰጥ ፀባይ ይታወቃል። ይህንን ሁኔታ ሁሉ በሚገባ ጠንቀቀ ማወቅ ስለሚገባ የመከላከያ መድኃኒትን ለገባረብ ከማቀረባቸው በፊት ተደጋጋሚ ጥናት ማድረግ አስፈላጊ ሆኖ አገልግሎት ይሰጣል።

ስለዚህ ጥናትን መሠረት በማድረግ አገልግሎት በዚህ ሁኔታ በመድኃኒት መከላከል ይቀጥላል። ለዚህም ዓመት ስብሰባ በክፍለ ሀገሩ ውስጥ 1,600 ሄክታር ቡና መድኃኒት በመጀመሪያ ላይ ስለሚገኝ ጸባይና አገልግሎት ሁኔታ እየታየ መከላከል የሚቀጥል መሆኑን አገልግሎት የተሰጠው ቡና በየወረዳዎች እየተዘጋጀ ጥናትን በሚያካሂድበት ጊዜ ሁሉ የአስተዳደር ተባብሮ አገልግሎት ይሰጣል።



የአገልግሎት ተቋም

የክፍለ ሀገሩ የብሔራዊ ግንባርና ግንባር ድርጅት መ/ቤት ጽ/ቤት
ሥራ አስፈጻሚ

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ
የቡናና የቫሽል ልማትና የቡና ባለሥልጣን
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ለዘረ ከፍለ ሀገር አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት
፪ ማ

ሱና ከረዥም ዘመናት ጀምሮ በኢትዮጵያ አገራዊ ላይ ከፍተኛ ድርሻ ያለው
ከመሆኑም በላይ 60 ፖ. ያህል የወጡ የግዛሬዎችን የተደገፈው በሱና ቢሆን፤ በተ
ጥቅም ሆነ በተዘዋዋሪ ግንባራ ከ5 ሚሊዮን የሚበልጡ ገበሬዎች፤ ከፍተኛ አገልግሎት
ፊደላት፤ በገንዘብ፤ የልማት ድርጅቶች፤ ተሽከርካሪ መኪናዎች ሁሉ በዚህ መወገድ
ደረጃ የሚያገኙት ጥቅም ከሱና በሚገኝ ገቢ መሆኑ ገልጾ ነው።

ከቀርብ ጊዜ ወዲህ ሱና አብያይ በሆኑት ከፍለ ሀገራት የገባው የሱና ፍሬ
በሽታ አስቸጋሪ ከሚሆኑት የአጽዋት በሽታዎች አገዳ ቢሆን፤ ይኸው በሽታ ጉልተ
ከታየበት ጊዜ አገሱ የሱናና የሽይ ልማትና የገበያ ባለሥልጣን በሽታውን ለጊዜውም
ሆነ ለዘላቂታቸው ለመቋቋም የሚያስችሉ አርምጃዎች በመፈለግና በማስፈለግ ከ1967
ዓ.ም. ጀምሮ ያይፍሊታን የተባለውን መፍትሄ ከወጡ አገር አስመጥቶ፤ የመርዛ
መሣሪያዎችን ለገበሬዎች በነፃ በማቅረብና ወቅቱን በመከተል የመከላከያው መፍትሄ
በ5ቱ ከፍለ ሀገራት በመረወድ ላይ ይገኛል። ይኸው ብቻ በይህን በጊዜያዊ መልክ
በመጠኑ ለመቋቋም ይረዳል ተብሎ የታመነበት መፍትሄ መርዛቱ ቢሆን፤ ዘላቂ መፍትሄ
ያስገኛል ተብሎ የታመነበት ደገም በሽታው የሚያጠቃውን የሱና ዘር በምርመር ቀናት
አገኘቶ በአዲሱ ዘር መተካት ነው።

በመሠረቱ ይህን ደብዳቤ ለመጽፍ ያበባበሩ በሰራው 1968 ዓ.ም. 1620
ሃክታር የሱና መሬት የረወገ ቢሆን፤ በ1969 ዓ.ም. ደገም በተቻለ መጠን ስፋቱ
5000 ሃክታር የሆነ የሱና አርሻ ለመርወድ ዕቅድ በማዘጋጀት ከሚያዝያ 10/69 ዓ.ም.
ጀምሮ የመርዛቱን ሥራ በማካሄድ ላይ አገገኛለን። የርዕዩ ሥራ በስፋት የሚካሄደው
በላውና በፔማ አውራጃዎች ቢሆን፤ በተጨማሪ በከፊል በከፋ አውራጃ ውስጥ በመረወድ ላይ
ነው።

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የኢትዮጵያ ፕላንና ኤክስፖርት ወታደራዊ መንግሥት
የቡናና የቫይል አማችና የገበያ ባለሥልጣን
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የፈለግነው ቅጽ 23/1969 በጸ 1875 ዓ. ም.
ጽ/ቤት 448005

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Addis Ababa

= 2 =

ሆኖም ዎንዎ እንኳ የገበሬ ማህበራት ጥቅሙን በመረዳት በመርጨቱ ሥራ በመተባበር በመሥራት ላይ ቢገኙም አልፍ አልፍ ይገዛል በመጠኑ የሚሰጣቸውን መሬት ተከትለው ለመሥራት ፈቃደኛ ያልሆኑ ገበሬዎችም አይጠፉም :: ከዚህም በላይ የርግቱ ሥራ መከሄዱ የሚገባው በጥዋት ሲሆን፤ ገበሬዎች ነገ በአምስቱና በስድስት በዓት ከየባቸው ስለሚጠጡ ፕሮግራሙን ተከትለን ለመርጨት ችግር

አቶ ተባብሮ ፈጥሮአዊ ጽ/ቤት

የሀገሪቱ ወጦት የሆነው ቡናችን ወርቅ አንፃይተንና ገበሬውም ለብሩ ስራ አንፃይታለን ገበሬውን ማስተባበር ለልማቱ ሠራተኞች ብቻ በመተው 5000 ሂክታር አስተከከሉ ለመርጨት ችግሩ ስለሚፈጥር የሥራው ሁኔታ ከባድነት አንዲሁም ሮግቱን በትክክል ለማከሄድ የገጠሙን ችግሮች ለማስወገድ ይቻላል ዘንድ የወረዳው የልማት አብዮት ከሚታዩት ለተወሰነ ጊዜ ከኛ ጋር በመዘዋወር የርግቱን ሁኔታ በመመልከት ለገበሬ ማህበራትና የሥራ አስኪያጅ ከሚታዩት ተወካዮች በርግቱ መቀጠር በይበልጥ አንዲተባበሩን ለሦስቱ የአውራጃ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤቶች በጊዜው ትኩረት እንዲተላለፍልን፤

2/አውራጃው ከዚህም ልሳ በተጨማሪ በገበሬው አገልግሎት ሆነ በጎንጂዎች አገልግሎት ያለው ቡና አንዲወጣ በየጊዜው ያለው ብንባንም ዋጋ ወርቃል በማለት በየመጋዘኑና በየወጪው ቤት ብዙ ቡና ተከማችቶ ይገኛል :: የ1969 ዓ.ም. ወርቅ ከተሰበሰበበት ጊዜ አንስቶ አስከሬም 30/69 ዓ.ም. ድረስ ወደ አዲስ አበባ ከከፈ ከፍለ ሀገር የወጣ 14,726 ተገቢ ብቻ ስለሆነ፤ አስከሬሁን ድረስ ለወጣ የሚገባው ቡና ያልወጣ በመሆኑ ይኸው ተጨማሪ አንዱ ችግር ስለሆነ በአብዮት ከሚታዩት አንዲባቸው በማከበር አናሳ ስላለን ::=====

2/አውራጃው ከዚህም ልሳ በተ��ማሪ በገበሬው አገልግሎት ሆነ በጎንጂዎች አገልግሎት ያለው ቡና አንዲወጣ በየጊዜው ያለው ብንባንም ዋጋ ወርቃል በማለት በየመጋዘኑና በየወጪው ቤት ብዙ ቡና ተከማችቶ ይገኛል :: የ1969 ዓ.ም. ወርቅ ከተሰበሰበበት ጊዜ አንስቶ አስከሬም 30/69 ዓ.ም. ድረስ ወደ አዲስ አበባ ከከፈ ከፍለ ሀገር የወጣ 14,726 ተገቢ ብቻ ስለሆነ፤ አስከሬሁን ድረስ ለወጣ የሚገባው ቡና ያልወጣ በመሆኑ ይኸው ተጨማሪ አንዱ ችግር ስለሆነ በአብዮት ከሚታዩት አንዲባቸው በማከበር አናሳ ስላለን ::=====



የጽ/ቤት ጽሑፍ ትቀይሮ
አዲስ አበባ
አስኪያጅ

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 የጥቅምት ጥቅምት ጥቅምት ጥቅምት ጥቅምት
 የብሔራዊ ጥቅምት ጥቅምት ጥቅምት ጥቅምት ጥቅምት
 THE PROVISIONAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SOCIALIST ETHIOPIA
 Coffee & Tea Development & Marketing Authority

ተሳታፊ : 21130 ETHIOF ADDIS
 Tel. :
 ኤሌ-ግራፍ : ETHIOF
 Cable Address :
 ቁጥር :
 Ref. No. :

የፖ. ግ. ቁ. : 2022
 ስልክ :
 Phone :
 አዲስ አበባ : 29, 1963
 Addis Ababa :

= 2 =

ቢያባራክተና ቢያለግድቶ የይ.ታ.፡፡ ሆኖም መንግሥት ለሁሉ ገዢ መታዘት
 በነፃ ሊያባርብ በላይኛው ገቢ ምንም ዓይነት መከላከል ይኖርባቸዋል፡፡

ለምሳሌ አባባዘረ ድረስ መንግሥት ለአገልግሎት ሲከታታይ የቡና ተክል
 ለአገልግሎት 90% ለገቢው የሚኖርበት መታዘት 20 ኪሎ ምህል ሲሆን የገቢው
 200 ብር ይደርሳል፡፡

ይህንን ገቢ መንግሥት ተከፋይ ላይ ብቻ የተወሰነው ወጪ በመጠኑ ለመቀነስ
 ታስቦ ለ1970 ዓ.ም. ገቢው ለመታዘት መገዛት አገልግሎት የታደረገ
 20% ሲሆን ይህም መንግሥት ለአገልግሎት ሲከታታይ ቡና 160 ብር ሲያወጣ ገቢው
 አሁንም 40 ብር ብቻ ይከፍላል ማለት ነው፡፡

በላዚህ ገቢ ምንም ዓይነት ለማባወጥ ለማወቅ 90% ለሚረገፍ
 የቡና ተክል እንደተለመደው መርዳታቸውን በመገዛትና ለመታዘት 20% ለመክ
 ረል ባሁኑ በማሰብ ዘገድቶ ከሚያገኙት የቡና ሽያጭ ላይ አገልግሎት መስጠት
 ሪያው በአስተዳደሩ ጽ/ቤት በኩል አገልግሎት መስጠት ይገባል፡፡

ሊት ዩኒየት
 3ይድ ተሳታፊ
 የፖ. ግ. ጥቅምት

ገልባጭ ለከፋ ከፍለ ሀገር የቡና የገዢ ልማትና
 ገቢያ ባለሥልጣን ቀርጾባቸው ጽ/ቤት
 ይ.ማ



የቤት መቀላይ ገዢ ጽ/ቤት መገንባት
 የፖ. ግ. ጥቅምት 4/11/70
 ቁጥር 64531
 የፖ. ግ. ጥቅምት

አ.ባ.

አገልግሎት
 የፖ. ግ. ጥቅምት
 የፖ. ግ. ጥቅምት
 የፖ. ግ. ጥቅምት
 የፖ. ግ. ጥቅምት

→ AN4 NSA UTC AN+996
EWG

$\frac{d}{dt} \quad 3 \cos \pi t / 6$
 $3 \sin 15 / 5 / 7 \pi \text{ or } 9 \pi$

ለትዳዳ ህገተ ወተ ሺህ ተገባና ያህል በየዓመቱ ታወቀታለች። ዳሩ ገን ከዚህ
 ውስጥ ለዓለም ገቢያ የወታቱበው በጣም አነበተና ወሀት ታወቋል። ከዚህ የትነባ ሊት ቶ
 ዳያ ተገቢውን የውጭ ያገዛሪ ሲታገጥ ተርታለች። ስለዚህም ቸገር ዋና ምክንያት የሀገር
 ጤና ስሜራቱ ገቢረ እስከ ዓለም ገቢያ ድረስ በተቀነባበረና በተሻገረ ሁኔታ ለጭቅረብ
 በደ ዘገደት ሳይደረግ በመቅረቱ እንደሆነ ተደርጎታል።
 በገንባታው

[illegible]

የነበር ተጠላክ ዊት ኢት ጾታ የሚኒስተር መኮር በት በዝያው የጥናት ዓመት መርተ
ዘመን ቢያንስ አንድ መት ሺህ ቀን ጥናት ለዓለም ገበያ እንዲቀርብ ወስኗል፡፡ በዚህም
በቁር ታህሣሥ 15 ቀን 1970 ዓ/ም በጠቆራዊ ሽንጉ የአዲስ አበባ አጠቃላይ የአጠቃላይ
የዘመቻ አስተባባሪ ኩሜት ሊቅ ገበየሁ፤ የንግድና ተራዞች ሚኒስትር፤ የጠቆራዊ ባንክ አዛዥ
የጥናትና ሽያጭ ልማትና ገበያ ባለሙያዎች ሥራ አስኪያጅ፤ የጥናት ለኪያቸ ማኅበር አባሎችና ሌሎች
ቶም ጉዳዩ የሚመለከታቸው ድርጅቶች በተገኙበት በዚሁ ዓባይ ጉዳይ ላይ ሰፊ ውይይት ተደር
ገባታል፡፡ በዚሁ መሠረት ወደ ዓለም ገበያ እንዲቀርብ የተወሰነውን የጥናት መርት ሁኔታ
በቀርቦ ሆኖ የሚከታተልና ለሚያጋጥሙትም ችግሮች መፍትሔ የሚፈልግ በንግድና ተራዞች ሚኒ
ስትር ጠባባቢነት አንድ ቋሚ የጥናትና ሽያጭ አስተባባሪ ኩሜት በጠቆራዊ ደረጃ ተቋቋሟል፡፡
ይህም ኩሜት የተጠላቀሱትን አርዳታዊ

ይህም ከሁሉ የተጠበቀ ለገቢ ተቃራኒ ጥያቄ ሊወጣ የሚችለው ጉዳይ የሚመለከታቸው መንግሥታዊና ሕዝባዊ ድርጅቶች እንዲሁም የግል ድርጅቶች ሁሉ ለታላላቅ ገቢ ተጠብረው ሲሠሩ ነው። በአሁኑ ጊዜ ሀገራችን በጤናማ ሕልውና ያን ለመጠበቅና ለገቢ ተቃራኒ ለመንጠባጠብ በፍ ያለ የወጭ ጽንዘድ በላሚያስፈልጋት የታቀደው አንድ መቶ ሺህ ትን ሥራ ለዓለም ገቢያ በወ ቀተ መቅረብ ይኖርበታል።

.../2

113

[illegible]

[illegible]

አድራሻ	ዕለት	የጥቅም ዕቃዎች
ገንዘብ		11033
አጠቃላይ		5236
አጠቃላይ		1490 ✓
ገንዘብ		935
አጠቃላይ		18700
ገንዘብ		8806
ወጪ ጥቅም		1785
ጥቅም		952
ገንዘብ		297.50
ወጪ		297.50
ገንዘብ		11900.00
ገንዘብ		1237.60
ገንዘብ		1047.20
ገንዘብ		7.20
ገንዘብ		2380.00
ገንዘብ		357.00
ገንዘብ		297.50
ገንዘብ		153.00
ገንዘብ		42.50
ገንዘብ		850.00
ገንዘብ		119.00
ገንዘብ		25.50
ገንዘብ		25.50
ገንዘብ		170.00
ገንዘብ ከ/የገንዘብ		34000

ከክፍል 1/78 - በ 30/79 ዓ.ም.
 የወጣት የገንዘብ ሰነድ

ተ.ቁ.	ፀ.ር.	የገንዘብ ሰነድ		ጠቅላይ
		የገንዘብ	የገንዘብ	
1	ጠቅላይ	1463	=	1463
12	የገንዘብ	878	=	878
13	ወጪ	878	=	878
14	የገንዘብ	878	202	1080
15	ሀገር	1756	1346	3102
16	የገንዘብ	2927	2424	5351
17	ገንዘብ	3805	1750	5555
18	የገንዘብ	4390	673	5063
19	ወጪ	4390	337	4727
10	የገንዘብ	3512	=	3512
11	የገንዘብ	2341	=	2341
12	በ 3	2049	=	2049
ጠቅላላ የገንዘብ		29268	6732	36000

የገንዘብ ሰነድ

ከክፍል 1/78 - በ 30/79 ዓ.ም.
 - ከገንዘብ ሰነድ 5632 ብ
 - ከገንዘብ ሰነድ 1100 "
 6732 ብ

በ 30/79 ዓ.ም.
 ደ.በ.

2215



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〒720-0292
P. O. Box 3222

電話 : { 448605-7
 Phone {

[illegible][illegible]

1- በገጽ አለቀክሥ: ሀፋ. ምርጥ: 7 ጥያቄዎች. 28 ሰዓት =
2- ሃፋ ምርጥ: - - - - - >> 14 ሰዓት =
3- ምርጥ: ሃፋ = - - - - - ሀፋ ምርጥ 10 ሰዓት =

၄၇၆၄ = ၈၈၄ = ၈၈၇၈၈၄. ၄၇၆၄ = ၈၈၄ = ၈၈၇၈၈၄
 ၆၇၆၄ = ၈၈၄ = ၈၈၇၈၈၄. ၄၇၆၄ = ၈၈၄ = ၈၈၇၈၈၄

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POOL 2000 - 10/10/10

Please quote our reference Number when replying

ቁጥር... 105/619/83
 ቀን... 24/1/83

ለሌላ ወይም ለሌላ ፖርት ቦርድ ጽ/ቤት
አ ተ ር ጌ

ጉዳዩ :- የ1983 ዓ/ም የጤና ምርት መመዝገብ
አቅድን ለማሳወቅ

ከአባ/አካባቢያችን በ/ባ/ሰ/ሚ/ር/ጽ/ቤት 536 ተገ
 ጤና ተሰባስቦ ለሀገራዊ ገቢ ወቅረብ እንዳለበት ተገልጾልናል፡፡
 በዚህም መሠረት ጤና አብያይ ለሆኑት 10 አገ/ሀ/፡/
 ሥ/ጣህበራትና በሥሩ ለሚገኙ 41 ቀ/ገ/ጣህበራት የተሰጠን
 አቅድ ወደ 700 ተገ ከፍ አድርገን በመመደብ አሰራጭተናል፡፡
 ስለዚህ ለአቅዱ መሣካት ድጋፍ ሆኖ እንዳይለየን እየጠየቅ
 ቀሁ የአቅድን ዘርዘር መገለጫ 1 ገጽ በዚህ አባሪ ደብዳቤ
 ጋር የተያያዘ መሆኑን ጭምር እገልጻለሁ፡፡

“ ኢትዮጵያ ተቀዳሚ ”

መኮንን አባ
 የአጠቃላይ በ/ባ/ሰ/ጋሳራ

ተ. ቁ.	የአገ/ሀ/ዎ/ዓህበር	ተ/ገ/ዓ/	የተደሰ ደገፈል በዓ አቁዳ
			በ ከ ሽ
1	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	1705
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	1404
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	1100
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	900
2	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	5109
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	1710
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	550
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	1002
3	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	4068
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	1305
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	550
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	1052
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	500
4	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	3407
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	750
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	352
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	1102
5	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	1000
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	500
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	234
6	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	1734
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	500
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	250
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	150
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	200
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	500
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	500
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	250
7	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	2050
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	400
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	450
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	500
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	500
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	200
8	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	2050
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	250
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	500
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	650
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	1000
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	350
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	150
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	39
9	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	3439
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	150
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	220
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	245
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	245
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	150
10	የገንዘብ ገቢ	የገንዘብ ገቢ	1010
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	50
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	105
		የገንዘብ ገቢ	155
ጠቅላላ ድምር			24,425
			1,465,440

Glossary

<i>Aaddee</i>	Mrs.
<i>Abbaa</i>	Father or title of respect
<i>Abbaa Bokkuu</i>	Leader of <i>gadaa</i> in power
<i>Abbaa Duulaa</i>	War leader
<i>Afkala</i>	Local merchants in the Gibe region
<i>Aqrabes</i>	Suppliers
<i>Ato</i>	Mr.
<i>Awuraja</i>	Sub province
<i>Baddaa</i>	Highland
<i>Badda daree</i>	Mid highland
<i>Baddaa makaa</i>	Semi-forest
<i>Baggajjaa</i>	Very old forest coffee trees
<i>Baläbbat</i>	Local ruler or land lord
<i>Buna</i>	Coffee
<i>Buna baddaa</i>	Forest coffee
<i>Buna ganamaa</i>	Morning coffee
<i>Buna qalaa</i>	slaughtering coffee
<i>Caffee</i>	The <i>Gada</i> Assembly or public meeting
<i>Däjjazmač</i>	Commander of the gate (military title below <i>Ras</i>)
<i>Därg</i>	Military government of Ethiopia (1974-1991)
<i>Facaasaa</i>	Traditional land measurement unit which is equal to 0.25 hectare
<i>Gäbbar</i>	Conquered peasants in the southern region including study area
<i>Gadaa</i>	A socio-economic, political and religious institution of Oromo
<i>Gammoojjii</i>	Lowland
<i>Ganda</i>	Smallest administrative unit
<i>Gasha</i>	Traditional land measurement unit which is equal to 40 hectares
<i>Gebrätäl</i>	Confiscated land due to unpaid tax by owners and became government land either to sell or to grant for imperial officials
<i>Gerazmač</i>	Commander of left

<i>Gult</i>	Land use right granted to officials or non-hereditary right to the products of land
<i>Jabanaa</i>	A clay pot used for boiling coffee
<i>Jabarti</i>	Muslim traders from North Ethiopia
<i>Jämfäl</i>	Unprocessed dried coffee bean
<i>Qäbälé</i>	Smallest administrative unit
<i>Keflä-hagär</i>	Province
<i>Lej</i>	Title reserved for sons of royal family
<i>Madäreya</i>	Land given to imperial government officials in lieu of salary
<i>Miketel wäräda</i>	Sub district
<i>Milmaaloo</i>	Coffee collecting method from coffee tree by identifying only ripe coffee berries (hand picking)
<i>Moggaasa</i>	Naming of the newly married couple and born baby
<i>Näftäñña</i>	Settler soldiers in the south who occupied with gun
<i>Obboo</i>	Mr.
<i>Qalad</i>	Land measurement
<i>Ras</i>	Highest traditional title appointed by emperor over large areas
<i>Rest</i>	Permanent private tenure (hereditary right over land)
<i>Säbsabes</i>	Collectors
<i>Shimxaaxoo</i>	Coffee collecting method from coffee tree by unifying both ripe and unripe coffee berries together at the same time
<i>Ṭäqalay gezat</i>	Province
<i>Waaqa</i>	God
<i>Wäräda</i>	District (administrative unit below <i>awuraja</i>)

Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and that all sources material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged. The thesis has not also been submitted to any university for the award of any degree or other benefits.

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Signature: 

Date of Submission: 21/02/2021