

SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

A HISTORY OF EEBANTUU DISTRICT, EAST WALLAGGAA ZONE: 1974-1991

BY

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Abstract

The main objective of this thesis is to reconstruct a history of Eebantuu district, East Wallaggaa Zone from 1974 to 1991. The 1974 is a turning point in the history of the district because of the demise of imperial power while the year 1991 is a landmark due to the demise of the military regime and the coming of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) to power. The study attempts to fulfill the existing historical gaps in the district during the period understudy. Based on relevant archival, oral, and written secondary sources, the thesis gives an analysis of socio-economic and political developments that Eebantuu district had witnessed during the Därg regime (1974-1991). It also offered background knowledge pertaining to the pre-1974. The military regime's attempts to place its power in a better position introduced several radical measures like land reform, agricultural collectivism, resettlements, and Villagization at a national level, which had their own negative and positive effects on the socioeconomic and political life of the people of Eebantu district. Besides this, the study has tried to address the socio-cultural situation of the district and the infrastructural developments in which the area has not made much progress. Therefore, I argued that the political, economic, and social policies and reforms that have formulated and implemented by the Därg government brought better changes in the life of most of the people of the Eebantuu than the previous regimes. Generally, the findings of this research work showed the discourses between "history of events" and "history from below."

Preface

This study attempts to reconstruct a history of the Eebantuu district 1974 1991. The district was established in 1968 as independent district, a history of the district up to 1974 was reconstructed thus while the researcher forced to take 1974 as a benchmark. The 1974 is a turning point in the history of the district because of the demise of imperial power while the year 1991 is a landmark due to the demise of the military regime and the coming of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) to power. To achieve its objectives, this thesis divided into four chapters. The first chapter deals with the physical and historical background of the study area. The second chapter investigates and explains the major improvements and changes that the study area experienced after the 1974 Revolution. This chapter also tries to illuminate the changes and developments of the Därg programs following the Ethiopian revolution like administration, land reform, peasant associations, and the forced military conscription district and its consequences. The third chapter describes the socio-economic and political developments from 1978-1991. It tries to describe agricultural collectivism, Villagization, resettlement program, as well as the dawn fall of the Därg and its consequences in the district. The fourth chapter explains briefly the socio-cultural institutions of the district like the religious dynamism, and the expansions of infrastructural developments in the district during the period under discussions, such as education, health, road, communication, and transportation.

To reconstruct the history of the district both written and oral sources were used. The written sources were manuscripts, archives, Theses, Dissertations, and books from East Wallaggaa Zone Culture and Tourism, Eebantuu district Cultural and Tourism Office, Wallagga University, and Jimma University. In addition, oral sources collected from local informants to reconstruct the historical development of the district, which gathered from December 2019 to November 2020.

Finally, the inclusive study of the history of the Eebantuu district has not still taken place. Therefore, the objective of this study is to fill the prevailing gap by reconstructing the history of the Eebantuu district. Despite this fact, the work is far from being complete. Particularly, the Covd-19 disease and the instability of the area much hindered the success of the research. Nevertheless, my present finding is very important and sheds fresh light for future scholars who may be interested in the study of the history of the rural districts of Ethiopia.

Acronyms

AAU	Addis Ababa University
AMC	Agricultural Marketing Corporation
CMF	Christian Missionary Followers
CSA	Central Statistical Agency
ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EWAO	East Wallaggaa Administration Office
EWCTO	Ebantu Wäräda Culture and Truism office
NDRPE	National Democratization of Religion Policy of Ethiopia
NVCC	National Villagization Coordinating Committee
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OPDO	Oromo People Democratic Organization
PAs	Peasant Associations
PCs	Producers Cooperatives
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
PMAC	Provisional Military Administrative Council
PVCC	Province Villagization Coordinating Committee
REYAs	Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Associations
SCs	Service Cooperatives
SIDA	Swedish International Development Agency
TGE	Transitional Government of Ethiopia
TPLF	Tigray Peoples Liberation Front
UDA	Urban Dwellers Association
WAs	Women's Associations
WPE	Workers Party of Ethiopia

Key to Transliteration System

A. Amharic

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

Symbol		Example
1 st order	∩=Bä	Därg
2 nd order	ſr=Bu	Bunna
3 rd order	Ω =Bi	Birr
4 th order	∩= Ba	Balabat
5 th order	ß=Bé	Qés
6 th order	n=Be	Bergo
7 th order	∩= Bo	Boräna

II. Glottalized sounds are representing as follows

Symbo	ol	Example
ф	Q	Qäbäle
ጠ	Ţ	Ţäla
ጨ	Ç	Çäw
θ	Ş	Şähay
Ŕ	Р	Päpas

III. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows

Symbol		Example
ሽ	Š	Šinaša
Ť	Č	Zämäč
ኝ	Ñ	Daňä
Ч	Ž	Gež
ጀ	J	Jänebäru

V. Germinations should be indicated by doubling consonants:

Examples: ተሰማ Tässäma

አንጃ Anjja

B. Afaan Oromoo

Oromo couplets verses and prose are spelled according to newly introduced Oromo alphabets (*qubee*) to simplify the problems of reading Oromo sayings

I. Oromo Vowels

Short	Long	Example	English meaning	English equivalent
А	aa	laafa	weak	A=are
Е	ee	beela	hungry	E=were
Ι	ii	miicuu	wash	I=he/she
0	00	Hoolaa	sheep	O=for
U	uu	hatuu	thief	U=you

II. Oromo consonants are stressed by doubling the similar phonemes and combined by two different consonants. Five different Oromo phonemes are formed by combining two different consonant letters. These are ch, dh, ny, ph, and sh. Two of them have English equivalent.

Oromo	English	Example
Ch	Ch	Nacha
Sh	Sh	Shimala

Three of have no English equivalents.

These are: dh, ny, ph.

Oromo	Example	English meaning
Dh	Dhagaa	Stone
Ny	Nyaata	food
Ph	Dhiphaa	narrow

III. In Oromo alphabets, consonants like: c/q/ and x have different sound while the rest have almost the same sounds as English consonants.

Oromo	Example	English meaning
С	Caffee	swampy
Х	<i>xiqqa</i> a	small
Q	qarree	Unmarried

CHAPTER I GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. Geographical Background

According to the current administrative arrangement, Eebantuu district is one of the seventeen districts of East Wallaggaa Zone of Oromiyaa Regional National State. In its relative location, the had bordered with the Abbay River in the north, Limmuu district in the south, Giddaa Ayyaana district in the east, Haroo-Limmu district in the west, and Benišangul-Gumuz National Regional State in the Northwest direction.¹ As far as its Astronomical location is concerned, it lies at $9^{0}55' 45''$ N to $10^{0}14' 00''$ N latitude and $36^{0}16'55''$ to $36^{0}35'10''$ E longitudes.² The district has a total area of 920.10-kilometer square.³

Hindee town is the administrative center of the district, which is located at about 471 kilometers away from Finfinne, the capital city of Ethiopia, and 138 kilometers from Naqamtee town, the administrative seat of East Wallaggaa Zone to the western and northwest direction respectively.⁴ The district has twenty-one *qäbäles*, out of which nineteen *qäbäle* are rural while Hindee and Qeelloo are town's *qäbäles*.⁵

¹Fekadu Fufa, "Status and challenges of Agricultural Land Management in Ibantu Woreda, East Wollega Zone, Ethiopia", (MA Thesis, Wollega University, Geography and Environmental Studies, 2019), p.20.

²Abdisa Bekele, "Effects of Lime, Vermicomposting, and Chemical P Fertilizer on Selected Properties of Acid Soils of Ebantu District, Western Highlands of Ethiopia", *Applied and Environmental Soil Science*,(2018),p.2.

³East Wollega Zone Finance and Economic Cooperation Office, "Socio- Economic Profile of East Wollega Districts", (Naqamte, 2008), p.1.

⁴Ebantu district Road Authority, "Annual Report", (Hindee, 2008), p.6.

⁵Ebantu district Administration Office, "Annual Report", (Hindee, 2004), p.8.

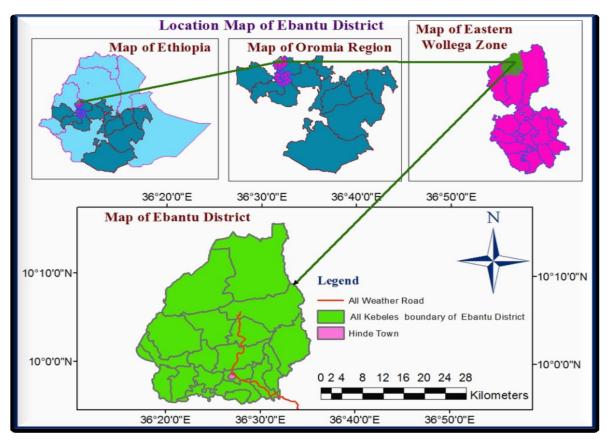


Figure: 1.1. Map of the study area

Source: Ethio-GIS data, 2014.

Topographically, Eebantuu district is one of the southwestern Ethiopian highlands and about 85 percent of the district's landscape is characterized by ups and downs. The elevation of the district ranges between 1,200 and 2,300 meters above sea level.⁶ Altitude is the main factor that causes the variation of different climatic conditions and it determines the amount of rainfall and the natural vegetation of the district. The natures of the topography coupled with other environmental features have resulted in a variety of Agro-Ecological Zones of the district.⁷

⁶Fekadu, p.21. ⁷*Ibid*. Based on altitude the climate of the district classified into middle altitude (*Badda-daree*) and lowland (*Gammojjii*) which accounts for 65.50 percent and 34.50 percent of the total area of the district respectively.⁸

The district has a sub-tropical climate, which characterized by heavy rainfall, warm temperature, and a long-wet period. The mean annual temperature ranges between 18 ^oc and 26 ^oc. Climate and its related factors have a great place in the lives of the district people as their lives and every aspect of livelihood depend on the land and its related factors. Therefore, the agro-ecological zones of the district subdivided into two climates.⁹

I. Middle altitude (*Badda-Daree*): - It covers a large part of the district and about 65.5 percent with a moderate climate, which situated between 1,500 and 2,300 meters above sea level and the sources of many streams and rivers that flow throughout the year. It is the most fertile and abundance of water resource area which attracted permanent human settlement, cattle rearing, and sedentary agriculture. The eastern, western, central, and southeastern parts of the district are identified as middle altitudes.¹⁰

II. Lowland (*Gammoojjii*) is an area with an elevation below 1,500 meters above sea level and covers 34.50 percent of the total land areas of the district. This area characterized by hot, dry, variable rainfall and a great shortage of water. These areas found following the courses of the Abbay, Mogor, Weelmal, and Balimatoo rivers. The north and northwestern parts of the district identified as lowland. This area was a relatively has sparsely populated area because it influenced by malaria and *tsetse* fly which made it unfavorable for a sedentary way of life for a long period. However, with the advancement of medical and climatic change, it has become best for the population settlements recently.¹¹

The rainfall pattern is unevenly distributed and the mean annual rainfall of the district ranges between 900mm and 1,400mm. The district s gets uni-modal and abundant rainfall that makes it ecologically favorable both for cattle rearing and agricultural activities. The duration of the rainy

⁸East Wallaggaa Zone Finance and Economic Cooperation Office, "Physical and Socio-Economic Profile of Ebantu District from 2006-2007E.C", (Naqamtee, 2008), p.3.

⁹*Ibid*.p.4; Gudina Olani, "Agro-Ecological History of Ebantu District, (ca.1941-1991)", (MAThesis, Wollega University, History, 2020), p.4.

¹⁰East Wallaggaa Zone Finance and Economic..., p.4.

¹¹Ebantu district Finance and Economic...., p.9; Informants: Baqqalaa Garbaa and Raggasaa Eejjetaa.

season is optimum, which lasts from April to November. The months of July and August are during the district receive the maximum amount of rainfall while December to February months are the driest.¹² In general, there are four seasons in Ethiopia and particularly in Eebantuu, which people of the district used for agriculture calendars. Those are *Arfaasaa* (spring), *Ganna* (summer), *Birraa* (autumn), and *Bona* (winter).¹³

Firstly, *Birraa* (autumn) is the season between the months of September and December. The rainfall decreases slowly from 150mm in October to 30mm at the end of November and the temperature begun to rise. The fields filled with flowers from which the bees take nectar for making honey and some crops are ready for harvesting. From November, onwards it is easy to travel. Secondly, *Bona* (winter) is the dry season that lasts from December to March.¹⁴ It does not completely lack rainfall. Informants told that plants such as Eebicha (*Vernonia amygdalina*) and Waddeessa (*Cordia abyssinica*) grow flowers at this time and the bees make excellent honey. The harvesting of crops is last until the end of December. The *Bona* is a time for trading, wedding ceremonies, visiting relatives, and shepherding, leading the cattle into fords among the people of the district.¹⁵

Thirdly, the *Arfaasaa* (spring) is the season between March and June and in this season, the amount of rainfall is very small and it gradually increases. Informants confirmed that this season to make the people busy because they took cattle to *hora* (spring mineral water) in the lowlands and peasants have been preparing the land for cultivation, plow by a clearing of agricultural fields, and preparing seeds to be sown.¹⁶

Fourthly, *Ganna* (summer) is the season during which the district receives the lowest temperature and it is the period between June and September. During this season, people are plow, sowing, and weeding their agricultural fields. The days are darker due to the heavy rains; it is cold and the ground is muddy. Because of the floods, the conditions for traveling are very difficult during this season.¹⁷ There are different types of soil in the different agro-ecological

¹² East Wallaggaa Zone Finance and Economic..., p.5; Abdisa, p.3.

¹³Informants: Raggasaa and Baqqala.

¹⁴Informants: Hailee, Margaa, Lamuu and Faayyisa.

¹⁵Informants: Baqqalaa, Hailee, and Taayyee.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Informants: Galataa, Lamuu, and Abbabaa.

zone of the district. The major soil types of the district are sand soil about 60 %, loam soil about 30%, and clay loam soil about 10%.¹⁸

Eebantuu is rich in various seasonal and perennial streams and rivers drain. Among the perennial rivers: Weelmal, Mogor, Sharaa, Gootuu, Baballa Balimatoo, Haamaa, and Yaa'a are the major ones. Those rivers originated from the mid-highland of the district and the tributaries of Abbay River.¹⁹ Since there are no vast plain areas in the district, the rivers are rarely holding and flowing towards different directions within the district itself.

These perennial rivers believed to have the potential for the development of irrigation and hydroelectric power. However, no attempt has made so far to use them either for irrigation or hydropower generation.²⁰

Concerning the vegetation coverage of the district, the dominant vegetation in the study area is grasses and shrubs. Scattered acacia trees and thorny scrubs are found. Indigenous tree species in the district includes *Waddeessa (Cordia africana), Bakkannisa (Croton macrostachys), Homii (Pygeum africanum), Birbirsa (Podocarpus falcates), Harbuu (Ficus sure), Somboo (Ekbergia capensis), Odaa (Ficus vasta), and Gaattira (Juniperous).*²¹However, it is imperative to note that such trees are existing in the district in very small numbers. Most of the indigenous tree species have depleted in abundance as they have cleared to make for croplands, timber production, charcoal making, and for the construction of houses and fences.²²

This extensive reduction of the forest has led to serious soil erosion particularly landslides in the District and resulted in environmental degradations, expansion of desertification, and ultimately led to climatic changes. According to the land survey of the district, forestland has stretched over 15,791 hectares. About 3,750 hectares is woodland, 24,653.30 hectares is Savanna and grassland, and 1500 hectares is shrub and bush-lands.²³

Before the depletion of the forests in the district, they were homes of many wild animals including Lions, Elephants, Buffalos, Leopards, Wolves, Wild Pigs, Monkeys, Apes, Hyenas,

²¹*Ibid.*, p.6.

¹⁸Eebantuu district Agriculture Office..., p.6.; Abdisaa, p.2; Fekadu, p.21.

¹⁹Gudina, p.15.

²⁰ East Wallagga Zone Finance and Economic Cooporation..., p.4.

²²Informants: Olaanii Saddetaa, Margaa Goobanaa, and Abbabaa Irranaa.

²³ Ebantu District Agriculture..., p.5; Fekadu, p.22.

and Antelopes. Those animals were endangered because of illegal hunting and deforestation for the expansion of agriculture as well as the traditional oriented practices supplemented by the killing of big wild animals that particularly aimed against Lions, Buffaloes, Elephants, Tigers, and Wolves had significantly affected the wildlife of the district'.²⁴

In addition to the economic value of the wild animals for the killers; traditionally, the same practice was a source of men's respect ion by women of the Oromo community in particular, and it was a symbol of men's pride and braveness among the entire Oromo population in general.²⁵ Of course, in spite of the hunting game of the wild animals, and the practices of deforestation in the district, until recently, Lions, Tigers, Wolves, and Leopards with the inclusion of other wild inhabitants found in the district. The attentions that have given to the conservation and preservation of natural forests and wild animals had contributed a lot to save the life of both plants and the wild population of the district in the past regime. Nevertheless, there are no parks and reserved areas to promote sustainable protection of wildlife in the district.²⁶

According to the 1994 population Census and Housing of Ethiopia, the total populations of the Eebantuu district were 25,252. Out of this, 12, 454 were males and 12,798 were females. Of the total population, 23,786 (94 percent) lived in rural areas while the remaining 775 (3.06 percent) were urban dwellers. This indicates that 94 percent (the majority) of the district's population were living in rural areas of district.²⁷

Based on the 2007 Ethiopian Central Statistical Agency (CSA) report shows, the District had a total population of 36,279, which comprised 18,154 males, and 18,126 females. The population analysis of the same agency outlined that the share of the rural population of the district were 33,491 and the urban population had increased to 2789.²⁸

²⁴ Informants: Margaa, Taayyee, and Olaanii.

²⁵Ebantu District Environment Protection and Climate Change Authority, Bulletin, (Hinde, 2008), pp.7-11; Informants: Baqqalaa Garbaa, Taayyee, and Galataa Amanuu.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia office of population and housing census commission central statistical Authority: *The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia results for Oromia region, Vol.1.Part VI,* (Addis Ababa, 1996), p.9.

²⁸Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Office of Population and Housing Census Commission Central Statistical Authority, *The 2007 population and Housing Census of Ethiopia results for Oromia region volume I Part I*, (Addis Ababa, 2010), p.35.

Ethnically, about 99.8 percent of the population' are Oromo while 0.2 percent are other ethnic groups like Amhara and Agaw.²⁹ The religious distributions of the district are, Protestant, Orthodox, Indigenous religion, Islamic, and Catholicism took the large to the less in the number of followers respectively. Protestant followers were the largest of all among those in the list. Its followers were accounted for 29,005(80 percent), Orthodox Christianity were 6,262(17.2 percent), 550(1.5 percent) were followers of indigenous religion while 427(1.1 percent), and 36(0.09 percent) are followers of Islamic and Catholic religion respectively.³⁰

The main economic activities in the district are mainly agriculture, trade, and handcraft. The agricultural practice is mainly dependent on farming during the rainy season.³¹ The major types of Crops produced in the district are cereals, pulses, and oilseeds. *Teff (Eragrostis teff,)* barley *(Hordeum vulgare* L.), wheat, maize, *(Zeamays* L.) sorghum, finger millet, are important cereals whereas horse beans, field peas, and haricot beans are among the pulses and while nug (*Guizotia abyssinica*),linseed, rapeseeds, sesame, sun-flower, and groundnuts are the most important oil seeds.³² On the other hand, Coffee (*Coffee arabica* L.), vegetables, root crops and fruits are the most important cash crops produced in the district.³³

Livestock production is also an important part of the livelihood of the people for both transportation and substantial purpose. The most widely reared animal in the district includes cattle, sheep, goats, poultry, donkey, and equines.³⁴ Eebantuu Oromo associated the cattle animal greatly with social and economic values. Having a large number of cattle have considered a symbol of status and has strong socio-cultural values. However, they focus on quantity than quality.³⁵ Honey production is known in Eebantuu district particularly around Qeelloo, Lalisaa, Xiilaa, Annisoo, Walee, Makkannisaa, and Qaqaroo areas in the district. However, with the shortage of grazing land, agricultural expansions, and the application of different chemicals like

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p.39.

³¹Eebantuu District Irrigation Development Authority, "Annual Report", (Hindee, 2003), p.9.

³² *Ibid*, p.7; Informants: Lamuu Qanaatee, Dassaalee Yadataa and Margaa.

³³Eebantu District Agricultural..., p.6; Abdisa, p.3.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵Informants: Asaffaa Alamayyoo, Abbabaa, Taayyee, and Baqqalaa.

herbicides, pesticides, and roundup for agriculture purposes, both cattle and honey production are on the decline.³⁶

Trade and handicraft is a source of income for many people in the district. The woodworkers, metalworkers, weavers, and pottery makers are a great contribution to producing agricultural tools and furniture in the district.³⁷ Much of Eebantuu's land is fertile up to recent times and being a source of life for the permanent settlement of people.

1.2. Historical Background of Eebantuu District

1.2.1. Origin and Expansion of the Oromo of Eebantuu

The Oromo people were one of the largest ethnic groups among Ethiopian nations and had their own origin, culture, identity, and organized under the indigenous socio-political activities and practiced for a long period in Ethiopia and the horn of Africa.³⁸ Despite this fact, the cultures, identities, social, political, and economic histories of the Oromo people have not well explored and fully represented in the mainstream of Ethiopian historiography because of certain factors.³⁹ As Tesema elaborated, the early histories of the Oromo people have shrouded with mystery because of different reasons. The first and most reason is the absence of a written language to record their own history in a well-documented way. Second, at that time, there seems to have been no scholars who made a serious study of Oromo history. Third, different Ethiopian regimes did not encourage serious investigations on the politically marginalized ethnic groups in the country including the Oromo. Therefore, many written sources on the history of the Oromo were full of distortion and miss represented the mass population of Oromo in the country. These emanated from the political situation of the past Ethiopian regimes.⁴⁰

According to available written sources, before the Maccaa Oromo expansion to and settled in the area, different people who have their own socio-cultural, economic, and political history for many centuries occupied the present land of Wallaggaa. Those people belonged to the Nilo-

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Informants: Jirraa Adimasu and Dejene Adimasu.

³⁸Mohammed Hassan, *The Oromo of Ethiopia, A History 1570-1860*, (Cambridge: University Press Cambridge, 1990), p.1.

³⁹*Ibid*, pp.2-3.

⁴⁰Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wollega: A Historical Survey to 1910", (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 1980), p.1.

Saharan and the Omotic groups such as the Agadi, Gabato, Gumuz, Mesengo, Moa, Busase, Damoto, Siničo or Şinaşa, and Ganqa.⁴¹

Tesema has classified these peoples under two different linguistic groups; accordingly, "the Agadi, Gabato, Gumuz, Mesengo, Şiluk, and Moa are belonging to the Nilo-Saharan language family and the Damot, Ganqa, Busase, and Siniço are belonging to the Omotic Language family."⁴²

Through the time some of these people of the region had been integrated and assimilated into the socio-cultural and political settings of the Oromo through the processes of *Guddifachaa* (a fostered parent adopting a child) and *Moggaasaa* (adoption to the clan) while most of the resisted to adopt with Oromo."⁴³

However, this does not properly mean that all non-Oromo inhabitants of the region have fully assimilated to Maccaa's Oromo. According to the above sources, some of them who were unwilling to assimilate into the socio-cultural and political aspects of the Oromo were moved to other places. In this regard, In this regard, Tesema clearly indicated that, because they were refuted to assimilate, both the Gumuz and some of the Omotic society were moved either into inhospitable lowlands of the river valleys of Dhidhessa or crossed the Abbay river into the Gojjam areas.⁴⁴

Jemaneh stated that, the Siničo or Dangabo and the Gumuz were one of the early societies of Eebantuu before the Eebantuu Oromo settled the present land. The Sinčo occupied the highland part of the district and the descendants of Dangabo called some places in Eebantuu those who have been lived in Eebantuu district like Axaballaa areas.⁴⁵

However, Assefa Tolera and Abebe Ano opposed the above ideas and explained that he Šinaşa were not indigenous people to the south of Abbay including the Eebantuu district. Due to

⁴¹Negaso Gidada, *History of the Sayyoo Oromo of Southwestern Wallaga, Ethiopia from about 1730 to 1886, (Addis Ababa, Mega Printing Enterprise, 2001), pp. 61-85;Desalegn Tolera, "A History of Horro-Guduru Oromo, Northeastern Wallaga(1800-1941)", (MA Thesis, Adama University, History, 2010), p.12.*

⁴²Tesema. "The Oromo of...", p.14, Etana Habte, "Wallagga During *Dergue* Administration, 1974-1991", (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 2007), p.1; Alemu Shuie, "Wallagga During the Italian Occupation(1936-41)", (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 2002), p.2.

⁴³Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia*...., p.21.; Tesema, "The Oromo of...", p.27.

⁴⁴Tesema, "The Oromo of…", p.17.

⁴⁵Jemaneh Regassa, "A History of Ebantu District, East Wollega Zone, Ca.1880s-1974", (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History), p.9.

overpopulation and conflict with the early settlers in the north of Ethiopia, they moved to the northwest of the country and crossed the Abbay River and settled in different parts of the former Horroo- Guduruu *awrajja*, and assimilated with the Oromo of the region.⁴⁶

Informants from Sinčo people of Eebantuu district confirmed that the Sinčo of Eebantuu district referred themselves to the descendants of Sinčo Wastii of Giddaa Kiiramuu and they assimilated with the Oromo of the area by taking an oath saying *seetoo*.⁴⁷ Locally known as *seetoo* Sinichoo, this statement is an oath equal to "We go where you go, we hate whom you hate, and we love that you love..."⁴⁸ This pledge is highly respected between the two ethnic groups in Eebantuu. Therefore, they concluded that the Sinčo were not pre-Oromo societies in the Eebantuu district.

As written sources described that, the Gumuz were another pre- Oromo society those who have been lived in lowland parts of the district particularly north of the district. Oljira Tujuba and Dessalegn Tolera stated that, before the Oromo expanded to Horro-Guduru, the Gumuz were lived in the highland part of the region as far as Shambuu town.⁴⁹ Following the Oromo expansion of the 16th century, they strongly resisted, and later on, they pushed to peripheral areas of Abbay, Dhidhessa, and Angar valley from Eebantuu, Limmu and Giddaa areas by the Oromo pressures.⁵⁰ As a result, they not absorbed by the Oromo people, and still, they have protected their indigenous socio-cultural identities.⁵¹

In Eebantuu district, the Gumuz society has occupied the northern parts of the district along the Abbay River and they had cordial relationships with the Oromos of Eebantuu until 1991.⁵² However, informants not confirmed with the above-written sources, because the Gumuz societies who settled in the district came from Dangur during the reign of Emperor Tewdros II at the end of the 1850s by the local leader of Anuu clan.⁵³ However, later on, the Gumuz societies were

⁴⁶ Abebe Ano, "The Shinasha Relation with other Gonga People", in *STAR Journal*, Vol.I, No.III, (2012) p.117; Assefa, pp.27-28.

⁴⁷ Informants: Olaanii, Hailee, and Margaa.

⁴⁸ Fekede, p.16; Fayisaa, Lamuu, and Abbabaa.

⁴⁹Oljira Tujuba, "Oromo-Amhara Relation in Horro-Guduru Awrajja (North-East Wallagga), Ca.1840s-1941", (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 1994), pp.6-7; Dessalegn, p.10.

⁵⁰*Ibid*.

 $^{^{51}}$ Tesema,p.41.

⁵²Informants: Margaa, Baqqalaa and Hailee.

⁵³Informants: Hailee, Wayyeessa and Olaanii.

increased in the district and conducted a michuu institution with the Oromo of Eebantuu.⁵⁴ So this indicated that there were Oromo people in the Eebantuu district before the arrival of Gumuz.

The history of the Eebantuu district was one of the parts of Maccaa Oromo of Wallaggaa in general and Jaawwii Maccaa in particular. The separation of Maccaa from Tuulama was followed by the formation of the *Afree* Confederacy (a group of four) namely Hokoo, Guduruu, Liiban, and Çalliyaa.⁵⁵ This in turn followed by the evolution of *Afree* into *Sadachaa* (a group of three) known as Akaka, Obo, and Suba.⁵⁶

The *Afree* confederacy was advanced to the westward direction and established a new center at Xuuxee Bisil in western shoa during Robalee *gadaa* from (1570-1578) and followed by *sadachaa* during Birmajii *gadaa* (1578-1586).⁵⁷ The *Arfee* took the western direction and settled in the vast territory to the south of Abbay including Eebantuu district while the *sadachaa* was moved southwest direction as far as the Gibe region.⁵⁸

The population pressure and shortage of grazing land were one of the main reasons, which paved the way for their expansions towards a different direction. By taking the western direction, the Maccaa Oromo settled in the vast territory to the south of Abbay River including the present-day Horroo-Guduruu Wallagga. Thus, all of today's Horroo-Guduruu Oromo were the descendants of the Jaawwii Maccaa sub-groups which is believed to have been the ancestor of Horroo, Guduruu, Amuruu, Jimmaa-Gannatii, Jimmaa-Raaree, Giddaa, Eebantuu, Kiramuu, Haroo-Limmuu, Limmuu, and expanded to the north of Abbay river as far as Matakkal Zone of Benišangul Gumuz National Regional State.⁵⁹

Sources indicated that the Oromo group who first came to the Horroo-Guduruu is almost identical. As noted earlier; it was Jaawwii, the sub-group of Maccaa Oromo, who had come to

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Mohammed, *The Oromo of Ethiopia...*, p.42.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.; Wandimu Nagash, The History and the Gadaa System of Maccaa Oromo to Early 20th century ,(Finfinne, ₅₀ Cromia Culture and Tourism Bureau,2015),p.25.

⁵⁸*Ibid*.; pp,26-27.

⁵⁹Charinnat Waaqwayyaa, "Hundee Seenaa Godina Wallagga Bahaa", Waajjira Aadaafi Turzimii Godina Wallaga Bahaa, (Naqamtee, 1996), p.15; Oljira, p.29; Tesema, "The Oromo of...", p.66.

settle first in the region.⁶⁰ In the same manner as the other Oromo groups, being under the egalitarian rule (the *Gadaa* System), Jaawwii's genealogy expanded and dominated the whole Horroo-Guduruu and including Eebantuu areas. The immediate descendants of Jaawwii had established their own socio-political center at Horro or *Odaa* Bulluq, about 10 Km west of Shambuu town and the center served for a long time.⁶¹

Later on, during their course of expansion the sons of Jaawwii established sub- branches of *Odaa* Bulluq, at their respective areas at which the in habitants of the surrounding came together and discussed all about their concern. The law that drafted at their main center (*Odaa* Bulluq,) should declare for them at their local center. Guduruu established their *Gadaa* center at Tulluu Dannabaa (mount Danaba) also known as Ejeerssa Qoboo, Amuru inaugurated *Gadaa* Nafuro, Jimma established Odaa Jimmaa at Galii (Tulluu Galii), Gidda at, Soob calliyaa,Limmuu at Harbuu Tumaa, Eebantuu at Fooqa Dilalloo whereas Horro left at Odaa Bulluq.⁶² All of them were ruling themselves by taking the law drafted at their main Gadaa center *Odaa* Bulluq by sending their delegates every eight years until secession.⁶³ The Oromo of Eebantuu started to rule themselves from their new Fooqa Dilalloo *Gadaa* center until the conquest of the region by Täklä Häymanot of Gojjam during the 1870s, which undermined the role of the *Gadaa* system and opened the way for the formation of small monarchical state in Eebantuu.⁶⁴

1.2.2. Genealogy and settlements of the Eebantuu Oromo

Regarding the genealogy, the Oromo people who belonged to the Cushitic groups of the Afro-Asiatic superfamily were the largest group among the people of North-East Africa. They separated into several branches. In this view, the Maccaa is one of the Booranaa branches of the Oromo, had the most complex form of kinship association.⁶⁵

⁶⁰Oljira, p.6; Desalegn, p.5; Tesema Ta'a, "The Political Economy of Western Central Ethiopia: From the mid19th century to the early 20th centuries", (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, History), p.127; Wagarii, p.13; Emiru Kenea, "The [Gumuz] of Ebantu up to 1936", (Senior Essay, AAU, History, 1984), pp.21-26.

⁶¹ Fekede, p.19; Gemechu, p.14; Dessalegn, p.29.

⁶² Wandimuu,p.41;Fekede,p.22.

⁶³Beyene Biftu, "A History of Maccaa Oromo of the Angar Gadii Region Ca.1870s-1991", (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2017), p.9; Jemaneh, p.19.

⁶⁴Gemechu, p.14; Jemaneh, p.21.

⁶⁵Alemayehu Haile and *et al, History of the Oromo to the Sixteenth Century*, Second Edition, First Impression, (Finfine, Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, 2006), p.150.

The Oromo express their genealogy start from the principal kinship system; *gosaa* which is subdivided into moiety, sub-moiety, and *Qomo* (Clan). These subdivisions have lower-order branches of kinship called *Mana*, *Balbala*, and *Warra*.⁶⁶ Western Oromia and Wallagga including the Eebantuu district were inhabited by the Maccaa Oromo, which divided into different branches. These are Liban, Jaawwii, Daallee, and Jidda.⁶⁷

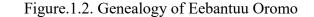
As written sources and informants confirmed that, Jaawwii Maccaa has nine sons: Guduru Horro, Amuruu, Jimma, Limmuu, Giddaa, Gudayyaa, Eebantuu, and Iluu.⁶⁸ According to Booni and Wandimu, Eebantuu is the eighth son of Jaaawwii Maccaa and has twelve sons (*Ilmaan kudha lamaan Eebantuu*) those are: Gobbuu, Anuu, Hamuuma, Haliitoo, Uggaa, Hoomaa, Billii, Iluu, Waayyuu, Jomottoo, and the Jaggaa.⁶⁹

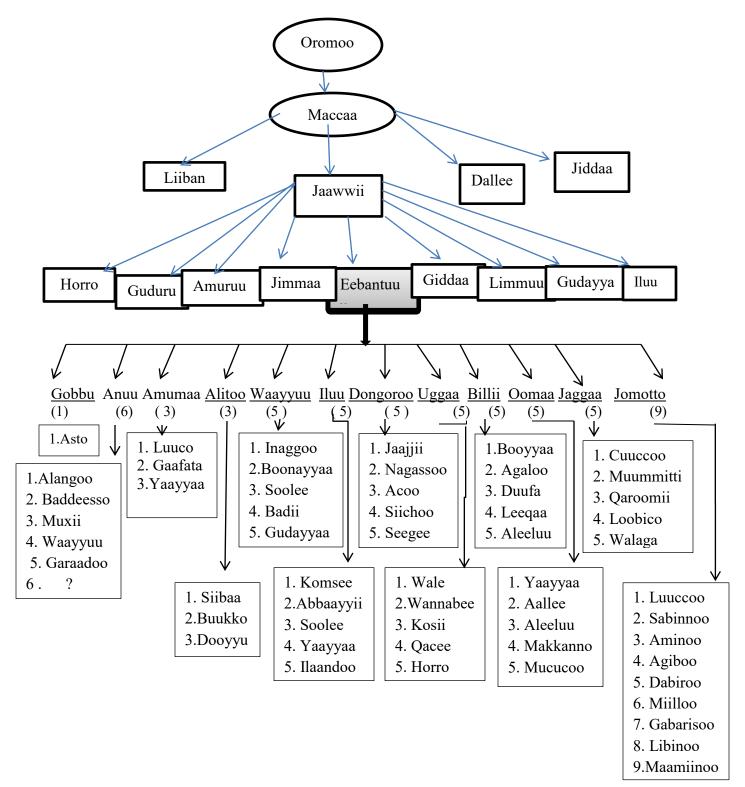
⁶⁶Gonfa Ebsa, "Customary Conflict Resolution among the Haro Limmu Oromo of Northwest Wallaga: The case of Qaalluu Institution", (MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University, Social Anthropology, 2014), p.41.

⁶⁷Alemayehu p.151.

⁶⁸Alemaheyu, p.151; Birhanu Jabesa, "A History of Sasiga District, East Wollega Zone, Ca. 1880^s-1991", (MA. Thesis, Jimma University, History, 2017), p.14; Tariku Ragassa, "Agro-Ecological History of Abe Dongoro Districts, Horro Guduru Wallaga Zone, Ca.1941-2004", (MA Thesis, Jimma, University, History, 2017), p.13; Fekede, p.3.

⁶⁹Wandimu ,p.55;Beyene,p.42;Tariku,p.13;Informants: Galataa,Baqqalaa,Taaddasaa , and Tafarii Doore.





Sources: Charinnat, p.33; Taaddasaa, p.8.

Eebantuu (the founding father) had such sons mentioned above who later diversified into clans which in turn multiplied into lineage (*balbala*). This clan belongs to the Eebantuu Jaawwii, one of the Maccaa subgroups.⁷⁰ Accordingly, from Eebantuu, Gobbu is the seniors (*Angaftuu*), a son who has enjoyed the respect and special social status among the Eebantuu Oromo. For instance, this clan conducts blessing, praying, and other social occasions or customs. Nevertheless, they have only one lineage in Eebantuu district. The other lineage remained in Gobbu Sayyo district in the east Wallaggaa Zone.⁷¹

The Alitoo, Gobbuu, and Iluu are from one father Ibso.⁷² Homaa and Jaggaa from Kuur. Billi, Dongoroo, and Anuu from Noono and Uggaa and Amumaa from Sallaa are from the same father. Marriages among each other from their lineage not allowed until now because they see themselves as relatives. Only Waayyuu and Jomottoo are not restricted to marry in clan Eebantuu except their clan.⁷³

Nobody could able to confirm that, the exact date when the Eebantuu district had occupied by the Oromo people. However, oral information and some local records available in Eebantuu Culture and Tourism Office comprehended that the Jaawwii Oromo group had settled in the district were come from Horro at the beginning of the 17th century.⁷⁴ Therefore, sources explained that Eebantuu was one of the sons of Jaawwii Maccaa from which the name Eebantuu district adopted.⁷⁵

Not all of its major clans had occupied the land of Eebantuu at the same time. Likewise, the pioneers were, Anuu, Amumaa, Alitoo, Billi, Homaa, Uggaa, Dongoro, Wayyuu, and Iluu. Later on, following their footstep Jaggaa, Jomotto, and Gobbu came to Eebantuu land.⁷⁶ The process of occupation conducted based on the social organization headed by the clan elders.

The term *daggalaa saaqii* (literally meaning founders of the new settlement area) has given to the elders and they were responsible to lead their kin to the newly founded area.⁷⁷ To decide the

⁷²Ibid.

⁷⁰ Wandimu, p.54.

⁷¹ Informants: Hailee, Baqqalaa, Margaa and Waaqtolee.

⁷³ Informants:Lamuu,Wayyeessaa,and Olaanii.

⁷⁴ Ebantu district Culture and Tourism...., p.7.

⁷⁵Informants: Margaa, Hailee, and Baqqalaa.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Jemaneh, p.15.

process of settlement in the new areas, *daggalaa Saaqii* followed by sending a group of small investigators known as Illaltu or *simbirtu* (spy) meaning observer to the vacant land for the new settlement. The main mission of *simbirtu* is checking the suitability of the zone of climate and nature of the soil. Another step followed during the same occasion was creating or setting aside methods that might enable them to resolve conflicts with the latecomers over the land they occupied.⁷⁸

Makkoo Bilii law provided how to control land for settlements during their expansion of Maccaa Oromo "*Biyyi fuula keessan dura jiru Kun Kan keessan; isa baddaa baddaasaa qabadhaa; qotadhaa, isa irratti horsiifadhaa! Jiraadhaas*!" meaning land closer to you is yours; occupy the upland areas, plow it, rear on it and live on it.⁷⁹ These indicated that when they occupy the land they gave due attention to fertile which available for human settlement and cattle rearing.⁸⁰

The land under the domain of a certain clan or group recognized as *qabiyyee* (literally landholding or domain) that encompass the context of owned land. Through the owner use of traditional landholding system (*qabiyyee*), Waayyuu (Eebantuu son) was the first to reached Eebantuu and settled at a place called *Siree Eebantuu* near to Mogor river and declared his holding in the northeast of the district Wayyuu Birbirsa, Nafroo, and around Qeelloo town. In the Oromo tradition, groups among the pioneers wanted to possess more land and the late arrivals were to move further and claim new areas not yet occupied by the others.⁸¹

The territories north of Qeelloo to Zaadii come to be the *qabiyyee* of the Jaggaa clan. Areas around Tarbii Mountain, which adopted the name from the first person who has been lived in the area called Tarbii Dibii, was the *qabiyyee* of Anuu and later on, the Anuu moved to the northwest of the district and occupied the safara areas. The land around south of Qeelloo town including Annisoo and Harbuu Jaankoo occupied by the Iluu clan. Eastern parts of the district from Mogor River to Nafroo Mountain occupied by the Homma and west of district were occupied by the Alitoo and Amuuma as far as Weelmal River. The Hindee areas and the southwest direction were occupied by Jommotto and while the north of Hindee town occupied by

⁷⁸Fekede, p.19; Gemechu, p.12.

⁷⁹Wandimu, p.330.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Informants: Dassaalee, Hailee, and Galataa.

the Billi clan and Dongoro stretched to the left and right of the Weelmal River to the northwest of the district. Finally, the Uggaa clan occupied the southeastern part of the district.⁸²

Population pressure accompanied by the movement of the people within the region had brought the interaction and the intermixing of Eebantuu clans with each other, and thereby nowadays one can hardly find a single clan occupying a distinguishable place in the Eebantuu district. Land allocations among relatives decided with the collaboration of Caffee and daggal saqii in the presence of all people at local Gadaa centers. The foundation of the Gadaa institution in Eebantuu was historical.⁸³

1.2.3. Socio-Political Overview of Eebantuu Before 1974

As sources confirmed that before the beginning of the Gojjame expansion to Oromo areas the south of Abbay, several clan chiefdoms have emerged in Eebantuu. These emerged chiefdoms were competing for supremacy in their respective areas by conducting civil war among them, which open the way for the conquest of the area easily by the Gojiame force.⁸⁴ The internal conflicts on political supremacy between Guduru Mootiis such as Jibaat Buushoo and Galataa Gamaa (Gamaa Morees) created an opportunity for Gojjames to intervene as mediation through supporting Jibaat to assume political powers in the late 1950s.⁸⁵ Gradually, the Gojjame forces assumed a political position in determining the outcome of the developments in the region at that moment.⁸⁶

Sources indicated that, in the dry season of 1872, the Gojjame army under the leadership of Fitawrari Yemar Gošu began to penetrate into these regions and secured a permanent foothold first in Guduru, just south of the Abbay River. In due course of time, they began to extend their influence over the vast regions up to the Gibe River.⁸⁷

Thus, from 1872 up to the Battle of Embabo, which fought between Negus Täklä-Haymanot and Negus Menelik of Shoa on June 6, 1882, the Gojjame expanded their political influence and

⁸²Informants: Margaa, Baqqalaa, Tarrafaa, Olaanii and Dassalee.

⁸³Jemaneh, p.28.

⁸⁴Informants: Margaa, Hailee, and Wayyeessa.

⁸⁵Alamu ,p.8; Alsandro Triulzi, "The Gudru Oromo and their Neighbors in the two Generations before the Battle of Embabo", In Journal of Ethiopian Studies, Vol.13, No.1, (1975), p, 58; Tesema, "Political Economy....", p.128. ⁸⁶Ibid. ⁸⁷Ibid.

strengthened themselves over some of the Oromo regions south of the Abbay including Eebantuu. It was clear that, in the first half of the nineteenth, the Gojjame officials frequently raided the areas just south of the Abbay, but it was only under Täklä-Haymanot that the Gojjam army secured a permanent foothold in the Oromo lands south of the Abbay River. During Täklä-Haymanot time unlike the previous raids, they came to stay in the region. The campaign seems to have been successful. Their campaign has been successful because the Oromo of the areas could not resist a better-organized army since they were fought each other to assume local political power in the area.⁸⁸

In the Eebantuu district particularly, the conflict between the Oromo and the Gumuz people on controlling land resources as well as conducting slave raids opened the way for the direct control of the district by the Adal Tesema armies.⁸⁹ This political vacuum created disorganized against external forces. However, these did not overlook the attempt of few local leaders to resist the over lordship of Adal Tesema like Dabal Mo'aa, his brother Kitil Mo'aa, and Neenoo Nuqus was fought and defeated the force of Adal Tesema at Hulaa Siiqii around Tulluu Ebbichoo and Tulluu Tarbii northwest and western of part of the district respectively.⁹⁰ Later on, Dabal Mo'aa was captured and imprisoned in Gojjam with Abishee Garbaa of Horro, and Batii Nuqus of Limmuu, finally, through mediation, Dabal released from prisoned and become the tax tribute of Adal Tesem until the coming of shoans.⁹¹

As Horro-Guduru, attempted to resist the Gojjame force under the strong leadership Abishee Garbaa was created a hard time for the Gojjame by making collaborations with different local leaders like Kitil Goosu of Amuru, Garbaa Addamu of Kiramu, Qadidaa Wanabee of Jimma Rare, Nuqus Dallana of Limmu, Odaa Jimma of Gidda, and Kachir Barii of Eebantuu. However, later on, the political friction between those leaders created for the collapse of Abishee force and lead for the subjugation and death of Abishee Garbaa at the end of 1876s.⁹²

The Gojjame's controlled and ruled the whole Horro-Guduru including Eebantuu until the death the battle of Embabo of 1982 and the Horro-Guduru region transfered to the shoan's under

⁸⁸Oljira, pp.89-91.

⁸⁹ Jemeneh, p.30.

⁹⁰Ebantu District Culture and Tourism Office, p.7; informants: Margaa, Hailee and Taaddasa.

⁹¹Informants: Margaa and Hailee.

⁹²Ginbar Negara, A History of Abishe Garba and other Oromo Heroes, (Adama, 2003), p.68; Dessalegn,

Dejjezmach (later *Ras*) Damisew Nasibu, the governor of Arjo, who was directly appointed by Menelik II, and then onwards, the Gojjame officials were evacuated from Eebantuu and have replaced by the Gondores.⁹³

The political shifts from Gojjame to the shoan's was led for the appointment of *Fitawrari* Mašaša Doorii by Ras Damisew at his political center from Giddaa while *Fitawurari* Darsoo Gabruu, *Fitawrari* Kassa Gabruu, and *Fitawrari* Filaate assigned to rule the Eebantuu from Hindee town as his representative to facilitate their administrative activities.⁹⁴

After a decade, in Wallagga the major historical developments made in line with the land measurement proclamation in 1909/10, which paved the way for the advent of *qalad* system in the Eebantu district. According to Tesema, one of the main reasons behind the proclamation "... was to systematize and regularize taxes in the country and to ensure that taxes are paid by all people."⁹⁵ These resulted in land confiscation; facilitated taxation, sale of land, and land allotment' to the military and civilian administration in lieu of salaries.⁹⁶

The increment of taxation on the peasants of the district led to the exploitation of the peasants by Menelik *melkenas* until the occupation of Wallagga by the fascist Italians in 1936 which paved the way for the evacuation of all Amhara administrators and the Oromo *balabts* from the area.⁹⁷

The Eebantuu Oromo expresses their idea about all these cruel and exploitative administration of the Shoans through their *geerarsaa* (heroic songs) saying:

Afaan oromoo	Gloss
Ameesa dhibban bitu	A cow, which gives milk costs hundred birr
Gu'aa Shantamaan bituu	Which does not, costs fifty birr
Yaa sa'aa nagaa, nagaa	That bye-bye the cattle
Gursummaa qaxaramtee	A widow began to be paid to marry again,
Yaa durbaa nagaa, nagaa	That bye-bye a girl;
Angar dibbiqii taate	The Angar, the river has hidden

⁹³ Oljira, p.111; Wagari, p.44.

⁹⁴ Informants: Hailee, Wayyeessa and Olaani.

⁹⁵Tesema Ta'a, "The Oromo of Wallagga …" p.87.

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Alemu, p.32.

Boorri kilkilii taatee	The killing of big wild animals has been forbidden
Yaa mirgaa nagaa nagaa	Bye-bye the hunting game
Osoo akka garaa kooti	If it were as to my wish
Angariin nooraa goona	We stretch bridge over the Anger River
Nachaasas Hoolaa goona	We make crocodile into sheep
Amaaraa Oromo goona	We make Amhara into Oromo
Oromo Amaara goona	We make Oromo into Amhara (elite)
Taara taara wal moona	We rule turn by turn. ⁹⁸

This epic song shows the burden administration of the *nafteňa* and its message was let us rule so that the Amhara would see in turn the burden of their administration.

During the Italian occupation the western Horro-Guduru (Eebantuu, Limmuu, Gidda Kiramu, and Amuru districts have supported, the Italian forces because they expected that the Italian administration was the solution to evacuate the *nafteňa* from their areas.⁹⁹ They have collaborated with Italians against the *nafteňa* and national guerilla fighters. In contrast way, marriage relations joined the eastern Horro Guduru peoples in the guerilla fighters against Italians because they shaped by their kingship ties with the nafteňa officials.¹⁰⁰

Under Italians, there was no tax for grazing, no *erbo* collection, no tax on tobacco or honey, and no tax on *hora* (mineral water) for cattle. The Italians banned free labor and local people were paid for all their work. There is an Oromo proverb called "*tola faranjiitu balleesse* (litt, means the Italians abolished work without payment).¹⁰¹

The Italian armies which have stationed in Ayyaanaa town in Giddaa Kiramuu district and recruited *bandas* (collaborators) from Limmuu,Amuruu,Giddaa, and Eebantuu districts and appointed *Fitawrar* Dhuguma Jaldeessoo from Limmuu as chief administrative or *Kaappoo* (Italian representative) to rule beyond Anager River.¹⁰² Dhugumaa played its role in

⁹⁸Fekede, p.43; Gemechu, p.29.

⁹⁹*Ibid*.

¹⁰⁰Oljira, p.132; Ginbar, p.36.

¹⁰¹Wagari, p.65; Informants: Olaanii, Margaa, and Waaqtole.

¹⁰²Alemu, p.37; Fekede, p.61.

collaboration with Amsaalu Jibat of Giddaa, Xiixaa Neeno and Ejjetaa Noono of Eebantuu, and Goshuu Kumsaa of Amuruu against the guerrilla in the region until the restoration.¹⁰³.

The major political development after the restoration was the rearrangement of the political maps of the country, which marked the birth of different administrative unit like *Tekliy Gizat* (provinces), *awrajja* (sub-province), *Wäräda* (district), and *Miktil Wäräda Gizat* (sub-district) to facilitate the political administration.¹⁰⁴

According to this reform, Eebantuu becomes *Miktil Wäräda Gizat* under Gidda *wäräda* until 1965, from 1966-67 merged with Calliyaa and Eebantuu-Calliya *wäräda* and in 1968 Eebantuu become an independent district under Horroo-Guduruu *Awrajja* of Wallaggaa *Tekliy Gizat* and ruled by *Bälämbäras* Ayyaloo Dastaa 1959-1969.¹⁰⁵ Wallaggaa *Tekliy Gizat* later *kiflä Hagär* divided into six *Awrajja*s and forty- nine *Wärädas*. The *Awrajja*s were Naqamtee, Gimbii, Asosaa, Qellam, Arjoo, and Horroo-Guduruu.¹⁰⁶

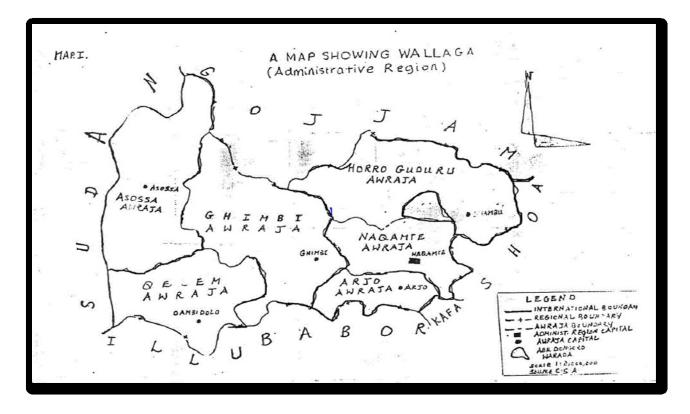
Map: 1.2 Wallagga and its awrajja

¹⁰³Jemenah, p.54; Gemechu, p.30; Fekede, p.64.

¹⁰⁴Teferra Haile-Sellasie, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1991: From A Monarchical Autocracy to A Military Oligarchy*, (New York, 1997), p.46.

¹⁰⁵Gudina,p.41;informants:Margaa,Goobuu,Olaanii,Geetachoo,and Fayisaa.

¹⁰⁶ Oljira,p.1;Beyene,p.2.Lamu,p.50.



Sources: Wagari, p.171.

Horro-Guduru *awrajja* further divided into ten districts. Those were Limmuu, Eebantuu, Giddaa-Kiramuu, Abee-Dongoroo, Amuruu, Jaarddagaa-Jartee, Horroo, Guduruu, Abbay-Chommaan, and Jimmaa Gannatii.¹⁰⁷

Individuals who have contributed to national guerrilla welfare appointed, on provinces, *awrajjas*, and all districts to carry out administrative activates particularly in relation to land taxation and land-related institution.¹⁰⁸ After the restoration, land-related issue was more sensitive which have resulted in the 1960s Ethiopian student movements and the base for the Ethiopian social revolution with the slogan of "Land to the Tiller."¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷Endalkachew Dina, "Land Tenure and Agriculture History of Wallaga 1941-1991", (Ph.D. Dissertation, AAU, History, 2016), p.1; Dereje Hinew, "Agriculture and Environment in Angar-Dhidhessa Valley, Western Ethiopia (Ca.1840-2010)", (Ph.D. Dissertation , AAU, History, 2018), p.61Oljira, pp.1-2; Wagari, p.171; Beyene, p.2; See also Appendix, I.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*; Informants: Galataa, Olaanii, and Taayyee.

¹⁰⁹ Pablo Arconada Ledesma, "Against the Emperor, Analysis of the Student Protests Evolution during the Reign of Haile Selassie I (1960-1974)", *Revista Universitară de Sociologie*. Year XV, No. 1, (2019), p.80.

CHAPTER II

THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFORMS OF THE *DÄRG* IN EEBANTUU DISTRICT

2.1. The 1974 Ethiopian Revolution and Its Consequences in the Eebantuu district

For many years, the people of the country had not challenged the power and authority of the Ethiopian Christian monarchy. As Teshale Tibabu described that, the emperor had claimed that their power emanated from God.¹ However, the social, economic, political, and cultural rights of the great majority of the Ethiopian people have blocked for almost a century.² Therefore, a different section of the societies was started opposition against the imperial rule including peasants from 1960s-1973.³

Addis Hiwet described that the 1974 Ethiopian "social revolution", was sparked by long years of popular outrage and repression of the monarchy's oppressive and exploitative feudal government in the country which challenged by its failure to solve socio-economic problems of the societies.⁴ Although the emperor's regime made some political and socio-economic reforms to quell the protests, its efforts did not unnoticed, as they exacerbated problems in the agrarian society of the country.⁵

The sources described that the mass opposition to the imperial regime was not considered from one corner it was carried out in the four most corners of the country. The revolution first sparked by the three most influential social groups in the capital, Addis Ababa. The Confederation of the Ethiopian Labor Union (CELU) demanded for higher wages and better working condition, the students and teachers targeted for education sector review. The taxi drivers of Addis Ababa strike after dramatic price increase on petrol by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) following the Arab Israeli Yom Kippur war of 1973, which resulted from the

¹Teshale Tibabu, *The Making of Modern Ethiopia*, *1886-1974*, (Red Sea, 1995), p.184. ²*Ibid*, p.185.

³Harold G. Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia*, (University of California Press, 1994), p.178.

⁴Addis Hiwet, *Ethiopia From Autocracy to Revolution*,(London,1975),p.88;Alem Asres, *History of Ethiopian Student Movement*(In Ethiopia and North America),Its Impact on Internal Social change,1960-1974, (Mary land: A Bell and Howell Company, 1990),p.38.

global energy crisis.⁶ This soon followed by the lower ranks of the Ethiopian Territorial Army riot against the regime that initially started at the fourth division stationed in Negelle Borana of Sidama province because of poor living conditions in January 1974.⁷

Andargachew and Claphama pointed that during the outbreak of the revolution, the rural areas of the country was not played a decisive role because most of the peasants were believed that the emperor has divine power ('demigod') and no one had installed from the power by human intervention. The rural peasants were expected that, the revolution was not achieved its mission rather it was aggravated the peasant's exploitations by landlords and officials of the regime from their experiences of the 1960s.⁸ Nevertheless, as the revolution escalated, the peasants the district was encouraged and contributed a lot to the success of military control in their district.⁹

A few radicals scholars were played a key role in the depth and speeded up of the struggle, none of them strongly organized enough to imprint themselves on the situation, hence the group of militaries formed from Armed forces, Territorial Army (ground force), and police forces were officially formed the *Därg* (committee in Amharic), on June 28, 1974.¹⁰

The coordinating committees formed from private army, Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs), and none above the rank of Major General.¹¹ The higher-ranking officials of the imperial regime were abstained themselves from the course of the revolution because they were fearful, equivocal, and extremely loyal to the emperor.¹² Thus, while the Ethiopian revolution was not a revolution from the top it was a revolution from the oppressed social classes of the courtry.¹³

⁶Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987,A Transformation from an Aristocratic to a Totalitarian Autocracy*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), p.63; Bahru Zewde, *A History of Modern Ethiopian*, *1855-1991*, (Second Edition, Athens, 2002), p.231; Gebru Tareke, *The Ethiopian Revolution: War in the Horn of Africa*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), p.38.

¹Ibid.

⁸Andargachew, p.34; Christopher Clapham, *Transformation and Continuities in Revolutionary Ethiopia*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), p.38.

⁹Informants: Lamuu, Abbabaa, and Galataa.

¹⁰Yohannis Abate, "The Legacy of Imperial Rule: Military Intervention and the Struggle for Leader Ship in Ethiopia 1974-1978", *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol.19, No.1, (1983), p.32; Andargachew, p.104; Marshet Tadesse, *Prosecution of Politicide in Ethiopia: The Red Terror Trials,* (Asser Press, the Hegue, 2018), p.19.

¹¹Marina Ottaway and David Ottaway, *Ethiopia: Empire in Revolution*, (New York: Africana, 1978), p.1; Bahru, *A History of Modern...*, p.234.

¹²Ibid.

¹³*Ibid*.; Yohannis, p.33.

The established military committee was increased their pressure and overthrown Emperor Haile Selassie I, *Siyume Egziabher, Niguse Negest ze Etiyopiya*' "the Elect of God" the Emperor of Ethiopia from power on 12 September 1974 (*Mäskerm*, 2, 1967 E.C), and they established the Provisional Military Government.¹⁴ Thus, while Nugussay Ayele and Clapham argued that "it was the ultimate revolution that made the *Därg*, rather the *Därg* that made a revolution."¹⁵

Sources confirmed that during the Ethiopian revolution, the Ethiopian students were the engine of radical changes and who were forefront for the coming of the *Därg* to fill the vacuum of political power.¹⁶ Merera Gudina and Nugussay Ayele argued that in absence of non-organized political parties that could articulate the roadmap for the masses and lead the country to civilian form. Due to the absence of competing civil leadership; the 'bloodiest Ethiopian social revolution' which germinated by Ethiopian students was hijacked by the men in uniform from the genuine of Ethiopian revolutionaries.¹⁷

From this Andargachew argued that the military was the only organized section of the societies, which were capable of taking power, and dismisses the aspiration of Ethiopian student movements.¹⁸ As a result, military came to power, not the revolutionaries defeating the cause of the revolution. Thus, while Ethiopian students were blamed the *Därg* when they have established the military committee instead of "peoples' government."¹⁹

On 15 September 1974, *Därg* formed a *de facto* government known as the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC), which finally confirmed the end of the "Solomonic dynasty"

¹⁴Marcus, p.180; Yohannis, p.32; Marina Ottaway, "Social Classes and Corporate Interest in theEthiopian Revolution", *in Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 14, No.3, (Cambridge University Press, 1975), p.479.

¹⁵Clapham, *Transformational...*, p.42; Nugussay Ayele, "The Ethiopian revolution", in *A Journal of African Studies*, Vol.12, No.2, (1983), p.43.

¹⁶Abebaw Yirga, "Students' Participation in and Contribution to Political and Social Change in Ethiopia", in *Youth and Political Engagement in Africa*, (Brill, 2018), p.269.

¹⁷Teshale, p.186; Debasu Teshome, Political Violence during the Därg Regime: Red Terror in Däbrä Marqos Town, 1977-1978, (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 2019), p.9. Merera Gudina, *The Elite and the Quest for Peace, Democracy and Development in Ethiopian: Lessons to be learnt, (AAU,2003)* p.7; Nugussay, p.42; Marshet, p.21.

¹⁸Andargachew, pp.73-74. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.77.

and announced the rise of a military dictatorship in Ethiopia.²⁰ The emerged military junta blamed the imperial government for failing to make social and political reforms in the country.²¹

The overthrow of the old imperial regime was accompanied by the arresting of Haile Selassie's royal families, Ministers, top militaries and civil officials were the order of the day those who have been oppressed the mass Ethiopian peasants.²² The people of the Eebantuu district expected to hear what measures had taken on them. The *Därg* attempt to stop the strike and continuous opposition, the PMAC declared a state emergency, dissolved the imperial parliament, and suspended all civil rights in the country particularly in urban areas to realize the *Itiopia Tikdäm* (Ethiopian first).²³

At the time, most of the rural people of Ethiopia in general and Eebantuu district, in particular, did not properly understand the motives behind the Ethiopian revolution, because there no media coverage in rural part of the country but what everyone knew in the district was *Abiyot be Šäger Fänäda* (the revolution had erupted in Addis Ababa).²⁴ However, the people of the district gradually become conscious of the political situation in the country and the end of the feudal regime from the country. At the fall of the monarchy, some individuals oppressed in the past were provoked to retaliate against the oppressors in the district. In terror, *balabates* escaped to Naqamtee for their security but none of the *balabats* was killed in the Eebantuu district.²⁵

The newly established government removed all governors' of *Täqläy Gézät*, *Awrajjas*, and districts from their position, including Eebantuu, and most of them were imprisoned those who opposed the ideologies of the *Därg* at initial stage but later on most of them were accepted the ideology because they were no other option. The representatives of the military government were assigned to all administrative posts in the district.²⁶ This measure greatly depressed the former imperial administrators' *vis-a-vis* created a sense of joy, for the oppressed people in the district who expected many reforms from the revolution particularly on land and other related issues.²⁷

²⁰Bahru Zewde, A History of Modern Ethiopia..., pp.230-232; Teshale, p.190.
²¹Ibid.

²² Clapham, p.40; Marshet, p.20.

²³Bahru, p.238; Gabru, p.39; Andergachew, p.107; Young, p.59; Marshet, p.21.

²⁴ Informants: Goobuu, Hailee, and Galataa.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶ Informants: Margaa, Galataa, and Abbabaa.

²⁷Ibid.

Informants recall that most of the farmers' in the Eebantuu district suspected that the military government's socio-political and economic reforms declared by *Därg* following the Ethiopian social revolution had not implemented in the district.²⁸ The reforms were challenged at the grass-root level, because of the existence of landlords, those who have oppressed the peasants of Ethiopia were resisted to give up their power and privileges to the newly assigned *Därg* cadres in Horroo-Guduruu *Awrajja* in general and Eebantuu district in particular.²⁹ However, the military governments were achieved its socio-political policies by disintegrating the old age landlords from rural parts of the country by using *zämäč* and the mass rural population of the district supported the military government.

According to written sources, in Horroo-Guduruu *Awrajja* and some districts, including Eebantuu, the absentee landlords and former officials of the imperial regime were refused to relinquish power and protested the reforms with the former of Horroo-Guduruu *Awrajja* administrator *Däjjäzmač* Darajjee Mokonnin. Darajjee was the grandson of *Däjjäzmač* Demiso Nasibu of Arjoo and he was then the governor-general of Gojjam *Täqläy Gézät* during the outbreak of the revolution.³⁰

During the revolution, *Däjjäzmač* Darajjee and his counterparts lost their prestigious power and they organized with more than five hundred individuals including the former districts officials and *balabats*. By creating a strong alliance with dissatisfied landlords of Horroo- Guduruu, Naqamtee, and Gimbii *Awrajja* through inaccessible *Handaq* desert and as well as ambushed in Caatoo forest, the south of Horroo-Guduruu *Awrajja* and created a hard time to the new *Därg* cadres those who assigned to the region particularly by killing the *Zämačoč*.³¹

Those former local leaders and *balabats* were: *Bälämbäras* Jiraa Lamma the former administrator of Eebantuu district from (1969-1973), his twin brother Jiregña Lamma, Ittičaa Guutamaa, Bayyanaa Gammadaa, Marema Qixxeessa, Baaboo Ogeé, Garramewo Gajoo, and Abdisaa Dhugumaa, Mokonnen Goobuu, and Kaffalee Mootii from Limmu district and Abdiisaa

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Informants: Margaa, Taaddasaa and Tarrafaa.

³⁰Etana, p.29; Endalkachew, p.223; Wagari, p.94.

³¹*Ibid*,pp.28-29;EWARO, No Folder No, File No,36523, A letter From Horroo Guduruu Police Head Office to Wallaggaa Province Administration Office, (*Säné*,14,1968 E.C); See also Appendix, II.

Wiirtuu from Eebantuu were attempted to reverse the revolutionary changes in Horroo-Guduruu *awrajja*.³²

However, their attempts diverted the implantation of revolution in Horroo-Guduruu Awrajja were failed when Därg warned those bandits to submit to the government or otherwise their properties would be confiscated and destroyed. Following the government order, most of the shifta Balabates Darajjee Mokonnon, Gammadaa Bayyana, Galataa Gurmuu, Ambayee Italamaa were killed in a battle with Därg cadres but Jiraa, Jiregña, and others were surrendered their hands to Obbo Emmiruu Ibsaa, then the administration of Horro-Guduru Awrajja, and they have been imprisoned in Nagamtee.³³

In the Eebantuu district, the former Balabats were not strongly resisted the platforms of the military government as the neighboring districts. But, this not overlook the attempts of the local balabats like Taraffaa Geesifataa, Caalii Ayyaanaa, Abdisaa Wiirtuu, and Alamuu Goobanaa who were resisted for a while on new political ideology, particularly when the 1975 land reform was announced and have implemented by the Zämäč.³⁴ However, the attempt to avert the ideology of revolution ended when Därg officials controlled all administrative posts in the district and put the rebel individuals into Awrajja prison in Shambuu for more than three months.³⁵

2.2. The Major Administrative and Political Reforms of the Därg in Eebantuu 1974-1991

According to sources, the formal structure of local government in the district not changed following the revolutions. The administrative system, which structured during the imperial regime in 1942, imposed a uniform hierarchy of administrative units until 1975. At the top administrative region, Wallagga Takläy Gizät, until it changed to kifla Hägär, following the revolution, Horro Guduruu awrajja that further divided into ten districts including Eebantuu. Immediately after the revolution change, the political administration structured by the Haile

³²EWARO, No Folder No, 247, File No, 11385, A letter Written from Wallagga Province Administration Office to Minster of interior, (Täsas, 6, 1969 E.C); See also Appendix, III.

³³EWARO, No Folder No, File No15858, A letter written from Wallagga Province to Wallagga Province Police Head Office, (Tir, 6,1971E.C); Endalkachew, p.224; See also Appendix, IV.

³⁴Informants: Goobuu and Fayyisaa. ³⁵*Ibid*.

Selassie regime has challenged the new administration for a while particularly in many districts of Horro-Guduru *awrajja*, because of absentee landlords and remnants of the imperial regime.³⁶

Bahru explained that after the revolution stretched to rural areas the strong landlords and other rural institutions of the imperial regime destroyed from the country. The peasants of the district benefited from social and political reforms and liberated from the yoke of feudal operation and injustice in the imperial era.³⁷ According to the informants, before the demise of the imperial regime, the Eebantuu societies, including the Gumuz community of the district, influenced by the twelve clans-based *qoroos/balabats* who ruled over their own territories, according to the regime's political structure.³⁸ However, after the revolution, all the rural political and administrative structure in the district were changed and the district was re-organized under fortone PAs and power and authority was given to the general assembly of the PAs. The Gumuz communities of the Eebantuu district have able to participate in the political reforms of the *Därg* and they re-organized under the PAs and ruled by electing their indigenous chairperson.³⁹

Gemechu Olani described that, in Horro-Guduru *awrajja* at all the administrative levels, the Därg did not change the former system of appointing the district governors during the imperial regime because the *awrajja* and districts administrators directly appointed from Shambuu (Horroo-Guduruu *awrajja*) to all districts.⁴⁰ Accordingly, *Obbo* Immiruu Ibsaa was the first administrator of Horroo-Guduruu *awrajja* and *Obbo* Siyyum Waldayyas (1974-1975) was the first appointee of the military government of Eebantuu district.⁴¹

The district officials were directly responsible to the Horroo-Guduruu *Awrajja* administrators. Many activities carried out at the district level. Securing the entire district, controlling the police and prisons, collecting taxes, coordinating sectors such as health, agriculture, and education are some of the priorities of the Eebantuu district administration.⁴²

In Eebantuu the district administrators during *Därg* regime were; Siyyum Waldayyas (1974-1975), Wolde Gabriel Jiraataa (1976-1977), Faxxanaa Mulaatuu (1978-1979), Tasammaa Waltajjii

³⁶Gemechu, pp.46-47.

³⁷Bahru, A History of Modern..., p.241.

³⁸ Informants: Baqqalaa, Goobuu, and Waaqtolee.

³⁹ Informants: Abbabaa, Baqqalaa, and Galataa.

⁴⁰Gemechu, p.49.

⁴¹Informants: Wayyeessa, Lamuu, and Olaanii.

⁴²Informants: Faayisaa, Taaddasa, Olaanii, and Baqqalaa.

(1980-1981), Abarraa Barkeessa (1981-1982), Ţedu Asfewo(1983-84), Geetaachoo Taaddesee (1984-1985), and Dhugumaa Garbaa (1986-1989) were ruled Eebantuu district from Hindee town while Haayilee Nagaasaa (1990-1991) administered Limmu-Eebantuu *Awrajja* when Eebantuu and Limmu merged together until the down fall of the *Därg* from Galilaa town, the center of the then Limmuu-Eebantuu a*wrajja*.⁴³

From the above district administrators, Faxxanaa Mulaatuu, Geetaachoo Taaddesee, and Dhugumaa Garbaa contributed a lot for the people of the district particularly by mobilizing people on developmental activities such as in road construction, local bridge, primary school, offices, clinic and others. Still, now the people of the district memorized their contribution in a positive way but this does not overlook the contribution of other administrators' activities but their contributions not stated as the above-mentioned administrators of the district.⁴⁴ The district administrator set up the organization known as *Yä Abiot Zämäča Astäbabari* Committee. The Committee was accountable to control the defender of the old rule or *Adäharis* (oppressoror); asses the war armaments held by anti-revolutionaries in the district; exposing anti-revolutionary groups such as *Balabats* and landlords.⁴⁵

At the *qäbäle* level of the Eebantuu district, during the initial period of the military government, individuals appointed by the people that ratified with signing a petition managed the peace and security of the area. Unlike the district governors, the villages of the district were allowed to nominate their administrators composed of five men, who played the role of administrator, and police service to resolve the possible problems that might arise in areas including keeping security, protecting thief, and providing relief for poor people.⁴⁶

However, before1974, the local administrations of the district monopolized by a small groups of individuals who have related to large tracts of land. Therefore, the *Därg* radically eradicated the administrative structure of the imperial period at both the district and PAs level.⁴⁷ Even though, the military government attempt to change the administrative structure in the Eebantuu district, the appointment of the district administrator were ephemeral, because the *Därg* associated most of the

⁴³Taaddasaa, p.6; Informants: Waaqtoolee, Baqqalaa, and Galataa.

⁴⁴*Ibid*.

⁴⁵Informants: Lamuu, Galataa, Goobuu, Raggasaa, and Mosiisaa.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Informants: Abbabaa, Fiqaaduu, and Margaa.

administrators appointed to rule the district with the leftist group called All Ethiopia Socialist Movement(*MEISON*).⁴⁸

2.3 The Socio-Economic Reforms of 1975

Immediately after the 1974 Ethiopian revolution, the Därg issued several proclamations to legitimize his political power.⁴⁹ On September 20, 1974, the military government declared its manifesto clarifying its aim to build Hibretesäbäwinet or Ethiopian Socialism, which foresaw a one-party state, public ownership of the main sectors of the economy, and collective agriculture unity.⁵⁰ The people of the Eebantuu district supported and actively participated in the implementation of the program at the all PAs of the district.⁵¹

The document called for "equality, self-confidence and the dignity of labor, the common good and the unity of Ethiopia."⁵² The government has made clear its commitment to work for the people of Ethiopia under the motto "Itopia Tikdäm (Ethiopia first/Ethiopia is above all)."53 It preached an end to selfishness, with the emphasis now on hard work, honesty, diligence, heroism, selflessness, love of the motherland and intended to build the spirit of national sentiment serve as a unifying force, end corrupt behavior, and the divide and rule policy that characterized the Haile Selassie regime.⁵⁴

The new military government introduced radical political and economic reforms to gain public support and recognition as a socialist government and the people of Eebantuu district were supported reforms of the military government.⁵⁵ They sent out the University, junior and high school students and their teachers to the countryside including Eebantuu district to realize the reforms. The main purpose of the program was to mobilize rural masses; spread literacy to the

⁴⁸*Ibid*.

⁴⁹ Nugussay, p.43; Merera, p.8.

⁵⁰Andergachew, p.136; Gebru, *Ethiopian Revolution*..., p.39; Marcus, p.190.

⁵¹Informants: Hailee, Gammachuu and Margaa.

⁵²Marcus, p.191.

⁵³*Ibid*.

⁵⁴Gebru, *Ethiopian Revolution*..., p.139; Micheal chege, "The Revolution Betrayed: Ethiopia, 1974-1979", in The Journal of Modem African Studies, Vol.17, No.3, (Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.369; Bahru, *Modern*..., p.244. ⁵⁵Informants: Margaa, Galataa, and Lamuu.

rural; raise the political consciousness of the rural masses, and how the land reform program of 1975 could implemented.⁵⁶

2.3.1 The 1975 Land Proclamation and its Implementations

Ethiopia is predominantly an agricultural country, where the life of the people strongly linked with land. The land is the primary resource for the human society which provides the physical space in which we all live, work, play, and from which we obtain our material needs and it can be observed as a physical reality, economic value, legal and cultural entity. It is the foundation of all human activities, its proper management is the key to the creation, and sustenance of civilized society since land is everything for all human beings.⁵⁷

In Ethiopia in generally in Eebantuu in particularly, the land tied with the socio-economic and political issues for both the people and the state.⁵⁸ For instance, among the agrarian population of northern Ethiopia "to have right over the land is to be human; to be landless is to be sub-human."⁵⁹ This indicated that landownership has created a social and economic gap among Ethiopian peasants and landowners have a special right to land while the landless have not.

As Ketebo Abdiyo described by referring to Arsii Oromo, "in Arsii, the land was described before the conquest of Menelik as "*lafee*," to mean "bone."⁶⁰ The same is true to Maccaa Oromo of Wallagga including Eebantuu as Tesema described that, prior to the introduction of the *nafţaña-gäbbar* or lord-serf system by Emperor Menelik II in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the *qabiyyee* (first holder rights) prevailed among the Maccaa Oromo of Wallagga until the land was measured and redistributed on the basis of political, military and religious service to the central government which wiped out the *qabiyyee* right of the indigenous people over land until the Italian occupation.⁶¹

⁵⁶*Ibid*. Gebru, p.139.

⁵⁷Belay Zerga, "Land Resource, Uses, and Ownership in Ethiopia: Past, Present and Future", In *International Journal of Science and Engineering Trends*, Vol.2. No.1, (Wolkite University, 2016), p.16.

⁵⁸Beyene Chokol, "Contending View on Land Tenure System in Ethiopia: Historiographical essay", *In African Journal of History and Culture*, Vol. IX, (Debre Markos University, 2017), p, 2.

⁵⁹Harris D. Dunning, "Land Reform in Ethiopia: A Case Study in Non-Development", *In UCLA Law Review*, Vol. 18, (1970), p. 271.

⁶⁰ Ketebo Abdiyo, The Political Economy of Land and Agrarian Development in Ethiopia, The Arssi Region since 1941, (Rout ledge, 2018), p.14.

⁶¹Tesema, "Political Economy...", p.196.

The Italians promised the Oromo population that safeguards their rights and interests over land would before most in their administrative policy. The most important achievements of the Italian land police were abolished the *gäbbar* system and freed the Eebantuu Oromo peasants from tribute obligation until liberation.⁶² Sources assert that the post-liberation period have characterized by the acceleration and intensification of the process of privatization of land in the southern and western Ethiopian provinces. In Northern provinces, the old type of communal land tenure based on the kinship system continued and land becomes a commodity.⁶³

Therefore, during the feudal regime, the land was a major source of wealth, power, and social status in the district. In general, the imperial state has had inconsistent (heterogeneous) land tenure policies and utilized the policies for economic and political grounds that exploited peasants as tools particularly in southern Ethiopia.⁶⁴

The nature of land tenure in the Ethiopian scene at different periods, it had been varied in time and space.⁶⁵ Teshale Tibebu described that one of the basic outcomes of the 1974 Ethiopian revolution was, crumbled the key arsenal of the *Ge'ez* civilization from its land base *gult* and big landed property to its fair defense (the divine right of kings) and facilitated the rise of the people of the south to publicity.⁶⁶

In pre-1975, there were the most common types of land-related institutions such as communal (*rist*/kinship), grant land (*gult*), state (*maderia* or *Yämängist*), and church (*Sämon*) tenure system.⁶⁷ During the imperial regime, extensive land in the district was grants to members of the royal family, nobility, armed forces, the police, top government officials, civil servants, and notable businessmen.⁶⁸ This type of land tenure system was one of the most complexes in the world, which attributed to Ethiopia's geographical, ethnic and cultural differences and its

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ketema Meskela, "The Evolution of Land-Ownership and Tenancy in Highland Bale A Case Study of Goba, Sinana and Dodola to 1974", (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 2001), pp.51-53.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Temesgen Gebeyehu, "Peasants, Land Reform and Property Right in Ethiopia: The experience of Gojjam Province, 1974 to 1997", in *Journal of African Studies and Development*, Vol.5, No.6, (2013), p.146; John W. Bruce *et al*, *After the Derg: An Assessment of Rural Land Tenure Issues in Ethiopia*, (Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University, 1994), p.1.

⁶⁶Teshale, p.186.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸ Informants: Lamuu, Fayyisaa, and Olaanii.

historical formations were among those factors that had produced highly varied forms of land utilization and ownership, which challenged any progress towards reforms of the system.⁶⁹

In this regard, Mengistu Abebe described that the complex and diverse feudal landholding and administration system regarded as the major factor for rural poverty and the backwardness of the country in general which attracted progressive intelligentsia and intensified the popular movement in favor of the "land to the tiller" slogan.⁷⁰ He further concluded that the agrarian transformation and sustaining agricultural productivity were impossible without proper land tenure policies.⁷¹ The tribute varied according to the amount of cultivation of the land in the district. The degree of cultivation of the land was classified as cultivated (*läm*), uncultivated (*läm-täf*).⁷²

The major effect of the land-related institution during imperial regimes was led for the eviction of many peasants, the spread of tenancy, emergence of an absentee landlord, exploitative tenancy, land concentration, and utilization, tenure insecurity and diminution and fragmentation of holdings in the district, which led to political and social grievances against the emperor toward outbreak of Ethiopia revolution.⁷³

On the eve of the Ethiopia revolution, the land issue was one of the most sensitive political agendas by the higher education students which attracted the heart of Ethiopian peasants at the end of the 1960s by the slogan "Land to the Tiller" particularly by articulating the oppressed land policy of the imperial regime on southern.⁷⁴ The PMAC, when assumed power, realized the vanguard slogan of University student's "Land to the Tiller" by declaring the first radical and egalitarian land reform proclamation in 1975 for the first time in Ethiopian history and the peasants of Eebantuu district were accepted the proclamation as a new era and supported the implementation.⁷⁵

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, pp.9-11.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*; Micheal Chege, "The Revolution Betrayed: Ethiopia, 1974-1991", in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 17, No.3, (Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.362; Tesema, "The Political Economy...", p.194.

⁷⁰Mengistu Abebe, "The March 1975 "Land to the Tiller" Proclamation: Dream or Reality?" American Research Journal of History and Culture (ARJHC), (Wollo University, 2016), p.1.

⁷¹*Ibid*, p.2.

⁷² Bahru, A History of Modern Ethiopia..., p.87.

⁷³Dassalegn Rahmato, "Access to Resources and Livelihood Insecurity", *Forum for Social Studies*, (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2003), p.8.

⁷⁵Informants:Hailee,Margaa,Galataa,and Raggasaa.

On March 4, 1975 (Yekätet 25, 1967 E.C) the Därg undertook a comprehensive and radical land reform that nationalized land and made it state property.⁷⁶ The peasants of district positively reacted to the proclamation and supported the military government in the implementation of the land reforms. The land reform issued by the military government made, "all agricultural land should be the common property of the Ethiopian people and no individual or business should privately own rural land."⁷⁷

The land proclamation of 1975 was the most radical measure initiated by the Därg to change the socio-economic and political conditions of Ethiopia.⁷⁸ The proclamation made rural land the collective property of Ethiopian masses; prohibited the private ownership of land by individuals or organizations in the name of *qalad* in the district. It limited the maximum amount of land that a household could hold was ten hectares (1/4 gaša) and made it impossible to transfer land by sale, exchange, succession, lease, except upon death and only then to a wife, or children of the deceased.79

Scholars have argued that the proclamation did not give the land to the cultivator, what given to the peasants by this proclamation was the right to cultivate and use the fruit⁸⁰ The proclamation therefore not only aimed at fully redressing the inequality in land redistribution and destroying the power base of the ruling classes, but it also replaced the former imperial system with different social relations.⁸¹

The land reform of 1975 was an important landmark in the socio-economic evolution of the district, not only as an economic but also as a political-administrative measure. It came as a culmination of a popular movement against the legacy of a political and economic system that ended with the rule of Emperor Haile Selassie.⁸²

⁷⁶Nagarat Gazeta, Proclamation No. 31/1975, "A Proclamation to Provide for the Public Ownership of rural land", (Addis Ababa, 1975).

⁷⁸Andargachew, p.97; Teferra, p.158.

⁷⁹Pausewang, p.13; Andargachew, p.100; Bahru, A History of Modern..., p.242; Hussein, p.10; Dawit Bekele, "Peasant Associations and Agrarian Reform in Ethiopia", Institute of Development Studies, Vol. 13 No. 4, (Sussex,1982), p.60; Birhanu Nega, current land policy issues in Ethiopia, (Ethiopian Economic Policy research institute, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2004), p.4.

⁸⁰Bahru, A History of Modern..., p.242; Andagachew, p.100; Marcus, p.192.

⁸¹*Ibid*.

⁸²Temesgen, "Peasants, Land Reform....", p.154.

The peasants of the Eebantuu district accepted this land proclamation with a very great triumph and considered it a new era. For their part, the peasants of the district tried to harass the former landlords and even wanted to take their properties.⁸³ The peasants were very happy with the land proclamation and expressed their grievance to the former landlords in the following song:

<u>Afaan Oromoo</u>	Gloss
Abba lafaa yaa girgirteessaa	The land lord is a boaster
Egaa hoo funyoon wal nit qixxeessa.	Here after the rope (by which the land was measured)
	Would make us equal. ⁸⁴

This poem clearly illustrates that the past inequalities couldn't continue from then onwards and the privileges that the landlords had during the imperial regime was terminated

The relationship between tenants and landlords could be described as one of enmity in which tenants considered landlords as their class enemies; but here, it can be said that their relationship had caused a deep social instability whereby tenants reacted violently against their landlords on a number of occasions in the district.⁸⁵

Informants asserted that many people in the district were in fact doubtful about the implementation of the new land reform. It was rumored that the proclamation may not achieve its goals and would remain ideal since it failed during the imperial regime.⁸⁶ Despite this, the government did not hesitate to implement the statement of the proclamation effectively. To this end, the teaching of the campaigners, the establishment of peasant associations and the empowering of the responsibility on them to redistribute land in the district were instrumental for enforcement of the proclamation.⁸⁷

The military government attempted to bring changes regarding land in which the state effectively eradicated the traditional institutions of *rist* and *gult* was engaged in the activity to re-distribute the land through organizing peasant associations by the contribution of campaigners.⁸⁸

⁸³ Informants: Quuluu, Galataa and Hailee.

⁸⁴Informants: Baqqalaa, Fayyisa, and Galataa.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Informants: Margaa, Amanuu, Fiqaaduu, and Waaqtolee.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Warriner, D, "A Report on Land Reform in Ethiopia," *Paper Prepared for the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa*, (Addis Ababa, 1970), p. 52.

The main limitation of Därg land reform was, forced peasants the district to engage in periodic redistribution of land to accommodate new land claimants with the new effect of smoothing down and reduction of individual possessions; repeated redistribution gave rise to and exacerbated tenure insecurity which led to the loss of incentives for land improvement, inefficiency allocation of land byways of restrictions on land transfer, eviction of peasants in the name of Villagization, resettlement, the establishment of agricultural producers cooperatives and state farms.⁸⁹

Like in the rural areas, there was urban land reform because of the 1974 political changes in the district. On July 1975, the governments made an urban land reform proclamation. Hence, it confiscated extra houses and urban land to provide for those who did not have a place of residence in urban areas.⁹⁰ It allowed people to own one house and an individual could have up to five hundred square meters for the purpose of residence. However, this could not achieve in the way it intended in the proclamations in the Eebantuu district.

The distributions of the houses and the possession of a unit area of land in Hindee town were uneven and there were only about one hundred six extra houses were confiscated and become the *qäbäle bet.*⁹¹ Both rural and town resident in the district those who have extra houses and land in Hindee town were lost their land and the government distributed for landless. At the initial period of the proclamation, most of the people who their houses were confiscated by the governments was expressed their grievances against the military government but they were unable returned their land and houses.⁹²

Marcus pointed out that the urban land proclamation also provided by the organization of urban administrative structure under urban dwellers' associations which equivalent to the rural PAs with the responsibility of collected rents on smaller homes and used the proceeds to finance social services for its members.⁹³ For the implementation of its regulations, the government encouraged election particularly in the urban communities to use the election outcomes to

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰Marine Ottaway, The Political Economy..., pp.18-21; Addis, Ethiopian..., pp.110-113; Dawit, Red Tears: pp.267-268.

⁹¹EWAO, "Report on Socio-Economic Profile of Hinde 01Town",(Hindee,1976E.C),p.2;See also Appendix,V. ⁹² Informants: Galataa, Baqqalaa, Lamuu, and Taayyee. ⁹³ Marcus, p.193.

control the people.⁹⁴ According to informants, the first person who was elected as chairman of Hindee 01 *qäbäle* was *obbo* Abbabaa Țilahun with the contribution of *zämäča* those who have been double responsible to re-organize both urban and rural administrative structures.⁹⁵

2.3.2. The Zämäča and the Formation of Qäbäles PAs

At the initial stage of the revolution, the rural population of Ethiopia were not involved in the changes that under taken in the country including Eebantuu. The revolution had been almost exclusively an urban affairs controlled by urban force.⁹⁶ To make the peasants as part of the revolution, to succeed the socio-economic policies and to indoctrination his revolutionary idea at the grass-root level, the *Därg* launched the development through cooperation campaign or the *Zämäčas*.⁹⁷

To realize the government policies the *Zämačočes* were sent to countryside, including Eebantuu district to internalize the revolutionary ideas like *Itopia Tiqdäm* (Ethiopia First), *Idget Bä Hibiret* (Development through Cooperation), and *Hibritesäbawnet* (Socialism) for consecutive two years.⁹⁸ In February 1975, about twenty-nine (29) *Zämačočes* were assigned to the district and reached Hindee, the political center of Eebantuu district, which coordinated by Nagaraa Jiraa, the fourth-year student of the then Addis Ababa University.⁹⁹

The arrival of *Zämačoč* was achieved warm welcome and reception from the local officials, elders, and society of the Eebantuu district as a whole since they came to implement the land decree. For this program in the Eebantuu district, Hindee center was prepared and two block classrooms constructed to serve them by the contributions of the society.¹⁰⁰ They intended to create awareness among the people of the district about the benefits of the construction of social services like schools, clinics, clearing drinking water, road, local bridges, and actively participated in organizing PAs, eradicating illiteracy by educating the children.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Informants: Wayyeessa, Gammachuu, and Dassaalee.

⁹⁶Andergachew, p.76.

⁹⁷Nagarit Gazeta, "Proclamation No. 11, 1974...", p.40.

⁹⁸Bahru, A History of Modern..., pp. 240-241.

⁹⁹Informants: Olaanii, Taayyee, and Goobuu.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid*.

¹⁰¹ Informants: Hailee, Tarrafaa, and Baqqalaa.

Informants explained that when the campaigner at the gather people in the district announced the implementation of land reform proclamation, the reaction of the former land lords in the district was not a positive way because their land was able to share for the landless peasants in the district. To this response, most of them attempt to reverse the reforms by collaborating with the neighboring districts landlord while others while fled to Dangab in Matakal Zone.¹⁰²

Generally in the Eebantuu district, an attempt to take measures against the campaigner by the supporter of the imperial regime failed many times by the contribution of the mass population of the district, and later on for their security, the district administrator assigned local militias to them. The *Zämäčes* greatly contributed to solving the socio-economic problems of the societies on education and health, particularly by mobilizing the society of the district on the construction of Hindee clinic, Qeelloo primary School, and organized the rural population in PAs.¹⁰³

Marine Ottoway described that the paper-based land proclamation of the *Därg* was not a solution by itself for Ethiopian peasants by eliminating the land-related institutions and the big estate land rather than creating strong social and political organization in the countryside, which allows the peasant to control their own land, and dealing with their local affairs.¹⁰⁴

This realized by organizing the peasants at the grass-root level with a primary step in the implementation of agricultural socialism.¹⁰⁵ In order to realize the rural land proclamation of 1975 in Eebantuu, peasant associations were formed in an area of not less than 800 hectares (20 gaša) and membership was open to everyone except those who had more than ten hectares of land until a fair land re-distribution was enacted.¹⁰⁶

Following the decree, forty-one (41) *qäbäle* PAs (*gäbäroč mehbär*) has established in the Eebantuu district within three to four months.¹⁰⁷ Of the PAs, the six of them, Baambat, Yabaloo, Dabunkoo, Zaadii, Korommii, and Mattin inhabited by the Gumuz people and organized under the Eebantuu district. At the initial stage, the peasants of the district registered to be members of

¹⁰²*Ibid*.

¹⁰³Informants: Margaa, Fiqaaduu, Olaanii, and Taraffaa.

¹⁰⁴ Marine Ottoway, "Land Reform....", p.80.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid*.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁰⁷Informants: Baqqalaa, Galataa, Tammiru, and Goobuu.

their respective *qäbäle* peasant associations by their own voluntary because if they were not to be a member they could not get farmland.¹⁰⁸

However, the sizes of established PAs in the district were in most cases not based on the decree of 800 hectares. For instance, according to available sources from the Wallagga museum, the total area of the Eebantuu district was 3463.64 gaša of land.¹⁰⁹ However, the established PAs in the district were only forty-one. These show that measurement of land in the district was based on estimation than accurate because a large tract of land in the north part of the district was vacant because of malarial disease.¹¹⁰

The demarcation of PAs was to be done by taking into consideration the number of people, the size and fertility of the land in each PAs in the presence of elders, agricultural experts(märet *vizota*), and the executive committees of PAs, that shared a common boundary. The land reform officers we assigned to all districts to re-organize the peasant association in cooperation with the minister of the interior PAs.¹¹¹ Accordingly, obbo Warquu Asfawo assigned to the district to coordinate the program.¹¹²

The demarcation of PAs formed in most cases following the natural landmark such as valleys, rivers, trees on plain lands, and mountains, but a certain degree of clan grouping and alignment incorporated.¹¹³ However, demarcating boundaries between PAs and fixing a center of PAs was challenged the agricultural experts who assigned to the district because most of the newly elected PAs chairmen have pulled the center PAs to their surrounding areas.¹¹⁴

For administration purposes, the PAs w generally organized horizontal and vertical from *qäbäle* to the top of the national level called the All-Ethiopian Peasants Association (AEPA). The chairman of PAs at a lower level elected their representatives to the level above hierarchically; this means the *qäbäle* elect the district, the district elected the *awrajja*, and so on at the national

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹See Appendix I. ¹¹⁰Informants: Tarrafaa, Fiqaaduu, and Olaanii.

¹¹¹Nagarit Gazeta, Proclamation, No. 130 of 1977, Art.10 and 14.

¹¹²Informants: Taraffa Ayyanaa, Margaa, Fayyisa and Mosiisa.

¹¹³Eebantu Wäräda Communication Office, Bulletin, (Hindee, 2007), pp.11-13; Informants: Olaanii, Galataa, and Margaa.

¹¹⁴Informants: Olaanii, Galataa, Tarrafaa, and Amanuu.

level.¹¹⁵ The *qäbäle* Peasant Association is the basic organizational unit of the rural community, at the grassroots level which was charged with administering the land in its area, and responsible for the implementations of social services in the peasant community.¹¹⁶ The decree granted the right to PAs to oversee all administration work within each *qäbäle*. However, the intentions to organize PAs were to practice democracy at the local level, but they controlled and receive an order from the district administrator and PA chairman.¹¹⁷

PAs had their own administrative organs such as the General Assembly, the Executive Committee, Judicial Tribunal, and Defense Squad.¹¹⁸ Each local PAs were under the jurisdiction of the district Peasant Association. The General Assembly of PAs consisted of all peasants that headed by the chairperson and the most important decision-maker. The executive committee had four sub-organs such as the treasury, chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary. The power and function of the executive committee were to implement decisions of the General Assembly and follow the overall tasks of the peasant Associations.¹¹⁹

The Judicial tribunal consisted of five committee members and resolved different local conflicts and disagreements. They selected by the general assembly of the Peasant Association. Nevertheless, tribunals were not free from the influence of the chairman during decision-making. The defense squad committees' members assigned to maintain peace and security in the locality.¹²⁰

Some of the individuals who worked as chairmen of all Eebantuu district PAs were Ragasaa Galataa, Aagaa Nuqus, Galataa Amanuu, Aanga'a Goobanaa, Abbabaa Dureessaa, Baqqalaa Hirphaa, Goobuu Qannoo, Margaa Gobanaa, and Galataa Kasasaa. When Eebantuu merged together with Limmu as Limmuu- Eebantuu *awrajja*, Bayyana Dabaloo have led as chairmen.¹²¹

The main task of government-sponsored PAs was initially to implement the land reform proclamations where and thereby land redistributed among peasants by the PAs. Later on, their

¹¹⁵Dessalegn, Agrarian ..., p.39.

¹¹⁶*Ibid*.

¹¹⁷Informants: Dhugumaa Hirkoo, Abdii Wayessaa, and Hinsarmuu Namaraa.

¹¹⁸ Dessalegn, Agrarian..., p.38.

¹¹⁹ Etana, p.31; Dessalegn, Agrarian..., p.39.

¹²⁰Dessalegn, Agrarian Reform.., pp.37-39; see also Appendix, VII.

¹²¹Informants: Galataa, Getaachoo Abbabaa, and Olaanii.

responsibilities broadened through continuous proclamations.¹²² The process of land distributions had two phases in the district. First, the abolition of the tenancy and legitimized the landholding of each tenant, put an end to the feudal system, and the estate of a landlord was to be redistributed to landless peasants. This was not common in Eebantuu because there were no state farms and big estate landowners. The second phase actually took land from the landlords and redistributed among the member of the peasant association as equal as possible. Land distributions, it is only cultivated (arable) land was put into consideration while the peasant associations were used grazing land and forestland communal form in the district.¹²³

Even though the 1975 land reform proclamation conceived with the formation of PAs, proclamation No. 71 of 1975 provided legal recognition for their institution that strengthened throughout the country.¹²⁴ Here, the major goal of the introduction of PAs by the *Därg* was to monopolize the rural area of the country.¹²⁵

According to the proclamation of 1979, PAs in the Eebantuu district were authorized in doubled responsibility to enforce the law, collect taxes from the peasant, implementing villagization program, literary campaigns programs, establish service co-operatives, responsible to mobilize the community of each PAs to make labor and financial contributions for water supply, natural resources conservation, the building of schools, clinics, and clearing of local road, supporting the families of militias recruited from a given PAs.¹²⁶ According to the informants, the Eebantuu peasants were contributed labor service for Wallagga state farm during harvesting as far as Ukkee, Keenaaf, Lugoo, and Dhidhessa by giving quota to each *qäbäle* PAs and both the chairman of *qäbäle* and district, PAs were evaluated by the above-mentioned activities for their promotion.¹²⁷

Apart from the above, the PAs at both district and *qäbäle* levels of Eebantuu emulated various actions in different parts of the district. According to informants, seven (7) primary schools, 2

¹²²Nagarit Gazata, A Proclamation No. 130 of 1977, "All Ethiopian Peasant Association Establishment Proclamation," 37/1, (September 1977), pp. 99-102.

¹²³Informants: Goobuu, Margaa, Fayyisaa, and Getaachoo.

¹²⁴Nagarit Gazata, Proclamation No.71 of 1975, "A Proclamation to Provide for the Organization and Consolidation of Peasant Association", (December 1975), pp.108-109.

¹²⁵Bahru, A History of Modern Ethiopia..., p.243.

¹²⁶Gemechu, p.55.

¹²⁷Informants: Waqtoolee, Galataa, Lamuu, and Olaanii.

clinics, and houses with more than 35 rooms that used for offices were built with the cooperation of PAs by the district.¹²⁸ Contrary to that, some chairman of the *qäbäle* PAs were involved in corruption instead of respecting the rules and regulations of the government in their local administrative areas and were thrown in to prison.¹²⁹

The programs of the *Därg* not terminated by only establishing the PAs at grass root level but also facilitated the establishment of a mass organization called the Revolutionary Ethiopian Women Association (REWA) and Revolutionary Ethiopian Youth Association (REYA). In the district women were attempt to get political participation by the *Därg* governments and about thirty-five *qäbäle* REWA was formed in the district.¹³⁰ Similar to PAs, the REWA had administrative organs to run their own activities particularly for the right of women and children's in the district by collaborating with the district administrator and PAs chairman. The committees had different responsibly from collecting money from their membership, participating in decision making, and also contributed to the implementation of *Därg* policies particularly on resettlements and villagization programs in the district.¹³¹

In the same manner, REYAs established in the district to realize the revolutionary ideology of socialism. In the district, the associations established in all PAs and they had their own administration organ from *qäbäle* to the national level. The associations contributed a lot by preparing sport and revolutionary music (*Kenät*) festivals at the district level particularly in the celebration of the *Därg* coronation on *mäskäräm hulet* every year until the demise of the *Därg*.¹³² In addition to that, the youth of the district have participated actively in the development of the district specifically by constricting local bridges, roads, and planting trees to conserve natural resources.¹³³

2.4 Militia and Military Conscription in the District

Proclamation No. 71 of 1975, added one institution, the peasant defense squad in its article 11, to hand over persons arrested by the appropriate authorities, hunt down wanted persons upon order;

¹²⁸Informants: Goobuu Qannoo, Olaanii ,and Raggasaa.

¹²⁹Ibid.

¹³⁰Informants, Amanuu, and Geetaacho.

¹³¹Informants: Assaggaduu and Azaalee.

¹³²Informants: Getachoo, Galataa, Tafarii, and Lamuu.

¹³³Informants: Getaachoo, and Fiqaaduu.

to institute criminal cases that are under the jurisdiction of the judicial tribunal of a peasant association.¹³⁴ The militias maintaining order within the association's, has enforced decisions made by the committees, and defend the association against outside enemies.¹³⁵

Fllowing the Ethio-Somalia war of 1977/78 had resulted in the size of militia in the country and forced the *därg* to proclaim, "*Yä inat hagär Ţerî*" PÅF7–U7C T2 (Call of the Motherland) to defend their country from the Somali invasion. The people of Eebantuu similar to other parts of the country accepted the appeal of *Yä inat hagär Ţerî* and responded to enroll as volunteers to fight in the war against Somalia.¹³⁶

On May 7, 1977, in the Eebantuu district, the Wallagga province *Därg* executive committee comrade Nugusee Fantaa ordered the *Därg* officials of the district to call meetings of different social groups including youth in Hindee town, the political center of the district. After they have discussed the central issues on their agenda, particularly about the invasion of Ethiopia from the southeastern region of Somalia they randomly selected twenty-five physically fit youth from all PAs of the district and the responsibility to collect the recruits was given to the chairman of PAs.¹³⁷

From all PAs they were collected at the center of the district hindee and transported by Lorries to limmu Galilaa through barredu to Naqamtee, because there was no road that connected Eebantuu with Giddaa district at the time. Out of them, 17 youths selected and reached Taţäq military training center from the Eebantuu district while others returned because of health problems.¹³⁸

After the Somalia national armies were drover out from Ethiopian land by the support of socialist blocks particular by the Cubans in March 1978, the *Därg* changed his face against the organized political and military groups that consolidated their power particularly from the northern part of

¹³⁴Negarit Gazeta, Proclamation No. 71 of 1975 Articles 11, 12, and 13.

¹³⁵Tariku Degu, "Transformation of Land Tenure and the Role of Peasant Associations in Eastern Arsii (1974-1991)", (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 2008), p.69.

¹³⁶Informants: BayyanaaTarffaa, Olaanii, and Abbabaa Irranaa.

¹³⁷Informants: Bayyanaa, Margaa, Galataa, and Moosisaa.

¹³⁸Ibid.

the county.¹³⁹ The military government declared its Motto "hulum wede tor ginbar (everything to the war front) or *ābiyotawit inat hager wey mot* (revolutionary motherland or death)."¹⁴⁰

The Därg inspired the people of the country by declarations of "be miserak vet genew dil be sem ēn ye degmal (Our win in the East will continue in the North)," the win that scored against the Somali incursion that was believed would continue with a win in Northern Ethiopia (in Eritrea).¹⁴¹ Following the declaration, all Ethiopians aged between eighteen and thirty, undergo six months of military training followed by two years of active service, remaining in reserve until the age of fifty.¹⁴² Then each PAs or urban *qäbäles* were required to forward lists of eligible young men to the military commissariat established in Tatäq Military Camps which was trained by the Cubans officers¹⁴³ In principle, the commissariat then decided whom to recruit, after which the *qäbäles* or PAs were required to ensure the youth selected report for military service.

In reality, unavoidable, much of the decision had persisted in the peasant associations' hands, while they, in turn, had been responsible for delivering a given quota to PAs for the recruits until the due date.¹⁴⁴ In the district, following above declaration, the military recruitment have carried out twice a year at the end of the 1970s and eigty two youth were recruited from all thirty-five PAs based up on the given quota to them.¹⁴⁵ In the late 1980s, it became three rounds in a year and more than 200 youths selected from the district.¹⁴⁶

Despite the convince, recruits were assured to remain in the war front not more than two years, only the crippled and who had health problems were allowed to return to their homes from the war front. Because of the physical appearance, being strong, health status, having healthy teeth,

¹³⁹Gebru Tareke, "The Ethiopia-Somalia War of 1977 Revisited", In the International Journal of African Historical Studies, Vol.33, No.3, (Boston University: African Studies Center, 2000), p.638; Fentahun Ayele, "Ethiopian Army: From Victory to Collapse, 1977-1991", (Ph.D. Dissertation, AAU History, 2009), p.138.

¹⁴⁰Timketehet Teffera, "Control, Influence and Violence through Music: The Role of Political Songs during the Ethiopian Revolution (1974-1991)", In the Annual Conference of the German Committee of the International *Council of Traditional Music*, (Humburg,2009), p.8. ¹⁴¹*Ibid*. informants: Olaanii, Lamuu, Abbabaa, and Bayyanaa.

¹⁴²Etana, p.91; Tariku, p.69.

¹⁴³Fentahun, p.35.

¹⁴⁴Etana, p.91.

¹⁴⁵EWAO, No Folder No, No File No, A letter from Ato Fetene Mulatu, the Administrator of Ebantu District to Wallagga Province Administration Office, (*Ţir*, 23,1970E.C); See also Appendix VIII. ¹⁴⁶Informants: Margaa, Lamuu, Galataa, and Abbabaa.

and weight were among the criteria.¹⁴⁷ However, in the areas where militias have returned due to health problems, they have added to both *Awrajjas* and districts to fill the quota.¹⁴⁸ In order to satisfy their demands, the *Awrajja* leaders had to recruit the militia based on the quota allotted to each district and the district allotted for the peasant association.¹⁴⁹

When the organized political and military groups against the *Därg* consolidated their power, particularly from the northern part of the county after 1984, the government began empowered to conscript soldiers in the district through *Afäsa* or forcefully and sent them to military training institutions. At the time, the *Därg* proclaimed that everyone above 18 years old had a duty to serve in the national army.¹⁵⁰ Therefore, students in the district had no right to learn unless they had completed their military duty. Teachers and other civil servants also ordered to be register for the national army and if they did not register, the government by itself registered them by finding their profiles in the offices.¹⁵¹

Particularly in the time of the coming forces of EPRDF to central Ethiopia, they forced recruiting became consolidated and the government began to transport students and teachers from schools to military training institutions. However, since the soldiers were not voluntary in the beginning, they defected from the government service from the beginning up to the downfall of the government.¹⁵²

According to informants, the misery of the youngsters (*Dargaggoo*) who hunted down just like a wild game and arrested as thieves, criminals, and *šiftas*, throughout the district. Even if the youngsters once seen by agents of peasant association and want to hide or whisper themselves, there was no mercy, rather capture them if possible alive. But, beating and killing, forced wear their mothers' or sisters' dress in front of the gathered peasants was common in the district. The

¹⁴⁷EWAO, No Folder No, File No, 4971, A letter written from Tatek Military Training Center to Wallagga Province Administration office, (*Yekätet* 1,1970 E.C.); See also Appendix, IX.

¹⁴⁸Informants: Abbabaa, Lamuu and Margaa; See Appendix, X.

¹⁴⁹ EWAO, No Folder No, File No, 9517 A Letter from *Mato Aleqa* Bulti Tokkumma, the Administrator of Horro Guduruu *awrajja* to Gidda, Limmu and Eebantuu Administration office, (*Mägabet*, 21, 1971.E.C).

¹⁵⁰Tariku), p.69; Lamu Dinsa, "A History of Guutoo Gidda *Warada*, East Wallagga, 1941-1991", (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 2019), p.77.

¹⁵¹*Ibid*.

¹⁵²*Ibid.;* Solomon, p.88.

tragedy of this event did not end with youngsters alone. Rather, the family, relatives, and the community in the district were the shareholders of the distress.¹⁵³

The families of youths were harshly treated in the hands of peasant association leaders, their agents (militia) day and night to send their own children to the war front. According to informants, no section of the people remained untouched by this pandemic disease of sending one's child to the battlefield by force.¹⁵⁴ The people of the district used the following poem to show their resentment and distress against *Därgs*' action:

<u>Afaan Oromoo</u>	Gloss		
Mangistuu yaa dhala Booyyee	Mengistu the son of a pig		
Maaliif fixxaa soolana ijoollee?	Why did you exploit the Youth (Därgaggo)?		
Algaa waraashiinoo galuu hin oollee	The restoration of the throne is inevitable. ¹⁵⁵		

Besides, local officials in the district also pretended to recruit peasants into the military in order to extract bribes or simply to harass the people of the district. This act became a means of generating inconsistent income by intimidating the people and organizing kinds of corruption, particularly nepotism and bribe we commonly practiced in the district.¹⁵⁶

Being a rich man seems to have been a criminal during those days in that, more often, the families of rich peasants were the target for the sake of bribes to get rid of his son from militia. In addition, those men who provoked peasant association leaders and any militia at any time and place were the best choices to avenge, the recruitment process in the district lacked fairness because the Därg cadres targeted to individuals on whom they had a grievance, and those who failed to attend meetings at district and *qäbäle* level. Therefore, if a peasant wanted to escape recruitment, the only way was just bribing the peasant association leaders, health officers, and the village militias.¹⁵⁷

Due to the hunting of peasant association leaders followed by militia forces, young men ceased to exist from the main streets of every *qäbäle* in the district. Due to this frustration, they were

¹⁵³Informants: Fiqaaduu, Abbabaa, Lamuu and Olaanii.

¹⁵⁴Ibid.

¹⁵⁵Lamu, p.79.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid*.

¹⁵⁷*Ibid.;* Tariku, p.70; Solomon, p.88; Informants: Tarrafa, Insarmuu, and Waaqtolee.

sent to stay with relatives outside of the *qäbäle* they were registered even though liable to be imprisoned for a night or so in the *qäbäle* jail.¹⁵⁸

The womens selected from the *qäbäle* to activate and arouse the moral of the male for war. They used to say; let the males wear our dresses and let us wear their trousers, hold the guns, and go to the war front.¹⁵⁹ The females provoked insulting the males to go to war. The female also used the following slogans for the campaign:

<u>Afaan Oromoo</u>	Gloss		
Biyya kenya Itoophiyaaf,	For our country Ethiopia,		
Dhiiga keenya Ni dhangalaasna!	We shade our blood! ¹⁶⁰		

Numerous social problems occurred because of military conscription in the Eebantuu district. The father, mother, and relatives kicked in front of his wife, harmed, insulted, beaten, and chased away by the *Därg* cadres and militiamen when they were going to visit their sons in temporary military camps.¹⁶¹ The innocent peasants were punished and harshly treated in the hands of the militias whenever they showed their hatred towards in course of hunting the youth.

The youngster who has sent to the war front by force used to singsong (gerarsa) as follows:

<u>Afaan Oromoo</u>

<u>Gloss</u>

Idaar gaafa salaasaa,	on the 30 th day of November,
Fiigee dhufe taraansaa,	The turn is at hand
Anoo sabsabaan se'ee,	I thought it is for meeting
Yooman Malmalaa se'ee?	I do not think it is military recruitments.
Barattii sabaa handii (1971),	The year 1971,
Gafattiin manaa bahee,	The date I left the home,
Yaa iyya handaaqqoo hinjennee,	I never waited for the cock's cry.
Yaa biyya abbaa koo hinjennee,	I never said my fathers' country.

¹⁵⁸*Ibid.;* Tariku, p.70; Lamu, p.80.

¹⁵⁹Informants: Azalee and Bojee.

¹⁶⁰Informants: Margaa, Bayyanaa, and Abbabaa.

¹⁶¹*Ibid*.

Yaa barii lafaa hin jennee ,	I never said it is early in the morning
Yaa marii hiriyyaa hin jennee,	I never sought my friends' discussion
Gabbiinaarra gadi ciiseen,	Having lying on the back of the car,
Biyya abbaa koo gadidhiise,	I left my fathers' country. ¹⁶²
Ertiraa mukti hin jiruu,	No tree in Eritrea.
Yoo muka garbuu malee,	Even if barely tree,
Duunaan awwaalchi hinjiru,	There is no burial if one gets dead,
Yoo biradarbuu malee,	It was letting behind,
Saaxinii hin harkisanii,	No effort of carrying the box.
Firas hin rakkisanii,	No relatives to be busy. ¹⁶³

This song was expressed the military from recruitment process up to the final death for one who participated in war front. There was a great tendency for able-bodied peasants to full the quota as they went to towns for medication, shopping, and personal cases.

This made conditions inhospitable and resulted in an economic crisis. For instance, since able young men were in terror to be in public, grains for sale, grinding, and even dead people were buried by old aged men and women.¹⁶⁴ Moreover, both physically and economically active farmers hunted and captured while they were plow and captured forcefully and taken to the concentration camps. No one can approach to negotiate to release them. If he had money, he should pay the money they asked for.¹⁶⁵

The communities were always living under fear and stress since they did not know the date of recruitment. Due to this fear, no one was in a position to plow land, weed, and harvest well. Therefore, in most cases, the people of the district became vulnerable to famine due to these man-made problems. Later, as all productive labor drawn into the war front, the social composition remained mostly unproductive such as women, children, disabled, and old man. The

¹⁶²Lamu, pp.,81-82; Informants: Fiqaaduu, Bayyanaa, and Lamuu.

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Informants: Baqqalaa, Insarmuu, and Tarrafaa.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

action left behind children without a father, a wife without a husband, a father without a son, a mother without a son, and they remained helpless.¹⁶⁶

The PAs leaders forced to support the families of the youth who recruited for the national military by the plowing, weeding, and protecting them. ¹⁶⁷ The military conscription was crated a social problem in the district which disintegrated the social wellbeing of the community in that the girls who were young enough to marry missed the youth. Therefore, they use to say the following poem to explain their distress as follows:

<u>Afaan Oromoo</u>	Gloss
Bokkaan roobuu didee	The rain refused to rain,
Harkiftuu bitannaa	Let us buy a magnet for rain,
kan nu fuudhu hin dhibee,	No one is around to marry us,
Mangistuuttitti Iyyannaa	We will appeal to Mengistu Hailamariam. ¹⁶⁸

These songs indicated that the young enough boys were joined to the military services that have results the spinsters lifted without marriage. The young youth who left from the militias were either crippled or unhealthy who unable to conduct agricultural activities in the village.

The military conscription was created the socio-economic and political crises, mainly the failure of agricultural production, only unproductive age groups left at home without any support, some youths were sadly extracted their own front teeth or cut off their fingers to avoid conscription. In the district many families were lost their own expensive young youths because of such misery, mothers cursed their womb not give to birth further to a male because his fate was for war and death.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Informants: Hailee, Olaanii, and Dhugumaa.

¹⁶⁷ EWAO, No Folder, No, No File No, A letter Written from Wallagga Province Administration to Six *Awrajjas* of Wallaga, (1970, E.C); See also Appendix, XI.

¹⁶⁸Informants: Dammee Batii, Loomee Mokonnon, and Bojee.

¹⁶⁹ Informants: Abbabaa Amanuu, Bayyanaa ,and Tarrafaa.

CHAPTER III

AGRICULTURAL SOCIALISM AND THE FINAL DAYS OF THE DÄRG REGIME IN EEBANTUU DISTIRCT

Land reform proclamation did not transform agricultural production in the district because the government did not have resources to enforce transformation that would have disrupted peasant production cooperative, villagization, and resettlement scheme the government could have seen as an attempt to evade limited access to agricultural products without exposing the peasants.

However, to realize the broader agenda of agricultural transformation that eventually included in agricultural socialization, the government worked for the rapid promotion of producers and service cooperatives, the suppression of private trade in favor of the state-run Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC), state-owned large-scale mechanized farms, and the massive interregional resettlement were taken as rural engineering. Therefore, this chapter tries to examine the formation of agricultural collectivism; resettlements, forced villagization, the disintegrations of rural institutions, and the downfall of the *därg* are the main issues of this chapter.

3.1 Agricultural Cooperatives

One of the main objectives of establishing the fourt one PAs in the district was to form cooperatives societies that would increase the farmer's production capacity through intensive efforts.¹ Cooperatives have a well-designed program to implement the planned objectives, and the military government believes that unity and cooperation are essential for the development of rural farmers.²

According to proclamation No, 138/1978, four kinds of cooperatives needed to be established. Those are housing consumer, saving and credit (which gave service in town areas), producer cooperative, and service cooperatives.³ The major aim of this proclamation was, to bring about socialist agricultural transformation in rural areas and a socialist marketing system in both rural

¹Negarit Gazeta, "A Proclamation No.71 of 1975.

 $^{^{2}}$ Ibid.

³Negarit Gazeta, "A Proclamation to provide for the Establishment of Cooperative Society", No.138, (March 3, 1978), p. 41.

and urban areas. Ottaway explained, "the agricultural cooperatives were one of the expanded arms of the state and used primarily as instruments of the government to control agriculture and agricultural production."⁴ Of the four types of cooperatives, only producer and Service Cooperatives were established in the Eebantuu district.⁵

3.1.1 The Formation of Services Cooperatives

Service cooperatives were organized by the peasants of the district according to proclamation No.71, 1975 to provide consumer goods at a reasonable price without the interference of intermediaries.⁶ The proclamation also stated that one service cooperative should serve a minimum of three and a maximum of ten PAs in article 7 of chapter 2.⁷ This was because of a lack of enough capital to run the cooperative if less than three and beneficiaries had to walk a long distance to benefit from their cooperative if more than ten PAs.⁸ Informants recall that in the Eebantuu district the services cooperatives were established a minimum of three to eight for adjacent to serve Peasant association as cluster and eight service cooperatives were established to realize the objective of agricultural socialism.⁹

The major functions of service cooperatives were to provide peasants of the district, by supplying consumer goods based on felt needs, selling members' products at a reasonable price, providing loans at lower than the regular bank interest, providing storage facilities, encouraging the development of services such as schools and clinics, promoting cottage industries, and assisting PCs and aimed at protecting peasants from exploitation by private traders.¹⁰ A large number of peasants have joined the service cooperatives without any enforcement from the government in the district. To become a member of an SC, an individual had to be a member of a PAs and also had contributed twenty-one birr (21*birr*) in cash. .¹¹

⁴Ottaway, p.82.

⁵Informants: Olaanii, Fayyisa, Lamuu, and Abbabaa.

⁶Nagarit Gazeta, "Proclamation...", No.71,1975.

⁷Ibid.

⁸EquarTeka, "Agrarian Reform and Social Changes in Ethiopia Since1975", (Senior Essay, AAU, Sociology,1986), p.26.

⁹ Informants: Baqqalaa, Margaa, and Olaanii.

¹⁰Nagarit Gazeta, "Proclamation...", No.71,1975.

¹¹Engdawork Desta, "Agricultural Producer Cooperatives: Some Lessons of Experience from Ethiopia" *Geo Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 4, (1995), p.354.

Table 3.1: Service Cooperatives' (S	SCs)	in Eebantuu district
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N <u>o</u>				Year of	
	Name of Service		Initial	establis	
	cooperatives	<i>qäbäle</i> PAs member	Member	hments	Legality
1	Makkannisa	Busa Koba Guddaa,Jabikaa	62	1978	Licensed
	Guyyoo	Muka Heexoo Wajoo,			
		Horocoo, and Hindee Zuria,			
2	Birbirsaa Waajjaa	Mukarbaa, Abbaa Goftoo	52	1978	Licensed
		Dhumuugaa, and Makkannisa			
3	Ifa Biyyaa	Qeelloo,Gondo, and Somboo	44	1978	Licensed
4	Dongoroo Muxaa	Gofee, Adaamii, and Kalaala Muxaa	49	1979	Licensed
5	Gatamaa Beesee	Gatamaa Waqoo, Dabeetan,	57	1978	Licensed
		Birbirsaa, Gatamaa, Beesee, and			
		Dilaloo			
6	Lalisaa	Safara, Tarkanfi, Oonaa-Motii	44	1978	Licensed
	Dhangaggoo	,and Qilxuu- Sanyii			
7	Guddinaa- Qaqaroo	Qaqaroo, Madaroo, Yaa'a, and	49	1980	Licensed
		Qarsaa Odaa			
8	Harbuu Jankoo	Abuune, Bootee, and Annisoo	38	1979	Not licensed

Sources: Eebantuu wäräda cooperative union report, (Hindee, 1997), pp.7-8.

Similar to other areas, the central goal of service cooperatives in the Eebantuu district was established shops of the cooperatives where they made the distribution of goods to the members.

The major service rendered in the center was the supply of consumer goods such as salt, matches, sugar, edible oil, soap, nail, pen, boot wear, dry cell batteries, and blanket to the members through its shop in the center of the cluster in PAs at the least price comparative to private trades.¹²

They distributed the inputs such as fertilizers and consumer goods through cooperative shops and to market their product to Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC) by forming a link between the associations and the external economy. Informants forwarded that, the shortage of consumer good forced the peasants to join in membership of the cooperative because the supply of salt was very low when compared to the demand of the societies.¹³

Informants explained that getting one gram of salt was very difficult for the societies from private traders with a fair price and the price of coffee was expensive in the areas as a result of selling coffee by individual traders was not allowed it was seen as contraband unless licensed.¹⁴ Moreover, the shops bought grains, oilseeds, and butter from peasants at lower prices and sold them earning some profits to the Wallagga branch of AMC.¹⁵ Initially, memberships to the service cooperatives were able to accumulate twenty-one birr from the members in all SCs of the district.¹⁶

At the beginning of their establishment, most of the SCs in the district were supported their members in a fair way but after a time the majority of sc were deteriorated because of ineffective management, and to solve the problems, the district administrator influenced to conduct regular auditing.¹⁷ Following auditing, the cashier of Birbirsaa Waajjaa SC *obbo* Amanuu Dafii and Gatamaa Beesee SC *obbo* Kabaa Dhugumaa have detained for three months.¹⁸

Even though the program benefited the society, due to lack of trained workers who documented the debt, credit from the committee and the chairpersons of service cooperatives were embezzled the resource of peasant associations' and secretly sold cooperative goods to private merchants

¹²Informants: Gammachuu, Goobuu, Galataa, and Hailee.

¹³ Informants: Amanuu, Lamuu, and Waaqtolee.

¹⁴See Appendix XII, A-C

¹⁵ EWARO, A letter from Wallagga Kiflehager Minster of Agriculture and Cooperative to Ifa Biyya Service Cooperative chairman, (*Mäzya*10, 1973, E.C).

¹⁶Informants:Baqqalaa,Galataa,and Olaanii. ¹⁷Ihid

¹⁸ Informants: Galataa, Lamuu, and Amanuu.

which resulted in the consumer suffered from the absence of items. This in turn discouraged the admissions of new members in SCs. Secondly, most of the service cooperatives in the district failed to supply a variety of goods and satisfy the demand of the members due to the transportation problems from Naqamte to Eebantuu. Finally, the peasants lacked trust in their associations, began to withdraw their membership from the service cooperatives, and gradually deteriorated towards the end of the 1980s.¹⁹

In March 1990, the *Därg* government declared a shift in its economic policy from a command economic policy to a mixed economy. A relatively liberal policy was introduced in the agricultural sector, and the government granted the right to the people either to continue or dissolve SCs. This was opened the way for looting and codification of SCs properties by the committees and PAs chairmen. Among the SCs in the district, seven of them were then dissolved except Birbirisa Waajjaa SC.²⁰ The government ordered their properties to be summited to the Office of Agriculture Minister, but most chairmen of the SCs in the district and cashier took themselves SCs properties following the dimes of *Därg* in 1991.²¹

3.1.2 The Formation of Producers Cooperatives (PCs)

In the history of Ethiopian agricultural production, private ownership of farming has dominated the whole system of agriculture sector, which characterized by the use of farm oxen on small scale by rudimentary agricultural tools and fragmented fields. Producing surplus to sustain the life of the Ethiopian people and to provide sufficient surplus products to the markets was persisted beyond the capacity of the sector that originated from the economic policy of the imperial regime particularly on agriculture.²² Moreover, subsistence production led the working family into poverty and hunger.²³

Land reform by itself cannot lead to agricultural modernization and increased productivity unless it followed by improved rural services: extension services, input supply, credit facilities, and marketing incentives. But these services were mainly available for PCs while the majority of individual peasants had almost no access to them. However, the *Därg* in his economic policy

¹⁹Informants: Tayyee, Waqtoolee, and Amanuu Dafii.

²⁰Informants: Oaanii, Amanuu, and Margaa.

²¹Ibid.

²²Dessalegn, Agrarian..., p.41. Negerit Gazeța, proclamation, 137/1978"Cooperative Societies...,.
²³Ibid.

believed that agrarian development could not possible by maintaining private-scale agriculture. To realize the program the government opted for APCs or *amräčs* were likely considered as the cornerstone to enriched collective farming and promoted agricultural yields using agricultural inputs supply like fertilizers and improve seed. The PC could be organized by cluster with a minimum of three and a maximum of ten PAs.²⁴

These cooperatives organized on a voluntary basis by PAs to enable the members to pool together their land and labor to maximize productivity. Ottaway forwarded that, the objectives of PCs was not purely economic issues rather control and manage the means of production under the mass, improve the instruments of production, enhance production, eliminate exploitation and bring unity in rural areas which was completely away from economic one rather it was the political control over the society.²⁵ These ideas elaborated that, the main task of the military government to establish APCs was to monopolize the agricultural production on the socialist line.²⁶

As informants reminded that, several PAs in the Eebantuu district were not able to form APC. This was because of the scattered nature of the homesteads and the lack of interest among farmers to share their outputs with others.²⁷ It is obvious that in-group work; there is a difference in capacity and interest among individuals. Some farmers might work hard while others might not. Some farmers were punctual while others were not. However, regardless of such differences, the APCs members were to share the product equally.²⁸

In the Eebantuu district, the establishment of APCs took place at the beginning of 1971E.C in Dilaloo PAs by the name Guddina Biyyaa as *tänsaš* (pioneer/beginner) followed by Hundee Wal qixummaa in Jabikaa, which led by *obbo* Dhinsaa Galataa and Guddina Jireenyaa in Madaroo PAs.²⁹ According to the report of 1971 E.C, the APCs in tha Eebantuu district has 54 members,

²⁶Ibid.

²⁴Yasin Mohamed ,"Some Aspects of Social History of Illu Abba Booraa, Ethiopia, Ca. 1889-1991", (Ph.D. Dissertation, AAU, History, 2009),p.191; Ketabo Abdiyo, "An Overview of Agricultural Producers' Co-Operatives (APCs) in Arssi,1978-1991", in *Ethiopian Journal of Education and Science*, Vol.12, No.1,(Jimma University,2016), p.2.

²⁵Marina Ottaway, "Land Reform in Ethiopia 1974-77", *In African Study Review*, Vol .20, No.3, (1977), p.82.

²⁷Informants: Amanuu, Dhinsaa, Tarrafaa, and Bayyanaa.

²⁸Informants: Gammachu Duressaa, Galataa, Getaachoo, and Baqqalaa.

²⁹Informants: Margaa, Olaanii, Waaqtolee, and Mosiisa.

12 pairs of oxen, and 470 hectares of agricultural land.³⁰ This was very few in terms of APCs and its member as compared to the number of PAs in the district because many peasants in the district were abstained themselves from becoming the member since it was not in their interests.³¹.Eventhough the military government forced the peasents of the district to join in to the cooperative the peasents of the district were unable to gained benefit from the SC thus while the PCs in the district was ramined at the pioneer stage.³²

The efforts to transform APCs to the next step from elementary PC (*Melba*) to advanced PC (*Welba*) in the district were not successful in developing the productivity of their members for different reasons. First, the followed up from the government was very low rather the government used establishement of the PCs as political affairs. Second, lack of interest from the peasants since the *Därg* cadres forced the peasants to join the cooperatives. Third, the peasant could not get benefit from all the products because the products of the cooperative were directly under the monopoly and distributed to the members depending on the need of the respective families only for consumption.³³ The sabotages from the committee members were also another problem that leads the farms to withdraw from the association at the initial stage.³⁴ Generally, the PCs in the Eebantuu district dissolved before the *Därg* government declared the mixed economy without achieving its ultimate objective.³⁵

The *Därg* also seriously organized the local people for the reforestation of the district and provided seedlings to be planted by the people in the district. The seedling was prepared in Lobicaa station near Hindee town that served all PAs by preparing a non-indigenous tree.³⁶ The planting tree was conducted at the place where degraded land by erosion and implemented in schools in which students planted trees in their school compound. Generally, many people in the district still admired the *Därg* for its environmental protection policy.³⁷

³⁰Eebantuu *Wäräda* APC, Report, (Hindee, 1971 E.C).

³¹ Informants: Dhinsaa, Galataa, and Waaqtolee Adulaa. ³²*Ibid*.

³³ Informants: Waaqtolee, Olaanii, Tarrafaa, and Amanuu.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵*Ibid*.

³⁶Informants: Olaanii, Fiqaaduu, and Lamuu.

³⁷Ibid.



Figure: 3.1 Reforested area in Annisoo PAs by the därg in 1981-82E.C

Photo taken by researcher, June 2020

3.2 Resettlement and Villigazation in the district

3.2.1 Resettlement

Resettlement the movement of the people from their original settlement area to a place of destination, the transfer of population from certain formerly inhabited environments to new geographical areas.³⁸ The purpose of this program was to prove solutions for natural and manmade problems like the increment of the population, natural disasters, war, drought, and famine either planned or unplanned.³⁹

The resettlement program which designed by the military government was objective to relieve the degraded, overpopulated, and drought-prone areas of Wollo, Gojjam, and Tigray and the $D\ddot{a}rg$ claimed that the resettlement would resolve the country recurring problem and ease population pressure from northern areas where the land had been overused.⁴⁰ Contrary to the above, some sources have argued that the $D\ddot{a}rg$ has a particular secretive political motive to

³⁸Yasin, p.196.

³⁹Belay Kassa, "Settlement of Peasants in Ethiopia", in *Journal of Rural Development*, (2004), pp.224-225. ⁴⁰Teferra, *The Ethiopian Revolution*..., pp.260-62.

depopulate areas of resistance, weaken the guerrillas' support base, and deny them access to recruits, which targeted to remove the Tegrean from supporting the TPLF.⁴¹

Sources explained that the existence of abundant rainfall and fertile soil in the southwestern part, Wallagga province selected to realize the economic and political goal of the military government.⁴² The strategic importance of the region to counterbalance the Sudan government encroachment activities in the Western part of Ethiopia and to secure the borderland, the Därg aimed at reducing the dense forest coverage of the area and to recruit militias and police forces to overcome the problems of anti-government activities in the area particularly, the OLF.⁴³

After 1974, mainly as of 1984/85, the Därg implemented two types of resettlement strategies in Wallagga. One is an integrated/Sigsega) that settling people in sparsely settled areas or sites that have a space for new settlements in peasant associations in highland areas of the indigenous population.⁴⁴ The conventional (Kutagetem or Mädebegña säfara) resettlement strategies in which the government resettled in vast of unsettled fertile land, the potential for developmental projects such as mechanized agriculture and state farm in southwest low lands which has been conducted in Metekel, Mettema, Asosa and Gambela areas as national level.⁴⁵

Archive from EWAO substantiated that self-sponsored and unplanned resettlement has embarked on Horro-Guduruu Awrajja since 1975 from Wallo and other provinces. Even though the re-settlers were not reported in number, a letter from Wallagga province to obbo Emmiruu Ibsaa (Horro-Guduruu Awrajja administrator) on 24 May 1975 substantiated the prevalence of self-sponsored movement of people towards the region, and the attempt of the Awrajja to defend it.

> የቀበሌ ወይም የወረዳ ንበሬ ማሀበር በተሰጠዉ ስልጣንና ተማባር መሠረት ፈቅዶ ቦታ ሳይመራቸዉ ወይም የህዝብ ማስፈር ባለስልጣን

⁴¹*Ibid.*; Gebre Yntiso, "The Matakal resettlement...", pp.93-94.

⁴²GeletaNiguse, "AHistoryofGimbiAwrajja, 1941-1991", (MA Thesis, Jimma University, History, 200), p.92. ⁴³*Ibid*.

⁴⁴Makuria Bulcha, "Famine as an Instrument for Nation-Building and State Consolidation: Ethiopia's Resettlement and Villagization Programs of 1978-1991 in Retrospect", in Journal of Oromo Studies, Vol.8, No.1&2, (Middle Tennessee State University, 2001), p.115.

⁴⁵Dessalegn Rahmato, Resettlement in Ethiopia: the Tragedy of Population Relocation in the 1980s, (Forum for Social Studies Addis Ababa,2003),p,35;Ayenew Fenta,"Society and Environment in Matakal, Northwestern Ethiopia, 1880s to 1990s", (Ph.D. Dissertation, AAU, History, 20019), pp.212-214; Enalkachew, p.276.

አጥንቶ ባዘጋጀዉ የሰፈራ ፕሮግራም መሠረት ቦታ የተሰጡት ሳይሆኑ በንዛ ፈቃድና ፍላጎት ብቻ ማንም ሰዉ ከነበረበት ቀበሌ ፈልሶ በመምጣት በሌላ ቀበሌ ሊሰፍር ሕጉ አይፈቅድም። ከሕግ መንፈስ ዉጪ ሰፍሮ የተንኝ የንበሬ ማህበሩ ስልጣንና ተማባሩን የማስከበር ሀላፊነትና ግዴታ እንዳለበት ማልጽ ነዉ።⁴⁶

The full concept of the letter is that:

Without the prior permission of the *qäbäle* or *Warada* PAs authorities in allocating land, or without a planned resettlement program launched by the resettlement authority at national wide, the law could not allow anybody to migrate from his/her residential *qäbäle* to resettle in other areas. Thus, whenever such resettlement took place illegally, the PAs should have to apply its power and authority.

Ten years after the above decision, like that of other districts in Horro-Guduru *Awrajja*, Eebantuu district was selected as a site for the government-sponsored resettlement program that aimed to rehabilitate the people from famine-affected areas.⁴⁷ The Integrated (*sigsiga*) form of resettlement scheme have carried out in the district, in form of distributing the re-settlers to all high land PAs of the district in accordance with the receiving potential of the indigenous people.⁴⁸ Before the resettlements have conducted, every peasent association chairmen in the district were took two month training at shambu town. The training was how resettle from site preparation to mobilizing people in house counstruction.

According to Horro- Guduruu *Awrajja* decision made on March 26, 1985, the Eebantuu district has received 800 households and distributed to 34 PAs.⁴⁹ The re-settlement process haveconducted in two rounds in the same year and in the first round, 400 households have resettled until the end of *Täsas* 30, 1977 E.C by distributing them to nearby Peasant Associations

⁴⁶ EWARO, No Folder No, File.No.34302, A letter from Wallagga Province Administration to *Ato* Emiruu Ibsaa, Horroo Guduruu Administrator, (*Ginbot*, 24,1968E.C); See also Appendix, VII.

⁴⁷ Informants: Goobuu, Fayyisaa, Hailee, and Galataa.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹ EWARO, Resettlement Process in Eebantuu, Report, (Hindee, 1977E.C), pp.1-3.

and the second round have conducted in the same manner, but distributed to far PAs.⁵⁰ The program only conducted in highland PAs of the district because of pandemic malaria disease and the climatic condition, the lowland areas PAs have not selected for the program.⁵¹

The people of the district have forced to facilitate the condition for the settler by constructing a house opened the road to the settlement areas and water, carrying the ration from the center of the district to the settlement center and any refusal to participate in the program was physical punishments in the district. Not only the peasants but also the civil servants and students were participated in facilitating the resettlement process in the district. According to the Eebantuu administration, report of 1978 E.C explained they were different resettlement centers in the district based upon the potential of the PAs the centers were one, more in PAs, and forty-seven resettlement center and 769 houses were constructed. Some of the resettler centers were hadha Dashii and inchinii in Makkannisa, Dugdaa-gabaa in Dhumugaa, Tulluu Anuu in Mukarbaa, Citaa Inseenee and Babalaa in wajoo, Safaraa Maraamii and Lobicaa in Hindee Zuria.⁵²

To realize the program different committees have established from district to *qäbäle* PAs and they supervised the activities from the site selection to the service delivery to the resettles and reported to the responsible bodies.⁵³ The people of Eebantuu have mobilized to do their best to rehabilitate the re-settlers and they were contributed 86 farm oxen to the famine victims, Food crops, clothes, farm tools, and home equipment were gathered from the people in the district and distributed.⁵⁴

Based on the dynamic nature of the challenges that the re-settlers encountered, the district has employed problem-solving mechanisms. As part of tackling the problems, indigenous peasants have forced to work on settlers' farms once a week and it also decided that local cattle traders were outlawed to continue oxen purchasing until the demands of each district have satisfied in buying farm animals for the re-settlers.⁵⁵

⁵⁰*Ibid*.

⁵¹ Informants: Margaa, Darajjee, Hundee, and Taaddasaa.

⁵² Informants: Baqqalaa, Galataa, and Taayyee.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴EWARO, Resettlement..., p.4.

⁵⁵Informants: Goobuu, Galataa, and Baqqalaa.

In the beginning, the settlers were unable to adapt to the environmental condition of the district and suffered a lot from illness, death, food shortage, and as well as most of them were fled to lowland areas Angar Gutee to conduct agriculture laborer in state farm. According to the Ebantuu administration office report, 75 people, 31 males, and 44 females were dead while 119 people, 103 males, and 16 females have fled from settled PAs to another area.⁵⁶

3.3.2 Villagization and its outcomes

As it was discussed in chapter one, the settlement pattern of the Jaawwii Maccaa Oromo of Eebantuu was based on the lineage group. People belong to the same *gosa* (lineage) settled in the contiguous territory that belongs to their own clan. In spite of land privatization in the post-liberation period, they have continued to inhabit the formal tradition during the Imperial era.⁵⁷

Following the 1974 revolution, the military government issued different proclamations that radically changed the former socio-economic conditions of the district. One of the measures introduced by the socialist government was villagization.⁵⁸ Prior to the villagization program, the peasants in the district organized into peasant associations. In accordance with the proclamation of PAs, the peasant in Eebantuu district has organized into different peasant associations by using the former boundaries of the territories of different *gosas* (lineage) groups.⁵⁹

However, the military government planned to increase agricultural and agricultural productivity. But the fragmented landholding system of Ethiopian peasants have created an obstacle to expanding the modern extensive farming and also to facilitate political control as well as to implement a local-level developmental project for the mass population of the rural communities, the government determined to collect scattered settlement of population into villagization.⁶⁰ The *Därg* argued that the scattered rural villages hindered the development of social services and infrastructures and villagization have taken as social engineering to tackle down the socio-economic and political problems of the country.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Eebantuu Wäräda Administration Office, "Report on Resettlement Conditions", (Tir 19, 1977E.C).

⁵⁷Informants: Galataa, Hinsarmuu, and Wayyeessa.

⁵⁸Marina Ottoway, "Land Reform...", p.81.

⁵⁹Informants: Margaa, Galataa, and Taaddasa.

⁶⁰Ottoway, p.82.

⁶¹ Yasin, "Some aspects of social…", p.204; Cohen and Nils-Tvar, "Villagisation in Ethiopia's Arsi Region", *in the Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 3, (Cambridge University Press, 1987), p.436.

The program designed 30 to 500 households to be embraced in each village. In these cluster settlements, the government aimed to provide social services such as education, health, electricity, water and other facilities for the settlers.⁶² At national level, the program had started in Bale and Hararghe provinces in 1978 & 1984 respectively for the security purpose.⁶³

The official objectives for the villagization program launched in 1985 have written in guidelines for villagization prepared by the Ministry of Agriculture (MoA). These were extension of services to increase agricultural productivity; rationalizing land-use and conserving natural resources; facilitation of schools, clinics, water supplies, and service cooperatives for rural people at a lower cost; and strengthening of security and self-defense.⁶⁴

Before the launching of the program, in 1986 all-district PA chairmen held a meeting at the Awrajja capital in Shambuu. At the meeting, a necessary awareness explanation for participants has given by obbo Giorgis Goobanaa, the Chairman of Horro Guduru Awrajja. Accordingly, he highlighted that guidelines had come from the central government, not to consider local problems such as the outlook of peasants, the existence of crops on the land, and permanent plants. Obbo Giorgis noted the likelihood of escalation of famine if villagization took place before harvest of crops took place but this problem was ignored because of imperative orders from the central government that villagization must be implemented. Soon in a brutal matter, the party cadres forced peasants into villagization.⁶⁵

In order to implement the process of villagization in the Eebantuu district, coordinating committees have organized at the district and at thirty-four qäbäle levels because the Gumuz communities occupied six qäbäle of the district and they were organized in a village called (adaree).⁶⁶ The committees were empowered to take appropriate steps to ensure the implementation of the National policy called the National Villagization Coordinating Committee

⁶² Clapham" Revolutionary...", p.164; Makuria, "Famine as...", pp.139-40. ⁶³*Ibid*.

⁶⁴Gebre Yntiso, "Resettlement...", pp.72-74; Makuria, "Famine as...", p.141; See also Appendix, XIII.

⁶⁵Yä Wallagga Kifläger Yätafatro čigir Mequwaquwmiya Committee, " Gabarewun Bä mändar Lämasäbasab Yä tadaregé Yä majmariya Tenat Riport", (Naqamte, October 1978, E.C), p.4. (lit. Wallagga Province, Natural Problems Rehabilitation and Collecting Peasant to Villigazation First Feasibility Research Report). ⁶⁶ Informants:Hundee ,and Galataa.

(NVCC).⁶⁷ The WVCC constituted the district Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE) chairman, PAs chairman (vice), agents of MoA (secretarial), member of PAs executive committee, chairperson of PAs, REWA, REYA, defense squad, and the directors of the local schools. The other governmental offices including, the court, health, and police were members of the committee since those offices were directly or indirectly concerned with the program.⁶⁸

At the district level, the above Coordinating Committees were the highest coordinating organ and it had four different sub-committees under it. Agitation and propaganda, organization and technique service, security guard, and monitoring and following up were the sub-committees beneath the WVCC.⁶⁹

In the PAs Villagization Coordinating Committee, for example, the chairperson of PAs; a coordinator sent from the district, and PAs management bodies were the prominent executors of the program. Social organizations like women and youth associations were included in the committee. Agitation and propaganda, site selection and services, construction and material provision, preparing statistical data and keeping documents; and observing the security of the newly established villages were the major roles of the committees.⁷⁰

At the village level, house-dismantling committees (*bet afräş committee*) *have* organized under the peasant Association VCC. The leaders of these groups were chosen from the PAs management body. They divided jobs among themselves, which categorized as those who tumbled the hold houses, transporters of the ruins of the old houses, constructors of the new ones, and compactors of the newly constructed houses with mud.⁷¹ The villagization program in the Eebantuu district was part of the entire operation of Wallagga province in general and Horro-Guduru *Awrajja* in particular.⁷²

Informants explained the peasants in various ways attempted to defeat the villagization program. Some of the peasants used spears and swords against the cadres and other government officials. Some others let out aggressive dogs against individuals who came to pull down their houses.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* Makuria, "Famine as an Instrument for Nation-Building...," p.118.

⁶⁸ "Yä Wallaga Keflager Yatafatro cigir Mequwaquwamiya Commiitee...", p.8

⁶⁹John M. Cohen and Nils-Ivar Isaksson, p.437.

⁷⁰Ibid.; Informants: Margaa, Galataa, Gammachuu and Abbabaa.

⁷¹Informants: Goobuu, Baqqalaa, and Galataa.

⁷²Gemechu, p.70; Endalkechew, p.281.

Others provoked bees by inserting a special grass-flower into hives, which made the bees aggressive.⁷³ However, the resistance was crushed by *därg* cader from the district and many peasants were beaten, tortured, and imprisoned under the notorious district administrator, *obbo* Dhugumaa Garbaa. These measures ended the resistance of the peasants and became a turning point for the beginning of the villagization program in the Eebantuu district.⁷⁴

As archive gained from the former Horroo-Guduru a*wrajja* explained, as *awrajja* level the program was first started in *hidar*, 10, 1978/86, in Guduru district of *Wädäfit Täsfa* PA. After two months later, it was officially started in the Eebantuu district at Qaqaroo PA on *teri*, 14, 1978 E.C, at the place where the program coordinators of *Awrajja*, *obbo* Gazzahnyii Bantii and *Obbo* Dhaabaa Lameessa from the district as well as *qäbäle* villagization committees have participated.⁷⁵

Informants explained that Qaqaroo PAs was selected for the model PA from all PAs of the district and the villagization program was gave chance first for model PA and the proximity PA to Hindee town, the centr of the district for transportation.⁷⁶ According to the Eebantuu district, the administrative office reported in *Yekätät* 30, 1979, E.C/ 1987, about 731 peasant households of 34 PAs have built their houses at villagization sites.⁷⁷ About 80 villages' center had been implemented and 21 thousand people have constructed their houses at the village center in the district.⁷⁸

To implement the program the cadres of the regime used to force the leaders of peasants' association to be exemplary to the mass. To this effect, the cadres imposed the leaders of peasant association on those who had the power to rebuild the house of their own.⁷⁹ Any form of refusal and opposition against this program led to harsh punishment both physically and economically. Therefore, peoples have forced to live in the new sites by abandoning the former without proper planning. The peasant's dissatisfaction was beginning to manifest failure in working hard and productivity. The regimes' handicapped program proved to be ineffective when the government

⁷³Informants:Goobuu,Margaa,and Fayyisaa.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵*Ibid*.

⁷⁶Informants: Margaa, Galataa, and Baqqalaa.

⁷⁷ EWAO, Villagization Process in Ebantu, Report, (Hindee, January 6, 1979, E.C), p.4.

⁷⁸*Ibid*, p.6.

⁷⁹Informants:Taaddasaa, Raggasaa, and Amanuu.

by itself failed to provide the villages with public services as intended.⁸⁰ However, following the declaration of mixed economic policy by the government in the 1990s, peasants dismantled their houses and returned to their original village.

The Villigazation program, which conducted in the Eebantuu district, affected the life of the people both negatively and positively. Among the benefit of villagization, it helped the people to have easy access to health care, educational services like adult education, and primary education for their children.⁸¹ It created among the peasants the sense of common work on their own problems, increases the social life of the community, and made it easier for the government to control the peasant association. On the other hand, villagization affected the lives of the people from the very beginning of the program. Since villagization was a program of bringing, scattered settlements into a centralized village in the area selected by the government the local people forced to involve in the construction of houses.⁸² Because of these, they spent much of their time in the construction of houses, which in turn affected their agricultural activities. As the selected sites has not based on the will and the interest of the peasants, they displaced from their homestead and forced to settle in a new locality that was far from their agricultural field. This forced the farmers to travel a long distance to carry agricultural activities every day.

In addition to this, the villagization that resulted in the concentration of a large number of people in selected sites affected the environment by resulting in overgrazing because of the concentration of a large number of cattle in the villages and deforestation as a result of the construction activities carried in the process of villagization. According to Informants, the concentration of a large number of cattle also resulted in animal disease and resulted in the death of a large number of cattle due to overcrowded villages and it was a source of conflict among the people on the resources.⁸³

Informants remember that a large number of peasants lost a large number of cattle and left their permanent crops such as Coffee, *gešo* Peach, Hop, and their former residents that created economic hardship on the society and even affected agricultural activities in the district. The

⁸⁰Informants: Hinsarmuu, Fiqaaduu, and Galataa.

⁸¹*Ibid*.

 $^{^{82}}_{\circ}Ibid.$

⁸³Ibid.

introduction of a mixed economy by the military government in 1990 granted rights for peasants to either continue in the villages or return into their original homes and majority population of the district returned. Generally, the villagization program conducted by the military government implemented at gunpoint in the district, which opened the way for the population violence against the *Därg*.⁸⁴

3.4. Disintegration of Rural Institutions and the Downfall of the Därg

To achieve its socio-political activities, the military government introduced different social institutions at the grass-root level in the district. However, most of the rural institutions of the military government were not completely materialized their objective, since it was not organized based on the interest of the people rather it was implemented forcefully.⁸⁵

The disintegration of rural institutions that were the main agents to exploit and suppress the rural population were positively related to the profound peasant discontentagainst the government in the district. The immediate factor responsible for the disintegration of PCs, SCs, and villages in the Eebantuu district was the economic reform of March 5, 1991, by which the *Därg* had announced a mixed economy that intended to give some individual rights in the economic sector. The new economic policy had made provision for the peasants to disperse the PCs if they had preferred their cultivation on an individual scale and completely changed the centralized command economic policy that led to de- collectivization of peasant's and gave an opportunity for individual farming.⁸⁶ Informants explained that following the military government new economic declaration majority of SCs in the distrct were desentigrated, properties, and assets distributed among members of the cooperatives.⁸⁷

Another radical measure taken by the peasants were to abandon their new villages and if they need to return to their former homesteads. This process of de villagization not accomplished in the Eebantuu district, as de-collectivization was undertaken. Even though the villagization have

⁸⁴Informants: Darajjee, Lamuu, and Waaqtolee.

⁸⁵Tariku, p.86.

⁸⁶Engdawork, p.359; Tariku, p.87.

⁸⁷Informants: Goobuu, Margaa, and Gammachuu.

undertaken by force of *Därg* cadres and failed to achieve its ultimate objectives, the majority of villages in the district not completely dismantled in most PAs of the district.⁸⁸

The *Därg* government attempt to focus on the formation of an all-inclusive party in place of the former WPE and a mixed economy was replaced the socialist command economy principles.⁸⁹ By this economic policy compulsory sale of grains were abolished, private ownership of industries introduced and instead of a small cooperative, AMC was formed to buy grains from peasants. All these reforms conducted by the military governments were unable to stop opposition against the *Därg* rule.⁹⁰

Andergachew, Marcus, and G-rard pronier explained that the decline and collapse of Mengistu's regime can be explained by at least three fundamental weaknesses of the government. First, in the closing of years of the 1980s, incapable of riding over the wave of international ideological crisis brought on by the renunciation of communism by most of the socialist countries of the world. Secondly, liquidating the TPLF and EPLF, as it had managed to do with several other insurgents contain their guerrilla activities, as it managed to do in the previous years. Thirdly, the intrinsic weaknesses were its terrible record on human rights and failure of its economic policies, which conspired above all else to alienate the regime from the people, and Mengistu style of excessive autocracy which alienated him from the state and party functionaries and resulted in a politico-military crisis by the end of 1980s.⁹¹

The military achievements of EPLF, TPLF, added fuel to the increasing politico-military crisis from 1987onwards^{.92} The 1989 plotting coup d'état against Mengistu by his generals and senior officers, though it failed to succeed episode, it fastened the came into being of crisis in the state apparatus itself.⁹³ However the military government unable to recover the county from socio-political crisis and opted for the flight from the country on May 21, 1991, to Zimbabwe which opened the way for the control of Addis Ababa by liberation fighters on May 28, 1991 (*Ginbot*)

⁸⁸Informants: Galataa, Lamuu, and Amanuu.

⁸⁹ Marcus, p.205.

⁹⁰Henze, pp.316-17.

⁹¹Andargachew, pp.334-35;G-rardPronier, UnderstandingComtemporaryEthiopia:TheMonarchy, Revolution and the legacy of Meles Zenawi, (London, 2015), pp.227-230;Marcus, pp.214-216.

⁹²*Ibid*.

⁹³G-rard-Pronier, p.231; Bahru, Modern..., pp.265-266.

20, 1983, E.C) which brought the long civil war to end.⁹⁴ The TPLF-led Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) established and set up an "Interim Government of Ethiopia."⁹⁵

Informants explained that following the downfall of *därg* the people of the district have refused the order of the *Därg* cadres and local leaders.⁹⁶ Then the official's were pressured to give up their administration and the members of WPE (*partii* by local people) in the district persecuted and imprisoned for more than three months. Disorder and in the district prevailed looting and confiscations of public and private properties like school furniture, SCs materials; a huge number of files from different government offices were destroyed by fire in the town. Later on, the EPRDF forces arrived in the district and immediately restored peace and stability, and formed the committee of peace and stability (*PhAPPG PL27 hPt2 t*) in each PAs from elders and the non-WPE members.⁹⁷

⁹⁴Andargachew,p.348;Teferra,p.311:Jenny Hammond, Fire from Ashes: A Chronicle of the Revolution in Tigrai, Ethiopia,1975-1991,(Red Sea,1999),p.5;Young,p.169;bahru, Modern...,p.268.

⁹⁶Informants: Wayyessa, Fayisaa, and Galataa.

⁹⁷Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE EXPANSION OF SOCIAL SERVICES IN EEBANTUU 1974-1991

This chapter demonstrated the changes and continuity of some aspects of socio-cultural dynamism in the district following the 1974 Ethiopian social revolution like religion and religious expansion, the Marriage system, and the expansion of social services particularly during the military regime.

4.1. Religious Dynamics

Religious practices have a very important place in the living human being and one of the major valued human experiences that possess several purposes, and meanings in the history of humankind.¹ It is very important to understand religion and its practices, in one way or another, as it has the power to affect the daily life of the people. Taylor mentioned that failing to understand religion would result in failing to understand the world in which we are today. "You cannot understand the world today if you do not understand religion."² Therefore, the role of religion in Ethiopia is also the key to understand the structure of the Ethiopian society

Sources argued that until the outbreak of the 1974 revolution, the Ethiopian empire gave Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity considerable political power as a state religion. In 1974 the revolution brought to the political scene a socialist regime replacing Emperor Haile Selassie I.³ One of the immediate reforms of the revolution was the adoption of secularism, officially introducing a separation between the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and the state. In addition, relative freedom granted to other religions like Islam, Catholicism, and evangelical Christianity. Nevertheless, in practice, religion remained a strong force in the political apparatus of socialist Ethiopia.⁴ There are many religious institutions in the district.

¹ Taylor, C.M, *After God*, (USA, the University of Chicago press Ltd, 2007), p. xiii. ²*Ibid*.

³Serawit Bekele, "Religion and Politics in Ethiopia: In Making Sense of Bryan Si Turner's", *in Religion, State and Society*, Vol.46, No.1, (2018), p.30.

⁴Ibid.

4.1.1. Waaqeffannaa (Indigenous Oromo Religion)

Long before converted to Abrahamic religion (Christianity or Islam), the Oromo's people had believed in their own indigenous religion known as *Waaqeeffanna*.⁵ As Dirrib Demissie stated that, *Waaqeeffanna* is the religion of the ancient black people which is originated in the homeland of the early human race, believed ever to have lived in the horn of Africa, and the religion of the Cushitic people (the Oromo) that means it emerged before any other religions.⁶ The *Waaqeffanna* religion has believed in one Supreme Being called *Waaqa* (God of heaven and sky) which is the creator of all and the sources of every life and alpha-omega or the beginning and the end.⁷

Tesema stated that, as an indigenous Oromo religion, *Waaqeffanna* evolved from the Oromo social experience in which the society had logically convinced itself and decided to follow its creator *Waaqa* and the prime mover of all social systems in whom, there is the Supreme Good.⁸ Bartels realized that, whether they became Christians or Muslims, the Oromo remained true to their own conception of God, to their own *Waaqa*, even when they had pragmatically adopted another religion.⁹ In this religion, the *Qallus* served as the highest spiritual leader and mediator between the Oromo people and the *Waaqaa*. They were the carriers of sprit *Ayyanaa* which protect the living and nonliving creatures.

According to informants, before the conquest of the region by Täkla Häymanot of Gojjam and the subsequent introduction of Christianity religion, Eebantuu Oromo had practiced the *gadaa* and its rituals ceremonies at the place called *fooqa Dilaallo* until the end of the1870s and each

⁵Bedru Hussein, "Contextualization of the Gospel among the Oromo Tribe of the Eastern Wollega Region: the Meserete Kristos Church Experience", *Mission focus, annual review*, Vol.10, (2002), p.63.

⁶Dirrib Demissie, Oromo Wisdom in Black Civilization, (Finfinnee, Printing and Publishing S.C, 2011), p.38.

⁷Workneh Kelbessa, "Traditional Oromo Attitudes towards Environment", (Addis Ababa, OSSEREA, 2001), p.24; Bedassa Gebissa, "Oromo Indigenous Religion: *Waaqeffannaa*", in *IJRSI*, Vol. III, Issue IV, (Wollega University,2016), pp.1-3.

⁸Tesema Ta'a, "Religious Beliefs among the Oromo: *Waaqeffannaa*, Christianity and Islam in the Context of Ethnic Identity, Citizenship and Integration" *EJOSSAH*, Vol. VIII, No.1, (2012), p.92.

⁹Bartels, "Performing the Soodduu Ritual", in Journal of Oromo Studies, Vol.12, No. I&II, (2005), p.9.

Eebantuu clans had their own religious site of worship.¹⁰ But following the expansion of Orthodox Christianity the *Gadaa* system and indigenous religion in the district was declined.¹¹

Some sources explained the Orthodox Christian have not completely ceased to exist the practice of indigenous religion in the district because side-by-side the societies of district were practiced the *Waaqeffanna* rituals ceremonies.¹² But with the expansion of protestants and the *därg* policy against *Waaqeffanna* religion were undermined the Oromo people were worshipping idols, lakes, moon, hills, and/or fabricated beings, and pictured the religion as brutal and the followers as uncouth people.¹³

The Oromo indigenous religion was suppressed under successive Ethiopian regimes even though it has been a longstanding indigenous in Ethiopia that religion is a private matter.¹⁴ The religion was able to withstand and survive the challenges of heavy-handed government intervention because it was indigenous and rooted in the Oromo cultural universe. As noted above, freedom of religion is today enshrined in international and regional human rights instruments. The FDRE Constitution of 1995 explicitly acknowledges religious freedom in Ethiopia. However, *Waaqeffanna* did not enjoy constitutionally guaranteed freedoms until the government officially recognized it as a religion in September 2013.¹⁵ Even though the government gave, recognition for the religion the followers of the indigenous religion in the Eebantuu district were not had the separate burial and worship place until now.

4.1.2. Orthodox Christianity

Sources realized that Orthodox-Christianity introduced into Ethiopia in the first of the fourth century and persisted to be the state religion until the Ethiopian revolution of 1974.¹⁶ The state supported in the deepened the spiritual, cultural, social, and economic base of the religion.¹⁷ In this regard, Abbink explained, "the emperor of Ethiopia always had to be a Christian and was the

¹⁰Informants: Margaa, Galataa, and Baqqalaa.

¹¹*Ibid*.

 $^{^{12}}Ibid.$

¹³Bedassa, p.6.

¹⁴*Ibid*.

¹⁵Bedassa Gabissaa, "Freedom of *Waaqeffannaa* Religion in Ethiopia post 1991", *IJRSI*, Vol.II, Issue IX, (Wollegga University, 2015), p.1.

¹⁶Taddesse Tamirat, *Church and State in Ethiopia*,1270-1527, (Oxford University Press,1972), pp.156-158.

¹⁷*Ibid*.Dechasa Abebe, "A Socio-Economic History of North Shawa, Ethiopia (1880s-1935)", (Ph. D Dissertation, South Africa, History, 2015), p. 240.

'protector of the church, while the head of the church officiated, the crowing ceremony of the Emperor and the church was the largest land owner in the country until 1974."¹⁸

Following the Ethiopian revolution, EOC lost all their religious and political dominance due to the regime was being a socialist party and expected religion as western ideology, antidevelopment and they propagated false ideology.¹⁹ Therefore, until the demise of the military regime, the ECO have reduced to equal status with all other religious identities after the fall of the Därg in principle religious diversity has been organized EOC and others on equal footing by the constitution.

Johnny Bakke argued that the introduction and expansion of Orthodox Christianity to the Wallaggaa area have coincided with the conquest of the region by Gojjames and Shoan forces and the EOC did not seem to have any organized program of missionary outreach. However, under the assistance of the local governors, some monks and priests did their best to establish the EOC in Wallaggaa.²⁰ Gadaa Melbaa stated that while Menelik was busy invading the Oromo lands around Shoa, Täkla Häymanot of Gojjam was fighting in the West, across Abbay River for the scramble for the Oromo lands.²¹ In the 1870s, the Gojjamites crossed the Abbay River and plundered and devastated parts of Guduruu, Horro, Gindabarat, and Jimmaa Raaree.²² Dechasa Abebe argued that in the territorial expansion and conquest, Monks and priests, who facilitated the expansion and forced the Oromo to build Orthodox Churches and pay tribute in kind and cash, followed the armies.²³

In a similar way, the expansion of Orthodox Christianity to the Eebantuu district was totally linked with the conquest of the south of the Abbay river particularly the Horroo-Guduru region by Nigus Täkla Häymanot of Gojjam during the second half of the 19th century and further strengthen during the Menelik conquest to the region in the early 1880s.²⁴

¹⁸Abbink, p.115. ¹⁹*Ibid*.

²¹ Gadaa, p.53.

²⁰Johnny Bakke, Christian Ministry: Patterns and Functions within the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus. (Oslo: Solurn Forlag, 1987), p.51.

²² *Ibid*.

²³Dechasa p. 242-243.

²⁴Gemechu Kenea and Surafel Addisu, "Distraction of Abbay Choman indigenous practice due to Gojjame expansion, North East Wollega South of Abbay River, Ethiopia (1870s - 1882)", in Journal of Language and Culture, Vol. IX, No.4, (2018), p.24;Assefa ,p.121.

As informants recall that the first Orthodox Church built in Eebantuu district was the church of Hindee Saint Mary in 1886/1878 E.C by the contribution of *Fitwarary* Dallanaa Kachiir one of the local leaders of the Jomottoo clan and *Abba* Nurliñ, an Orthodox priest from Gojjam.²⁵

Figure 4.1 Hindee Saint Mary church, the first Orthodox Church in Eebantuu district.



Photo Taken by researcher, July 2020

Even though the policies of the past Ethiopian regime were positive towards the Orthodox Christianity, the constructions of churches in the district were not expanded until the second half of the 20th century.²⁶

Sources described that, there were different factors that challenged the expansion of Orthodox churches in the district. First, the priests were collecting different kinds of payments in the name of a nearby church as (*erbo*) which means one-fourth of tenants' annual produce from the land.

²⁵Informants: Margaa, Birhaanuu, Hailee, and Baqqalaa. ²⁶*Ibid*.

Second, the complexity of preaching language of the religion; the Orthodox Church has been using Ge'ez language and priest prayed in Ge'ez and taught the people in Amharic, both of which are alien to the Oromo language and the indigenous people were not priests because it was believed that they could not serve the communities unless they read, write and spoke Ge'ez. Furthermore, without the will of the people, they gave the newly born babies Christian Amharic names.²⁷ However, through the time, a large number of Eebantuu people have baptized and accepted Orthodox Christianity and each *balabats* of the Eebantuu clan built their own church in their respective areas that increased the number of Orthodox churches in the district.²⁸

SN	Name of churches	Year of establishment	<i>Qäbäle</i> s
1	Hindee Saint Mary	1886 (1878 E.C)	Hindee 01
2	Ulaa Okkotee Michael	1902 (1886 E.C)	Qelloo
3	Nafro Balégzaher	1946 (1938 E.C)	Birbirsaa
4	Dilaloo Georgis	1952 (1944 E.C)	Gatamaa waqoo
5	Qaqaroo Gabreal	1964 (1956 E.C)	Qaqaroo
6	Anuu Medenalem	1973 (1965 E.C)	Safara
7	Dongoroo Iyasus	1973 (1965 E.C)	Muxaa
8	Alitoo Mikeal	1973 (1965 E.C)	Mukaa Heexo
9	Jaggaa Georgis	1973 (1965 E.C)	Qiltuu sanyii
10	Amuumaa Abbo	1977 (1969 E.C)	Makannisa
11	Jabbikaa Abbo	1980 (1972 E.C)	Jabbikaa
12	Dhummugaa Belgzaber	1983 (1975 E.C)	Dhummugaa
13	Iluu Iyasus	1984 (1976 E.C)	Somboo
14	Boote Belegzer	1990 (1982 E.C)	Bootee
15	Wajoo Kidanmert	1990 (1982 E.C)	Wajoo
16	Ya'aa Mariam	1992 (1984 E.C)	Ya'aa
17	Gofee Gaberial	1994 (1986 E.C)	Gofee

Table 4.1: Orthodox Churches in the District

Sources: Adopted from East Wallagga Zone Orthodox Coordinate Office, Naqamtee.

 ²⁷ Fekede, p.81; Tesema, "Religious Beliefs among the Oromo...", p.104.
 ²⁸Ibid.

As informants explained that until the downfall of the military regime, the Orthodox churches in the district were expanded to many PAs of the district and the majority of the societies were followers of the religion by their interests. However, after 1991 when religious freedom was declared on the EPDRF constitution the majority populations of the district were converted to protestant Christianity which led to the decline of Orthodox Christianity in the district.²⁹

4.1.3. Islam Religion

According to Bartels, the introduction and expansion of Islam among the Oromo were through trade and the involvement of the Oromo in trade with the peoples of Harar and the Muslim Somali.³⁰ The same is true to Horro-Guduru *awrajja*, the *Jabarti*, Muslim merchants of northern Ethiopia seen to have been important agents for their expansion.³¹ After they were granted land from the Oromo chief, the Muslims brought their relative families from other areas and begun their permanent settlements in the region.³² The long-distance trade route between the North and the Gibe region, which passed through the market of the district, was the main reason for the introduction of Islamic religion to the district in peace full ways. The existence of lucrative trade items of the district was attracted the Muslim traders at the time particularly the *Jabartii* those who dominated the Horroo-Guduruu region. They brought bar salt, spices, ornaments, and clothes from north to the district and exchanged with local people.³³

Informants did not recall the exact time when the Muslim Oromo came and settled in Eebantuu but they confirmed that, they were coming from the neighboring districts of Limmuu and Giddaa and settled Eebantuu around the particular areas of Madaroo and Daakaa in present-day Qaqaroo *qäbäle*.³⁴ The old tomb that existed around their former settlement area was evidence for the Muslims before the *därg* in the district. However, the Islam religion does not last long in Eebantuu district and the large population of the district has not accepted this religion because

²⁹Informants: Maammoo, Nugusuu, and Seeqqata.

³⁰Bartels, p.14.

³¹Oljira, p.83.

³²*Ibid*, p.84.

³³*Ibid*.

³⁴Informants: Mosisaa, Getaachoo, and Hailee.

Muslim of the district concentrated on trade than constructing mosque and evangelizing the religion³⁵

During the resettlement, the Walloo Muslims have settled in Eebantuu in 1985. In the same ways, they were unable to evangelist the indigenous people of the district to accept the Islamic religion. Until recently there are no followers of the Islamic religion in Eebantuu except the civil servants and very few merchants. In the district, there is no separate burial place and mosque for Islam followers until recently. According to the National Population Census of 2007, followers of Islamic religion in the district were only 1.1%.³⁶

4.1.4. The Protestant Christianity and its persecution in Eebantuu

The expansion of Protestants to the district has connected with the arrival of Christian missionary followers (CMF) activities conducted by John and Mont Smith in 1963 in Horro-Guduru Awraiia.37 However, the attempt of those protestant missionaries not got positive acceptance among the Eastern Horroo-Guduruu peoples until they reached Giddaa Kiramuu and get positive recognition from a few people of the region to construct the CMF station in 1965.³⁸ At the time, Kiramuu being their center of CMF, and they have gradually formed branches at Xoosee/Goobu in Giddaa, Haroo, and Yaasoo in Limmu and Gofee in Eebantuu.³⁹ During the time, they gave medical services to people, and side by side, they preached the bible in Afaan Oromoo, which attracted the heart of the society to accept the religion.⁴⁰

At the end of the 1960s, Taaddasaa Nagowoo who was a teacher in the Amuruu district contributed a sacrificed mission for the expansion of protestant Christianity by preaching the gospel in the Afaan Oromoo Language in different districts including Eebantuu. As fekede explained that Taaddasa preached a gospel on a gathered community first at Dagam Selassie near to Eebantuu at specific place Caabi-Deloo, second at Daalassaa Alga'ii, third at Baarisoo, forth

³⁵ *Ibid*.

³⁶Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia office of population and housing census commission central statistical Authority: The 2007 population and Housing Census of Ethiopia Results for Oromia region..., p.39.

³⁷Dessalegn Tolera, "The Impact of Christianity on the Cultural identity of the Oromo (Horroo Guduruu)", International Journal in Management and Social Science, Vol.5. No.12, (2017), p108.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Informants: Seeqqata, Garboolee, Nugusuu, and Margaa.⁴⁰Ibid.

at Gaanji, fifth at Haaro, Kiramuu Garaachoo, and finally at Jabikaa in Eebantuu.⁴¹ Preaching in *Afaan Oromoo* was motivated the society of the district to accept the religion in mass.⁴²

Danieal Ayyanaa argued that in some areas of Wallagga, the protestants missionaries were used various methods to spread their belief, ranging from the translation of the Holy Bible into the vernacular language, providing medical facilities for the local people and establishing schools for the purpose of propagating some elements of modernization and teaching the Bible in order to attain their religious goals and side by side serving the people, they began to preach the gospel by moving from place to place in the region.⁴³

However, the provision of social services was not an instrument for the expansion of protestant missionaries in the Eebantuu district because informants did not confirm that, there were no a single social services that constructed in Eebantuu by the contribution of protestant missionaries.⁴⁴ But following the footsteps of missionaries and former native converters, like Taaddasee Nagawoo, Tafarraa Gonfaa Makuriyaa Muluugeetaa, Garboolee Hirphaa, Seeqqataa Galataa, and Tafarraa Soorii were played a missionary role in the expansion of the protestant in Eebantuu, Giddaa Kiramuu, Limmuu, and Amuruu districts even during the persecution of protestant.⁴⁵

On 21 April 1976, the *Därg* government issued a proclamation, which granted freedom of worship for all adherents of religion entitled the National Democratization of Religion Policy of Ethiopia (NDRPE).⁴⁶ Thus, a ground appeared to exist for the growth of Protestantism and teaching, preaching, training, and converting the people by moving from place to place smoothly conducted without any restriction. However, two years after the NDRPE proclamation, the *Därg* issued declaration, which ordered the foreign Protestants to leave Ethiopia because the *Därg* expected that the protestant churches were connected with non-socialist countries that oppose

p.99.

⁴¹Fekede, p.81.

 $^{^{42}}$ Ibid.

⁴³Daniel, p.122; Assefa, p.142.

⁴⁴Informants: Nugusuu, Duressaa, and Seeqqataa.

⁴⁵Tadese Nagawo, *The Amazing Gospel Journey*, (Addis Ababa, 2003), p.62.

⁴⁶Paulos Balcha, "A History of Damote Galé Wäräda, 1941-2006", (MA Thesis, AAU, History, 2016),

Marxism-Leninism.⁴⁷ As a result, they were forced to leave their camps within 24 hours which resulted in confiscated their property in different areas.⁴⁸

Informants explained that, in the Eebantuu district following the government order the followers of the new religion affected political, social and economic wises. Politically, the protestant followers were hunted down and persecuted by local agents of military government by imprisonments, forced women to stand in front of gathered people without dress, beatings in front of the meeting, forced to drink alcohols (*araqé*) which was prohibited by protestant religion.⁴⁹ As informants recall that if a *Därg* agent was able to capture the protestant followers and presented to the district administration, he/she awarded gun and get the political promotion from the government.⁵⁰ In economic wise, the properties of the protestant followers have burned, looted, and confiscated by *därg* agents during persecution.⁵¹ Preaching and following protestant religion in the district was very harsh during the military government, getting small a tract of land for planting a church, and burial places were very difficult.⁵² In addition, the protestant religion becomes individualized and the first protestant church, which constructed in 1979 was totally out of service.

Following the introduction of a mixed economy in the 1990s, the military regime decreased its political rigidity and many churches have gradually reopened.⁵³ Following the demise of Mengistu from power and the coming to power of EPRDF, Protestants gained full freedom, a large number of the district societies have become followers of protestant Christianity, and many churches like Mekane Yesus *Meseret kristos* and full gospel churches were constructed.⁵⁴ According to the CSA of 2007, the followers of the religion are fast-growing and about 80% of Eebantuu people were followers of protestant Christianity.⁵⁵ As informants recall that as the protestant followers were increased, the socio-cultural activities like marriage, dancing, and

⁴⁷Haile-Mariam Larebo, "The Orthodox Church and the State in the Ethiopian Revolution", Religion *in Communist Lands, RCL,* Vol. 14. No.2, (1988), p.397.

⁴⁸Ihid.

⁴⁹Informants: Garboolee, Olaanii ,and Waaqtolee.

⁵⁰Tadesa, p.78; Informants: Nugusuu, and Seeqataa.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³Assefa, p.142.

⁵⁴Informants: Maamoo, Nugusuu, Seeqqataa, and Raggasaa.

⁵⁵Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia office of population and housing census commission central statistical Authority: *The 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia results for Oromia region...*, p.39.

eating culture as well as the practice of *Waaqeffanna* and related rituals like *Qaalluu*, *Ayyanaa*, *Ateetee*, and *Jaariii* have declined in the district.⁵⁶

4.2. Marriage Practice

Marriage can be described as a culturally approved relationship or union between the opposite sexes, with the expectations that children will be born of the relationship.⁵⁷ The custom of marriage was different in various parts of the world and every civilization produces a marriage pattern appropriate to itself. It is a contract made in due form of law, by which a free man and a free woman reciprocally engage to live with each other during their joint lives, in the union which ought to exist between husband and wife.⁵⁸

The lawmaker of the Maccaa Oromo *Gadaa* of the sixteen century, Makkoo Bilii, has set laws regarding the socio-cultural life of the people, which includes laws of marriage practice. According to the law, "*Dhirri ga'ee haa fudhu and durbii geese heerumte ijjolle haa deessu* (lit. Young enough boys and girls should marry to give birth to a strong child)."⁵⁹ According to informants in Eebantuu district arranging marriage within the same lineage is see as the marriage between brother and sister, which is a great taboo and is called *haraamuu*, and to get strong and healthy children, they should count their ancestors until seven generations.⁶⁰

As discussed in chapter one conducting the marriage in the district was not only limited to the same clan but also different clan was not to married each other because they were conducted oath on the *gadaa* system. For instance, Iluu, Alitoo and Goobuu, Dongoroo, Billi, and Anuu, Homaa and Jaggaa, Uggaa and Amuumaa were not married each other and they were seen as the relative.⁶¹ But modern education and protestant Christianity completely changed the marriage culture of the district. However, my objective is not to discuss the marriage cultures of the district but it explains marriage dynamism in relation to the Ethiopian revolution.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Assefa, p.241.

⁵⁸*Ibid*.; Gonfa, p.42.

⁵⁹Boni, p.332.

⁶⁰Badiru, p.67; Gonfa, p.42; Badilu Assefa, "The Expansion of Protestantism and Culture change among the Sayyoo Oromo, Western Oromia", (MA Thesis, AAU, Anthropology,2014), p.98; Benti, p.16.

⁶¹Informants: Margaa, Baqqalaa, and Galataa.

Before land proclamation of 1975, the major issues, which have taken into consideration in marriage, were descent and wealth.⁶² It was conducted among the *balabats* those who have a right to get access to land a family with a better economic power. Normally there was no marriage conducted between the *balabat* with tenancy and artisans (weaver, blacksmith, and tonners) in the district during the imperial regime. Thus, behind the arrangement, the right or the potential to inherit land was a central point because the land was everything for the economic and socio-cultural life of the people.⁶³

The problem was not only economic but also social security. Tenants could change their living residence due to eviction, which implied his family would move to a new residence often far from their relatives. The dislocation of the family would obviously result in difficulty of communication between relatives in vital social events such as mourning and marriage when all relatives from near and far met. Due to this, the daughter's family was not interested to establish family relations with tenants who could move from village to village due to the fear of apparent eviction.⁶⁴ The same is true for the artisan in the pre-*Därg* period they were social and economic marginalized as a result of the land tenure police during the imperial period, which was, undermined their status.

However, the 1975 egalitarian Land reform proclamation was provided; everybody has 'equal' right to get access to farmland; without economic and socio-cultural privileges and limited the power bases of landlords.⁶⁵ The proclamation was not only open the way for access to farmland but also it opens the way for socio-cultural equality including marriage practice. Because the tenants were gets equal opportunities to farmland with the *balabt*s following the Ethiopian revolution. However, the inter-marriage between handicraft workers was still very rare in the district. This is perhaps due to the long-established tradition which tied with undermined the work of the occupational groups but with the expansion of modern education and universal religion, conducting marriage was not limited to socio-cultural issues but it does not changed to conducting marriage relation with Gumuz communities in the district.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the

⁶²Informants: Galataa, Loomee, Dammee ,and Abbabaa.

⁶³*Ibid*.

⁶⁴Mohammed Hassen, "The Evolution of Tenancy in Hararge (Ca. 1887-1975)", (Ph.D. Dissertation, AUU History, 2016), p.384; Informants: Loomee, Dammee ,and Lamuu.

⁶⁵Nagirat Gazeta, proclamation, No71, 1975.

⁶⁶Informants: Baqqalaa, Galataa, Loomee, and Dammee.

tradition of conducting marriage relation with the Gumuz communities of the district was not changed. The major types of marriages practices in the district are *Kadhimannaa* (Betrothal), *Butii (kindnapped,) Dhaala* (Levirate), *Haawwii (Based on Consent,)* and *Sabatii marii* (marriage by Elope).⁶⁷

4.4. Social Services and Infrastructural Developments (1974-1991)

4.4.1. Educational Services

Education can be conceived as a means of gaining knowledge, skills and attitudinal changes. It is an instrument used to obtain information, develop skills and awareness regarding different issues, which in turn change the attitude of people and bring about the overall improvement of the individual.⁶⁸ Besides, education is universally recognize as one of the most fundamental building blocks for human development and poverty reduction and a key to achieving growth and development.⁶⁹ Of course, modern education was a very recent phenomenon in Ethiopia. It was introduced in the country after the victory of Adwa. Especially, fortunate and self-educated groups of Ethiopian intellectuals had begun to appear in the country in the early twenties century and facilitated the establishment of Menelik II public School in 1908 in Addis Ababa.⁷⁰

The interest of the state developed towards modern education for various purposes in the field of administration and diplomacy.⁷¹ The expanding bureaucracy needed educated individuals for the services of international relations and the governments themselves needed educated persons for different jobs like clerks and accountants. Moreover, schools have established and spread by the government to mitigate problems in public services in a good manner.⁷²

For the beginning of modern education in the country, religious (church) education had played a vital role. Church education had been dominant and it delivered through the clergymen and missionaries to prepare young men for service in the church as deacons and priests, but it had

⁷¹Bahru, pp.26-27.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Mengistu, p.62.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Bahru Zewde, *The History Modern Ethiopia*..., p.108; Richard Pankhurst, "who were the young Ethiopians 'or young Abyssinians"? *An historical inquires Ethiopian e-journal for research and innovation fore site*, Vol.2, No.2, (2010), p.121.

⁷²*Ibid*, p.28.

also served as the main educational preparation for civil servants.⁷³ Church education was an exclusive system of education and means of the transformation of the tradition and culture of the people.⁷⁴ The expansions of modern schools in Ethiopia have also continued during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie. However, during the Italian occupation, the expansions of modern schools in the country interrupted for five years and those schools constructed before the colonial occupation was either closed or used for colonial military camps.⁷⁵ After liberation, the government facilitated the expansion of education even in rural areas. However, the established schools were not inclusive which gave chance for the admission of low-level social classes.⁷⁶

After the overthrow of imperial rule in 1974, the *Därg* radically changed the existing feudal socio-economic structure through a series of reforms that affected the educational development of the country. In April 1976, the *Därg* issued an educational guideline that stated, "There will be an educational program that will provide free education, step by step, to the broad masses."⁷⁷ The new education policy stressed the improvement of learning opportunities in rural areas as a means to increase economic productivity, which was limited during imperial rule.⁷⁸

As sources from Wallagga museum realized that;

ከ1966 አብዬት ፊንዳታ ወዲይ ከፍተኛ አብዮታዊ ዕዲንት ከአሳዩት ማህበራዊና ባህላዊ ተቀዋሞች ዉስጥ ትምህርት ከፍተኛዉን ቦታ ይዞ ይኔኛል። ከአብዮቱ በፍት በፍት ለመማር ዕዲል የምያንኙት የተወሰነ የንዠዉ መደብ አካሎችና የደሌበ ሀብት ያላቸዉ ነዋርዎች የህብረተሰቡ ክፍሎች ስሆኑ በአሁኑ ጊዜ ማን ትምህሪት ዕድል ለሰፍዉ ህዝብ በሰፍዉ ከመዘረጋቱም በላይ የህብረተሰቡ ዖታና ዕድሜ ልዩነት ሳይደረግ በዕኩል ደረጃ ለማንም ኢትዮጲያዊ በመሰጠት ላይ ይንኛል።⁷⁹

⁷³Meaza Bekele, "A Study of Modern Education in Ethiopia: Its Foundation, its Development, its Future with Emphasis on Primary Education", (Ph.D. Dissertation, Colombia University, 1996), pp.32-35.

⁷⁴Abenew Debalikie, "A History of the Dangur Wäräda 1905-1991", (MA Thesis AAU, History, 2016), p.93.

⁷⁵ Richard Pankhurst, "Education in Ethiopian During the Italian Fascist Occupation,(1936-41)", *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol.5, No.3, (Boston University, 1972), pp361-96.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, p.372.

⁷⁷ Rajendra Dhoj Joshi, Secondary Education in Ethiopia: Supporting Growth and Transformation (World Bank, 2013), p.24.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p.25.

⁷⁹Bä Wällagga kiflahäger yä temert ze geba ,(Naqamtee,1987), p.1.

Education is one of the most important fields of the revolutionary developments since 1974. Prior to the Ethiopian popular revolution, education was restricted to ruling and wealthy social strata. Now a day every Ethiopian child regard less of nationality, sex has equal claim on education.

Even though the *Därg* attempted to expand the provision of education to the rural areas of the country, many schools did not meet minimum standards, teachers lacked basic teaching skills, and the curriculum remained deeply politicized. Further, the system was highly centralized, with instruction delivered in English and Amharic rather than in students' mother tongues.⁸⁰

As Dessalegn Tolera explained that, one of the positive contributions of Orthodox expansion to the south of Abbay particularly in the Horroo-Guduruu region was facilitated for the expansion of church education at different local villages which gave birth to the expansion of the modern school in the region as well as gave chance for the sons of local leaders to learn how to read and write in Amharic alphabets by the priests in giving his salary as cash and kind.⁸¹ However, as informants confirmed that, neither Orthodox nor missionaries have contributed to the expansion of modern education in the Eebantuu district. But this does not overlook the contribution of a few individuals who went to attend church education further to Gojjam and other places.⁸²

In the Eebantuu district, the first modern school which gave formal education was Hindee elementary school which was constructed in 1973(1965E.C) with the financial aid of the Swedish government known as the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA).⁸³ As the school improved the provision of its service from time to time and numbers of students were increased, the societies of the district begun to understand the importance of education and supported the school by providing the labor and finances for the construction of additional classrooms in collaboration with the government.⁸⁴

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Dessalegn Tolera, "The Impact of Christianity on the Cultural Identity...," p.109.

⁸² Informants: Margaa, Abbabaa, Darajee, Olaanii, and Wayyessaa.

⁸³ Eebantu Wäräda Education Office, "Statistical Report", (Hindee, 1987).

⁸⁴Informants: Hundee, Lammii, and Taraffaa.

Figure 4.2: Hindee primary school, which constructed in 1973/1965 E.C.



Photo taken by Researcher, September 3, 2020.

It was in 1971E.C/ 1979 that Hindee elementary school was able to provide education for its students up to 8th-grade level. Beyond the shortage of teaching facilities and classrooms, the absence of secondary schools in the district was the main problem for students. Students who completed junior school have turned back to farming as a result of secondary school in the district and only self-sufficient peasants were sent their children to neighboring districts Giddaa Kiramuu, Limmuu-Galiilaa, and as far as Naqamtee town for secondary schools until the opening of Hindee secondary school in 2004.⁸⁵ This minimized the difficulty in pursuing secondary education and facilitated relatively the improvement of education in the district.

⁸⁵Eebantuu Wäräda Education Office," Statistical report", (Hindee, 2006), p.7.

	Name of									N <u>o</u> of	Location
	school			N <u>o</u> of students		N <u>o</u> of Teachers		Class	(PA)		
		Year of	Lev	М	F	Tota	М	F	Tota		
SN		establishment	el			1			1		
1	Hindee	1973/1965E.C	1-4	669	3	672	7	-	7	7	Hindee 01
2	Qeelloo	1975/1968E.C	1-3	243	43	286	4	-	4	4	Qeelloo
3	Qaqaroo	1978/1970E.C	1-3	167	34	201	3	-	3	4	Qaqaroo
4	Dongoro	1979/1971	1-2	187	23	210		-			Muxaa
	Muxaa	E.C					3		3	3	
5	Gatamaa	1982/1974		111	21	132		-	3		Gatamaa
	Beese	E.C	1-3				3			3	Beese
6	Qilxuu							-			Qiltuu
	Sanyii	1983/1975E.C	1-3	40	51	91	3		3	3	Sanyii
7	Birbirsa	1988/1980						-			Mukarbaa
	Waajjaa	E.C	1-3	99	21	246	4		4	4	

Table 4.2: Primary Schools in Eebantu district in pre-1991.

Sources: Adopted from Limmuu- Eebantuu Awrajja Education Office, Report, (Galilaa,1982 E.C).

The primary schools in the district mostly constructed during the early period of a military government; this shows that the program and policy of the military government to expand education and to reduce the illiteracy rate from the country was very high. As sources revealed that, the military government expanded primary school into the district for different factors. The increments of students from time to time were the pressing issues and the military government was eager to diffuse socialist ideology among youngster since schools where the centers were political propagandas.⁸⁶

Employments of the teachers for the district were from the center of Horro Guduru *awrajja*, Education Office and those teachers were directly sent from Shambuu to Eebantuu district and all activities regarding education were controlled and supervised by *awrajja* education Office

⁸⁶Informants: Hundee, Lammii, and Taaddasaa.

because the primary school and secondary school were responsible to *awrajja* education Office until Eebantuu district education office was established as independent in 1986 EC.⁸⁷

The most important improvement in education was made beginning from the late 1970s by the *Därg* government. During this period, the *Därg* decided that everyone should at least have basic education (*mäsärätä temehert*). In July 1979, *Mäsärätä Tembert* was started in the district. During this time, the government forced the people to learn in the schools and in the shade of trees. Students who moved to the rural areas under the *Därg*'s campaign of *edgät bähebrät* (development through cooperation) had many responsibilities. One of their responsibilities was to help the people to read and write. ⁸⁸Even though both the students and teachers of *mäsäräta temhert* have forced to learn and teach respectively, the *mäsäräta temhert* program practically changed the attitude of the people towards education. Many farmers of the district are still able to read and write due to the basic education they obtained through the program.⁸⁹

To assist the program, four different types of operational committees with integrated functions were organized both at the district and *qäbäle* status to realize the program. As informants recall that the program was coordinated by *Obbo* Geetachoo Siyyuma and *Obbo* Kabbadaa Ayyaanaa at Wallagga province and the Eebantuu district respectively.⁹⁰ These committees were Material provision and Distribution which responsible for the preparation, production, and distribution of materials to be used at the various campaign centers, Recruitment, Training and Placement which responsible for the selection and training of teachers, Propaganda and Aid coordination was responsible for the mobilization of materials and financial resources and Data collection; Supervision and Certification Committee was responsible for the appraisal of teaching effectiveness and the issuing of certificates to successful adult learners.⁹¹

To realize the program, there were three types of teachers' employment methods. Firstly, two teachers were recruited for PAs who were supervised by a coordinator assigned for three-four PAs. The second method refers to those PAs where there were no teachers sent from the

⁸⁷Eebantuu District Education Office Report, (Hindee1987. E.C) p.4.

⁸⁸*Ibid*,p.8

⁸⁹ Informants: Fayisaa, Hundee, and Moosisaa.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹ Mammo Kebeda, "Ethiopia: where and who are the world's illiterates? Education for All (EFA)", (Global Monitoring Report 2006), pp.8-12; Solomon Afework, *The Ethiopian literacy campaign: A comparative study for the period 1979-1990*, (Amsterdam, 2004), pp.81-82.

government. As elaborated above, teachers of the first method were recruited from students who have completed grade 12^{th} whereas teachers of the second technique were the students who took the national examination of grade eight, and teacher's expenses were entirely covered by the community of the PAs. The third method was recruiting teachers by the government (*yä mängist Dégoma*) by the monthly salary of 60 birrs.⁹²

In the Eebantuu district, the Literacy Campaign program was successfully undertaken for about 22nd rounds and the adult learners enrolled for *Mäsäräta Témhrét* (adult education) were placed under three categories. These were *Jämari* (Beginner), *Mätänäkarya* (strengthening), and *Déhéra-Mäsärata Témhrét* (post-beginner) or *Nebab-Bet*.⁹³

As sources revealed that the contents of adult education were similar everywhere in the country. Regardless of contextualizing the media in various languages, politics related concepts were given much room in the contents. Contents designed to introduce the economic development program of the country were also made an integral which included the establishments of PCs and SCs, and land management.

Politically, the adults were expected to learn the need to scarify one in the process of preserving the independence of one's own country. Side by side with learning contents in the organized classrooms, adult education learners were engaged in different local activities like clearing ponds, constructing local bridges, digging toilets, planting tree seedlings, constructing fences of schools and service cooperatives. At the end of the course written form of the exam was given to the trainer by their own teachers on each subject to evaluate the preferences of the students.⁹⁴

4.4.2. Health services

Before the introduction of modern medical service to the district, medicinal plants have been used as indigenous medicine to treat different human and animal diseases from time immemorial. Indigenous medicinal practices are common in Ethiopia in which many of the population in the country use plant-based indigenous medicine by indigenous knowledge as their major primary health care system. Local healers used indigenous Medicine, which produced from different

⁹²Gemechu, p.64; Informants: Margaa, Taaddasaa, and Hundee.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Gemechu, p.67: see also Appendix, XIV.

roots and leaves of local plants to deal with the health problems of the society for humans and animals.

In the Eebantuu district, the patients used indigenous medicine, which prepared by local individuals from various plants. Traditions further affirm as peoples use ginger, garlic, *Kebericho(Enchinopsmacrochaetus),Tikurasmud(NigellasativaL),Damakese(OcimumLamifoliu)*, and others as medicine. During the 1960s, the missionaries have attempted to serve the people of the district in healthy problems at the established center called Gofee. But the missionaries were not last long and the health problem of the district did not get the answer until the Ethiopian revolution.⁹⁵

Sources explained that following the Ethiopian social revolution, the military government modeled his health policies in line with socialism principle and played a great role in expanding a healthy service to create a healthy society that contributed to economic development for the country and to ensure full and meaningful life for the broad masses; all the necessary efforts will be undertaken to provide adequate health services.⁹⁶ To realize the program, the first public clinic was constructed in 1975(1967 E.C) in Hindee at the center of the district with the contribution of *Zämäčoč* in collaborated with the district community and followed by the Qeelloo clinic in 1979(1971E.C).⁹⁷

Even this clinic constructed in the center of the district and the service concentrated only around the center of the district, where very few people reside in comparison with the rural areas. In view of its inaccessibility to and unavailability of modern health services, the majority of the district communities including the Gumuz communities' were relied on indigenous medicine for the different health problems.⁹⁸ After 1991, Gatama Beese, Birbirsaa Waajjaa, and Dongoroo Muxaa primary clinics were constructed to serve their PAs and their surroundings however, until now there is no hospital in the district, and only Hindee and Qeelloo health post give service for the societies of Eebantuu. ⁹⁹

⁹⁵Informants: Lammii, Hundee, and Bojee.

⁹⁶Helmut Kloos, "Primary Health Care in Ethiopia Under Three Political Systems: Community Participation in A War-Torn Society", *In Social Science and Medical*, Vol., No,1-2, (1998), p.509.

⁹⁷Eebantu district Health Office, "Annual Report", (Hindee, 1986), p.2.

⁹⁸Informants: Lamuu, Galataa, Fiqaaduu, and Wayyessa.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*.

However, the established health posts were not enough to provide satisfactory service for the people. This was due to the scarcity of clinics compared with the number of societies and lack of materials and manpower in the clinics. The established health clinic had only one or two workers to serve thousands of the people of the district. Because of this problem the people of the district suffered in their way to get access to modern health care similarly, after the establishments of the clinic in Eebantuu, the inhabitants are move as far as Giddaa and Naqamtee hospital for better medication.¹⁰⁰

Figure: 4:3 Hindee clinic which constructed in 1979/71 E.C



Photo taken by researcher July 2020.

4.4.3. Water Supply

Access to water is one of the fundamentals of human beings to be healthy and productive. However, large numbers of the world's population challenged by a shortage of clean water supply. Especially in developing countries such as Ethiopia, the rural as well as urban populations suffer from a lack of clean drinking water.¹⁰¹ Water is an essential resource for both living animals as well as human beings to live on earth. The availability of water, in general, is necessary not only for the survival of living things but also it is potential for the development of

¹⁰⁰ Informants: Gammachuu, Hailee, and Margaa.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*.

any country. In the Eebantuu district, the source of water for home utilization in the rural and town area have mainly obtained from ponds and rivers.¹⁰²

Even though the district endowed with the natural source of Mogor, Alaltuu, Gootuu, Balimatoo, Lobicaa, and Hamaa River, clean water supply in the district during the period under study was insufficient. The people of the district did not get enough water supplies until the government built the first piped water supply for residents of Hindee town in 1998.¹⁰³

4.4.4. Transportation and Communication

It was obvious that transportation is very important for socio-economic development in both rural and urban areas. Lack of enough road networks was the main obstacle for a long period in a district. The traders from the Eebantuu had transported butter, honey, hides, and skins up to Naqamtee town on foot. The lack of transportation systems that would connect Eebantuu with the neighboring areas affected the development of the district adversely.¹⁰⁴

However, for the first time, in the 1970s *obbo* Faţana Mulaatuu, the district governor of Eebantuu connected Eebantuu with Naqamtee through Limmuu during dry weather seasons. He mobilized many thousands of people from all PAs the district and able to open the road starting from Hindee through Qilee to Dhagaa Waree (Galiilaa), Barreedduu in Limmuu by crossing the Angar River and connected Naqamtee which served throughout the 1970s.¹⁰⁵

Another road that connected the Eebantuu to Naqamtee has opened through Ayyaanaa town to Anger Gutee to Naqamtee in the 1980s. When the second road was opened, the first road through Galilaaa to Naqamtee was stopped to give service to the society because of landslides at a place called Qillee between the Eebantuu and Limmuu district, and the the first road(gravel) with 45 KM constructed as Ayyaana-Hindee-Qeelloo in 2002 which more benefited the society of the district.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰²Informants: Biraanuu, Seeqqataa, Tafarii, and Hundee. ¹⁰³*Ibid*.

¹⁰⁴Informants: Hailee, Margaa, Quuluu Qadiidaa, and Galataa.

¹⁰⁵Informants: Margaa, Baqqalaa, and Hailee.

¹⁰⁶East Wallagga districts socio-economic profile..., p.15.

The program of the military government to expand the road network in the district was more eager than the imperial regime however, the topography of the district and the big river which bordered the district was challenged the *därg* to realized his policy in the district.

Communication is the most important aspect, which played a great role in the country's political, social, and economic developments. This service consists of postal, telecommunication, and media services. Telecommunication plays a pivotal role in the exchanges of ideas and information in different social, economic, and cultural spheres. The inhabitants of the Eebantuu district remained without telecommunication service for a long period. But it was in 2005 that, the residents of Hindee town were got telephone service.¹⁰⁷ Regarding the postal service, there is an agent postal service activity in the district. Moreover, electricity is the most significant sector for the development and transformation of small and big towns. It provides input in the development of modern sectors and creates a basis for business sectors, industrial sectors, and others. In reality in the period under study, Eebantuu district did not experience full-time electric light until 2009.¹⁰⁸

In the district, the development of services sector such as hotel, restaurant and small-scale business have not expanded in the district until recently. There is no hotel and restaurants in the district during the time under study because there no interested entrepreneur who has invested on those sectors and the road facilities that connected with the neighboring districts was the most challenging one. The setup of the district political center Hindee that separated in two by landslide challenged the investors to invest their capital in to the town. Oromia credit and saving association and Commercial bank of Ethiopia and opened their branch 2011 and 2019 in Hindee town respectively but no other private bank and financial institutions.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has attempted to reconstruct "A History of Eebantuu District from 1974 to 1991." The objective of this study was to explore the social, economic, and political history of the Eebantuu district during the period under discussion by using both written and oral sources. This research expected to identify changes in this period, and explore some historical overview of the Eebantuu district before 1974.

Eebantuu Oromo is one of the descendants of Jaawwii Maccaa those who occupied the entire part of Horro-Guduruu Wallaggaa and some parts of the east Wallagga zone. The Jaawwii Oromo of the region was conducted the socio-economic and political activates until they were conquest by the Gojjame forces under Täkäle Hayämont during the 1870s and later on incorporated into the Ethiopian empire during the 1880s. The incorporation of the area led to the arrival of Gondores to the district and opened the way for the exploitation of the Eebantu Oromo under a new administrative structure until the Italian occupation of the area.

During the Italian rule (1936-1941) the Oromo people of Eebantuu welcomed the Italians because the Italians were evacuated the *naftegň gäbbar* from the district. In the post-liberation period, significant changes occurred in the administrative, sociopolitical, and economic spheres in the Eebantuu district. Administratively, Eebantuu became first as *mitikil wärädä* (sub-district) and later promoted to a district in 1968. But the new administrative structure neglected the local elite in a higher administrative position in the district because the emperor appointed his supports directly from the central government to the Eebantuu district.

Generally, the socio-economic and political reforms after the restoration had not brought considerable benefits to the people of the area until the feudal system come to end in 974 through the Ethiopian popular revolution. The study also assessed that the downfall of Emperor Haile Selassie and subsequent assumption of power by the *Därg* regime in 1974 which received by the majority people of the district with enthusiasm. The military government started by strengthens its authority and introduced different programs that were linked with economically, politically, and socially related problems at the national level in general and in Eebantuu specifically. Land reform was the main question that brought the revolution and led to the downfall of the imperial government and it has tremendous impacts on the economic, political, and social life of the

people in the district. In economic changes, *balabats* were dispossessed of their land and fled the area and poor peasants took possession of the land and got used right of the land and private ownership of land have abolished in the district. Politically, the former administrative structure was changed and the PAs were formed (one PAs on every 80 gašas) by zämäča.

The establishment of PAs was aimed to organize cooperative societies, which was defined in proclamation No.71 of 1975. While it enhanced this proclamation, the military government had hoped to resolve the increasing land shortage. Likewise, SCs and PCs were expected as a device to attain this objective. According to proclamation No. 138/78, APCs and SCs were established in Eebantuu, which did not fully manage to achieve their goals.

The villagization program was launched in 1985 at a national scale was started in the Eebantuu district on January 14, 1985. As in all over the national scale, the major aim of villagization in the district was the promotion of social services as well as increasing productivity through the introduction of modern techniques. In this regard, 34 PAs were villagized at 80 village center. Nevertheless, villagization in Eebantuu did not bring significant socio-economic developments. A resettlement program has conducted in the district to save the drought victim areas particularly the Wollo people. Based on the capacity of the district, 800 households were settled in 34 PAs of the district as conventional.

The study also examined the religious dynamics of the district. After the revolution, the EOC lost its power and equality with all religions in the country. However, the *Därg* did not stop the spread of Orthodox churches in the district. But the *därg* banned the spread of Protestants and its followers became more oppressed during *därg* than at any other regimes. The study also assessed the public and infrastructural developments in the area. The education sector relatively showed better progress after the Ethiopian revolution. But, other public services like; health, communication, transportation, and water services remained low in the district

Generally, the *Därg* programs such as land reform, basic education, and reforestation are positively remembered by the district societies. But the villagization programs, the persecution of protestant, forced recruitments of the youth for the national military services (human quota); the use of force for the application of any programs in the district was still not erased in the mind of the Eebantuu people.

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List of Informants

SN		Ag		Date of	Place of	
	Name	e	sex	Interview	Interview	Remarks
1	Abbabaa Irranaa	53	М	24/6/202	Galilaa	The former member of the national army and recall
	(Obbo)					about the selection process of youth for a militia.
2	Abdii wayyeessa	73		9/3/2020	Busa	He was a good knowledge of the socio-economic
	(Obbo)					policies of the <i>därg</i> and its challenges in the district.
3	Amanuu Dabaloo	69	М	1/3/2020	Safara	The chairman of PA and recall the challenges of
	(Obbo)					villagization.
4	Assaggaduu	67	F	29/3/2020	Lubee	She was the former executive committee of REWA
	kasahuun					of the district and recalls the contribution of women
	(Aadde)					to politics.
5	Ayyantuu Fufaa	52	F	23/5/2020	Qaqaroo	She informed the process of kadhimmana type of
	(Aadde)					marriage culture.
6	Azaalee Abdii	64	F	4/2/2020	Hindee 01	She was the former chairwomen of REWA of the
	(Aadde)					district and recalls the contribution of the Women
						association in socio-political activities of the district.
7	Вааууии	47	М	18/6/2020	Gidda	He was one of the pioneers who accepted protestants
	Goobanaa					in the District and informed about the persecution
	(Obbo)					of protestants by <i>därg</i> cadres in the district.
8	Baqqalaa	70	М	7/10/2020	Birbirsa	He narrates the genealogy of Eebantu Oromo and
	Amantee				Waajjaa	recalls the Ethiopian revolution.
	(obbo)					
9	Baqqalaa Garbaa	67	М	13/6/2019	Wajoo	He narrated about the role of <i>zämäč</i> in the district.
	(Obbo)					
10	Baqqalaa	62	М	19/7/2012	Qaqaroo	An elder in the District and provide information on
	Maraaraa					the villagazation program in the district.
	(Obbo)					
11	Bayyanaa Tarfaa	54	М	9/8/2020	Lubee	He was who recruited for the calls of motherland and
	(Amsa aleqa)					informed about the Ethio-Somalian war of 1977-78.

Assagguu (Obbo)Assagguu (Obbo)Assagguu (Obbo)district.13Bojee Cibsaa (Aadde)73F9/4/2020HindeeShe narrated about the role of därg politics and the former administrators of the District14Dajanee (Adimaasuu (obbo)43Z5/3/2020SafaraHe was a farmer and provided information about the contribution of handcraft in the District economy.15Dammee Batii (Aadde)44F5/6/2020LubeeShe informed about the Butii type of marriage practice.16Darajjee (Obbo)56M26/11/201Hindee o1He was the first batch students in Hindee primary school in 1966 E.C	12	Birhaanuu	66	Μ	7/5/2020	Hindee	He narrated about the expansion of EOC in the
13Bojee Cibsaa (Aadde)73F9/4/2020HindeeShe narrated about the role of därg politics and the former administrators of the District14Dajanee Adimaasuu (obbo)4325/3/2020SafaraHe was a farmer and provided information about the contribution of handcraft in the District economy.15Dammee Batii (Aadde)44F5/6/2020LubeeShe informed about the Butii type of marriage practice.16Darajjee (Obbo)56M26/11/201Hindee o1He was the first batch students in Hindee primary school in 1966 E.C		Assagguu					district.
(Aadde)Image: Construct of the construct14DajaneeAdimaasuu(obbo)4325/3/2020Safara15Dammee Batii(Aadde)16DarajjeeMokonnon(Obbo)16Darajjee56M26/11/201Hindee o1He was the first batch students in Hindee primary school in 1966 E.C		(Obbo)					
14Dajanee Adimaasuu (obbo)4325/3/2020SafaraHe was a farmer and provided information about the contribution of handcraft in the District economy.15Dammee Batii44F5/6/2020LubeeShe informed about the <i>Butii</i> type of marriage practice.16Darajjee56M26/11/201Hindee o1He was the first batch students in Hindee primary school in 1966 E.C16Obbo)43944F	13	Bojee Cibsaa	73	F	9/4/2020	Hindee	She narrated about the role of <i>därg</i> politics and the
Adimaasuu (obbo)4325/3/2020SafaraHe was a farmer and provided information about the contribution of handcraft in the District economy.15Dammee Batii (Aadde)44F5/6/2020LubeeShe informed about the Butii type of marriage practice.16Darajjee (Obbo)56M26/11/201Hindee o1He was the first batch students in Hindee primary school in 1966 E.C		(Aadde)					former administrators of the District
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15Dammee Batii (Aadde)44F5/6/2020LubeeShe informed about the Butii type of marriage practice.16Darajjee56M26/11/201Hindee o1He was the first batch students in Hindee primary school in 1966 E.C(Obbo)00000		Adimaasuu					He was a farmer and provided information about the
(Aadde) Image: Constraint of the second		(obbo)	43		25/3/2020	Safara	contribution of handcraft in the District economy.
16 Darajjee 56 M 26/11/201 Hindee o1 He was the first batch students in Hindee primary school in 1966 E.C (Obbo) (Obbo) 0	15	Dammee Batii	44	F	5/6/2020	Lubee	She informed about the Butii type of marriage
Mokonnon 9 school in 1966 E.C (Obbo) 9		(Aadde)					practice.
(Obbo)	16	Darajjee	56	М	26/11/201	Hindee o1	He was the first batch students in Hindee primary
		Mokonnon			9		school in 1966 E.C
		(Obbo)					
17Dhinsaa Galataa672/2/2020KoobaHe was the former chairman of Makkanisa Guyyoo	17	Dhinsaa Galataa	67		2/2/2020	Kooba	He was the former chairman of Makkanisa Guyyoo
(<i>Obbo</i>) Guddaa SCs and provided data on the challenges of SCs.		(Obbo)				Guddaa	SCs and provided data on the challenges of SCs.
18 Dhugumaa 74 M 14/10/201 Uumata He was a member of <i>Šengo</i> and narrated about the	18	Dhugumaa	74	Μ	14/10/201	Uumata	He was a member of <i>Šengo</i> and narrated about the
Hirkoo9Magarsaarole of <i>Šengo</i> in the district.		Hirkoo			9	Magarsaa	role of <i>Šengo</i> in the district.
(Obbo)		(Obbo)					
19 Fayyisaa Qannoo 72 M 1/20/2020 Hindee 01 The former <i>därg abal</i> and informed about the	19	Fayyisaa Qannoo	72	М	1/20/2020	Hindee 01	The former därg abal and informed about the
(Obbo) attempt of landlords of the district to avert the		(Obbo)					attempt of landlords of the district to avert the
revolution.							revolution.
21 Fiqaaduu Asaanaa 46 M 3/7/2019 Wajoo He was one who served in national military services	21	Fiqaaduu Asaanaa	46	М	3/7/2019	Wajoo	He was one who served in national military services
(<i>Obbo</i>) and informed the process of recruitments.		(Obbo)					and informed the process of recruitments.
22 Gaarboolee 60 M 7/6/2020 Finfinnee A pastor who served in the district and who	22	Gaarboolee	60	М	7/6/2020	Finfinnee	A pastor who served in the district and who
Hirphaa persecuted a lot by the <i>därg</i> cadres.		Hirphaa					persecuted a lot by the <i>därg</i> cadres.
(Pastor)		(Pastor)					
23Galataa Amanuu61 M $2/11/2019$ BirbirsaThe former chairman of the PAs of the Districtand	23	Galataa Amanuu	61	М	2/11/2019	Birbirsa	The former chairman of the PAs of the District and
(Obbo) Waajjaa informed that the contribution of PAs, REWA,		(Obbo)				Waajjaa	informed that the contribution of PAs, REWA,
REYA, and also recall the misery of militia in the							REYA, and also recall the misery of militia in the
district.							district.

24	Galataa kasasaa (<i>Obbo</i>) Gammachuu Dureessaa (<i>Obbo</i>)	74 51	M	7/5/2020 9/12/2019	Qeelloo 01 Makkannis a	He was the former administrator of the Eebantuu district during the transitional period and recalls the socio-political changes in the District s. He good knowledge about the role of District <i>kinet</i> band on exaggerating <i>meskerem hulet</i> .
26	Getaachoo	55	М	3/8/2020	Qaqaroo	He was the former chairman of REYA of Eebantuu
	Abbabaa					district and narrated about the contribution of REYA
	(Obbo)					in the district.
27	Goobuu Qannoo	69	М	8/4/2020	Ya'aa	He was the vice administrator of the district during
	(Obbo)					<i>därg</i> and recall about the implementations of <i>därg</i>
						reforms and program in the district
29	Hinsarmuu	73	М	5/11/2019	Makkanisa	Elder in the district and narrated about the geology
	Namarraa					of Jaawwii Maccaa Oromo of Eebantuu.
	(Obbo)					
30	Hundee Garbii	61	М	26/6/2020	Jabbikaa	He was a teacher and recalls the literacy campaign in
	(Obbo)					the district.
31	Jirraa Adimaasuu	46	М	6/3/2020	Lubee	A farmer in the district and provided information on
	(obbo)					the positive outlook of handcraft during <i>därg</i> .
32	Lamuu Qanaatee	47	М	22/5/2020	Oroocoo	He was a member of the national army and recalls
	(Mäto aleqa)					the force full military recruitments or afesa.
33	Loomee	76	F	27/7/2020	Lalisaa	She narrated about the marriage culture of Eebantuu
	Mokonnon					Oromo and how economic status was the criteria of
	(Aadde)					marriage during the imperial regime.
34	Maammoo	49	М	12/7/2020	Hindee 01	He has fresh knowledge about the expansion of
	Nugusee					protestant churches in the district.
	(Pastor)					
35	Margaa Goobanaa	66	М	24/7/2020	Limmuu	He was a member of WPE and has good knowledge
	Dureessa					about <i>därg</i> programs and policies in the district.
	(Obbo)					

36	Margaa Goobanaa	71	М	20/1/2019	Hinde 01	Abbaa Gadaa of Eebantuu and he has fresh
	kitil					knowledge about the history of the district.
	(Abbaa Gadaa)					
37	Mohammed	57	М	22/8/2020	Ayyanaa	He narrated about the expansion of Islam to
	Yasuf					Eebantuu from neighboring districts.
	(Shiek)					
38	Mosiisaa	60	М	20/7/2020	Qaqaroo	He was qäbäle chairman in the district during the
	Ayyaanaa					Därg period and narrated about the socio-economic
	(Obbo)					activities of the district.
39	Nugusuu			7/4/2020		A teacher in Birbirsa Waajjaa high school and
	Dureessaa	45	М		Makkannis	contributed a lot to the expansion of protestants in
	(Barsiisaa)				a	the district and recalls the persecution of protestants
						in the district.
40	Olaanii Saddeetaa	63	М	1/5/2020	Lubee	He was the chairman of <i>Şengo</i> in the District and
	(Obbo)					narrates about the duties and responsibility of <i>Şengo</i> .
41	Quuluu Qadiidaa	72	М	29/8/2020	Aagaa	He narrated about the role of indigenous
	(Obbo)				Guddinaa	cooperative on agricultural productivity in the
						district.
42	Taaddasaa	56	М	2/8/2020	Hindee 01	A former teacher in the district and informed about
	Burrayyu					villagization resettlement and illiteracy campaign in
	(Obbo)					the district.
44	Taayyee Iranaa	66	М	13/11/202	Birbirsa	He was the former cashier of Biribirsa Waajjaa SC
	(Obbo)			0	Waajjaa	and informed the looting of SCs after the Därg.
46	Tafarii Doree	35		4/12/2019	Qaqaroo	An expert in Eebantuu district culture and tourism
	(Obbo)					and provide data on the social history of the district
						during Därg.
47	Tammiru Malataa	64	М	24/1/2020	Annisoo	He was one who served for national military services
	(Obbo)					and recall about the selection of youth for a militia in
						the district

48	Taraaffaa	58	Μ	16/2/2020	Ya'aa	Former Chairman of Dhumugga PA and narrated
	Ayyaanaa					about the formation of PAs, SCs, and the
	(Obbo)					implementations of resettlements.
49	Waaqtoolee	69	М	12/2/2020	Qaqaroo	He was the former chairman of Guddina Qaqaroo
	Adulaa					SC and recalls the role of SC in the district.
	(Obbo)					
50				23/5/2020		
	Warquu Teessoo	58	М		Dongoro	Good knowledge about the expansion of the primary
	(Obboo)				Muxaa	schools in the district.
51	Wayyeessaa	75	М	1/2/2020	Hindee 01	Elder in the district and he narrated about the socio-
	Cibsaa					economic events of the district well.
	(Obbo)					
52	Yashii Nagash	52	F	8/7/2020	Qeelloo 01	She was good informants about the Sabat marii type
	(Aadde)					of marriage practice in the district.
53	Zalaalam Lamuu	40		5/11/2019	Naqamtee	He was fresh information about the expansion of
	(Obbo)					protestant after the <i>därg</i> .

List of Appendices

SN	Appendix	Heading	High	Remark
	No	C	2	
1	Appendix, I	-	-	About the Wallagga province <i>Awrajja</i> &Districts.
2	Appendix, II	From Abiyu Geleta	To Colonel Legesse	About the security of <i>awrajja</i>
3	Appendix, III	From Abiyu Geleta ,Wallagga provincial Gervernor, Naqamtee	To Colonel Legesse W/Mariam, Minister of Interior, Addis Ababa	About the list of anti- revolutionary individuals in the Horro-Guduru <i>Awrajja</i> .
4	Appendix IV	From, Wallagga provincial administration office, Naqamtee	To Wallagga Province Police head Office	About the anti-revolutionary individuals in prison house.
5	Appendix, V	-	-	About Hindee town socio- economy.
6	Appendix, VI	From PMAC, Addis Ababa	WallaggaProvincialAdministration	Sending one team which give awareness about the Ethiopian revolution.
7	Appendix, VII	From Wallagga provincial administration	To Emiru Ibsa, the Adiminstration of Horro- Guduru <i>Awrajja</i> , Shambuu	About informal resettlement in <i>awrajja</i> Districts.
8	Appendix VIII, A&B	From Eebantuu <i>Wărăda</i> adminstration office, Hindee	To Wallagga Provincial Administration Office	About militia.
9	Appendix, IX	From PMAC	Wallagga Province	About the returned militia from <i>Taţek</i> because of health problems.
10	Appendix, X	From Wallagga province	To Horro Guduru Awrajja	Request for additional militiamen in the place of return as a result of health problems.
11	Appendix, XI	From Wallagga province	To six <i>Awrajja</i> s of Wallagga	About protection for militia families.
12	Appendix, XII, A-C	From Limmu-Ebantu Awrajja WPE	To Limmu-Ebantu <i>Awrajja</i> Administration	About Coffee contraband.
13	Appendix, XIII	-	-	About the Villigazation program.
14	Appendix, XIV	From Dongro Muxa Primary School	To Limmu-Ebantu <i>Awrajja</i> Basic Education Committee	About exam schedule for 22^{nd} round basic education.

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Sources: Wallaggaa Museum, (Naqamtee).

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Sources: East Wallaggaa Zone Administration archives, (Naqamtee).

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Sources: East Wallaggaa Zone Administration archives, (Naqamtee).

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Sources: Limmuu Wärädä Administration Office Achieve, (Galiilaa).

Appendix: VI



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Sources: East Wallaggaa Zone Administration archives, (Naqamtee).

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Sources: Horroo Guduruu Wallaggaa Zone Administration Achieves, (Shambuu).

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Sources: East Wallaggaa Zone Administration archives, (Naqamtee).

Appendix: IX

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Sources: East Wallaggaa Zone Administration archives, (Naqamtee).

Appendix: X

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Appendix: XI

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Sources: East Wallaggaa Zone Administration Archives, (Naqamtee).

Appendix: XII,A

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ስለመ የጣጠር

ከላይ በርዕሱ ስለ ተጠ ቀሰው ጉዳይ ከወለጋ እሰ ተዳድር አኪባቢ አሥፓ ኮሚቴ በ1/4/83 በ ቁጥር 47/አመ6/02/01/01 በ ተጓፈ ልን ደብዳቤ ጋር አቢሪ ሆኖ የደረሰንንይመልከ ቱት ዘንይ ትክክል ግ ልባጡን ከዚህ ጋር ልከናል:::

ስለዚህ በተሰጠው መመሪያ መሠረት ጥብቅ ቁጥጥርና ክትትል አንጓደረግ በበኩልያ ለሚመልከተው ሁሉ አመራር አንጓሰጥ ይደረግ H ንይ እናሣስቢሰን:: h21 57 7. Mar 九十 885 5 go huj l/pat ፈናንስ 🖫 እሰተዳድርና ጠ/ጉኅ \$7hr 30.6 ₹ 02-11-09/77

Sources: Limmuu Wärädä Administration Office Achieve, (Galiilaa

Appendix: XIII, B

መራተኞች ፓርቲ የአውራጃ ኮሚቴ 19 11 82 mc 47-3/271/2/0/11 nah AND MATH NOLS AN TARE AVAT 100 ጉላ \$? የኬሲ ቁዮጥርን ስለማጠናከር ከላይ በርዕቡ ስለ ተጠ ተሰው ጉዳይ በግምቢ አውራዊ ወ ተነጀና ላሉ ምሌ በ ተባሎት ሥፍ ራ ያቸ ከ ተሳያዩ በ ታያች ማለትዎ ከሆማጅ ከአፍንጉድ ከጋምበላና ከግምቢ የቡና ከንተረባንዴስ ተች በሕገ ወጥ መንግይ የቡና ምርታቸንን በጋማ ከብት ጭነው ወደ ንረበት አገር ለማሰወልተ he to azzy nade the prest all all all boys but the prest with the J nat n11/11/82 n MC 47/106/38/02/01 +168656 :: በለዚህ መ ተሳለፍ ያቸው በእወራ 271 በልል እን ትይሆንና መረማመን እን ት ያደረጉ የበቅ ከተተልና ቁሾጥር እንዳደረግ በበኩልያ ለሚመለከታቸው ክፍሎች አመራር እንዳሰጥ ይደረግ ዘን אקחחחאז: ኢት የጵያ ትቀይም 23 + NO-6% 4-10-20 = for 1 = Jul (m) + 73m tille 7/ 2hba the Lost hour hor hour hon of in the power of the solution of the second of the s 3/12/82 75 02-11-07/77

Sources: Limmuu Wärädä Administration Office Achieve, (Galiilaa)

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በአርዕስቱ የተጠቀሰው በነጀ ፕርሶ አውራጃ ዋርያ ሚጠ በተሰው የሳማ አከባቢ ውስን በ የሳምንቱ ዓርብ ቀን በሚውል የገበያ ሥፍራ ከነጆ ፣ ፕርሶ ከመ ነሲቡና ከቡጂ አውራጃ ያቸ በግብራ ነጋዳያቸ የሚቀርበው ቡና ከመ ተከል አስተዳደር አከባቢ ከወንበራ አውራጃ ለሚመጡ ነጋዳያቸ አንድ ፈረሱሳ ቡና ከብር 80 እስከ ብር 100 በሚደርስ ዋጋ ከ የኪቲት 1982 ጀምሮ እ ንደሚሽፕና የገዙት ግለሰቦቸ በአሁያ ጭነው በማድጋዝ የዲዲሣና የአባይ ወን ዞቹ በሚገናኙበት ዲቤ በ ተባለው ሥፍራ ከከማቹ በኋሳ የአባይን ወንዙ በጀል ባ/ በቡድሩ/ ወደ ወንበራ እንደሚያሽግራና ቡናው ወንበራ ከደረሰ በኋላ ከ ሱዳን መንግሥት ለአነግ ወንበዱያቸ ራሽን በሚያመለልሱት መኪና ያቸ ተጭና እ ንደሚወሰድ የተረጋገጠ በለሆነ በአውራ ማው ክልል የሚገኘው ዲባ በተባለው አካባቢ ተገበው የሻቢ ታናም የቀዋቢ አርምጃ አንዲወሰድ ይደረግ ዘንድ እናስ

ኢት ዮጵያ ትቅደም : :

ከ-ሰ- አስተ- የደረጉ ተስማ የመለጋ አስተ-የደር አከግጊ ሸንጉ-የሥራ አስፈንሚ ከሚቴ ስታ መንበር

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Sources: Limmuu Wärädä Administration Office Achieve, (Galiilaa).

Appendix: XIII

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- ለንጠሩ ሕዝብ ኑሮ መሻሻል አስፈላጊ የሆኑ ምምራተ ልማቶችንና አንልግሎት ሰጪ ድርጅቶ ችን በየአካባቢው እንዲደራጅና ንብረተሰቡም
 እንዲጠተምባቸው ልማድረግ :
- የንጠሩ ሕዝብ አብሮ እየኖረ በኅብረት የመሥራት ባህሎን እንዲያዳብር ለማስቻልና ችግሮቹን በአካ ባቢው ለመፍታትት በራስ የመታማመን ስሜቱን ለማንልበት :
 የንጠሩ ሕዝብ ለግለክ ነ።
- 3. የገጠሩ ሕዝብ ለንታት ሕሊናው መዳበር ከሚያስ ተምሩት አካሎች ጋር ለሚኖረው ግንኙነት አመቺ ሁኔታ ለመፍጠርና በአካሪቱ ፖለቲካዊ ፡ ኢኮኖሚያዊና ማህበራዊ እንትስታሴዎች መሳተ
- 4. ለአካባቢ ሰላምና ይህንንት ፣ እንዲሁም ልግልም ሆን ለጋራ ንብረት መጠበቅ አመቺ ሁኔታ ለመፍ ጠር ፣
- 5. መሬትን በአማባቡ ከተቅም ላይ ለማዋልና የተፈ ፕሮ ሀብት ልማትንና ፕቢቃን በተሻለ መንገድ ለመምራት ፡
- 6. የግብርናን ምርታማነት ለማሳደግና የነጠሩን ኑሮ ለመለወጥ ነበራው ከማይንሳዊ አውራር በዴዎችና ከቴክኖሎጂ ውጤቶች ጋር የሚተዋወቅበትን ሁኔታ ለመፍጠር ፡
- 7. ገበራው በማል መፈጸም የማይችለሙን እንደ መን ንድና የማድብ ሥራ የመሳስሉትን የመሠረተ ልማት ሥራዎችን በ.ኃራ እንዲያከናውንና እንዳ ጠቁምባቸው ለማድረግ ፡፡
- 8. በንጠርና በከተማ መካከል ከብዝበባ ንዲየሆኑ የተስተካከለ የሽቀጥ ልመ-መ-ጥ ስርዓት የሚሰፍ በትን ሁኔታ ለማመቻቸት ፣

Sources: East Wallaggaa Zone Administration Archives, (Naqamtee).

Appendix: XIV

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Sources: Limmuu Wärädä Administration Office Achieve, (Galiilaa).

Glossary of Local Terms

<u>Afaan Oromoo</u>	English
Abbaa Bokku	Leader of Gadaa in power
Abbaa Muudaa	Spiritual head of the Muudaa
Arfaasaa	Spring
Arfee	The group of four confederacy of Maccaa Oromo.
Ayyaana	Sprit
Baddaa	High land.
Birraa	Autumn
Bona	Winter
Butii	Abduction Marriage
Caaffee	Assembly of Oromo.
Dadhaa	Butter
Daggal Saaqii	Founder of new settlement area.
Dammaa	Honey bee
Dhaalaa	Levirate Marriage
Gadaa	Indigenous Oromo ruling system
Golfaa	Typhoid
Guddifacha	Adoption from alien to Oromo
Irreessaa	Thanks giving festivals
Konya	Sub- province
Moggassa	Naming to Oromo name
Obbo	A title equivalent to Mr
Qalluu	Oromo spiritual leaders
Qoroo	A local chief
Sabbati Marii	Marriage by breaching Appointment
Sadachaa	The group of three confederacy of Maccaa Oromo

<u>Amharic</u>	English
Abiot	Revolution
Adähari	Oppressor
Aläqa	Head
Astäbäbari	Coordinator
Awräjja	An administrative unit below the level of province
Bä hébrat	In cooperation
Balabat	Land lord or local hereditary chiefs
Bälämbäras	A military title just below that of Gräzmač
Çeqa-Šum	Village head during the imperial period
Däjjäzmač	Commander of the gate, politico-military title below Räs
Gaša	Traditional unit of land in which one Gaša is equivalent to 40 hectares
Gézat	An administrative unit
Jämäri	Beginner
Keflägér	Administrative unit equivalent to province.
Mäto Alaqa	Commander of hundred
Mésläne	A sub-district governor
Nigus	king
Qäbäle	A local area with in sub-district
Täqläy Gézät	An administrative unit during the imperial period equivalent to province.
Zämačoč	Campaigners.
Zone	An administrative unit below regional state during the EPRDF.

Declaration

I, the undersigned graduate student, hereby declared that this thesis is my original work, and that all sources of the materials used for this have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Temesgen Beti Gelan

Signature_____

Date of Submission_____