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HISTORY OF GRASS – ROOTS PROBLEMS AND
OPPOSITIONS IN ADDIS ABABA 1960 – 1991

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History Of Grass – Roots Problems And Oppositions In Addis
Ababa 1960 – 1991

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Key to the Transliteration System

The seven sounds of the Amharic alphabet are represented as follows:

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

2. Palatalized sounds are represented as follows:

ቸ - š

ቸ - Ča

ኘ - nä

ጀ - J

3. Glottalized sounds are represented as follows:

ጠ - tä

ቀ - q

ጮ - Čä

Acronyms

EPDRF – Ethiopian Peoples’ Democratic Revolutionary Front

EPRP – Ethiopian Peoples’ Revolutionary Party

PMAC – Provisional Military Administrative Council

PPAC – Provisional Peoples’ Administration Council

UHDA – Urban House Dwellers Associations

Abstract

It was in December 1960, individuals like Brigadier General Mengistu Neway from Imperial Bodyguard, his brother, Germame Neway and other attempted the coup when the emperor was in the official visit. The coup failed ultimately, due to lack of organization by the leaders and secondly by lack of support from the grass – roots of the city; However, it had great sway on the politics of the country, until the overthrow of the emperor. The attempted coup initiated peoples of the country for the improvement of the country in all aspects; especially the educated elites and students, the desire of this group for the change influenced the grass – roots of the city for the need of the change in the administration. On the dawn of the revolution, all the groups including the grass – roots of the city rose against the state officials of the emperor; finally the movement for the change was seized by the men in uniform. After the military regime controlled the power of the country, the desire of the grass – roots for both the change and improvement was reduced highly. Without such strongly expressed oppositions the grass – roots of the city spent the military regime, furthermore the political consciousness of the grass – roots in the city reduced in this period highly and finally the military regime was toppled by the military groups called Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Revolutionary Front in 1991. One of the new founding of the study is about how grass – roots of the city were the second reason for the failure of the aborted coup of 1960.

Preface

The historiography of Ethiopia history is focused on the elite and neglected the grass – roots highly.

The history of Ethiopia in the second half of the twentieth century relating with my title is well – developed theme based on different scholar like Andarachew Tiruneh, Bahru Zewde, Christopher Clapham, Gebru Tareke, Harold G. Marcus, John Markakis, and others. However, the above stated authors gave their attentions to both the elites of the time and selected events of politics of the time, i.e. for the oppositions of students, peasants, and political parties. Furthermore, the authors both, gave slight attentions for the problems and oppositions of the grass – roots in Addis Ababa, and did not interpret and analyze the oppositions of the grass – roots from the stand – point of the grass – roots. As a result of the above stated reasons, I conducted the study on the problems and oppositions of the grass – roots from their standpoints.

From the being of temporary scope of the study i.e. 1960 until the end 1991, all the oral sources that I used extensively were primary sources for the events; Most of the time the informants had been participants in the events and the eyewitnesses. Furthermore, as my core idea is to interpret the oppositions from the grass – roots perspective, most of the informants that I used were the members of the grass – roots of the time in the city.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

Addis Ababa city is located in the center of the country, the exact location of the city is 9°1'48"N38°44'24"E/ 9.03000°N 38.74000°E. Before the area became the capital city for the country, the Oromo peoples lived there. The foundation of Addis Ababa as a political center of the country was related with Empress Taytu.¹ Comparing Addis Ababa, specifically the palace of Emperor Menelik II, with both the palace that Emperor Menelik II erected in other places and the palaces of medieval and early modern kings²; Both the place and the palace of Emperor Menelik II in Addis Ababa was different in its geographical settlement. The palaces of emperor Menelik II in Addis Ababa was not as militarily suitable as like his forefathers in Shewa and also that of the Gondrians.

However, here it is possible for to say that, the less concern of Emperor Menelik II in militarily suitability of the palace indicated two things, firstly the emperor has no any suspicion about military attack, or secondly he made a mistake to erect the palace there. The absence of such significant military attack until the death of the emperor marked that the emperor's less suspicion about military attack was accurate. Furthermore, the foundation of Addis Ababa's palace with less

¹ Richard Pankhurst, "Menelik and the Foundation of Addis Ababa." *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1961, p. 104; Paulos JnoJno, *Ate Menelik* ('Emperor Menelik'), Addis Ababa, 1992, p. 237; Sergew Hable-Selassie, *Atse Menelik* ('Emperor Menelik'), Munich, 1997, p. 247.

² From February 2015 until January 2017, I had visited the royal capitals and palaces of Gondrian kings in both popular city of Gonder as well as around it; Further more I had also visited several royal capitals and palaces of the both medieval and early modern Kings of Shehwa including the palaces at Ankober, Entoto, Angolala and Debre Berehan.

suitability in accordance with military advantage, witnessed the acceptance of the emperor by the royalties of the time.

After Addis Ababa became the capital city of the country, several events led the city to develop positively and inversely; Some obstacles challenged it to continue as the capital city. The shortage of firewood and water supplies were some of the prominent obstacles for the new capital city of the country after some years of its foundation.³ However, the problems were resolved by the assistances of foreigners. Alfred Ilg was behind the solution of the water supply to the city by transporting water from Entoto through canals, in other hand, other foreigners resolved the firewood problem by the importation of eucalyptus from Australia.⁴

The presences of several foreigners after the victory of Adwa and the end of the railway project in the second decade of the twentieth century⁵ were some of the first positive factor for the growth of the city. From then on, individuals whether for diplomatic mission or personal affairs contributed for the growth of the city. Furthermore, the Italian occupation from 1936 – 1941 could also mentioned as a positive factor for the infrastructural development of the city. Bridges in the rivers of the city, apartments most notably around *Mexico* and *Kazanches*, medium size shops and market places like in *Piyassa*, cinema halls like *Cinema Ampir* were some of the contributions of the Italians during the occupation period, which most of them are still exist.⁶

According to Richard Pankhurst article entitled “Menelik and the Foundation of Addis Ababa”, the population of Addis Ababa were estimated at 40,000 – 50,000 in 1902, 65,000 – 70,000 in

³ Paulos, pp. 293-294; Pankhurst, “Menelik and the Foundation” p. 110.

⁴ Gebre Selassie, *Tarik Zemna ZDagmawe Menelik ZEtiofia* (“The Chronicle of Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia”), Addis Ababa, 1967, p. 204; Sergew, pp. 355-356.

⁵ Bahru Zewde, *A Modern History of Ethiopia*, Oxford, Athens, Addis Ababa, second edition, 2005, p. 71.

⁶ Informants: Abera Kebede, Ayele Mekuria and Negusea Telelawe.

1910 and reached 100,000 in the mid of the second decade of twentieth century.⁷ In another study by J. John Palen entitled “Housing in a Developing Nation: The Case of Addis Ababa” the population of the city were estimated at 100,000 in 1930, 140,000 in 1938 and 402,000 in 1952.⁸ Moreover, the railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa, migration from countryside and the Italian rule had large impact for the growth of the population of the city.

1.1. Grass – roots, State officials and Opposition

1.1.1. Grass – roots

Grass – roots of a community were varied from country to country, one country’s grass – roots may not referred as grass – roots to other country; Furthermore, the grass – roots of a country could change from period to period due to several reasons. In the case of Addis Ababa, term “grass – roots” used for the peoples of the city who were included under the following characters partially or entirely. This group of people include unemployed persons or workers of both government and non –governmental organization with the least salary of the organizations. Their educational level was the least of the city, most of them were literates; In some cases, some of them were able to read and write. The possibility of them having their own house were rare before the coming of *Derg* to power and rented low priced house after the nationalization of extra – urban house and land. Furthermore, they did not had blood relationship with the nobility and royal family.

⁷ Pankhurst, “Menelik and the Foundation” p. 115.

⁸ J. John Palen, “Housing in a Developing Nation: The Case of Addis Ababa.” *Land Economics*, Vol. 50, No. 4, 1974, pp. 429-430.

1.1.2. Advancements of the State officials and the Grass – roots

1.1.2.1. Advancements of the State officials

The process of expanding territory and controlling power showed some progress during the reign of Emperor Tewodros II and Emperor Yohannes IV after the end of the *Zemene Mesafenet* in 1855; Furthermore, the administration powers were limited to only some group, and those groups had an absolute power in administration.⁹ However, the process of controlling more territory reached its highest stage during the reign of Emperor Menelik II by controlling the territories; Moreover, which referred to the present day of Ethiopia's territories.¹⁰ In the case of controlling political power, centralization reached its highest stage during the reign of Emperor Hale Selassie I, by being highly centralized and living the former regional lordship custom toothless.¹¹

Those ruling groups had several advantages to advance their administration and sustained their reign, while the people were without such strong scheme to advance their awareness towards administration. From those, “Solomonic Dynasty”, which gave the right only from its lineage to be higher state officials in the country, were the prominent advantage that sustained the power of the rulers.¹² Furthermore, foreign advisors had great impact on sustaining the reign of the emperors'; Emperor Yohannes IV had foreign advisor and agent like Kolbom from France.¹³ Alfred Ilg was one of the advisors for Emperor Menelik II, he was an architect, builder, plumber,

⁹ Bahru, *A History of . . .*, p. 140.

¹⁰ Sergew, p. 183.

¹¹ Bahru Zewde, “Hayla-Sellase: From Progressive to Reactionary.” *Northeast African Studies*, New Series, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1995, p. 103.

¹² E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Kebra Nagast; The Queen of Sheba and Her only Son Menyelek*, Cambridge, Ontario, 2000, pp. ii.

¹³ Mamo Wedenh, *Alula Ababa Nega*, Addis Ababa, 1987, p.125.

medical advisor, and, finally, as foreign – affairs expert.¹⁴ Inversely, the grass – roots had no counterbalance until early twentieth century.

New technologies like firearms had great impact for sustaining the reign of the emperors'. Emperor Tewodros II, commissioned Greeks to bought and smuggled muskets for him, furthermore, Plowden, on November 25, 1857 present substantial gift of arms.¹⁵ One of the largest firearm supplies came to Emperor Yohannes IV was from British, the prominent supply were after the death of Emperor Tewodros II, which includes “6 mortars, 725 muskets with bayonets, 130 rifles, 354,230 rounds of small arms ammunition, 28 barrels of gunpowder.”¹⁶

Emperor Menilik II imported most of his firearms from Italy. In a single year, 1988, total supplies from Italy were comprised 4,000 Remington rifles with 200,000 cartridges, 5,000 other rifles, and 400,000 Weterley cartridges; However, other European countries like France and Russia were also behind the importation of firearms by Emperor Menilik II.¹⁷ “Later in the year the Emperor’s cousin, *Ras* Makonnen, visited Rome and was presented on Ethiopia’s behalf with a large gift of 39,000 rifles and 28 cannon by King Umberto of Italy.”¹⁸

Inversely to the importation of modern technologies like firearms by the state officials to sustain their reign, the grass – roots did not had chance to advance their knowledge towards administration. The expansion of modern education and the interaction of the grass – roots with the rest of the

¹⁴ Harold Marcus, *The Life and Times of Menelik II; Ethiopia 1844-1913*, New Jersey, 1975, pp 59, 215; Paulos, p. 297.

¹⁵ Richard Pankhurst, “Guns in Ethiopia.” *Transition*, No. 20, 1965, pp. 27-28.

¹⁶ Pankhurst, “Guns in Ethiopia.” p. 29.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

world, which contributed for the development of the political consciousness of the grass – roots in the mid of 1970s, were in its worst level before the first quarter of twentieth century.¹⁹

1.1.2.2. Advancement of the Grass – roots

The most prominent circumstances that developed the consciousness of the grass – roots towards administration was came from the educated elites and students, after the introduction of modern education in the country.²⁰ Those groups developed the consciousness of the people towards administration by their efforts including the expansion of education, their oppositions on the highly centralized administrating system, the conditions of peasantry and others.²¹ One of the primary reason for the efforts of the elites was their ideas like “. . . the political independence that the country had achieved by a remarkable feat of arms was meaningless unless it was accompanied by the modernization of society.”²²

In addition to the efforts of the elites, the development of the interaction of the grass – roots with the rest of the world after the liberation of the country also contributed for the development of the consciousness of the grass – roots towards administration.²³ After the expansion of modern education in large scale, the high rate of interaction with the rest of the world than earlier, and the growth of the numbers of intellectuals whom were small in the first quarter of twentieth century, led the grass – roots’ of the city to politically conscious in 1970s.

¹⁹ Bahru Zewde, *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals Of The Early Twentieth Century*, Addis Ababa, Oxford, Ohio, 2002, p. 209.

²⁰ Andargachew Tiruneh, *The Ethiopian Revolution 1974-1987; A Transformation From An Aristocratic To A Totalitarian Autocracy*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 9; Legesse Lemma, “The Ethiopian Student Movement 1960 – 1974: A Challenge to the Monarchy and Imperialism in Ethiopia.” *Northeast African Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1979, pp. 33 – 34.

²¹ Bahru, *Pioneers of Change . . .*, p. 209.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Informants: Ayaya, Beyene, Sahle, and Tadewos.

1.1.3. Oppositions

Different institutions and personalities have different definitions and perspective for the term “opposition”. Cambridge Dictionary defined the term as, “oppositions is strong disarmament.” However, Oxford Dictionary in its 2017 edition defined the term, as like my perspective to the term. It define it “the act of strongly disagreeing with somebody/ something, especially with the aim of preventing something from happening.” Nevertheless, one thing made most of the perspectives similar, this is, opposition could be expressed in several ways, and it have several stages.

According to my understanding under the focus of my study area, I have divided oppositions in a given area in to two types. The first type of opposition is when group of people in a given area opposed socio – economically or politically the policies or actions of their state officials or other groups whom had strong relationship with the state officials. Housing shortages, healthcare and education facilitation problems, water and electricity supply problems, urban planning displacement and destruction of beloved cityscapes could took as some of the specific issues that derived the people to oppositions in this type of opposition.²⁴ The second type of opposition is when group of people in a given area opposed individuals or groups, which had relation with their state officials in small scale or not at all. In this type of opposition, it could be possible to mention several rivalries, from those includes the poor against rich, one ethnic group against the other, local peoples against migrants and other.²⁵ In the above typology, the doer of the opposition took the fundamental role for the division.

²⁴ Ritzer George, (eds), “Urban Movement.” *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Blackwell, 2007, p. 5115.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

In the case of the grass – roots, as like other group of people their expressions of oppositions could not blow and reached its highest stage in one moment without any underground or indirectly expressed oppositions.²⁶ Even if it has several stages, its possible to divided the stages of the expression of oppositions of the grass – roots in to two stages. The first stage of opposition of the grass – roots is characterize by several situations, like faction of the grass – roots are aware about opposition creating policies and actions of the state officials or non – state officialsal groups or individuals.²⁷ In the end of this stage, those factions of the grass – roots whom had awareness about the situations, developed the awareness of the rest of the grass – roots about the situations by using different networks. The role of networks or linkages in the grass – roots, between those whom understand the situation earlier than the rest, had great effect in determining the oppositions of the grass – roots in several ways and cleared the path for the second stage.²⁸ Furthermore, these networks had been behind in the oppositions of the grass – roots in worldwide. When we came to the situations of Ethiopia, these types of networks became more significant in the mid of 1970s, so that wide and deep analyses will make on them in Chapter Three.

The second stage of the opposition of the grass – roots are, when most of the grass – roots aware about the situation that oppressed them through several ways and expressed their oppositions directly.²⁹ Direct expressions of oppositions of the grass – roots are, when the grass – roots express their oppositions for the doers of the oppositions in the way that the doers understand the disagreement of the grass – roots visibly. This includes boycotts, distraction of the properties of

²⁶ Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movement; An Introduction*, second edition, Massachusetts, Oxford, Victoria, 2006, p. 119.

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 118.

²⁸ Porta and Diani, pp. 115-116.

²⁹ Anthony Bebbington, “Social Movements and Poverty in Developing Countries.” *United Nations Research Institution for Social Development*, 2010, p. 1.

the doers of the opposition and the like. In both stages, the expression of the oppositions of the grass – roots divided in to two according to their organizational form. When the main actors in the oppositions of the grass – roots led by all of them without any unifying personalities or groups, it referred as bottom – up opposition of the grass – roots.³⁰ Whereas when individuals or groups became the leading organs in the expression of the opposition and guidelines came from those leaders it referred as top – down opposition of the grass – roots.³¹

1.2. Characteristics the Grassroots Oppositions

One of the main characteristics of oppositions of the grass – roots is, it concentrate in highly specific issues,³² and this character make oppositions of the grass – roots unique than organizational oppositions that have highly organize leadership. The other character of the oppositions of the grass – roots, during its second stage, many of them are short live, spatially scatter, and lacking direct communication.³³ However, organizations are an important source of continuity of the opposition, not only in terms of identity, but also in terms of action.³⁴

Sociologists whom specialized in social movements like Donatella Della Porta³⁵ and Mario Diani³⁶ stated that oppositions under – organization are not suitable for the grass – roots to express their oppositions³⁷, and their major reason is “the capacity of the organization to integrate elites and ordinary citizens is low”³⁸. So that, according to the above stated idea, bottom – up oppositions

³⁰ Ritzer, p. 5115.

³¹ *Ibid.* 5115-1516.

³² *Ibid.* p. 5115.

³³ Porta and Diani, p. 137.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p.138.

³⁵ She is an Italian political scientist, who is professor of political science and political sociology at the European University Institute in Saarbrücken, Germany.

³⁶ He is Professor of Sociology at Strathclyde University in Glasgow, United Kingdom.

³⁷ Porta and Diani, p. 120.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

are the best type for the grass – roots to express their oppositions towards the doer of the opposition. Even though oppositions of the grass – roots with low organizational form do not equate with the organizational oppositions in accordance with continuity, success and other criteria, organizations often play very important role, whether positively or negatively for oppositions of the grass – roots.³⁹ Furthermore, the goals of the oppositions of the grass – roots are clear, measurable, and not complex, whether in socio – economic or political oppositions.⁴⁰

In the case of oppositions of the grass – roots in Addis Ababa, this study will focus to those who were not official and practical members of any political parties; i.e. they were not the direct activist of any professions based oppositions of the country like oppositions of Muslims, teachers, students, factory workers, taxi drivers, and other oppositions. Here it does not mean to say that members of the grass – roots did not participated in the above stated oppositions; however, it is to say, the above stated oppositions, which some of them studied by some scholars could not cover all the problems and oppositions of the grass – roots and am going to study the problems and oppositions grass – roots alone from the standpoint of the grass – roots.

For the oppositions of the grass – roots there could be generally several types of responses from the doers of the oppositions. From those, to crash the oppositions forcefully, to create an intermediate group between the grass – roots and the doers of the oppositions or leave without attention for the oppositions are the most common responses for the oppositions of the grass – roots, however giving what the grass – roots demanded could resolve the oppositions ultimately.⁴¹

³⁹ Porta and Diani, p. 137.

⁴⁰ Ritzer, p. 1516.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

So far we have tried to see how the grass – roots expressed their oppositions and the responses of the doer of the oppositions stated theoretically in the above, and now let us see some oppositions creating situation and the response of the doer of the oppositions in Ethiopia practically. The next oppositions, which we are going to see as an introduction, before 1960s in Ethiopia were not the oppositions of the grass – roots, in the strict sense of the term rather they had strong similarities with the oppositions of the grass – roots after 1960s.

1.3. Problems and Opposition in the country from Liberation to 1960

In the case of Ethiopia; From liberation of the country until 1960, there were several oppositions creating situations against both Emperor Haile Selassie's administration and other group. From those; The rivalry between patriots, which in its upper most that looked like power struggle for highest political positions but practically that had several socio – economic component and also involved the grass – roots in some extent. In addition; the Revised Constitution of 1955, took the most important oppositions creating situations. Nevertheless, here, it does not mean that there were no other oppositions creating situations in the country in general and specifically in the capital city, rather there were several socio – economic and political oppositions creating situations. However, as the period is not under the objectives of the study, it could be impossible to cover all oppositions.

I have several reasons for using these two oppositions creating situations in the country after its liberation until 1960 as background. Controlling the highest political power were one of the major opposition creating situation in the country until 1991, so the power struggle of the patriots could considered as a power struggle in small scale. The Revised Constitution of 1955 could also took as one of the major “legal” instrument that created oppositions, not only until 1960s but also until the Emperor was removed from the power. Since the objective of this study is not to investigate in

the above mentioned oppositions creating situations in the country, wide and depth study will not be conducted on them, rather in introductory outline the portions will be addressed.

1.3.1. Power Struggle After 1941; the cases of the patriots

Some scholars stated that the advent of the Fascists to power in Italy in 1922 was a great ideological boost to Italian colonial aspiration.⁴² When the Fascists came to power in Italy they changed several policies, including their colonial policy; the Walwal incident in December 5, 1934 could be taken as the first military aggression of Italians over Ethiopia after coming of Fascism in Italy.⁴³ After the battle fields in north, south and south – east the Ethiopian army, which were commanded by several personalities like Emperor Haile Selassie, *Ras* Emru Halie-Selassie, *Ras* Mulugeta Yegezu and *Ras* Kass Haile in the northern fronts and *Ras* Desta Damtew and *Dajjach* Nasibu Zamanuel in the south and southeast fronts defeated by Italian army.⁴⁴ Finally, the army of Italy, which had faced disorganized defense in the northern fronts, captured Addis Ababa in May 1936.⁴⁵

Bahru Zewde in his book entitled *A History of Modern Ethiopia . . .* put clearly in a sentence about the five years of Italian occupation “ . . . the occupation was denied the legitimacy of even colonial rule”⁴⁶ and the author put the large scale resistance in the country as the major reason for referring those five years “’occupation” than “’colonization”. During the five years of “’occupation”, most of Ethiopians from different socio – economic and political background struggled for their country’s freedom.⁴⁷ Finally, on May 5, 1941 Emperor Haile Selassie entered Addis Ababa with military assistance of Great Britain, which marked the end of Italian rule.

⁴² Bahru, *A Modern History . . .* , pp. 151, 153.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Bahru, *A Modern History . . .* , pp. 154, 157.

⁴⁵ R. J. B. Bosworth, *Mussolin*, New York, 2002, p. 309.

⁴⁶ Bahru, *A Modern History . . .* , p. 163.

⁴⁷ Alberto Sbacchi, “Haile Selassie and the Italians 1941-1943.” *African Studies Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1,

After the country was liberated in 1941, visible oppositions created among the famous personalities, which had socio – economic and political geneses. Concerning the power struggle among the patriots, exiles and *banndas*, Tilahun Berhan Selassie in his book entitled *Yhayagnw Kefel Zemn Ethiopia ('the Twentieth Century Ethiopia')* described in this way. “When the emperor returned from exile, he tried to reform the scattered state officialsal administration, on that moment, different obstacles challenged the emperor, from those, the patriots, the *bannda* and the exiles struggle were one of the major obstacles.”⁴⁸

The genesis of the opposition and power struggle after the restoration of Emperor Halie Selassie to the throne was spearheaded by the patriots who had fought in the country who claimed that the highest political power must belong to them, as they believed that they played the highest role in the liberation of the country.⁴⁹ On the other hand, those who exiled claimed that they played the highest role in liberating the country by diplomatic work, so that they stated the highest political power belonged to them.⁵⁰ The emperor was one of those who exiled patriot, this led the exile patriots to grasp the power and ended the power struggle. But here, it does not means that the patriots who had fought Italians directly in the country did not get appointment to the higher position, but it means that they did not get what they demanded immediately after the liberation of the country. Asersahegn Lema Aseged, who was among the patriots who fought Italians directly in the country, described the situation of the time as follows intelligently;

1979, p. 25; Informant: Asersahegn Lema.

⁴⁸ Tilahun Berhan Selassie, *Yhayagnw Kefel Zemn Ethiopia ('the Twentieth Century Ethiopia')*, Addis Ababa, 1996, p. 226.

⁴⁹ Informant: Asersahegn.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

ንጉሠ ነገስቱ ወደ ሀገሪቱ ከተመለሱ በኋላ ብዙ ነገሮች እንደቀደሙ ሊሆኑ አልቻሉም። የኒሻንና የመሬት ሽልማቱም ፍትሀዊ ቢመስልም ውስጡ ብዙ ችግሮች ነበሩት፤ በአገር ግዛት ሚኒስቴር በተቋቋመ ኮሚቴ ያስመሰከረ ብቻ ነበር አንድ ጋሻ መሬት የሚሸለመው፤ ግን ስንቱ አምስቱንም አመት ምንም ሳይታገል አንድ ጋሻ መሬት ተሸለመ፤ ስንቱስ አምስቱንም አመት ሚስቱን፤ ልጆቹን፤ የትውልድ ቀዬን ሳይል ታግሎ በኮሚቴው ሳይረጋገጥለት ቀርቶ ያልተሸለመው። የኒሻንንም ሽልመት ብንመለከት በፅህፈት ሚኒስቴር እና በመከላከያ ሚኒስትር በጋራ በተቋቋመው አጣሪ ኮሚቴ ነበር የሚያጣረው፤ ኮሚቴው ለንጉሠ ነገስቱ ካለስተላለፈ ምንም አይነት የኒሻን ሽልማት አይሰጥም ነበር። ግን ምን ዋጋ አላው፤ ስንቱ ባንዳ ከፍተኛ የጀግንነት ኒሻን ሲሸለም፤ ህይወቱን አሳላፎ ሰቶ የታገለው ስንቱ አርበኛ የለምንም ኒሻን ባይ እጁን ቁጭ አለ። ግን ሁሉም ህዝብ ማን ባንዳ እና ፈሪ፤ ማን ደሞ አርበኛ እና ጀግና እንደሆነ ስለሚያውቅ፤ በማንኛውም ማህበራዊ ጉዳዮች ላይ ጀግናው ታጋይ ይከበር ነበር፤ መንግስት ባያከበረውም፤ ተቀባይነታቸውም ክፍ ያለ ነበር . . .⁵¹

Things became different after the emperor baked to the country. Even if the reward of patriotic medal and land grant looks fair it had several problems. Only those whom confirmed their patriotic struggle by the committee which was formed by the Ministry of Interior would granted one *Gasha* (a form of land measurement which is equivalent to 40 hectares) land reward. However, several personalities had rewarded without any struggle during the entire five years, and several personalities whom fought for five years by leaving their wives, children and villages did not have the reward due to the absence of the approval from the committee. If we saw the medal reward; It was investigated by the investigating committee, which was formed by both Ministry of Pen and Ministry of Defense, if the committee did not conformed and transfer the patriots to the emperor there would not be any medal reward. However, several *banddas* were rewarded the highest patriotic medals, while several patriots whom scarified their lives and struggled were out of any medal rewards. Nevertheless, everyone [it looks generalization, the word ‘most of ‘ would be better] in the society know who was *bandda* and frightener and who was patriot and hero; Therefore, in every social affairs the patriots and heroes were respected, even if the state officials did not respected them, and also they had great acceptance . . .

In addition to indirect opposition, some patriots denied the reforms of Emperor Haile Selassie and opposed the emperor directly.⁵² *Dejjach* Balay Zeleke from Gojjam was one of the few patriots whom showed direct opposition to the reforms. However, in 1943 *Dejjach* Belay Zeleke, who was

⁵¹ Informant: Asersahegn; See also Appendices 1, 2.
⁵² Informant: Asersahegn.

one of the personalities who expressed their direct opposition to the emperor, was publically hanged.⁵³ The power struggle of the patriots had the characters of both direct and indirect expression of oppositions. Furthermore, the doer of the opposition, i.e. the emperor and exilic patriots responded to the oppositions by both crushing the oppositions forcefully and in most cases by leaving without solutions.

1.3.2. The Revised Constitution of 1955

The Revised Constitution of 1955 had complex characters. To some extent, not to be refer as oppressors of its own people by the international community, while the emperor was struggling for the freedom of the oppressed peoples by the colonization, he gave some human and democratic rights to the people. Inversely, it grants the emperor whatever he liked to do in the country. Combining some rights to the people and absolute rights for the emperor took time and study, and this was the major reasons for me to refer the constitution as complex. Furthermore, in the introduction part of the constitution it is stated clearly “We have prepared a Revised Constitution for Our Empire after many years of searching study and reflection; and WHEREAS, our Parliament, after due examination and deliberation has summited to Us its approval of this Revised Constitution.”

When I review the constitution in detail, the hidden objectives or agenda were, to live in peace and remove conflicts in the political elites became visible. Except chapter III, almost all the chapters and their articles were the exact indicator of the hidden objectives or agenda of the constitution. Chapter I, II, and IV had the target to remove future oppositions to the throne, to expand and legitimize the power of the emperor and to minimize the power of higher state officials officials.

⁵³ Bahru, *A Modern History*, . . . , p. 209.

Chapter Three, which had a title of “Rights and Duties of the People,” gave basic human and democratic rights for the citizen. Which had almost all the contemporary human and democratic rights for the peoples except one fundamental democratic right, i.e. the right to elect and to be elected, even this democratic right also gave to some faction of the citizens in some extent. However, here, in the chapter three of the constitution, the main question should not be the existence of the rights, rather it should be the implementations. As Bahru Zewde stated “Provisions for human rights, such as freedom of speech and of the press, were inserted largely for the sake of form. In most cases they were accompanied by such nullifying phrases as ‘in accordance with the law’ or ‘with the limit of the law.’”⁵⁴ Here what was visible was that, the implementations of the rights were sporadic.

The constitution had one character on the grass – roots, whether the grass – roots understand their oppression by the state officials or not, the constitution unable them to express their opposition, since it was “against the constitution”. Inversely, the emperor and his officials had the right to do whatever they like to do; In short, the constitution legitimized the ultimate dictatorship character of the emperor in both socio – economic and political affairs. The dictatorship character that was guarantee by the constitution became one of the major opposition creator in general in most aspects in the country and specifically in grass – roots of Addis Ababa until the emperor removed for the power.

⁵⁴ Bahru, *A Modern History . . .* , p. 206.

CHAPTER TWO

2. PROBLEMS AND OPPOSITIONS OF THE GRASS – ROOTS IN ADDIS ABABA FROM 1960 – 1973

This chapter is the first chapter of the study that contains several theses, antitheses, and syntheses on the problems and oppositions of the grass – roots in Addis Ababa from 1960 – 1973. The chapter will begin with the abortive *coup* of 1960, on which several scholars conducted study. Nevertheless, the theses of the scholars neglected the grass – roots of Addis Ababa on their discussion about the coup, as a result of this, thesis will make in the *coup* with its detail antitheses and syntheses by considering the grass – roots of Addis Ababa. Next to the abortive *coup* of 1960, political, economic, and social problems that led the grass – roots to oppositions, the expression of oppositions the grass – roots and the response of the state officials with both its geneses and process will be discuss. As some of the problems that led the grass – roots to oppositions in this period had some similarity until 1991, opposition creating situations will be discussed in detail in this chapter to remove redundancy in the next chapters.

2.1. The Abortive *Coup* of 1960 and the Grass – roots in Addis Ababa

During the abortive *coup* of 1960; both the – haves who had whether strong or slight relations with the then administration system and the grass – roots of the city were in the great dilemma.¹ As the starting idea and final goal of most coups were concerning administrating the people, the abortive *coup* of 1960 had one tactical limitation step concerning the grass – roots in the country. Those who started the *coup* had the experience about other administrating systems; furthermore, they understood the oppressions of the grass – roots by the administration systems.² According to my

¹ Informants: Asersahegn, Sahle, Solomon, and Wondimu.

² Birhanu Aseres, *Man Yenager Nber; Yetahasesu Gereger ena Mzezu* ('Who was going to Tell; The

understanding, their tactical limitation was, as they understood the situation of the country, they did not developed the perception of the grass – roots for the administrative problems of the emperor and created strong basement for the *coup*, in other terms, the *coup* planners neglected the grass – roots.

This *coup* was one of the prominent event in the modern history of the country; as a result of this several scholars studied the *coup* historically. However; most of the scholars who specialized in this area, as like the *coup* planners, neglected the grass – roots in their interpretation of the abortive *coup* of 1960; in other words, the interpretations of the scholars were in accordance with small considerations of the grass – roots of the city. Furthermore, they gave the ultimate focus for the military and political elites of the time in their theses.³ Here, I do agree with the theses of the scholars concerning the disorganization of the *coup* architects' contributed primarily for the failure of the *coup*. However, unlike the scholars, the army and the air force did not took the second share for the failure of the *coup* than the grass – roots in the city from several backgrounds including the low ranked soldiers, civil workers, and others with small political consciousness. To proof the scholars' theses, I am going to first discusses about the theses of the scholars and cross check their theses with other sources and finally put may thesis.

Now let's discuss the theses of those scholars, who neglected the grass – roots in their theses for the failure of the *coup* in detail. Bahru Zewde stated that, "A fatal mistake of the rebels was their neglect of the other units of the armed forces, particularly the army and the air force."⁴ the thesis

November Turbulence and its Consequences'), Addis Ababa, 2013, pp. 64-65, 116.

³ In the introductory portion slightly and in the main portion highly, how the scholars focused many on the military and political elites are visible. Bahru, *A Modern History . . .*, pp. 211-215; Andargachew, pp. 27-29; Harold Marcus, *A History of Ethiopia*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, Softcopy Version 1994, pp. 169 – 172.

⁴ Bahru, *A Modern History . . .*, p. 213.

of Andargachew Tiruneh were the following “. . . the loyalist generals used the other sections of the army to put the rebellion down within three days. . .”⁵. The other scholar, who did not consider the grass – roots of Addis Ababa in the interpretation of 1960 *coup* was Christopher Clapham; in his article, he stated that “the rebels had failed to neutralize [a] very important group of opponents, who were headed by an influential nobleman, *Dajazmach* Asrata Kasa, and by the Chief of Staff, Major General Mared Mangash.”⁶ The thesis of Harold Marcus, the other scholar who did not consider the grass – roots of Addis Ababa in his thesis for the failure of the coup, is the following,

First of all, for security reasons, their cabal lacked representatives from the army and key state officials ministries . . . they had no real plan beyond taking Addis Abeba and awaiting the acclamation of the people . . . during the coup's beginning on 14 December 1960, the organizers failed to arrest, among others, Gen. Merid Mengesha (1912-1966), commander of the First Division and Dej. Asrate Kasa (later ras; 1918-1974), vice president of the Senate, who quickly began organizing loyalist opposition.⁷

It is not economically useful to mention the theses of all scholars whom neglected the grass – roots of Addis Ababa during their interpretation of the 1960 coup. The core idea of the above mentioned scholars was, the highest officials of the country from both military i.e. the army, air force and from civilian like the patriarch and the other were the second reason behind the failure of the coup. When I start analyzing in detail, answering the questions like the following could led to grasp the reality whether the grass – roots or the then highest military and civilian officials were the second reason for the failure of the coup.

⁵ Andargachew, p. 27.

⁶ Christopher Clapham, “The Ethiopian Coup d’Etat of December 1960.” *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1968, p. 496.

⁷ Marcus, *A History of . . .*, p. 170.

The first question is; Were the soldiers of Imperial Bodyguard inferior in military equipment, military science knowledge, and experience than the rest of the army units to lose the confrontation with approximately 72 hours of fighting in the city? (as the military confrontation in the city with the presence of civilian could took long time to end)⁸

The answers are the following by using both sources including from the scholars whom I did not agreed on their theses for the failure of the *coup* and other sources for cross checking. Imperial Bodyguard, which was founded before the Italian occupation period, was the first military unit of the country to be organized by the emperor.⁹ Contrary to his thesis on the failure of the coup, Bahru stated the superiority of the Imperial Bodyguard in the same book as the following, “It [the Imperial Bodyguard] remained the élite force of the empire until [it] discredited in the wake of the attempted *coup* of 1960. [it]Designed to serve as a controlling agency over the other units, . . .”¹⁰ Furthermore, Bahru elaborated the experience of the Imperial Bodyguard as the following. “Yet it was the Bodyguard which supplied the men for Qagnaw troops that fought in Korea, a situation that brought the Ethiopian soldiers into close contact with their American counterparts.”¹¹ So, Bahru answered the question regarding to the experienced military unit of the country in the favor of Imperial Bodyguard.

The above stated statements of Bahru shared by Asefaw Deta who was a soldier of Imperial Bodyguard starting from 1948 and participated in the *coup* of 1960, and international peacekeeping

⁸ Informant: Wondimu.

⁹ The Graduated Union of Hale Selassie I Military Academy, *Qdamawi Hyle Selassie; Harrer Ytor Academy*, (*Hale Selassie I: Harrer Military Academy*), Addis Ababa, 2007, p. 10; Bahru, *A Modern History* . . . , p. 148; Informant: Asefaw.

¹⁰ Bahru, *A Modern History* . . . , p. 207.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 186.

in both Korea and Congo. Asefaw Deta states the situations of the *coup* in the way, which proved the superiority of Imperial Bodyguard and elaborated the statements of Bahru as the following.

ሀሙስ ረፋድ ላይ ጦር ሰራዊት አልጋ ለመገልበጥ እያሴረ ስለሆነ ለጃንሆይ ያለንን ታማኝነት ጦር ሰራዊትን ከከተማው አስወጥተን በእነሱ ቁጥጥር ስር የነበሩትን የከተማው ክፍሎች በቁጥጥራችን ስር እንደናውል ከበላይ ትእዛዝ ተሰጠን። የተሰጠንን ትእዛዝ ግቢ በር ጥበቃ ላይ የነበርነው የሁለቱም ታንክ አባላት በእጅግ ከፍተኛ ደስታ ነበር የተቀበልነው፤ ምክንያቱም ጦር ሰራዊቶች በጃንሆይ ያለንን ተቀባይነት የጠሉት ስለነበር። እኛ በሁሉም መለኪያ እንደምንበልጣቸው የታወቀ ስለሆነ እና ለጃንሆይ ያለንን ጥብቅ ታማኝነት ለማሳየት አቻ የሌለው አጋጣሚ ስለሆነ ደስታውን ወደር አሳጥቶት ነበር። ከፊታችን ያጋጠመንን እግረኛ እና ታንክኛ ሙሉ ለሙሉ እያስወገድን የመከላከያ ሚኒስትርን አካባቢ ተቆጣጠርን ነበር። ጅንበር ማዘቅዘቂያ ሲቃረብ የደረሱን ሁለት ተከታታይ መረጃዎች በምድባችን ውስጥ ያለውን ሁሉንም ነገር ቀየሩት። የመጀመሪያው መረጃ ከሰአት ቡሃላ ዝቅ ብለው ሲበሩ የነበሩት ሁለት ጀቶት ነዳጅ ማከማቻችንን በበንብ እንደመቱት ሰማን፤ በመረጃው ግራ ተጋበተን አንዳለ ፈፀሞ ያልጠበቅነው ሁለተኛው መረጃ ቡድኖችንን በተነው። ሴረኞቹ ጦር ሰራዊት ሳይሆን ከቡር ዘበኛ አንደሆነ ሰማን፡ : ቅሌታችንን ተከናንበን ቡድኖችን ተበተነ፤ የተወሰኑ የቡድኖችን አባላት ሌላ አማራጭ የለንም ብለው ያለምንም አዛዥ ለመዋጋት ሞከርዋል ነበር። ጦር ሰራዊቶች፤ በበላይ አዛዦች የተሸወድውንና በራሱ ግዜ ሽንፈቱን ያወጀውን የክቡር ዘበኛ አባልን ከየተበታተነበት እየተከተሉ መገደል ጀመር።¹²

In Thursday morning order came from the officials that the army plotted to overthrow the Emperor; Therefore we have to show our loyalty to the Emperor by removing the army from the city and control the areas that were under their control. All members of the two tanks who were keeping the gate accepted the order with pleasure, because the army hates us for being the Emperors' favorite. It is fact that we are superior in any measurements than the army and as it is the best situation to show our strong loyalty to the Emperor; the situation makes our happiness boundless. By removing infantry and tanks that faced us, we had controlled the areas around Defiance Ministry. However, during the afternoon two consecutive information changed everything in our squad. Firstly we heard that those two jets, which were flaying in low altitude in the afternoon, attacked our fuel depot by bombs; While we were confused by the first information we received unexpected information that scattered our squad. The plotters were not the army, rather we heard that it was the Imperia Bodyguard. Some members of the squad choose to continue fighting without any leader as their only choice; While, most of us scattered. Then the army started killing the scattered member of Imperia Bodyguard who were both betrayed by its own officials and declared its loss by itself.

¹² Informant; Asefaw.

The question concerning the experience and superior army units of the country were clearly answer by Bahru Zewde and eyewitness by giving superiority to the Imperial Bodyguard. As the Imperial Bodyguard were *superior* army unit of the time, how could neglecting the other *inferior* army units become the second *fatal* reason for the failure of the *coup* mainly commanded by the *superior* army? Therefore, the defeat of the *superior* army unity by other *inferior* army units had other reason than military power.

The second type of questions are the following, Could the highest loyal military and civil officials be influential in sustaining the throne for the emperor, while the grass – roots understand they were oppressed by the emperor’s administration? Why did not the highest military and civil officials who were loyal to the emperor as like 1960 *coup* blocked the activities of Non Commissioned Officers towards the emperor in 1974? When I came to the second type of questions, I am going to use the theses of the same scholars, which they made while they analyzed the 1974 situation of the country and primary sources to be more rational.

The highest military and civilian officials who were near to the throne could either positively or negatively determining the longevity of a ruler on the throne in the history of Ethiopia. *Ras Mekonen’s* and *Ras Darge’s* positive contribution for the strengthen of Emperor Menelik II’s on the throne¹³ and inversely, the role of *Ras Teferi* on *Lij Iyasu* reign,¹⁴ could be the best examples. However, through time, situations could change due to several reasons, mainly, after introduction

¹³Marcus, *The Life and Times . . .*, pp. 69, 89, 131; R.H. Kofi Darkwah, *Shewa, Menilek and the Ethiopian Empire; 1813-1889*, London, 1975, pp. 108, 186, 137, 138.

¹⁴ Emperor Haile Selassie, *Heywtina Yethiopia Ergmga* (*My Life and the Growth of Ethiopia*), Vol. I, Boaz, 1937, pp. 41-42, 141; Saheed A. Adejumobi, *The History of Ethiopia*, London, 2007, p. 51.

and expansion of education and interaction of the grass – roots with the rest of the world.¹⁵ The grass – roots understand their hidden power, i.e. their role in administration; traditional and religious ties, which hid the power of the grass – roots, were fragmented.¹⁶ The state officials grasped the power of grass – roots, during the popular movement of 1974 that the political consciousness of the grass – roots reached its’ peak. Nevertheless, during the abortive *coup* of 1960, the political consciousness of the grass – roots was at the lowest stage.¹⁷

In the same book, Andargachew Tiruneh stated that ‘’The main actors of the popular uprisings that erupted from January to June 1974, against Haile Selasies’s state officials, were the armed forces [non-commissioned officers], the teachers, the students, the trade unions and the civil servants.’’¹⁸ In the abortive *coup* of 1960, the ability of the grass – roots i.e. determining their future was with them, but as education and interaction did not develop their political consciousness,¹⁹ the state officials did what they wanted.

As I had quoted earlier Bahru made his thesis for the failure of the *coup* of 1960, as the *coup* planners did not include other highest military and civilian officials in their own favor. However, in the same book but in different subtitle, he stated the situation of the country in 1974 as the following.

The general tenor of the popular movement was one of the low rising against the high and mighty – the soldiers and junior ranks against the high officers, the poor against the rich, employee against employer and labour against management. The

¹⁵ Bahru, *Pioneers of Change . . .* , pp. 209-211.

¹⁶ Informant: Ayaya and Sahle.

¹⁷ Bahru, *Pioneers of Change . . .* , p. 211; Informant: Berekt Sebseb.

¹⁸ Andargachew, p. 37.

¹⁹ Bahru, *Pioneers of Change . . .* , p. 211; Informant: Berekt.

coercive arm of the state, which traditionally had stifled such opposition, was unable or unwilling to exercise its customary function.²⁰

Its fact that several immediate causes aggravated the 1974 popular movement, but the immediate causes were not as influential as fundamental causes of the movement, i.e. mainly the problems of the grass – roots that also existed in 1960s.²¹ Unlike the abortive *coup* of 1960 that had included the then highest officials like Brigadier General Mangestu Neway Commander of Imperial Bodyguard, and Colonel Warqenah Gabayahu Chief of Security²², the 1974 popular movement did not included the then highest officials, but in one way or another, it was successful in removing the administrating system that oppressed the mass.²³ In accordance with the above stated reasons, in the political arena the highest officials could continue their oppressing administration system towards the grass – roots as far as the people were not politically conscious as like the grass – roots of Addis Ababa in 1960s.

As I quoted the theses of Harold Marcus on the failure of the *coup* of 1960 earlier, he stated that loyal highest military and civil officials were the primary reason for the failure of the *coup* of 1960. However, in the same book, he stated the coming of non – commissioned officers to the power during the popular movement of 1974 as the following.

The politically aware junior officer corps soon understood that a paralyzed state officials presented an opportunity for fundamental change and quickly intervened, at first indirectly, and then openly. Seen as society's paladins, the men in uniform drew growing support as they purposefully destroyed the *ancien régime*.²⁴

²⁰ Bahru, *A Modern History* . . . , p. 231.

²¹ Informants: Ayele, Berekt and Mazengea Tsegaye.

²² Reidulf K. Molvaer, ‘About the Abortive Coup Attempt in Addis Abeba from 5 Tahsas to 8 Tahsas 1953 (14-17 December 1960).’ *Northeast African Studies*, New Series, Vol. 3, No. 2, p. 109.

²³ Tesfaye Resti, *Meskernet; Bebalesletanatu Anebet* (‘*Testimony; from the Officials’ Word*), Addis Ababa, 2015, pp. 1, 52; Saheed, p. 119.

²⁴ Marcus, *A History of* . . . , p. 181.

So that, in the presence of loyal highest military officials, the coming of non – commissioned officers to remove the emperor from the throne by using the popular movement²⁵ indicated the supremacy of politically developed grass – roots than highest officials. In accordance with the abortive *coup* of 1960 and the popular movement of 1974; it is possible to say that, in the presence of politically conscious grass – roots, the state officials with the system of oppressing the grass – roots will lose their power, nevertheless the loss of the power might delay or the grass – roots might not control the administration.

According to the thesis after the first question, as Imperial Bodyguard were *superior* army unit of the time. In addition, the thesis after the second types of questions, the presence of politically conscious grass – roots could be one of the major determining factor for the change or continuity of state officials; the hidden reason for the loss of Imperial Bodyguard next to its disorganization was the status quo of the grass – roots in the city during the coup. Before, during and in some extent after the *coup* of 1960, the emperor and his administrative system had great acceptance by the grass – roots of the city,²⁶ even though the acceptance was mainly from lack of political consciousness. Furthermore, after the grass – roots understood that the military confrontation was due to the Imperial Bodyguard’s movement to overthrow the emperor, some youngsters started offensive action against the residence of some officials of Imperial Bodyguard.²⁷

The above listed situations and others stated clearly that grass – roots of the city during the *coup* were not ready for the changes. Bahru Zewde in his book entitled *Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: the Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century*, clearly stated in illustrative way. The

²⁵ Keflu Tadesse, *Ya Tewlde* (*The Generation*), Vol. I, Addis Ababa, 1999, p. 225; Michael Chege,

‘The Revolution Betrayed: Ethiopia, 1974-9.’ *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 359.

²⁶ Informants: Ayele; Berekt and Mazengea.

²⁷ Informants: Ayaya; Sahle and Wondimu.

intellectuals in the early 1920s were the base for the expansion of education and modernization in the country, the early post – liberation intellectuals were active in art than social and political affairs. But, after 1965 the students contributed the highest share in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots and build the basement of the revolution.²⁸

2.2. Political Problems of the Grass – roots

Political problems are one of the major type of problems that led the grass – roots to oppositions and according to my understanding the problems could have occur due to two main reasons, these were due to the administration system of the state officials and the political culture of the community.²⁹ The main administrative problems of the state officials that led the grass – roots to oppositions are the plans or policies of state officials and the dictatorship characters of the state officials.³⁰ On the other hand, the main problems that created oppositions under the political culture of the community were, the culture of illegal way of wealth accumulation by individuals in the administration and the cultural relation between the rulers and the people.³¹ During 1960s, the problems of administrative systems and political culture, which were in worse conditions in the city, derived the grass – roots to opposition than the economic problems.³² However, in this period the grass – roots in Addis Ababa were not strong in expressing their oppositions directly, as like some factions of the soldiers and the students.³³

²⁸ Bahru, *Pioneers of Change*. . . , pp. 209-211.

²⁹ Porta and Diani, p. 36.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Henrik Leuhn, “Urban Social Movements between Protest and Participation.” Paper presented to *Research Committee 21 International Conference On ‘The Ideal City: Between myth and reality. Representations, policies, contradictions and challenges for tomorrow's urban life’*, 2015, pp. 4-5.

³¹ Henrik, pp. 4-5; Informant: Ayaya.

³² Informants: Ayaya, Sahle.

³³ Andargachew, p. 18; Bahru, *Pionners of Change*. . . , p. 211.

2.2.1. Administrative Problems

Even if the political consciousness of the grass – roots were low in the beginning of 1960s³⁴, some problems led the grass – roots to oppositions in 1960s. Administrative problems that created oppositions on the grass – roots of Addis Ababa against state officials were mainly plan, action, and services of state officials. The partial serves of service – giving and administrative government organizations, the socio – economic and political plans, and focus of the state officials and others were the core problem that led the grass – roots to oppositions.³⁵

2.2.1.1. Dictatorship State Officials

The dictatorship administration of lower officials in administrative offices, which was the result of highly centralized system, was mainly behind the problems in government administration offices that led the grass – roots to oppositions.³⁶ There were several features of the bigoted administrations of the lower officials of the city, from those the prominent were the following. As the officials in administrative positions were both loyal to the emperor and most of the time had blood relation with the nobilities and royal families, in social and economic situations that the needs of the grass – roots and the wants of the royal families became in different path, most of the time they favored the wants of the royal families.³⁷ In another terms, the administrative systems of the city were performed in accordance with high considerations for the interests of the – haves and inversely for the grass – roots.

³⁴ Bahru, *Pionners of Change. . .*, p. 211; Informant: Berekt.

³⁵ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

³⁶ Informant: Berekt.

³⁷ Informants: Ayaya, Mazengea and Sahle.

2.2.1.2. Problems in Policies and Implementations of State officials

Questions like, what were the policies, and its' implementations of the state officials? Which might create satisfaction or oppositions in the grass – roots against state officials, could led to grasp the relation between the grass – roots and state officials. Policies of the state officials showed its broad focus, its interest on the country whether to develop the lives of the grass – roots or to accumulate wealth for the ruling group through several ways.³⁸ While some policies were designed in the favor of developing the lives of the grass – roots, but there implementation were inversely; there functions were only as cover for the state officials.³⁹ Therefore, the implementations of the policies could led to the focus of the state officials than the policies.

The consumption expenditures of the state officials could determine the prioritized and the preceding implementations of the policies. Therefore, by critical review of its consumption expenditures, the exact focus of the state officials could be visible. The Central Statistics Office reported in 1966 the major consumption expenditures of the state officials in the first half of 1960s accordingly.

³⁸ Informants: Ayaya and Berekt

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Table 2.1. State officials expenditures

No	Consumption of expenditures	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
1	Central Administration	94.6 m. Birr	99.9 m. Birr	112.7 m. Birr	137.2 m. Birr	171.1 m. Birr	182.3 m. Birr
2	Education and Research	19.3 m. Birr	18.6 m. Birr	21.9 m. Birr	29.8 m. Birr	33.8 m. Birr	41.5 m. Birr
3	Health Service	9 m. Birr	9.1 m. Birr	9.8 m. Birr	20.9 m. Birr	23.6 m. Birr	24.8 m. Birr
4	Military	42.7 m. Birr	49.6 m. Birr	82.1 m. Birr	84.8 m. Birr	95.9 m. Birr	117.1 m. Birr

Source: Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1966, p. 139

According to the above report, starting from 1960 the state officials expend highly for the central administration than other expenditures, from 94.6 million Birr in 1960 it rose to 182.3 million, nearly doubled within 5 years. Furthermore, the military expenditure rose from 42.7 million in 1960 to 117.1 million in 1965 within more than 2 times doubled it. Inversely education, research and health service, which could developed the lives of the grass – roots directly than the rest of the expenditure, cover the lowest expenditures on the report. In the six years expenditures, for health service the state officials expended 97.2 million birr, which was less than the military expenditure for a year of 1964. In short. According to the above report, the state officials expenditures were concentrated on sustaining the power of the emperor than developing the living standard of the

people. The problems like this was one of the leading factors for the grass – roots to opposed the state officials.

2.2.2. Political Cultures

In this period; Emperor Halie Selassie did not create the political culture that oppressed the grass – roots, which in one way or another supported by the political system of the time as most of the administrative problems, rather its geneses came earlier than the coming of the emperor to the throne.⁴⁰ Even if those political cultures were several and diverse in their natures, corruptions; mainly petty – corruptions, “acceptance” and “superiority” of some ethnic groups and “ignorance” and “inferiority” of the other ethnic group were the main political cultures that oppressed the grass – roots in Addis Ababa.⁴¹

2.2.2.1. Corruption

In the day to day life of the Ethiopians, mainly life in the northern parts of the country, ‘እጅ መንሻ’ “petty – corruption” was common.⁴² There was one popular proverb in Amharic “ሲሸም ያልበላ፤ ሲሸር ይቆጭዋል” its conceptual meaning is “when someone did not use his/her power to grip wealth while he/she was in the power, sorrow will come after losing the power.”⁴³ In the case of Addis Ababa petty – corruption, bribery, and nepotism were the most common types of corruption that affected the grass – roots of the city.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Christopher Clapham, “Imperial Leadership in Ethiopia.” *African Affairs*, Vol. 68, No. 271, 1969, p. 110; Donald N. Levine, *Greater Ethiopia; The Evolution of A Multiethnic Society*, Chicago, 1974, pp. 171-173; E. A. Wallis, pp. ii, iii, xvi; John Markakis, “An Interpretation of Political Tradition in Ethiopia.” *Présence Africaine* No. 66, 1968, p. 79.

⁴¹ Informants: Solomon and Kebede Faso.

⁴² Informants: Asefaw, Asersahegn and Solomon.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

Inge Amudsen defined the consequence of corruption as following, “Uncontrolled and unrestricted corruption will have the general effect of undermining state institutions and political legitimacy”.⁴⁵

In the city, the corruption stretched in minor situations like nepotism to hire in the organization, bribery to register in governmental schools.⁴⁶ As these customs were deep – rooted in the city during the imperial regime, the grass – roots suffered in most of their activities. The culture of transparencies was not common in the administration system of the city, which was one of the outcome of the political culture of the period.⁴⁷

2.2.2.2. “Acceptance” against “Ignorance” and “Superiority” against “Inferiority”

During this period, due to political culture of the society, the nobilities and royal families had been accepted warmly in either social or economic interaction with the grass – roots and treated superiorly by the hosts of the events only because of their lineage.⁴⁸ Furthermore, as the result of low political consciousness of the grass – roots in the city, they accepted both political and economic analyses of the royal families.⁴⁹ However, the systems that were based on lineage provided great advantages for the nobilities and royal families, while it oppressed the grass – roots.

Inversely, due to this political culture of the community, in social or economic interaction events the hosts of the events did not treated the grass – roots as like the – haves, rather they treated them inferiorly; the same was true when both a member of the grass – roots and the – haves goes to governmental offices.⁵⁰ Furthermore, during this period, whether the grass – roots were not ready to listen or accepted the ideas of both educated elites and students or the educated elite’s and

⁴⁵ Inge Amudsen, *Political Corruption; An Introduction to the issues*, Michelsen, 1999, p. 20.

⁴⁶ Informants: Sahle and Solomon.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Informants: Asefaw, Asersahegn and Solomon.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Informant: Wondimu.

student's effort for the development of the political consciousness of the grass – roots were not produced its fruit in large scale yet, the grass – roots ignored the educated elites and students.⁵¹

In the case of the “superiority” and “inferiority” some of the state officials, mostly treated members of some Semitic language speaking ethnic groups fairly, and inversely, the other ethnic groups were treated inferiorly.⁵² Furthermore, ethnicity were not the only measurement for their “superior” or “inferior” treatment, economically power were behind their treatment.⁵³ However, unlike to the state officials, the grass – roots lived equally without any consideration of ethnicity in the city.⁵⁴

2.3. Economic Problems of the Grass – roots

Economic problems were problems that occurred due to several reasons including, the policies of the state officials, international situation, climatically change and others. As the grass – roots were not economically strong,⁵⁵ minor economic problems could led them to oppositions in the city. In this sup topic factors that showed economic problems in the city that led the grass – roots to oppositions including housing and living standards, unemployment, working conditions, cost of living deeply analyzes.

By the survey of Central Statistics Office in 1966, the population of Addis Ababa was 489,400 by consisting 251,000 men and 238,400 woman.⁵⁶ However, in the survey of the same office in 1972 the population of Addis Ababa was 912,900 by consisting 451,560 men and 450,530 woman.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

⁵² Informants: Asefaw, Asersahegn, Ayaya, Sahle and Solomon

⁵³ Individuals from non – Semitic language speakers ethnic group with high financial and political capacities were treated fairly than grass – roots from Semitic language speaking ethnic group.

⁵⁴ Informants: Asefaw, Asersahegn, Ayaya, Sahle and Solomon

⁵⁵ Informants: Ayaya and Shale

⁵⁶ Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1966, p. 24

⁵⁷ Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1972, p. 27

The above statistics indicated that within 6 years the population of the city increased nearly to hundred percent. The growth of the population of the city increased the demand of the population of the city and affected negatively activities like housing and living standards, employment and the others.

2.3.1. Housing and Living Standards

2.3.1.1. Housing

Land had great values in Ethiopians' lives; their land was everything for them, they did whatever it took to keep their land under their possession.⁵⁸ This perspective of Ethiopians was observed clearly in Addis Ababa during the imperial regime. Those few personalities, who had both financial and political power, possessed most of the land in the city; furthermore, the royal families lived in houses that had great difference with the grass – roots and spent high amount of money for the construction.⁵⁹

During this period, to sustain living in the city, the grass – roots without their own house had two choices. Their first choice were to rent house from the haves, with both relatively fair price and physiological side effects that generated due to custom of the time; their second choice was, to buy house in the edges of the city.⁶⁰ The cost for rent a house was in equivalent situation for the grass – roots, even for those daily labors whom got the least salary of the time.⁶¹ Contrary to the low cost for house rent, purchasing house for living was not easy for the grass – roots.⁶² Economic

⁵⁸James McCann, "Household Economy, Demography, and the "Push" Factor in Northern Ethiopian History, 1916-35." *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1986, pp. 370-371; Informants: Asersahegn and Negusea.

⁵⁹ Fekre – Selassie Wogderse, *Egnana Abyotu ('We and The Revolution)*, Los Angles, Addis Ababa, 2014, p. 185; Informants: Shale and Solomon; see also Appendices 3, 4, 5.

⁶⁰ Informants: Shale, Solomon and Wondimu.

⁶¹ Informants: Solomon, Teshom Worku and Wondimu.

⁶² Informants: Emawayesh Asmamaw and Shale.

weakness was one of the major problem behind the grass – roots not having their own house during this period.

In the early 1960s, the price of land in central parts of the city; in places like *Arat Kelo, Sediste Kelo, Senga Tera, Kazanches, Piyass, Merkato, Legahar, kera (old kera, located north of Sheraton Addis Hotel, which its inhabitant were displaced in the beginning 2000s and know open land)* was approximately 15 birr for 1 square mater.⁶³ Even if, 200 square meters were under the least size for one family (as the custom of the time) it costs 3000 birr, which were difficult to pay by most of the grass – roots, therefore their only choice to had their own house were to bought land in the edge of the city.⁶⁴ The main target of the edge areas of the time were places like Gofa, Lafto, Ayer Tena, kotobe and other; in these places, it was possible to got one square meter of land with 1 birr in the early 1960s, which means as the custom of the time it was possible to bought 200 square meters by 200 birr.⁶⁵ This choice also had its own problems; due to the distance of the area to the central parts of the city the accessibility of water and electricity were rare, what made the situation worth was that the accessibility of schools and hospitals for the children and woman respectively.⁶⁶ Due to these problems and others, most of the grass – roots preferred to rent houses and tolerated the oppressions of the owners.⁶⁷

2.3.1.2. Living Standards

When I came to survey some determining elements of living standard, like water and electricity supply, here again the smallness of the population of the city had great role for the fulfilment of

⁶³ Informants: Shale, Solomon and Wondimu.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Informant: Emawayesh.

⁶⁷ Informants: Shale, Solomon and Wondimu.

the supply in the 1960s.⁶⁸ However, the supplies were focused to the centers of the city that means the villages in the edges of the city were not the consumers, as a result of these the grass – roots around the edge of the city used alternative ways.⁶⁹ As most of the grass – roots were lived in the edges of the city, the focus areas of the above stated supplies had made their lives in lower standards.

2.3.2. Unemployment

Unemployment is the state of being without any work both for an educated & uneducated person, for earning one’s livelihood.⁷⁰ However, unemployment was not such big problem of the grass – roots in Addis Ababa in the early 1960’s. The main reasons behind this were, first and for the most, the population of the city were not huge, secondly as a trained person for a specific job was not common in the early 1960s, a person could occupied in diverse job in accordance with the availability of job.⁷¹

Nevertheless, the situations of high rate of job availability changed starting from the early 1970s, and it had two main reasons.⁷² The first reason was the dramatic growth of population of the city without equal growth of the economy in the early 1970s, and the second reason was the growth of the number of educated and trained manpower for a specific profession.⁷³ As result of these most of the jobs, which were performed by the grass – roots without professional education rather with

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Informant: Emawayesh.

⁶⁹ Informants: Emawayesh, Shale, Solomon and Wondimu.

⁷⁰ Thomas Kruppe, Eva Müller, Laura Wicher, Ralf A. Wilke “ On the Definition of Unemployment and its Implementation in Register Data – The Case of Germany.” *FDZ Methodenreport*, No. 3, 2007, p. 4.

⁷¹ Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Shale.

⁷² John Markakis, “The Military State and Ethiopia's Path to 'Socialism'.” *Review of African Political Economy*, No. 21, 1981, p. 10; Informants: Sahle and Wondimu.

⁷³ Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1972, p. 27; Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Shale.

informal learning and practices in the early 1960s were occupied by those educated and trained personalities in the early 1970s.⁷⁴ This solid problem led the grass – roots to opposition.

2.3.3. Working Conditions

Several factors could determine working conditions including wage, working environment, workload, balance of work and family, relationships with supervisor/ peers, opportunities of advancement, are the prominent. Working environment, in accordance with workload, relationships with supervisor or peers and opportunities of advancement were varies from one institution to another, either in governmental or non – governmental institutions. However, in 1960s, workloads were common in most of institutions for the grass – roots, as well as opportunities for advancement were rare, furthermore, the salaries of the grass – roots were not equivalent as their workload.⁷⁵ The next table from Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract* of 1966 indicated the numbers of workers in Addis Ababa under governmental institutions in 1965 and their salary in the April of the same year.

Table 2.2. Government Employed Persons and their Salaries in Addis Ababa in April 1965

No	Monthly Salary Scale per Eth. Birr	Numbers of Employers	Sum of Emolument per Eth. Birr
1	Below 25	1,395	21,550
2	25 – 50	3,925	153,275
3	51 – 75	1,704	99,033
4	76 – 100	725	60,082

⁷⁴ Informants: Shale, Solomon and Wondimu.

⁷⁵ Informants: Ayaya and Berekt.

5	101 – 150	1,553	184,067
6	151 – 200	1,301	216,995
7	201 – 250	1,083	228,330
8	251 – 300	795	209,030
9	301 – 350	625	196,175
10	351 – 400	342	123,756
11	401 – 450	276	112,505
12	451 – 500	270	127,791
13	501 – 600	767	386,715
14	601 – 700	256	162,871
15	701 – 800	185	135,212
16	801 – 900	107	88,650
17	901 – 1000	104	98,131
18	1001 – 1500	177	179,896
19	Above 1501	213	439,251
	Total	15,803	3,223,315

Source: Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1966, p. 158

According to the above report, from 15,803 governmental workers of the city 7,728 workers had a salary of below 100 Eth. Birr; for these workers, whom contributed 48% of man power for the governmental institutions, the state officials paid them 333,940, which means 10% of its monthly expenditure for salary. Inversely, in the same month, there were only 213 workers, who got above

1501 Eth. Birr individually and took only 1.4% of government workers of the city. According of the above statistical analyses, the government workers of the grass – roots had wide – ranging salary than the haves of the time, these witnessed the low working condition of the grass – roots in accordance with their salary. Furthermore, the situations were aggravated in the early 1970s, due to rise of the cost of essential items for living and no change on the salary of workers in governmental institutions.⁷⁶ This led the grass – roots to opposition.

2.3.4. Cost of Living

Cost of living is determined by the ability to purchase services and goods like, food, drink, clothing, household supplies personal care items, home rents and health cares in accordance of one’s own income.⁷⁷ As it had mention earlier, the grass – roots of the time includes individuals and theirs families with less than 100 Eth. Birr monthly income. In 1966, Central Statistics Office reported the average annual prices of food and beverage items that were basic for living.

Table 2.3. Prices of major food items in 1966

No	Items	units	Yearly Average Price in 1966 per Eth. Birr
1	Green coffee	1 kilogram	2.15
2	Barley	„	0.21
3	Teff, Black	„	0.32
4	Teff, White	„	0.42

⁷⁶ “Tglu Welune Ayestem.” (‘The Struggle Never Miss Its Target’.) *Democracia*, No. 16, December 3, 1975, p. 1.

⁷⁷ Anna-Ritta Lehtinen, Anu Raijas, Johana Varjonen, Kristiina Aalto, “What is the Cost of Living?.” *National Consumer Research Centre, Working Papers 132*, 2011, p. 5.

5	Wheat	„	0.30
6	Bananas	„	0.50
7	Garlic	„	0.51
8	Onions	„	0.37
9	Potatoes	„	0.20
10	Beef	„	0.95
11	Butter	„	3.09
12	Pepper, Black	„	5.58
13	Pepper, Red	„	1.72
14	Salt	„	0.25
15	Sugar	„	0.65
16	Poultry	One	1.53
17	Sheep	One	16.32
18	Neug Oil	1 liter	1.17

Source: Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1966, p. 193

According to the above report, the mid of 1960 was not economically difficult to sustain their life in the city for the grass – roots, even the least salaries individuals could sustained. However, in the 1972 report of Central Statistics Office (i.e. in the next table) on the yearly average price of basic food and beverage, the cost of some items showed some growth and made the life of the grass – roots in the city difficult and led them to opposition.

Table 2.4. Prices of major food items in 1972

No	Items	Units	Yearly Average Price in 1972 per Eth. Birr
1	Green coffee	1 kilogram	2.33
2	Barley	„	0.16
3	Teff, Black	„	0.27
4	Teff, White	„	0.47
5	Wheat	„	0.35
6	Bananas	„	0.50
7	Garlic	„	0.58
8	Onions	„	0.37
9	Potatoes	„	0.16
10	Beef	„	1.10
11	Butter	„	3.26
12	Pepper, Black	„	6.69
13	Pepper, Red	„	1.11
14	Salt	„	0.25
15	Sugar	„	0.75
16	Poultry	One	1.63
17	Sheep	One	15.93
18	Neug Oil	1 liter	1.24

Source: Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1972, p. 177

2.4. Social Problems of the Grass – roots

Social problems were problems that occurred in the city due to several reasons including, the culture of the societies and the administrative systems of the state officials. In this sub topic social problems in the city that led the grass – roots to oppositions including religious problems, educational problems and healthcare problems will be analyzed.

2.4.1. Religious Problems

Religious problems are problems that include unequal treatment of the religious organization itself and its adherents mainly in several circumstances. Generally, the populations of the city and specifically the grass – roots consisted of the adherents of Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Islam, Catholic, Protestants and other indigenous religions respectively in their size from top to down.⁷⁸ In the capital city, it is possible to divide the religious groups' treatment by the state officials and by perspective of the grass – roots into three. The first and the dominant was the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, with its full socio – economic advantages by the state officials and it had the largest number of followers in the city.⁷⁹ The second religious groups consisted of Catholic and Islam, which had a long history of living with the grass – roots from adherents of Ethiopian Orthodox Church in every corner of the city and also did not have direct support from the state officials especially the later.⁸⁰ The third religious groups consisted of Protestants with its several sects and small doctrinal differences,⁸¹ which had direct support from the state

⁷⁸ Informants: Asfaw, Berekt and Mazengea.

⁷⁹ Saheed, p.71; informants: Asfaw and Negusea.

⁸⁰ Informants: Berekt, Sied, Solomon and Teshom.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

officials and treated as the stranger by the grass – roots of Ethiopian Orthodox Church, Catholic, and Muslims in most parts of the city.⁸²

Not only during this period but also before this period, the holydays in the Islam religion were not considered as national holydays in the country unlike the Christianity faith, this was one of the problems of the grass – roots of the city from the adherents of Islam. Furthermore in 1960s'; Protestant church expanded in the city dramatically by the opening of new church and growth of its adherents due to several reasons. During this process; some of the church were built in the communal lands of the society, which were used to several purposes like football playing field and the like.⁸³ When the construction of some church in communal lands meets with the perspective of some members of the grass – roots whom had believed that allowing the expansion of Protestant Church is against their religion thoughts and will weaken the unity of the country, created problem in the city.⁸⁴

2.4.2. Educational Problems

The education was one of the prominent problems or opposition creator in the imperial period.⁸⁵ It is possible to divide the role of education for the oppositions of the grass – roots in the city in to two. Firstly, its role in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots. Secondly, its system that divided between to the families of the – haves and the – have – not, which became one of the basement for the popular movement of 1974.⁸⁶

⁸² Informants: Bereket, Mazengea and Solomon.

⁸³ Informants: Sahle and Bereket.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*; Informant: Wondimu.

⁸⁵ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

⁸⁶ Bahru, *A History of Modern . . .* , pp. 230-231; Informant: Sahle.

The expansion of education and its fruits, i.e. students and educated elites had great share in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots of the city.⁸⁷ The popular movement of the 1974, which were in the process during this period (i.e. in the 1960s and early 1970)⁸⁸ in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots, was one of the major role of education in the oppositions of the grass – roots of the city.

Educational systems of state officials during this period were also one of the fundamental problem that led the grass – roots to oppositions.⁸⁹ The system had favor for the children of the – haves, than the grass – roots of the city, students from schools like Lecy – Gebermdehen, Nazareth and St. Joseph, had the best quality of education in the city as they were the children of the – haves and the children of the grass – roots had relatively low quality of education.⁹⁰ This deep – rooted difference created strong disappointed in the grass – roots against both the system and the – haves.⁹¹

2.4.3. Healthcare Problems

As the grass – roots of the time were not educated well, they had faith in believing in traditional and religious treatments for their health problems than for modern healthcare.⁹² Furthermore, the peoples whom prefer modern healthcare were too few⁹³ as the institutions whom provided the service. The next table indicated some facts concerning health facilitation of the city in the mid – 1960s.

⁸⁷ Bahru, *Pioneers of Change*. . . , pp. 209-210; Legesse, p. 32.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Sahle.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Informants: Asfaw, Asersahegn and Mazengea.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

Table 2.5. Medical and Public Health Facilities and Medical Personnel in Addis Ababa in
1964/65

Health facility indicators	Amount
Hospitals	16
Beds	2,415
Clinics	45
Health Centers	0
Doctors	164
Nurses	259
Health Officers	9

Source: Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1966, pp. 198-199

According to the above report, the ratio of a doctor for the people were 1 to 2984, a nurse for people were 1 to 1889, a hospital for people were 1 to 30,587, and a clinic for people were 1 to 10,875. The above analyses of the report indicated good health facilitations in the city under the country with underdevelopment, and the smallness of the population were behind the good healthcare coverage in the city. However, in the end of 1960s and early 1970s, the above stated status of healthcare facilities in the city changed dramatically, the absence of parallel progress of healthcare facilities with the population of the city were behind the change; finally this healthcare problem led the grass – roots of the city to oppositions.

2.5. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots and Response of State officials

Fundamental political, economic, and social problems that created oppositions in the lives of the grass – roots of Addis Ababa under the stated time span had analyzed clearly in the above portions. In this portion, the processes of expressions of the grass – roots oppositions for the doer of the oppositions and the response of the state officials for the expressions will be analyze deeply, in accordance with the main political economic and social problems in the city.

During this period, the expression of opposition of the grass – roots for the problems that affected their lives had one common element, whether for political or socio – economic problems, they did not expressed their oppositions directly for the concerning body. Furthermore, their indirectly expressed of oppositions had the typology of top – down character.

2.5.1. Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Political Problems

2.5.1.1. Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Administration Problems

The problems in administration that includes the lineage system, problems of policies and implementations, and high level of dictatorship in lower administrative officials had affected the day to day life of the grass – roots in large scale.⁹⁴ However, during this period, the grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly; rather they live with the problems until the eve of the 1974 popular movement.⁹⁵ Furthermore, in a situation like the high level of dictatorship character of the lower officials, the grass – roots expressed their oppositions indirectly, like complaining for the not concerning body about the dictatorship character of the officials.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, this form of expressing their oppositions was not experienced in great scale.

⁹⁴ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; Informant: Wondimu.

⁹⁶ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

2.5.1.2. Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Political Culture

As like the administrative problems, the grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly for the political culture that oppressed their life.⁹⁷ What made the opposition of the grass – roots for the political culture deferent than the administrative problems were; for the political culture, the grass – roots did not even expressed their opposition indirectly. One of the major reason of the grass – roots to live with problems without expressing their opposition was, they accepted all the political cultures, i.e. their oppressions by the administrator, as the rights of the state officials and duties of the grass – roots.⁹⁸

2.5.1.3. Response of the State officials for the Oppositions of the Grass – roots that Originated from Political Problems

Even if both political culture and administrative problems affected the lives of the grass – roots in the city, the state officials did not took major actions to resolve the problems.⁹⁹ The major reasons behind the less concern of the state officials to resolve the problems might had two reasons. First and for most, the major problems that affected the lives of the grass – roots had the character contradiction between the needs of the grass – roots and the want of the ruling families,¹⁰⁰ due to this, solving the problems of the grass – roots will affected the benefits of the ruling families inversely. Secondly, the grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly,¹⁰¹ as the result of the above stated reasons the state officials favored their benefits and did not gave their attention to resolve the problems.

⁹⁷ Informants: Asefaw, Asersahegn, Ayaya and Sahle.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

¹⁰⁰ Informants: Asefaw, Asersahegn and Ayaya.

¹⁰¹ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

2.5.2. Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Economic Problems

2.5.2.1. Unemployment, Housing and Living standards

The grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly for problems of unemployment; however, they expressed it in indirectly in large scale.¹⁰² Individuals whom lost their job due to their replacement by the educated persons appeal the case to court, nevertheless getting back to their job were not common in most cases.¹⁰³ Furthermore, they accepted housing and living standards problems; even they did not referred it as oppressions, rather they related the situations as their personal luck.¹⁰⁴

2.5.2.2. Working Conditions, Cost of living

The grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions in working places problems until the eve of the popular movement of 1974.¹⁰⁵ However, top – down form of associations, which were not suitable for the grass – roots to expresses their oppositions,¹⁰⁶ were founded in few years before the popular movement of 1974. Workers associations were not effective in protecting all the rights of the workers, rather most of the workers associations were focused only in protecting economical rights of the workers and its state officials were indirectly controlled by the state officials.¹⁰⁷

Their expression of oppositions on the expensiveness of the cost of living was a little bit different; most of the time, they did not blamed the state officials for not controlling the market, rather they

¹⁰² *Ibid.*; Informant: Wondimu.

¹⁰³ Informant: Wondimu.

¹⁰⁴ Informants: Asefaw, Asersahegn, Ayaya and Sahle.

¹⁰⁵ Informants: Ayaya, Sahle and Wondimu.

¹⁰⁶ Ritzer, p. 5115.

¹⁰⁷ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle

took it as punishment for their sins in accordance with their personal religions.¹⁰⁸ In another term, they related it with supernatural power. However, their perspective had showed some progressed in the early 1970s, and expressed their oppositions indirectly by blaming the state officials in social ceremonies;¹⁰⁹ the educated persons and the students were behind the perspectival progress.

2.5.2.3. Response of the State officials for the Oppositions of the Grass – roots that Originated from Economic Problems

The state officials did not took strong action to resolve the economic problems that affected the grass – roots of the city.¹¹⁰ As most of the grass – roots related the growth of cost of living with supernatural power,¹¹¹ the state officials did not took fundamental measure to control the market and improved the lives of the grass – roots in the city.¹¹² Furthermore, unemployed person's search means of method to sustain their lives in the city without such strong support from the state officials and the grass – roots without their own house kept silence.¹¹³

2.5.3. Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Social Problems

2.5.3.1. Religious problems

What made the expression of oppositions of the grass – roots for religious problems unique than other social problems was, directly expressed opposition with the typology of bottom – up was occurred in some circumstances for the first time in large scale.¹¹⁴ The expression oppositions of the grass – roots who were not the adherent Protestants, against the Protestants church had several ways and the typology of bottom – up expression of oppositions. One of the major way of

¹⁰⁸ Informants: Asfaw, Asersahegn, Emawayesh and Negusea.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

¹¹¹ Informants: Asfaw, Asersahegn, Emawayesh and Negusea.

¹¹² Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Informants: Solomon and Teshom.

expressing opposition was by distracting the properties of the church of the Protestants; the children and youngsters who were not the adherent Protestants, from the grass – roots were behind these directly expressed oppositions.¹¹⁵

On the other hand, the grass – roots from Islam did not expressed their oppositions to the state officials directly, however, the concerning body from the institution with the oppositions type of top – down struggled peacefully for the recognition of their religion by the state officials.¹¹⁶

2.5.3.2. Education and Healthcare

Unlike the previously discussed expression of oppositions of the grass – roots, the grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly for education and healthcare problems.¹¹⁷ For the education system problems that favored the children of the – haves and neglected equal share of education in the city, the grass – roots preferred to live with the problems than expressing their oppositions, however, in some extent, indirectly the grass – roots expressed they opposition in the form of complaining.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, for the healthcare problems, beside its low status, the grass – roots did not expressed their opposition whether directly or indirectly in such large scale.¹¹⁹

2.5.3.3. Response of the State officials for the Oppositions of the Grass – roots that Originated from Social Problems

The state officials did not take strong action to resolve social problems that affected the grass – roots of the city.¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Informant: Wondimu.

¹¹⁶ Informant: Sied.

¹¹⁷ Informants: Berekt, Mazengea and Sahle.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Informant: Ayaya.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER THREE

3. PROBLEMS AND OPPOSITIONS OF THE GRASS – ROOTS IN ADDIS ABABA FROM 1974 – 1978

The period from 1974 – 1978 could be referred to as the direct opposition expressing period in general for the people of Addis Ababa and particularly for the grass – roots of the city. The prominent reasons that led me to refer to this period as direct oppositions expressing period was, this period started with the popular movement in the city in the early February 1974, and this popular movement continued by in and out until September of the same year.¹ Starting from the coming of *Derg* to the power in the early September 1974 until 1978; on the side of the grass – roots, they expressed their oppositions directly for different bodies including to former regime, to Provisional Military Administration Council (PMAC), to some of the then political parties and to others in different periods with different ways.²

The educated elites worked hard for the developments of the political consciousness of the grass – roots, so that the political consciousness of the grass – roots reached its peak in both regimes of this period.³ The political consciousness of the grass – roots that reached its peak stage during this period collapsed in the end of this period; the collapse of the political consciousness of the grass – roots could be associated with one of the consequences of the conflicts between *Derg* and some of the then political parties.

¹ Markakis, “The Military State . . .” p. 11; Christopher Clapham, “Revolutionary Socialist Development in Ethiopia.” *African Affairs*, Vol. 86, No. 343, 1987, p. 153.

² *Ibid.*; Informants: Gezaw Workeneh; Tadewos; Tsedale Worku.

³ Bahru, *Pionners of Change*. . . , 211.

Accordingly to the above mentioned highlight, this chapter deals with mainly the problems and expressions of oppositions of the grass – roots and the response of the state officials to resolve the problems in Addis Ababa during the last year of imperial regime and the first years of *Derg* regime. Furthermore, the role of the educated elites in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots will be discussed.

3.1. The Role of Educated People on the Perspective of the Grass – Roots

Educated people of this period, as like their predecessors in the beginning of the same century, made efforts for the development of the consciousness of the grass – roots towards administration. One of the major status quo that made those intellectuals different from their predecessors was, they had direct contact to develop the consciousness of the grass – roots than their predecessors.⁴ As the result of this, this period was one of the most successful period for the educated people from any background (i.e. from political parties, administration of both regimes, students or others out of the above stated groups) in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots.⁵

However, most of the grass – roots of the city had two contradictory assumptions to those educated people concerning administration. Some members of the grass – roots had negative perspective for the educated people; these members associated the problems in the city that affected them with the ‘interference’ of the educated people on the administration of the emperor.⁶ Inversely, some members of the grass – roots had positive perspective for them, they also believed on them for the future development of the country.⁷

⁴ Bahru, *Pioneers of Change . . .*, p. 210; John Markakis, Nega Ayele, *Class and Revolution in Ethiopia*, New Jersey, 1986, p. 178; Informants: Asersahegn and Negusea.

⁵ Informant: Sahle.

⁶ Informants: Asersahegn, Asfaw, Mazengea and Negusea.

⁷ Informants: Beyene, Gezaw, Tadewos and Tsedale.

3.1.1. The Grass – roots’ Negative Perspective for the Educated People

The grass – roots whom had negative perspective for the educated people had the characters of the following like, most of the time they did not attend modern education even those whom started modern education, they did not continued the education after their first few years in school; furthermore, most of them were above or in the end of their adolescence stage.⁸ The above stated characters of this group implicated that, their readiness for the change of their lives in socio – economic and political were low.

Under this group, they had several reasons for their odium. Their loyalty for the emperor were behind their negative perspective for the educated peoples. The age olden customs in the country mainly the “Solomonic Dynasty” with its several components, accepted by them as the general truth.⁹ Furthermore; as they spent all of their age under this system, those members of the grass – roots related the problems that occurred in the city that affected the, with the “interference” of the educated elites and the students on the politics of the country.¹⁰

3.1.2. The Grass – roots’ Positive Perspective for the Educated People

Member of the grass – roots whom had positive perspective for the educated people had several characters; from those, they were relatively educated and had direct contact to the educated people than the rest members of the grass – roots. The acceptance of the ideas of the educated people in socio – economic and political situation of the country by the grass – roots showed progressed during this period.¹¹ However, from the educated peoples, the students took the largest share in

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Sahle.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Sahle.

developing the consciousness of the grass – roots, some members of the students made several efforts in encouraging the rest of the students to develop the grass – roots consciousness for politics;¹² and their artistically expressed ideas had got the target exactly.¹³ Beside their artistically expressed ideas, hand written or typed with type – writer flyers¹⁴ were distributed to the grass – roots widely.

The grass – roots used a term “Revo” to those whom made socio – economic and political analyses for them in different places.¹⁵ The educated people whom referred by the grass – roots as “Revo” had some personal different with the rest of the population of the city, in most cases their way of depressing style, foreign books on the their hand and the likes differ them with the rest of the people.¹⁶ Furthermore, this members of the grass – roots believed by the educated people for the future development of the country. Inversely to the efforts of the educated people and students to develop the political consciousness of the grass – roots, the status of the city that was not suitable for the political discussions affected the grass – roots’ development to political consciousness. As a result of this, ordinary suitable spots for political discussion had great role by creating bridge between the educated people and the grass – roots.¹⁷

3.2. Ordinary Suitable Spots for Political Discussion

The scholars whom specialized in this subject showed that the changes in political and socio – economic perspective of the people that were came in the second half of twentieth century in Ethiopia were came as result of expansion of modern education in the country.¹⁸ In the above

¹² See Appendices 6, 7, 8.

¹³ See Appendices 9, 10, 11.

¹⁴ See Appendices 12, 13.

¹⁵ Informant: Sahle.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Informants: Gezaw, Sahle and Tsedale.

¹⁸ Legesse, p. 32.

thesis, most of the scholars used how the formal modern education expanded in the country as their core idea for the change. However, the scholars did not discuss in detail for the change of individuals whom did not attend formal education in school; they simply referred the change due to the contacts with the educated peoples. As a result of this, in this portion how the change happened in the grass – roots of Addis Ababa whom did not attain modern education in large scale will be discussed.

There were several ordinary suitable spots for political discussion from those, the most influential were, under the cover of trading or service giving sectors and under the cover of social ceremonies. Ordinary suitable spots for political discussion had been the connecting place for the educated people and the grass – roots of Addis Ababa. In those spots, the information had flowed in several ways, from them the most prominent ways were, directly and purposely, or indirectly and suddenly from those educated persons to the grass – roots or from grass – roots whom got the information to the other members of the grass – roots.¹⁹

3.2.1. Spots Under the Cover of Trading and Service Giving Sectors

This type of spots was the most prominent spots for the growth of the political consciousness of the grass – roots than the next type of spots. Barbershops, playing stations mainly Karambula, alcohol bars included under this type of spots.²⁰ As like the next type of spots the information were flowed directly and purposely or indirectly and suddenly from those educated persons to the grass – roots or from grass – roots whom got the information to the other members of the grass – roots.²¹

Furthermore, the groups whom opposed the administration of both regimes, i.e. most of political

¹⁹ Informants: Ayaya, Bereket and Sahle.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

parties, students, and educated elites whom were not the member any political parties used this type of spots for the flow of information that developed the grass – roots’ political consciousness.²²

3.2.2. Spots Under the Cover of Social Ceremonies

Coffee, wedding, and funeral ceremonies were the most prominent suitable political discussion spots under the cover of social ceremonies. These type of spots had more significance to transfer information from one member of the grass – roots to the other, even if the educated elites, political parties, and students did not use these type of spots in large scale.²³ Furthermore, as like the above spots, information’s were flowed directly and purposely, indirectly and suddenly from those educated persons to the grass – roots or from grass – roots whom got the information to the other members of the grass – roots.²⁴

3.3. Changes and Continuities in the Political, Economic and Social Problems

After the first month of 1974, the age longed socio – economic and political problems that were in one way or another related with the administration of the emperor led the mass of the city to revolt,²⁵ furthermore, without any leading or unifying organization the grass – roots started the struggle.²⁶ What made the expression of oppositions of the grass – roots in this period unique in some extent with the oppositions in the both 1960s or the late 1970s and 1980s were, it were expressed directly and the doer of the oppositions were also took counterbalance action for the

²² Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Sahle.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ “Tglu Welune Ayestem.” (‘The Struggle Never Miss Its Target’.) *Democracia*, No. 16, December 3, 1975, p. 1.

²⁶ “Kyet Wd Yet.” (‘from where to where’.) *Democarica*, No. 6, December 24, 1974, p. 1; “Ethiopia – Kyekatit Esk Yekatit; Abyot ena Terabyot.” (‘Ethiopia- From February to February; Revolution and Reactionary’.) *Democarica*, Vol. III, No. 1, 5-08-76, p. 2.

oppositions of the grass – roots.²⁷ Bahru Zewde stated one of the first period of this portion, i.e. popular uprising in most fascinating way, “The general tenor of the popular movement was one of the low rising against the high and might – the soldiers and junior ranks against the high officers, the poor against the rich, employee against employer and labor against management.”²⁸

3.3.1. Political Problems of Grass – roots

The political situations in the city during this period had not constant flow. The popular movement, the removal of the emperor from the power, the coming of *Derg* to the power, misunderstandings and conflicts in the higher officials of *Derg* and conflicts between *Derg* with some political parties of the time were behind the instability of the political situation generally in the country and specifically in the city during this period.²⁹ In the previous chapter, the political problems that led the grass – roots to oppose the administrations of the emperor from 1960 to 1973 were discussed. Specifically in this portion of this chapter the political problems in both the last year of the emperor and the first years of *Derg* on the throne will be discuss.

3.3.1.1 Administrational Problems

Administrational problems that created oppositions on the grass – roots of Addis Ababa against state officials were mainly action and services of state officials that affected the grass – roots of the city in several circumstances.³⁰ During this period, relatively the political consciousness of the grass – roots were developed than 1960s, hence the grass – roots did not left silently the

²⁷ “Ethiopia – Kyekatit Esk Yekatit; Abyot ena Terabyot .” (‘ Ethiopia- From February to February; Revolution and Reactionary’.) *Democarica*, Vol. III, No. 1, 5-08-76, p. 3.

²⁸ Bahru, *A Modern History*. . . , p.231.

²⁹ Yohannis Abate, “The Legacy of Imperial Rule: Military Intervention and the Struggle for Leadership in Ethiopia 1974-1978.” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1983, p. 28; Berouk Mesfin, “The Architecture and Conduct of Intelligence in Ethiopia (1974-1991).” *International Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 2010, p. 39; Informant: Sahle.

³⁰ Informants: Berekt and Sahle.

administrational problems.³¹ For the sought good understanding, it is possible to divide the administrative problems of this period into two chronologically, before the official removal of the emperor and after the removal of the emperor until the end of *Red Terror*.

3.3.1.1.1. Administrative Problems during the last year of Emperor Haile – Selassie on the Throne

The administrative problems of the city during the 1960s that included, the partial services of service – giving and administrative organizations, the socio – economic and political plans of the state officials, the dictatorship administration of lower officials in administrative offices and others were continued in this period.³² However, as the political consciousness of the grass – roots were developed during this period, the problems that oppressed the grass – roots of the city in the 1960s, created more opposition in this period than the 1960s.

3.3.1.1.2. Administrative Problems in the first years of *Derg* on the Power

As a new system of administration was implemented in the country,³³ starting from *Derg* officially controlled the power until the end of the *Red Terror*, the administrative systems of the city were full of dynamics.³⁴ Disorganized form of administration, assigning *Derg* members with less administrative potential on administrative positions than the appropriate person to the position were some of the fundamental problems that led the grass – roots for oppositions under this period.³⁵

³¹ Informants: Ayaya, Bereket and Sahle.

³² Informants: Sahle and Solomon.

³³ Markakis, Nega, p.127; Informants: Bereket and Teshom.

³⁴ Informants: Beyene, Emawayesh and Kebede.

³⁵ Informants: Ayaya, Sahle and Wondimu.

Furthermore; until the end of the confrontation in the city with Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Party (EPRP), the state officials of the city were focused on removing, the remnants of the imperial state officials, conflicts in the higher official of *Derg*, and other political parties from the politics of the country.³⁶

3.3.1.2. Party System Problems

Party system of *Derg*, which *Derg* followed whether officially or not, was one of the focal political problem that led the grass – roots of the city to opposition; furthermore several newly emerged political parties in this period perish before or in the early episode of city confrontations. In this system, after the end of the internal conflicts in *Derg* members, the winning members of *Derg* started to remove other political parties form the politics of the country or those political parties started armed struggle against *Derg*.³⁷ During these process, most of the political parties were removed out of the political arena, nevertheless, EPRP challenged *Derg* in the city centers of the country, more specifically in Addis Ababa.³⁸ These conflicts, which were characterized in assassination and high level of personal properties distraction during its peak stage, affected the grass – roots of Addis Ababa in great scale and led them to oppositions.³⁹ One of my informants, whom were low ranked soldier and visited the city during the confrontations, stated the situation of the city in comparative manner.

³⁶ Yohannis, p. 28; Berouk, 39; Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

³⁷ Mengistu Halie Mariam, *Teglachen; Yethiopia Hezeb Abyotawi Yetgel Tarik ('Our Struggle; The History of Ethiopian People Revolutionary Struggle')*, Los Angeles, 2010, pp. 460-461; Fekre – Selassie, pp. 296-2967; Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; Informant: Wondimu.

³⁹ Informants: Beyene, Emawayesh and Kebede.

የደርግን ዘመን መንግስትን ያሳለፍኩት በሰሜኑ የሀገሪቱ ክፍል በነበሩት ጦርነቶች ላይ ነበር። አሰቃቂ ሽንፈቶችን እና ወደር የሌላቸውን ድሎች አጣጥሜአለሁ። የሰው ፍጡር ላይ ሊደረጉ የማይገባቸውን ድርጊቶች በአይኔ ዐይኜአለሁ፤ የልብ ወዳጆቼና በስሬ የነበሩ ወታደሮቼን አጥቼአለሁ፤ ግን ጦር ሜዳ ላይ እስከሆንክ ድረስ ጠላትህን ታውቃለህ፤ ከሞላ ጎደል የአንተን እና የጠላትን ግዛት ለይተህ ታውቃለህ። ግን በቀይ ሽብር ግዜ አዲስ አበባ የነበረው ከጦር ሜዳ ከነበረው ትዝታዬ የባሰ ነበር፤ ማን ሊያጠቃህ እንደመጣ አታውቅም፤ ቤተሰብህንም ማመን የከብድ ነበር። የመጣሁት የአመት እረፍቴን ከቤተሰቦቼ እና ከአብሮ አደጎቼ ጋር ለማሳለፍ ነበር፤ ቢሆንም ጦር ሜዳ ሄጂ ጠላቴን ፊት ለፊት መጋፈጥ ምርጫዬ ነበር፤ ከቤተሰቦቼ ጋር በሰቆቃ እረፍቴን ከማሳለፍ።⁴⁰

I had spent the *Derg* regime in the wars of the northern fronts of the country. I had experienced the worst defats, and priceless victories, I had seen several anti – humanitarian actions, I had lost my best friends, my soldiers; But as far as you are in battle field, you know your enemy, moreover you know your territory and the enemy’s territory. But, when I came to the Addis Ababa during the time of *Red Terror* it was worse than my memories in the battle field, you did not know who is going to attack you and you cannot believe your family. Even though I came for my annual break to spent it with my families and old friends, I had preferred to be in the real battle field to face my enemies directly than to be with my family with tensions.

3.3.1.3. Political Culture

During the last year of the emperor on the power, state official of the city were in quandary; however, one thing was clear, most of the officials were working not to refer as the enemies of the mass.⁴¹ They were also busy in both hiding their pervious mistakes, and blaming each other for the faults that provoked the mass to upraise.⁴² Inversely, as it was not common in the political culture of the country, the oppositions of the grass – roots irritated some officials in the city, and

⁴⁰ Informant: Wondimu.

⁴¹ Informants: Asfaw, Asersahegn and Berekt.

⁴² Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

they continued through the old political culture by expressing the actions of the grass – roots were not accordingly the political culture of the country.⁴³

After the emperor removed from the power officially, until the early episode of the confrontations of political parties, political customs were changed. As new systems of administrations were in the process to implement in the country, there was no defined custom in the city.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, those new officials had some sort of acceptance than the officials in the previous year.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the grass – roots were freely discuss about the politics of the country from their level of understanding in public areas, which were rare in both the reign of the emperor and after the beginning of the confrontations of the political parties.⁴⁶

During the confrontations of political parties, the political customs in the city were experiencing one of its difficult period. As unexpected homicide could occurred anytime and anywhere in the city due to political divergence, the progressed custom of the grass – roots in free discussion about the politics of the country in public areas backed to its previous level.⁴⁷ In the final episode of the confrontations, while the members of *Derg* were in the path to won the confrontation, the grass – roots became terrified of the officials of *Derg*.⁴⁸

3.3.1.3.1. Corruption

Corruption, which was one of the political custom of the time, had experienced its unique period during the last year of the emperor on the throne. The uniqueness of the status of corruption of the period was mainly due to the grievance of the mass, some officials were reduced their level of

⁴³ Informants: Asersahegn, Asfaw and Wondimu.

⁴⁴ Informants: Beyene, Emawayesh and Kebede.

⁴⁵ Informants: Sahle and Solomon.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*; Informant: Ayaya.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*; Informants: Emawayesh and Teshom.

⁴⁸ Informants: Gezaw, Tadewos and Tsedale.

corruption.⁴⁹ Inversely, some officials, whom considered the grievance of the grass – roots as illegal action accordingly to the political culture of the country, continued it as counterbalance for the oppositions of the grass – roots.⁵⁰ In the other hand; in between the coming of *Derg* to the power until the beginning of the confrontations of political parties, corruption dwindled dramatically; instability in the internal structure of *Derg* could be one of the reasons for the change, however, after some internal stabilities in *Derg*, corruption raised again.⁵¹

3.3.1.3.2. “Acceptance” against “Ignorance” and “Superiority” against “Inferiority”

After February 1974, some of the outcome of the political culture of the county, the nobilities and royalties acceptance by the grass – roots had changed dramatically.⁵² The damaged properties of some of nobilities and royalties in the February movement by some of the grass – roots⁵³ could be one of indicator for the change of the acceptance of the nobilities and royalties by the grass – roots of Addis Ababa. Furthermore, the higher level acceptance in both economic and political analyses of the nobilities and royalties during 1960s by the grass – roots of the city, just because they were relatively nearer to the administration, experienced its lowest stage starting from this period.⁵⁴

Inversely the situations of the 1960s, mainly in the early 1960s, the acceptance of the educated people and students by the grass – roots of the city rose during this period.⁵⁵ As these groups of the people were mainly behind the development of the political consciousness of the grass – roots,

⁴⁹ Informants: Asfaw, Ayaya and Sahle.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; Informant: Wondimu.

⁵¹ Informants: Berekt, Mazengea and Sahle.

⁵² Informants: Ayaya, Berekt nad Emawayesh.

⁵³ *Ibid.*; Informant: Sahle.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Informants: Berekt and Mazengea.

struggled the administration of the emperor, and advocated for the change of the life of the grass – roots, they had higher level of acceptance by the grass – roots onwards this period.⁵⁶ Furthermore, listening and most of the time accepting, economic and political analyses of the situation of the country according from economics and political science by the educated persons and students became common by the grass – roots during this period.⁵⁷

3.3.2. Economic Problems of the Grass – roots

Economic problems were problems that occurred in the city due to several reasons including, the policies of the state officials, international situation and others. As the grass – roots were not economically strong, minor economic problems could led them to oppositions in the city. In this portion am going to discuss about economic problems in the city that led the grass – roots to oppositions including housing and living standards, unemployment, working conditions, living of cost.

3.3.2.1. Housing and Living Standard

Housing problems of the grass – roots under this period could be divided between before and after the proclamation of urban lands and extra houses in the country. During the pre – proclamation time of this period, the problems of the 1960s concerning housing were continued.⁵⁸ As like the 1960s, it was difficult for a person from the grass – roots to purchased house in the central parts of the city; furthermore, the problems like renting house from the – haves or purchasing house in the edge of the city were continued.⁵⁹ Beside the continuation of the problems in 1960s, the

⁵⁶ Informants: Sahle and Ayaya.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*; Informant: Wondimu.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*; Informants: Sahle and Ayaya.

⁵⁹ Informants: Sahle and Wondimu.

population of the city was increased in the early 1970, this led the need of new houses in the city. As few families possessed most of the lands of the city; the migrants from the countryside, the new married couples and other whom were behind the growth of the population, cannot found open land for building house.⁶⁰ These were some of the major problems of the grass – roots of the city relating with housing in the pre – nationalization of urban and extra house proclamation period.

The nationalization of urban lands and extra house had great role in minimizing the gap between the – haves and the grass – roots of the city.⁶¹ However, after the nationalization of urban land and extra house in the country, which had implemented in Addis Ababa with great scale, had several consequences that some of them were not expected at all. According to the processes of nationalization of the extra houses, the previous owner, and the rented person from whether Dwellers Associations or *kebele* live in a compound together. This situation created problems between the previous owners of the house, whom had got plenty payment by renting before the proclamation, and the newly rented people with low price.⁶² With most interaction between the previous owners and the rented peoples, as the previous owners lost the profit, conflicts occurred frequently, this was one of the major unexpected consequences that created problems in the life of the grass – roots.

During this period, i.e. in both regimes, some determining elements of living standard, like water and electricity supply were on the worse condition than the conditions of 1960s, the growth of the population of the city was behind the problems.⁶³

⁶⁰ Fekre – Selassie, p. 185; Informant: Solomon.

⁶¹ Mengistu Halie Mariam, p. 493; Fekre – Selassie, p. 190; Informants: Abebech Getu, Sahle and Wondimu.

⁶² Informants: Abebech, Sahle and Wondimu.

⁶³ *Ibid.*; Informant: Wondimu.

3.3.2.2. Unemployment

Unemployment and problems that came after it that affected the grass – roots of the city in 1960s continued in this period with great scale; during this period, high level of unemployment was one of the characters of some members of the grass – roots in the city.⁶⁴ When unemployment meets with the skyrocketed price of basic commodities for living, it made the lives of the grass – roots difficult in the city.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, during the end of the Red Terror, unemployment problems reduced in some extent due to several reasons.⁶⁶

3.3.2.3. Working Conditions

The 1960s working conditions problems of the grass – roots who worked in different governmental or non – governmental organization were continued in the last years of the emperor on the throne.⁶⁷ However; during this period, workers of different s governmental or non – governmental organization were forming unions for the sought of their rights, mainly concerning salary and working conditions improvements.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, the salary of most of the workers were raised after the coming of *Derg* to the power, beside to this, most of the time the management body of those workers unions were dominated by the *Derg* in the last years of this period.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ “Ywqtu Economy Huneta.” (‘The Then Economic Situation’.) *Democraica*, Vol. III, No. 3, 7-10-1976, p.2, 4; Informant; Berekt.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*; Informants; Ayaya and Sahle.

⁶⁶ Informant: Teshom.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*; Informants: Shale and Berekt.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Informants: Shale and Wondimu.

3.3.2.4. Cost of Living

By the Central Statistics Office, Statistical Abstract survey of 1976, it was estimated that the population of Addis Ababa was 1,120,550 by consisting 551,630 male and 568,920 female.⁷⁰

When the growth of the population of the city, added with drought in several food crop producing areas of the country and strong internal conflicts due to political divergence, it made the scarcity of basic goods for living, which led the cost of living in the city during this period expensive than the 1960s and early 1970s.⁷¹

3.3.3. Social Problems of the Grass – roots

Social problems were problems that occurred in the city due to several reasons including, the culture of the societies and the administrative systems of the state officials. In this sub topic am going to discuss social problems in the city that led the grass – roots to oppositions including religious problems, educational problems and healthcare problems.

3.3.3.1. Religious Problems

During this period, religious problems of the grass – roots that led them to oppositions had several changes and some continuities with that – of the religious problems of the grass – roots in 1960s. In the last year of the emperor in the power, moreover, the religious problems that affected the grass – roots in the 1960s like the adherents of Islam were not treated equally, Protestants had

⁷⁰ Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1976, p. 25

⁷¹ Birhanu Zeryhun, *Maebel; Yabyotu Mbahca ('Storm; the End of the Revolution')*, Addis Ababa, 1981, pp. 4-5; Biruk Wondimu, "Major Drought and Famine in Ethiopian in 19th and 20th Centuries." Term Paper For The Partial Fulfillment Of The Course of History of Environment and Religions in Ethiopia and the Horn, Jimma University, 2015, pp. 4-5.

faced several problems from the grass – roots, and above all Ethiopian Orthodox dominated the grass – roots life of other religion followers were continued.⁷²

However, changes were occurred in this theme after the coming of *Derg* to the power, in the beginning of this period, the centuries existed dominations of Ethiopian Orthodox Church ended, furthermore, the oppression of the adherents of Islam came to an end.⁷³ What was unique in the religious problems of this period was, the Churches of Protestants that had faced several problems from the grass – roots of other religion followers in the 1960s, faced strong oppression by the new state officials due to several reasons in the end of this period.⁷⁴

3.3.3.2. Educational Problems

As like the pervious years of Emperor Haile Selassie’s regime, the problems concerning the education were continued in this period, however, Sector Review, that was the new plan concerning the education curriculum, happened to be the new problems for the children of the grass – roots.⁷⁵ Even though, the plan created problem for the children of the grass – roots, it created clear oppositions between teachers and students in one side and state officials in the other side, than the grass – roots against the state officials.⁷⁶

3.3.3.3. Healthcare Problems

Most of the healthcare problems that affected the grass – roots in the 1960s were continued in this period. Even if, the grass – roots perspective to modern healthcare developed positive in some

⁷² Informants: Emawayesh, Sied and Solomon.

⁷³ Bahru, *A History of . . .*, p. 249 ; Mengistu, p. 492; Informants: Sied and Wondimu.

⁷⁴ Informants: Solomon and Teshom.

⁷⁵ Andargachew, p. 38-40; Bahru, *A History of . . .*, p. 230.

⁷⁶ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

extent, as the population of the city were increased than the 1960s, the healthcare problems became in worst conditions.⁷⁷

3.4. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots and the Response of the State officials

Oppositions expressing of the grass – roots during this period were dynamic in its character. All the oppositions expressing typologies, systems and stages, which I discussed in the chapter one were exercised during this period. In 1973 and first months of 1974, indirect expressing of oppositions with top – down typology, which were experienced in the late 1960s and early 1970s, were continued.⁷⁸ However, from 1974s' February until June and in some extent until the official overthrow of the emperor from the power in September, directly expressed oppositions with in most extents bottom – up typology of were experienced by the grass – roots of the city.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, after *Derg* controlled the power, the typology of the expression of the oppositions of the grass – roots changed into top – down oppositions and freely expression of oppositions reduced after the declaration of state of emergence in the second half of September 1974.⁸⁰ Finally, when the confrontations of the political parties broke out, the expression of the oppositions of the grass – roots backed to its place of 1960s, furthermore, the grass – roots became silent for the problems.⁸¹ For the sake of good understanding am going to divide the expression of the oppositions of the grass – roots into two by during the last year of the emperor on the throne and the first years of *Derg* on the power.

3.4.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Political Problems

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; Informant: Berekt.

⁷⁸ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

⁷⁹ Birhanu, pp. 4-5; Markakis, Nega, pp 82-85.

⁸⁰ Hiwot Teffera, *Tower in the Sky*, Addis Ababa, 2013, p. 80; Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

3.4.1.1. Administrative Problems

3.4.1.1.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Administrative Problems During the Last Year of the Emperor on the Throne

During the first month of the last year of the emperor on the throne, the first stage of the opposition expressions of the grass – roots, which were full of indirect oppositions expressing methods like complaining for the not concerning body and other were continued.⁸² Furthermore, as the grass – roots consciousness for the administrations were transform in high scale during this period, most of the grass – roots were tired of the administrative system of the emperor.⁸³ However, in the mid of February, with several immediate causes including the growth of the price of petroleum, the oppositions expression of the grass – roots were transformed to the second stage of oppositions expressing stage, which were characterized by directed expression of the opposition of the grass – roots to the concerning body.⁸⁴

Participating in the distraction of the properties of the royal families, nobilities, and state officials with other groups of the city, mainly the students, were one of the common way of expressing the oppositions of the grass – roots in the city in the form of bottom – up oppositions expressing typology.⁸⁵ These, directly expressed oppositions of the grass – roots that had the typology of bottom – up oppositions expression, continued in large scale until the mid of June and stopped when the emperor overthrow officially in September.⁸⁶

⁸² Informants: Ayaya, Emawayesh and Sahle.

⁸³ *Ibid.*; Informant: Ayaya.

⁸⁴ Andargachew, p. 38; Bahru, *A History of . . .*, p. 231; Keflu Tadesse, *Ya Tewlde* ('*The Generation*'), Vol. I, pp. 161-162; Informants: Sahle and Wondimu.

⁸⁵ Informants: Sahle and Wondimu.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*; Informants: Ayaya and Berekt.

3.4.1.1.1.1. The Response of the State officials

To resolve the administrative problems that led the grass – roots to opposition, responses were taken by the administration of the emperor, even though the responses were both too late and could not come up with absolute change as the need of the grass – roots.⁸⁷ I divided the response of the emperor to resolve the problems into two types for the sake of good understanding. The final goals of the first type of the responses were to crush the movement, keeping the olden benefits, and continue on the throne by systematic striking of the internal structure of the popular movement and imitating to solving the problems. The second type of the responses were to resolve the exact problems.

Most of the responses that took by the emperor, after the popular movement of February, were categorized under the first type of actions. One of the actions under this type was, the replacement of the cabinet of Prime Minister Aklilu Habta – Wald by Ednalkachew Mekonnen's newly formed cabinet.⁸⁸ The grass – roots political consciousness were in its highest stage; and as like the students and the educated peoples, the grass – roots demanded some characters of democracy in the country. The idea that came from the educated people and the students “we need to take share in decision making of our country”,⁸⁹ which were both accepted by the grass – roots and one of the characters of democracy, ignored by the emperor when Endalkachew replaced Aklilu. So that, replacing one educated royal family on one of the highest political administrations of the country by another royal family, had more character of continuing the olden orders in the country than to resolve the problems of the grass – roots.

⁸⁷ Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Sahle.

⁸⁸ Tilahun, p. 420; “Tglu Welune Ayestem.” (‘The Struggle Never Miss Its Target’.) *Democracia*, No. 16, December 3, 1975, p. 5.

⁸⁹ Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Sahle.

The other action of the emperor to resolve the oppositions by systematical striking of the internal structure of the popular movement was the rise of the salary for the soldiers.⁹⁰ While most groups in the grass – roots demanded for the improvements of both working conditions and salary⁹¹, and improving for the grass – roots in general would be the direct solution, the improvement on both the salary and working condition were made for the soldier firstly.⁹² As the men's in uniform became influential the country's politics,⁹³ this action indicated the effort of the emperor to take this influential group on his side and weakened the popular movement systematically, whom were one of the prominent basement for the popular movement in country.⁹⁴

Constitutional conference by nobleman and the haves were held and then granted to establish a committee to investigate the administrative problems;⁹⁵ that was one of the actions of the emperor to resolve the exact problems of the grass – roots, as administration on lower officials were in worth condition. Furthermore, some of the immediate problems for the oppositions like the rise petroleum price and Sector Review were resolved in some extents.⁹⁶

3.4.1.1.2. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots For Administrative Problems During the first Years of *Derg* on the Power

The administrative problems during the first years of *Derg* on the power characterized by internal conflicts among the state officials and confrontation in the city with EPRP that created oppositions in the grass – roots of the city. Above all, the coming of *Derg* to administering the country by

⁹⁰ Keflu, *Ya Tewlde* ('*The Generation*'), Vol. I, p. 160; Informants: Abera; Ayele; Wondimu

⁹¹ Informants: Ayaya, Bereket and Sahle.

⁹² Keflu, *Ya Tewlde* ('*The Generation*'), Vol. I, p. 160; Informants: Abera, Ayele and Wondimu.

⁹³ The Abortive Coup of 1960 by one of the military units of the country could be the best example.

⁹⁴ "Tglu Welune Ayestem." ('The Struggle Never Miss Its Target'.) *Democracia*, No. 16, December 3, 1975, p. 2.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2; Informants: Asersahegn and Negusea.

⁹⁶ Keflu, *Ya Tewlde* ('*The Generation*'), Vol. I, p. 161; Informants: Emawayesh and Sahle.

stepping – up the popular movements that the grass – roots participated in large scale was the fundamental oppositions creating problem for the grass – roots. Until the confrontation, the opposition had a typology of top – down and were under the first stage of expression of opposition, furthermore, the then several political parties acted as they were in the side of the grass – roots.⁹⁷

3.4.1.1.2.1. Response of the State officials

The state officials response for the opposition of the grass – roots had two phases, the first were before the confrontations, and the second were during the confrontations. In the first phase, the state officials was in full of promises for solving the problem that created oppositions in the grass – roots, except one question, the legitimacy of *Derg* to administrate after the popular movement.⁹⁸ However in the second phase, most of the responses of the state officials were took through military power, military action became the ultimate response to resolve the problems of the grass – roots.⁹⁹

3.4.1.2. Party System Problems

3.4.1.2.1. The Expression of Opposition of the Grass – roots for the Party System Problems

The party system of the state officials that led to confrontation in the city affected the innocent grass – roots highly.¹⁰⁰ Both groups acted their best to resembled their confrontations were for the sought of the grass – roots of the country.¹⁰¹ Due to this problem the grass – roots expressed their oppositions indirectly, and most of the youngsters from the grass – roots whom were not the

⁹⁷ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*; Informants: Teshom and Wondimu.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*; Informant: Solomon.

¹⁰⁰ Awegachew Terefe, translated, *Yetweled Elkit; Key Shebere, ('To Kill A Generation; The Red Terror In Ethiopia')*, Addis Ababa, 2016, p. 148; Informants: Abebech and Emawayesh.

¹⁰¹ Awegachew Terefe, p. 75; Bahru, *A History of . . .*, p. 47; Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

member of both parties and affected by the confrontations expressed their oppositions by leaving both the city and the country to save their lives.¹⁰²

3.4.1.2.2. Response of the State officials

The state officials were concerned to resolve the grass – roots problems related with the confrontations in the early episode of the confrontation. However, when EPRP's attack became harsh, the state officials left the problems of the grass – roots, as the existence of state officials on the power became in danger.¹⁰³ After the state officials led the confrontation over EPRP, in the mid of the confrontation, the state officials forgot all the problems of the grass – roots and their primary intention became to break the networks and remove EPRP from the politics of the country.¹⁰⁴ It was in this period that the grass – roots suffered highly by the confrontation.¹⁰⁵

3.4.1.3. Political – Cultural Problems

3.4.1.3.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots Political – Cultural Problems

Corruption and unequal treatment of the grass – roots by the lower state officials, which were common in the 1960s, were continued during this period.¹⁰⁶ However, until *Derg* controlled the power, the grass – roots expressed their oppositions directly in the typology of bottom – up. However, after *Derg* controlled the power, the typology of the expression of oppositions of the grass – roots were changed in to top – down.

¹⁰² Awegachew Terefe, p. 147; Informants: Abebech and Emawayesh.

¹⁰³ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

¹⁰⁴ Bahru, *A History of . . .*, p. 47; Keflu Tadesse, *Ya Tewlde ('The Generation')*, Vol. II, Addis Ababa, 1999, p 358.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*; Informants: Abera and Ayele.

¹⁰⁶ Informants: Ayaya and Wondimu.

3.4.1.3.2. Responses of the State officials

Before the emperor official removed from the power, the state officials took several responses for the problems of the grass – roots which I discussed briefly in the earlier. Even if, the problems that came from political cultures affected the grass – roots after *Derg* controlled the power, strong response were not took to resolve the problems.¹⁰⁷

3.4.2. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Economic Problems

3.4.2.1. Housing and Living Standard Problems

3.4.2.1.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots For Housing and Living Standard Problems

The grass – roots expressed their oppositions in the last year of the emperor on the power directly and on the typology of bottom – up. However, after the coming of *Derg* to the power the oppositions of the grass – roots were not expressed directly, in addition the oppositions that were expressed indirectly were under the typology of top – down.¹⁰⁸ Feker – Selassie Wogderesse, who was the prime minster of Ethiopia during *Derg* period, stated the expression of the oppositions of the grass – roots for the housing problem in Addis Ababa and the initiating step for the nationalization of urban land and extra houses by the state officials that resolved housing problems on his book accordingly.

የመሬት አዋጅ በታወጀበት ቀን በታሪካችን ታይቶ ተሰምቶ የማያውቅ ሕዝባዊ የድጋፍ ሰልፍ ላይ ከታዩት መፈክሮች ውስጥ አንዱ “የከተማውስ” የሚል ነበር። ሸለቃ መንግስቱ ለአጭር ጊዜ ከቤተ-መንግስት ወጣ ብለው ሰልፏን በተመለከቱበት ጊዜ “የከተማውስ” በሚለው መፈክር ላይ አይኖሩት አለፈ። ወዲያውም ሲያብላሉት የነበረው ፍላጎት ተቀሰቀሰ። “በከተሞች የሚታየውን የተዘበራረቀ የኑሮ ሁኔታ ማስተካከል የኖርብናል . . . ጎረቤት፤ በማግስቱ ሸምበል ሞገስን ቢሯቸው አስጠርተው . . .” በተመሳሳይ መንገድ

¹⁰⁷ Informants: Ayaya, Sahle and Wondimu.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

የከተማ ቦታና ትርፍ ቤት በመንግስት ተወርሶ የከተማውን ነዋሪ አዝብ ችግር መቅረፍ ይኖርብናል” በማለት ሀሳባቸውን ገለጡ።¹⁰⁹

During the supporting rally for the land declaration, which was unique in our history, “what about the city’s [land]” was one of the slogans. When Major Mengestu left the palace for a limited period to see the rally, the slogan “what about the city’s [land]” took his attention. Immediately, his interest rose and said “We have to stable the scattered living condition in the cities.” . . . in the next day he ordered Major Mogse to come to his office and expressed his idea. . . “in the same way urban land and extra house must be confiscated and resolve the problem of the residents of the city.”

3.4.2.1.2. Responses of the State officials

The response of the state officials for the problems housing and living standards were divided in to two. During the last year of the emperor in the power, the state officials did not take action to resolve the problems of the grass – roots as like the 1960s.¹¹⁰ However after the coming of *Derg* to the power, the nationalization of extra urban lands and houses, was one of the strongest actions of *Derg* to resolve the problem of the grass – roots for housing and living standards problems.¹¹¹

3.4.2.2. Unemployment Problems

3.4.2.2.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Unemployment

The grass – roots expressed their opposition directly in the last year of the emperor on the power under the typology of bottom – up, however after the coming of *Derg* the oppositions expression method were changed into indirect with the typology of top – down.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ Fekre – Selassie, p. 185.

¹¹⁰ Informants: Bereket and Mazengea.

¹¹¹ Fekre – Selassie, p. 185; Informants: Sahle and Teshom.

¹¹² Informants: Bereket and Mazengea.

3.4.2.2.2. Response of the State officials

The response of the state officials in both regime during this period were moreover it was similar. They did not worked enormously to reduce the unemployment rate, however in the end of the confrontations in the city, due to several reasons including migration and other reasons unemployment were reduced.¹¹³

3.4.2.3. Working Condition Problems

3.4.2.3.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Working Conditions Problems and the Response of the State officials

The grass – roots expressed their oppositions for the working conditions problems directly under the typology of bottom – up directly for the state officials in the last year of the emperor on the power.¹¹⁴ However, as like other economic problems, the expression of the oppositions of the grass – roots for working condition became indirect under the typology of top – down after the coming of *Derg* to the power. Moreover, in both regimes, the state officials did not took such great action to resolve the oppositions of the grass – roots for working conditions problems.¹¹⁵

3.4.2.4. Cost of Living Problems

3.4.2.4.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Cost of Living Problems

The grass – roots expressed their oppositions in large scale for the cost of living problems directly in the typology of bottom – up in the last year of the emperor in the power. Similarly the grass – roots expressed their oppositions directly after the coming of *Derg* to the power for the cost of living problems.¹¹⁶ In addition, as like other oppositions, the oppositions that were expressed after the coming of *Derg* to the power were under the typology of top – down.

¹¹³ Informants: Teshom and Wondimu.

¹¹⁴ Informants: Mazengea and Teshom.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Informants: Sahle and Wondimu.

¹¹⁶ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

3.4.2.4.2. Response of the State officials

For the oppositions of the grass – roots, the state officials under the last year of the emperor on the power left it as like the situation of 1960s. However, after the coming of *Derg* to the power, several actions were taken to resolve the problems of the grass – roots related to cost of living. One of the actions of the *Derg* was, prohibition of privatization on the market, whether it took for the sought of the grass – roots or for the sought of being referred as socialist internationally, this action resolved the problems of the grass – roots in some extent.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, the *kebele* shops that were formed by *Derg* had great role in solving the grass – roots problems related with cost of living.¹¹⁸

3.4.3. The Expression of Opposition of the Grass – roots for Social Problems

3.4.3.1. Religious Problems

3.4.3.1.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Religious Problems and the Response of the State officials

Those direct and indirect expressions of oppositions of the grass – roots for the religious problems got response after the coming of *Derg* to the power. One of the responses of the state officials to resolve the religious problems was the declaration of Islam's holiday as national holiday in Ethiopia.¹¹⁹ The other measure of the state officials to resolve the religious problems was the separation of Ethiopian Orthodox Church with administration.¹²⁰ These two actions, which were taken after the coming of *Derg* to the power, resolved the religious problems in great scale.

¹¹⁷ Informants: Emawayesh, Teshom and Tsedale.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*; Informant: Sahle.

¹¹⁹ Informant: Sied.

¹²⁰ Informants: Sahle and Wondimu.

3.4.3.2. Educational Problems

3.4.3.2.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Educational Problems and The Response of the State officials

During the last year of the emperor on the power, the grass – roots expressed their oppositions for educational problems directly with the typology of bottom – up, however the ban of Sector Review was the only fundamental response of the regime to resolve the problems of the grass – roots of the city. After the coming of *Derg* to the power, the grass – roots oppositions for the educational problems expressed indirectly with the typology of top – down.¹²¹ The nationalization of private schools of the city and creating equal ground for the children of the – haves and the – have – not was the fundamental response of *Derg* to resolve the problems of the grass – roots of the city relating educational problems. Furthermore; *Zemehca; Edget Bhbert (Campaign; Development through Co – operation)* was the other response of *Derg* regime to resolve the problems of the grass – roots of both the country in general and Addis Ababa, even though it was aimed to resolve several kinds of problems of the grass – roots of the city, it had great role in solving educational problems of the grass – roots of the city by irradiating illiteracy rate and by other ways in the city.

¹²¹ Informant: Sahle.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. PROBLEMS AND OPPOSITIONS OF THE GRASS – ROOTS IN ADDIS ABABA FROM 1979 – 1991

This chapter deals with the problems and expression of oppositions of the grass – roots in Addis Ababa and the response of the state officials to resolve the problems from 1979 – 1991. During this period the grass – roots political consciousness was low, but unlike the 1960s, the lowness of the political consciousness of the grass – roots were not due to their lack of information and knowledge about administration and other traditional ties of the society.¹ Furthermore, the grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly for the problems that affected their life. One of the major reasons was, as this period was after the bloodiest city confrontation that was came after oppositions of political parties in the country, it frustrated the grass – roots to express their oppositions directly.²

4.1. Changes and Continuities in the Political, Economic and Social Problems

Even if the *Derg* regime characterized by mainly internal conflicts among its members and war with the ‘insurgents’;³ the first few years of this period were relative stability in its higher officials than before. Due to these and other reasons, its members focused in improving the political, social, and economic life of the people in general in the country and specifically the grass – roots of the Addis Ababa until the war with the “insurgents” took the attention after the mid of this period.⁴

¹ Informants: Beyene, Gezaw and Sahle.

² Informants: Ayaya, Teshom and Wondimu.

³ Colin Legum, “Realities of the Ethiopian Revolution.” *The World Today*, Vol. 33, No. 8, 1977, p. 307; Informants: Abera, Ayele and Wondimu.

⁴ Informants: Sahle and Teshom.

4.1.1. Political Problems of the Grass – roots

During this period, the administration system of the city had uniform flow, from the above officials of the city, i.e. Addis Ababa Municipalities until the least officials, i.e. officials in *kebele*, administrative power were mostly under the control of the *Derg* cadres.⁵ This was one of the major changes, with all its magnitudes, in the political problems that derived the grass – roots to oppose their state officials.⁶ Furthermore, the political cultures of this period were influenced by the *Red Terror*, this situation made the political cultures of the period in the favor of the state officials.⁷

4.1.1.1 Administrative Problems

During this period, the administration system of the city had several changes, in accordance with comparing the administration of the city during the 1960s and early 1970s. Gradually strengthen dictatorship character of PMAC, the domination of Major Mengistu Hale Mariam in the military committee after several conflicts, and the victory of *Derg* over EPRP, dominated the administrative system of the city in one way or another than other events in the city.⁸ Dictatorship in lower officials, which were existed from 1960s, and frequent meeting in state officials organization were some of the major administrative problems of the city that led the grass – roots to oppositions.⁹

⁵ Informants: Bereket, Beyene and Sahle.

⁶ *Ibid.*; Informant: Ayaya.

⁷ *Ibid.*; Informants: Teshom and Wondimu.

⁸ Informants: Ayaya, Emawayesh and Sahle.

⁹ *Ibid.*; Informant: Berekt.

4.1.1.2. Political Culture

During this period the political cultures of the city were very different from that of the 1960s. Even if several situation contributed for those new political culture in the city, unexpected removal of the emperor and the victory of *Derg* over EPRP in the city confrontations had took the largest share for the change of the cultures.¹⁰ Furthermore; the role and place of royal families and nobilities on the life of the grass – roots of the city in 1960s were replaced by the soldiers and *Derg* cadres, even though the replacement had not accepted logically by the grass – roots largely.

4.1.1.2.1. Corruption

Corruption was one of the political cultures of the time that derived the grass – roots of the city for oppositions. During this period, either the country was under the great corruption rate or not in higher officials; the petty corruptions that affected the grass – roots of the city were reduced in the city than the situation of the city in the early 1960s.¹¹ Nevertheless, this does not means that the petty corruptions that affected the grass – roots reached in zero percentage in the city, rather it had took some share for the political problems that led the grass – roots of the city to oppositions. Furthermore, it was not common in most administrative offices and the perspective of the grass – roots for the necessity of bribe and petty corruptions were changed unlike the 1960s situations of the city.¹²

4.1.2. Economic Problems of the Grass – roots

Analyzing the growth or decline of the population that determined the needs of the population helped to understand the economic problems. By the Central Statistics Office, Statistical Abstract

¹⁰ Informants: Informants: Ayaya, Emawayesh and Sahle.

¹¹ Informants: Beyene, Teshom and Emawayesh.

¹² Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

survey of 1978, it was estimated that the population of Addis Ababa was 1,125,340 by consisting 533,412 male and 591,928 female.¹³ However, after twelve years, it was estimated that the population of Addis Ababa was 2,111,500 by consisting 1,026,900 male and 1,084,600 female.¹⁴ According to the above report, the population of the city was nearly doubled with in twelve years. The growth of the population, which came – up with the growth of the need of the people, determined the economic problems of the city that derived the grass – roots to opposition.

4.1.2.1. Housing and Living Standard Problems

During this period, as like the other periods in the city, the housing problems affected the grass – roots highly.¹⁵ Even though; urban land and extra houses were nationalized and rented with low prices, the needs towards house were increased.¹⁶ The dramatic growth of the population of the city was also contribute for the housing problems of the time.

The living standards of the city, which had several gaps between the – haves and the – have – not in the 1960s and early 1970s did not continued in this period. No matter either democratically or not, the gap between the – haves and the – have – not was decreased in the city.¹⁷

4.1.2.2. Unemployment and Working Condition Problems

Under these themes, the situations of the grass – roots did not had such great change with the situations of early 1970s; as like the mid - 1970s, unemployment remain as one of the major problem for the grass – roots of the city.¹⁸ The only change under these themes was the rise of the

¹³ Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1978, p. 29.

¹⁴ Central Statistics Office, *Statistical Abstract*, Addis Ababa, 1990, p. 31.

¹⁵ Informants: Abebec and Emawayesh.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; Informants: Sahle and Solomon.

¹⁷ Informants: Sahle and Teshom.

¹⁸ Informants: Sahle and Teshom.

salary for workers in the city. However, the protection of the right of the workers that had some improvement in the early 1975 was backed to its olden status.¹⁹

4.1.2.3. Cost for Living Problems

The cost for living was one of the fundamental economic problem that affected the grass – roots of the time. The rise of the salary came up with the increasing price of common items for living in the market, this made the rise of the salary as a symbolic and did not helped the grass – roots to resist the problem and continued their life's in the city.²⁰ Furthermore, these problems were continued as like 1970s until the end of the *Derg* regime.

4.1.3. Social Problems of the Grass – roots

Social problems were problems that occurred in the city due to several reasons including, the culture of the societies and the administrative systems of the state officials. In this sub topic am going to deeply analyzes factors that showed social problems in the city that led the grass – roots to oppositions including religious problems, educational problems and healthcare problems.

4.1.3.1. Religious Problems

The religious problems of the time had several changes in accordance with the change of state officials. Even if the ultimate change was the separation of church and state, in this period, the adherents of Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Islam treated equally, inversely, Protestantism and its sects, which had direct support from the state officials in the city during Imperial regime, lost its support for the officials of *Derg*.²¹ Let alone the support from the officials of *Derg*, they lost

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Informants: Ayaya, Beyene and Emawayesh.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Informant: Solomon.

²¹ Informants: Solomon and Teshom.

even its churches in several parts of the city, like Mesrt Kerstos Church in Tor Hayloch, Kal Heywot in Kazanches and other churches.²²

Furthermore, the adherents of Protestantism and its similar sects were prohibited to build new churches in the city.²³ According to the Protestants whom were the eye witness of the situation; as most the missionaries of Protestants came from capitalist countries, the higher officials of *Derg* had suspected for the expansion of capitalism ideology by the missionaries parallel with the doctrine, were behind the prohibition for the construction of new churches²⁴

4.1.3.3. Educational and Healthcare Problems

The educational and healthcare problems had not faced any change that its status after the coming of *Derg* to the power. In the educational problems, most of the educational problems of the early 1970s that affected the grass – roots of the city like the gap between the students of the – haves and the – have – not reduced in large level; however, the quality of education in the city were in its worst stage than the 1960s.²⁵ As like the educational problems of the city, the one of the healthcare problems of the city on 1960s, the gap between the – haves and the – have – not reduced too; however, the accessibility of the service were limited in this period.²⁶

4.2. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots and the Responses of State officials

During this period, the expression of opposition of the grass – roots for the problems that affected their lives had one common element, whether for political, economic or social problems, they did

²² *Ibid.*; Informants: Sahle and Wondimu.

²³ Informants: Berekt and Mazengea.

²⁴ Informants: Solomon and Teshom.

²⁵ Informants: Sahle, Ayaya and Wondimu.

²⁶ *Ibid.*; Berekt and Solomon.

not expressed their oppositions directly for the concerning body. Furthermore, their indirectly expressed oppositions had the typology of bottom – up character for the problem.

4.2.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Political Problems

The oppositions expressing of the grass – roots for the political problems during these period had several similarities with the 1960s expressions of oppositions in the city, even if the reasons for the similarities were different at all. The oppositions were express indirectly with the typology of top – down in most cases.

4.2.1.1. Administrative Problems

4.2.1.1.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots For Administrative Problems

The grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly for the administrative problems. The major reason for their indirect expression of their oppositions were the harsh punishments of the state officials for who oppose their administrative system in the politics of the country that were witnessed during the *Red Terror* in large scale.²⁷

4.2.1.1.2. Response of the State officials

As like 1960s state officials of the city, the state officials during this period did not considered that the administrative system would oppressed the grass – roots.²⁸ Due to the reasons like the above stated, the state officials did not took such great measurement to resolve the administrative problems that led the grass – roots to oppositions. Beside to what was stated in the above, the state officials related the grass – roots' silence for the administrative problems as the good conditions

²⁷ Informants: Ayaya, Emawayesh and Sahle.

²⁸ Informants: Beyene and Gezaw.

of administration in the city; this could be one of the several reasons for the state officials to their low – work commitment for the improvement of the administrative problems in the city.²⁹

4.2.1.2. Political Culture

4.2.1.2.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Political Culture and the Response of the State officials

The expression of oppositions of the grass – roots and the response of the state officials to the problems related to political culture had total similarity with the expression of the oppositions of the grass – roots and the response of the state officials for the administrative problems. As like the grass – roots expression of oppositions for administrative problems, they expressed their oppositions indirectly with the typology of top – down and the state officials left the problems silently.³⁰

During this period, there were several reasons for the reduction of corruptions in the city on the side of state officials. From those, unlike the 1960s situation of the city, there were share of power to several individuals in lower administrative positions of the city.³¹ The existence of several cadres in administrative position removed good atmosphere for the occurrence of corruption unlike 1960s situation of the city.³²

Corruption was one of the reasons for the struggle of students and educated elites against the emperor and the struggle of these groups, whom weaken imperialism in Ethiopia during its final years of Emperor Haile Selassie, were one of the exact situation for the perspectival change of the grass – roots towards corruption.³³ Unlike the situations of 1960s the grass – roots in this period

²⁹ *Ibid.*; Informants: Ayaya and Berekt.

³⁰ Informants: Ayaya, Emawayesh and Sahle.

³¹ *Ibid.*; Informants: Teshom and Tadewos.

³² Informants: Teshom and Tadewos.

³³ *Ibid.*; Informants: Ayaya, Berekt and Sahle.

were understand how, the administration of state officials operated, and the effect of the corruption in the country.

4.2.2. Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Economic Problems

Economic problems were problems that occurred in the city due to several reasons including, the policies of the state officials, international situation and others. As the grass – roots were not economically strong, minor economic problems could led them to oppositions in the city.

4.2.2.1. Housing and Living Standards

4.2.2.1.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots For Housing and Living Standards problems

As like other economic problems, the grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly for the problems related with housing and living standards starting from the end of the Red Terror; furthermore, those indirectly expressed oppositions were under the typology of top – down.³⁴

4.2.2.1.2. Response of the State officials

To resolve the problems the state officials took several measure in the city, building new houses and renting were one of the major action took by the state officials to resolve the problem.³⁵ Those newly built houses commonly known as apartment and medium cost houses. The first type of house i.e. apartment, were built by the Urban House Dwellers Associations (UHDA) and rented above 130 Eth. Birr; furthermore the apartments were built in three floors, and used the urban lands economically.³⁶

³⁴ *Ibid.*; Informant: Solomon.

³⁵ Informants: Solomon and Teshom.

³⁶ Informants: Ayaya, Emawayesh and Sahle.

Under the second type of house i.e. medium cost houses, most of the time a house was built in between 150- 205 meter square; furthermore, the house could have approximately 5 rooms and rented 100-130 Eth. Birr.³⁷ Urban House Dwellers Association were administrated the houses; beside under the Association, the Municipality of the city granted land for the organized group of people to build cost minimized living houses in one area, which had most common features like the houses built by the Association. Financial strength to build the house was one of the major criteria to organize under a group and asked the land grant from the municipality.³⁸ However, the constrictions of these types of houses did not resolve the grass – roots problem of house, since the cost for rent was difficult for the members of the grass – roots.

4.2.2.2. Unemployment and Working Conditions

4.2.2.2.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Unemployment and Working Conditions and the Response of the State officials

During this period, as like the expression of the oppositions of the grass – roots for other economic problems, the grass – roots did not expressed their oppositions directly for unemployment and working conditions problems, even though the problems affected their life in the city highly.³⁹ The state officials did not took such fundamental measures to resolve the problems related with unemployment and working conditions than the symbolical growth of salary for the workers.⁴⁰

³⁷ *Ibid.*; Informant: Teshom.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; Informant: Berekt.

³⁹ Informants: Emawayesh and Kebede.

⁴⁰ Informant: Sahle.

4.2.2.3. Cost of Living

4.2.2.3.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Cost of Living and the Response of the State officials

The expression of oppositions of the grass – roots for cost of living did not had such great difference with their expression of oppositions to other economic problems in the city. However, the state officials had took several measures to minimize the cost of living in the city, the *Kebele* shops and the interface of the state officials in the market were some of the prominent measures.⁴¹

The *kebele* shops had great role in creating new network between the producers of the goods and agricultural products and the consumers in the city. Shops were functioned by individuals from the people and were not formed for the sought of profit, rather to benefited the peoples.

Most of the time *Kebele* shops removed most of broker and merchants whom acted as like bridge between producers and consumers and got plenty of profit from the market, whether for the benefit of the grass – roots or for political advantages of the state officials, the grass – roots were benefiteres of them.⁴²

Most of basic commodities for the life of the grass – roots were supplied by the shops, the items were mainly focused on for food consumptions, starting from bread for daily consumption till Teff were available on those shops. The availability of those commodities on the *Kebele* shops with fair price also led other private shops to reduced their profits from those trading items than the foundation of those Kebele shops, this led the availability of commodities in the market with fair price of the grass – roots in the city.

⁴¹ Informants: Ayaya, Emawayesh and Solomon.

⁴² Informants: Ayaya, Emawayesh, Solomon and Teshom.

4.2.3. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots for Social Problems

As like the expressions of the grass – roots for political and economic problems in Addis Ababa, the expressions of the grass – roots for social problems, they did not expressed their oppositions directly, under the typology of top – down.

4.2.3.1. Religious Problems

4.2.3.1.1. The Expressions of Oppositions of the Grass – roots For Religious Problems and the Response of the State officials

The adherents of protestant had been oppressed highly in this period, however, as the direct expression of oppositions were not permitted in the political culture of the time, they did not express their oppositions directly. In the side of the administrates; let alone to resolve the problems that the adherents of Protestants suffered in the city, without any fundamental reasons, the churches and the property of the Protestant were nationalized.⁴³

4.2.3.2. Educational and Healthcare Problems

4.2.3.2.1. The Expression of Oppositions of the Grass – roots For Educational and Healthcare Problems and the Response of the State officials

Unlike 1974, the grass – roots of Addis Ababa did not expressed their oppositions directly for the problems of education and healthcare. One the fundamental reason for their indirect expression of oppositions were the political cultures that the *Derg* implemented in large. Furthermore, as like the grass – roots, the state officials left the problems related with education and healthcare. Quality and accessibility of both healthcare and education, which were the prominent problems of the city since the 1960s continued until the end of this regime in 1991.⁴⁴

⁴³ Informants: Solomon and Teshom.

⁴⁴ Informants: Ayaya and Sahle.

Conclusion

According to the objective of the study, I had discussed the political history of the city by giving the ultimate focus to the grass – roots of the city and with little emphasis to other groups like students, political parties and others. In the thesis I have tried to discuss about the problems and oppositions of the grass – roots of Addis Ababa from 1960 – 1991 and the responses of the state officials to resolve the problems in detail. Starting from 1960 until the last year of Emperor Haile Selassie on the throne, the grass – roots of the city expression of oppositions for the problems that affected their life were not frequent; However, from February until September 1974 the grass – roots expressed their oppositions directly. After the coming of *Derg* to the power until 1979 several responses were taken by the state officials to resolve the problems of the grass – roots of the city; moreover, it was during this period that the state officials worked highly to resolve the problems and improve the life of the grass – roots. From 1979 to 1991, the expression of the grass – roots of the city for the problems were reduced, in the other hand the efforts of the state officials to improve the life of the grass – roots decrease due to several reasons, and finally the *Derg* regime came to end in 1991 by EPDRF and new systems implemented after then on.

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42

IV. List of Informants

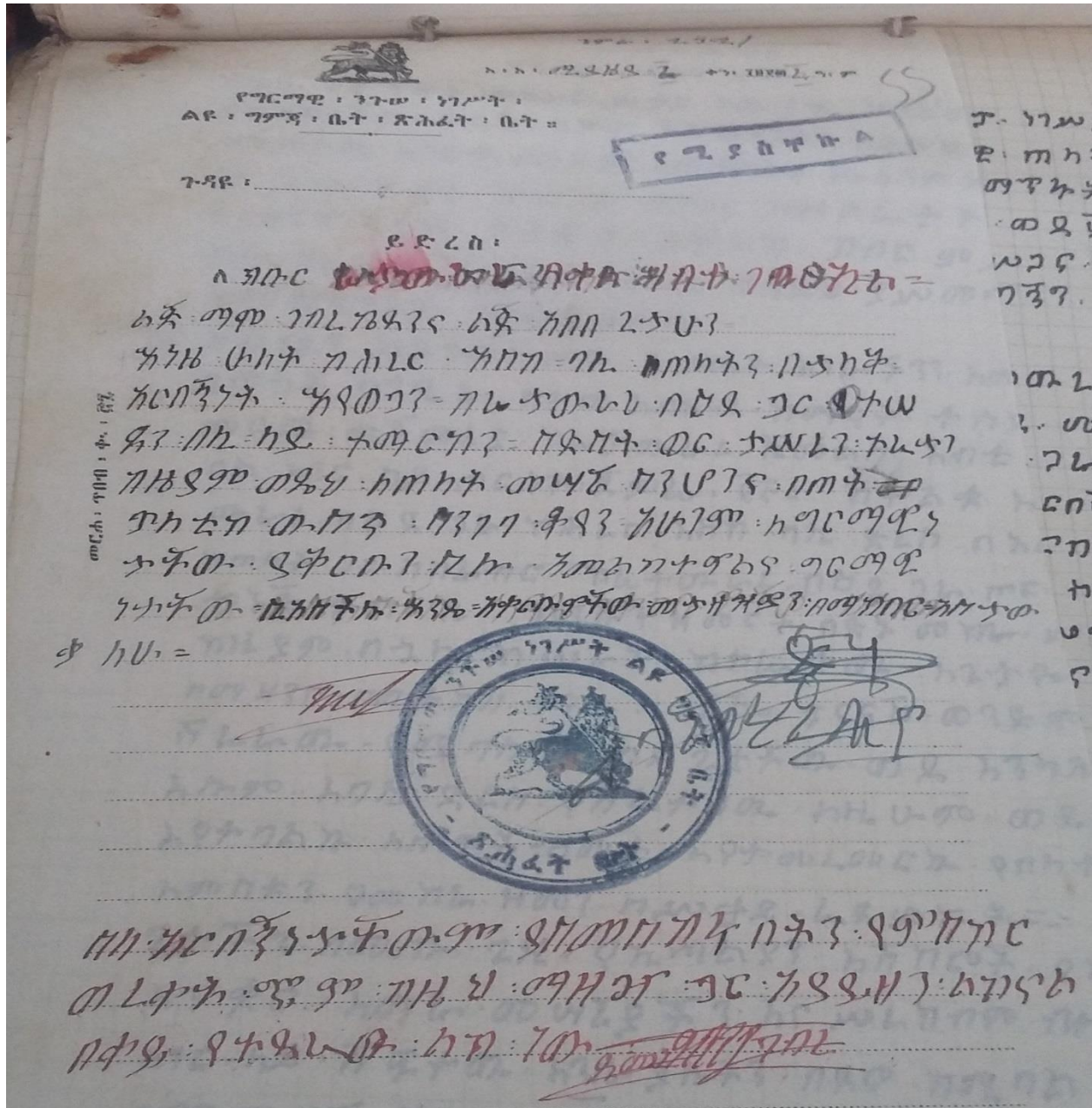
No	Name	Age	Place and Date of Interview	Remark
1	Abebech Getu Abdisa	58	Addis Ababa, 23-5-2017	Born in the central parts of the city and spent all the life in the city
2	Abera Kebede Bekru	70	Addis Ababa, 24-04-2017	Soldier in both of the National Army in Imperial regime and <i>Derg</i> regime
3	Ayele Mekuria Terefe	79	Addis Ababa, 26-04-2017	Soldier in both of the National Army in Imperial regime and <i>Derg</i> regime
4	Ayaya Kefyalew Basazen	70	Addis Ababa, 1-03-2017	Resident of the city from starting from the Imperial regime and worked as teacher in several schools in the city
5	Asfaw Desta (Hamsa Aleqa)	87	Addis Ababa, 13-03-2017	Soldier in the Imperial Bodyguard, and Participated in Congo and Korea peacekeeping and the abortive <i>coup</i> of 1960
6	Asersahegn Lema Aseged (Patriot)	87	Addis Ababa, 28-02-2017	Patriot, the member of Ancient Ethiopian Patriots Chamber and also the member of the last administrating board of the Chamber
7	Berekt Sebseb Nega	82	Addis Ababa, 28-02-2017	Worked in several state officialsal institutions and the owner of several medium size businesses in Addis Ababa until 1974, and exiled to Geneva, Switzerland in the <i>Derg</i> regime
8	Beyene Telahun Yegzu	58	Addis Ababa, 15-5-2017	Born in the city and engaged in several occupations including serving in the Army

9	Emawayesh Asmamaw Lema	65	Addis Ababa, 10-05-2017	Working in Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation starting from 1970 until 2016
10	Gezaw Workeneh Dagnachew	51	Addis Ababa, 13-5-2017	Born in Addis Ababa and engaged in several personal business in the city
11	Kebede Faso Butako	68	Addis Ababa, 1-03-2017	From ethnic group of Wolayta who live in Addis Ababa from the early 1970s and soldier in <i>Derg</i> regime
12	Mazengea Tsegaye Wold-Senbet	69	Addis Ababa, 20-01-2017	A man from noble family, officer in several positions in the tourism minister during the Imperial regime and exiled in <i>Derg</i> regime to several countries in Europe and North America
13	Negusea Telelawe Belay	86	Addis Ababa, 5-5-2017	Patriot, the member of Ancient Ethiopian Patriots Chamber
14	Sahle Chemere Manyazewal	73	Addis Ababa, 21-01-2017	General secretary of the labour unions of Mobil workers for a year before he arrested for 26 months for “being obstacle for the Ethiopian Revolution” and also supporter but not the member of EPRP
15	Sied Adushrif Abubakar	80	Addis Ababa 20-5-2017	Born in the city and participating in trading activities in his early twenties
16	Solomon Seyoum Anore	76	Addis Ababa 8-02-2017	Member of Royal Family from Hadiya and spent all his time in Addis Ababa under the time span of my study
17	Tadewos Zeleke Mola	53	Addis Ababa 11-5-2017	Born in the city and working in several state officials organization

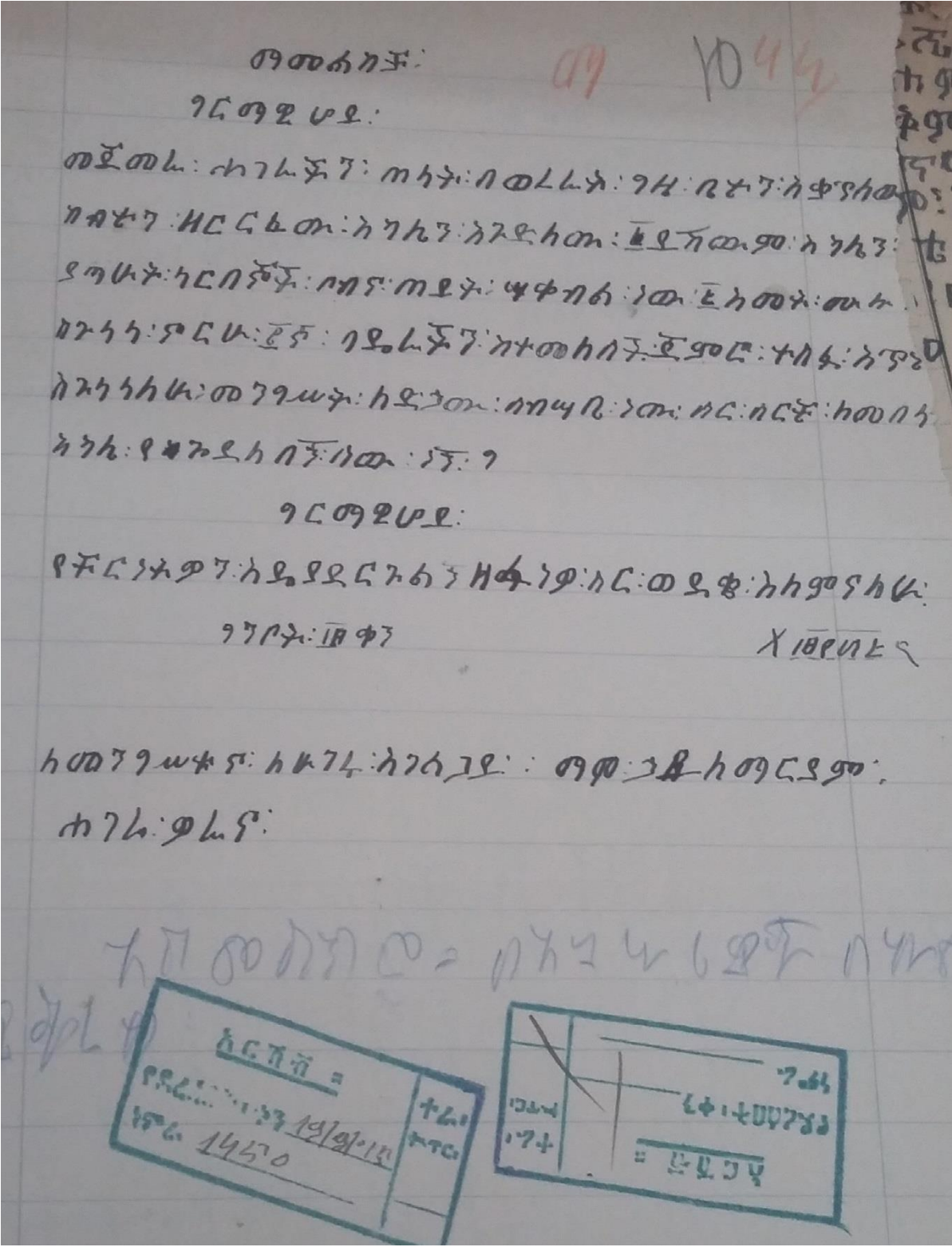
18	Teshom Worku Damte	66	Addis Ababa, 6-03-2017	Working as official of man power management in the state officialsal companies which were designed to build house in the city from 1975-1990
19	Tsedale Worku Gebyhu	50	Addis A baba, 15-5-2017	Born in the city and engaged in worked in both state officialsal and private organization
20	Wondimu Chemere Manyazewal (Shaleqa)	70	Addis Ababa, 8-03-2017	Member of local gang around Sedest Kilo during the Imperial regime and a soldier from 1970-1990 in 2,18,102 army division until he participated the <i>coup</i> against Col. Mengistu and imprisoned later resigned with the rand of Major

Appendices

Appendix 1. One of the letters that shows some of the process to reward medal and grant land for the patriots after the liberation



Appendix 2. One of the letters that shows the complaine of the patriots who struggled for their country



Appendix 3: Description for the construction of building to one of the royal family with three pages.

ገባር 25 / 61 ዓ.ም.

ከቡር ጸሐፊ ትክክዝ ተፈረ ወርቀ በበባቢ
 .. ፈስ መስፍን ስለቪ ኦባል
 .. ከገቲባ ዘውዴ ገብረ ሕይወት ..
 .. ኦተ ኦበበ ከበደ ..
 አገጂኒር መኩገገ ጭላት .. በሉበት ፣

ኦተ ስሉምን ገብረ ጣርያም የበርቶ ኦባልና ኦተ ኦስፈው ጭላቮ የገብረተ ኦስተ
 ዓዓሬ በኦስረጅነት ተርበዋል ::

የስበሰባው ምክንያት የልዑል ሣህላ ሥላሴ ቤተ ርስት በተጻጻፈ ኃይለ ሥላሴ አስተ
 ዲዩም ኦገዳ በገዛው ቦታ ላይ \$2.500.000 የሚፈጅ ሕንፃ ለመሠረት ኦስጠገተ በተፈ
 ቀደውና ከልዕልት ጣገግተ በኩል ደገግ ለመስፍኑ ጭራያ የሚሆን ስለሚገዛው ቦታና ቤት
 ሲሆን ፣

በ1ኛ / ደረጃ ሕንፃው በሠራ ወይም የጭራያ ቤትና ቦታ ቢገዛ የትኛው ጥቅም አገ
 ደሚሰጥና ቅድሚያ ሊኖረው አገደሚገባ ፣

በ2ኛ / ደረጃ ደገግ የፍጆራያው ኤምባሲ ገዝተት በተረፈው ቦታ ላይ በሠራ ወይም
 ኦሁን በገዛ ተገኝቷል የተባለው ቦታ ቢገዛ የትኛው አገደሚገባ መርጠገና ኦጥገተን ስሣብ
 አገደፍ ተርብ ከገርጣይነታቸው ታዘፍል በጣላት ሰበሰቡ ለገባው በገባብ ከሰው በኋላ ፣

ከቡር ፈስ መስፍን ስለቪ ስለዚህ ቦታና ቤት ገዢ ገዳይ ላልዕልት ጣገገተን ።
 አስጠራ ለሰጠው ጥላቻ ፣ የሚከተለውን መልስ ሰጥተውታል ::
 በ1ኛ / ደረጃ ሕንፃው የፍጆራያው ኤምባሲ ገዝተት ፣ በተረፈው ቦታ ላይ ቤት ለመሠረት ፈጽሞ የማ
 ይቻል ። ምክንያቱም የቦታው ኦጥጠው ሕንፃው ገዝተትና አወገዝ ገር በመሆ
 ኦም በላይ ፣ አዚያ ላይ ጭራያ ቤት በሠራው የተሸጠውን ቦታና ኦሁን የሚሠራውን ቤት
 ያቀት ለሕሊና ቅር የሚያሰጥና የጣያሰደስት ስለሆነ ፣ ለሌላ ሥፍራ ለሰገን ኤምባሲ ፣
 ስምስት ሺህ ሜትር ስፋት ያህል ስለተገኘ ፣ ሜትር በረውን ከ\$15 አስከ \$20 በር በመገ
 ዘት፣ በጠቅላላው ለቦታ ለቤተ ጭራያ ከ\$200.000 በር ያልበለጠ ወጭ ሆነ ለሠራ ይቻ
 ላል በጣላት ስለተገኘ ፣ በዚህ መሠረት አገደፈተድና የኦሲም የሕንፃ ሥራ አበር ቤተ
 ተጥል የዚህ \$200.000 በር መቀነስ ሥራውን የሚያቆሙ ከይመሰሉኝም በጣላት አስረቶ ::
 ኦተ ስሉምን ገብረ ጣርያም ከዚህ በፊት ልዕልት አገደገዛ ያበባቡት ቦታና ቤት የ
 ላይቤሪያ ኤምባሲ ኦሁን ያለበትን ሲሆን ፣ የቦታው ሜትር ስፋት -11.000 ስለሆነ የኦገተ
 ሜትር ስፋት የገ ተጠይቆ ከ\$70 አስከ \$60 በር ነው ስለተባለ ፣ በ\$60 በር አገደ ቤ
 ታሰብ 11.000x60=\$660.000 በር የቤተ ገምት \$275.000 ሲሆን በጠቅላላው ፣

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Appendix 4: The second page of the above document.

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(2)

$660.000 + 275.000 = 935.000$ ብር ስለሆነ ፣ ለሕንጻው ሥራ የታሰበው ገንዘብ ከዚህ ላይ የዋለ ክፍያ ለማሳደግ ይቸገራል ። ከባንክ ክፍያ ብድር ብንጠይቅ ፣ ከ \$300.000 ብር በላይ ሊያበድሩን ክፍያ ይኖራል ።

በሌላው በኩል ደገፍ በተገኘበት ሕንጻው በሠራ በወር አስከ 36.000 ብር ጥቅም ክፍያ ለማግኘት ተገቢ ነው ።

ስለዚህ የሕንጻው ሥራ በገንዘብ አጠቃላይ መከፈት አገዳይ ደረጃ በማለት አገሪቱ ለመስፈርት መኖሪያ ቤት አይሠራ ለመሰጠት አይደለም ሲሉ ሁኔታውን በመዘርዘር በሠፊው አስረዱ ።

ከብር ራስ መስፍን ገና ይህ ጥቅም ይገኛል ተብሎ ልዕልቷ ተጠቅሞት ጋር በኪራይ ሲሆን ይህ ጥቅም አገባብ መስሎ አይታይም ። ለሕንጻው መሠሪያ ከታሰበው ገንዘብ ላይ \$200.000 ብር ቢወጣና በሠራ ምንም የሚያገዳ መስሎ አይታይም ይኸውም ቢሆን ፣ ለሕንጻው መሠሪያ ከታሰበው ላይ ለመተኮስ አይሆንም የሚባል ቢሆን ፣ ከሌሎች ጋር አጠቃላይ አጠቃላይ ሆኖ ይሠራል ብትባል ብቻ ተቸግሮ የመኖሪያ ቤት ሠራት የጋውን ይሸፍን ይሆናል ሲሉ አሳስቡ ።

አቶ ሰሎሞን ገብረ ማርያም ይህ ቦታ መሸጥ ቀርቶ ገንዘብ በተገኘ ጊዜ ቤት ሠራት በት ይጠቅማል ። ይልቀንም በሌሎች ላይ ማረፊያ አጠቃላይ ያለን 3 ጋሻ ስለሆነ ፣ ከብር አቶ ይልማ ዲረሳ ለአገዳ ለመገንጠት ድርጅት አገዳን ጋሻ በ\$70.000 ብር ሂሳብ ፣ ሠ ስቶን ጋሻ $70.000 \times 3 = 210.000$ ብር አገዳ ስላሉ ተቸግሮ ለታሰበው ቤት ሥራ ቢወል ይሸጣል ሲሉ አሳስቡ ።

ገንጠሎችንም በመቀጠል ለሕንጻው መሠሪያም አሁን ያለውም ገንዘብ ይበቃል ተብሎ ማይሆን ፣ በሌሎች ላይ የሚሸጠው ቦታ አስከ \$700.000 የሚደርስ ስለሆነ አሁን ተቀባሪ በገደለው የአረቢን ነገሌ አርስት ሸጠን ለዚህ ሥራ አናውላለን በማለት ነው ሲሉ ገለጹ ።

ከዚህ በኋላ ገብረ ማርያም ተነጋገሮና የሰላም መለዋወጥ አድርጎ የሚከተለውን አስተያየት ሰጠ ።

አ ስ ተ ያ ዩ ት ፣

በአስረጅነት ከተረቡትና የልዕልትንም ስህተት ሰጥቷል ። የታሰበው የሕንጻ ሥራ ፕላን ተጠንቶ ለመሠሪያም የሚፈጸመው የዋጋ ልክና የሚመዘኑ ጥቅም ክፍ ያለ በመሆኑ የሕንጻው ሥራ አገዳዥ አሳቡን ይገረዳል ። አሁን አከራካሪ ነገር የፈጠረው በገንዘብ ጣኅነት ሆኖ ነው አገሪቱ የመኖሪያ ቤት ሠራት አስረጅቻችን የማይቃወሙ መሆናቸውን ተረድተናል ።

ከሌሎች ጋር አጠቃላይ አጠቃላይ ሆኖ ይሠራል ብትባል ብቻ ተቸግሮ ለታሰበው ቤት ሥራ ስራ ስላለው ቦታ ላይ ለመሥራት ልዕልት ማግኘት ቀር በመሆን ፣ ከሌሎች ጋር አጠቃላይ ሆኖ ይሠራል ብትባል ብቻ ተቸግሮ ለታሰበው ቤት ሥራ ስራ ስላለው ቦታ ላይ ለመሥራት ይቻላል አሳስቡ ።

Appendix 5: The third page of the above document.

(1)

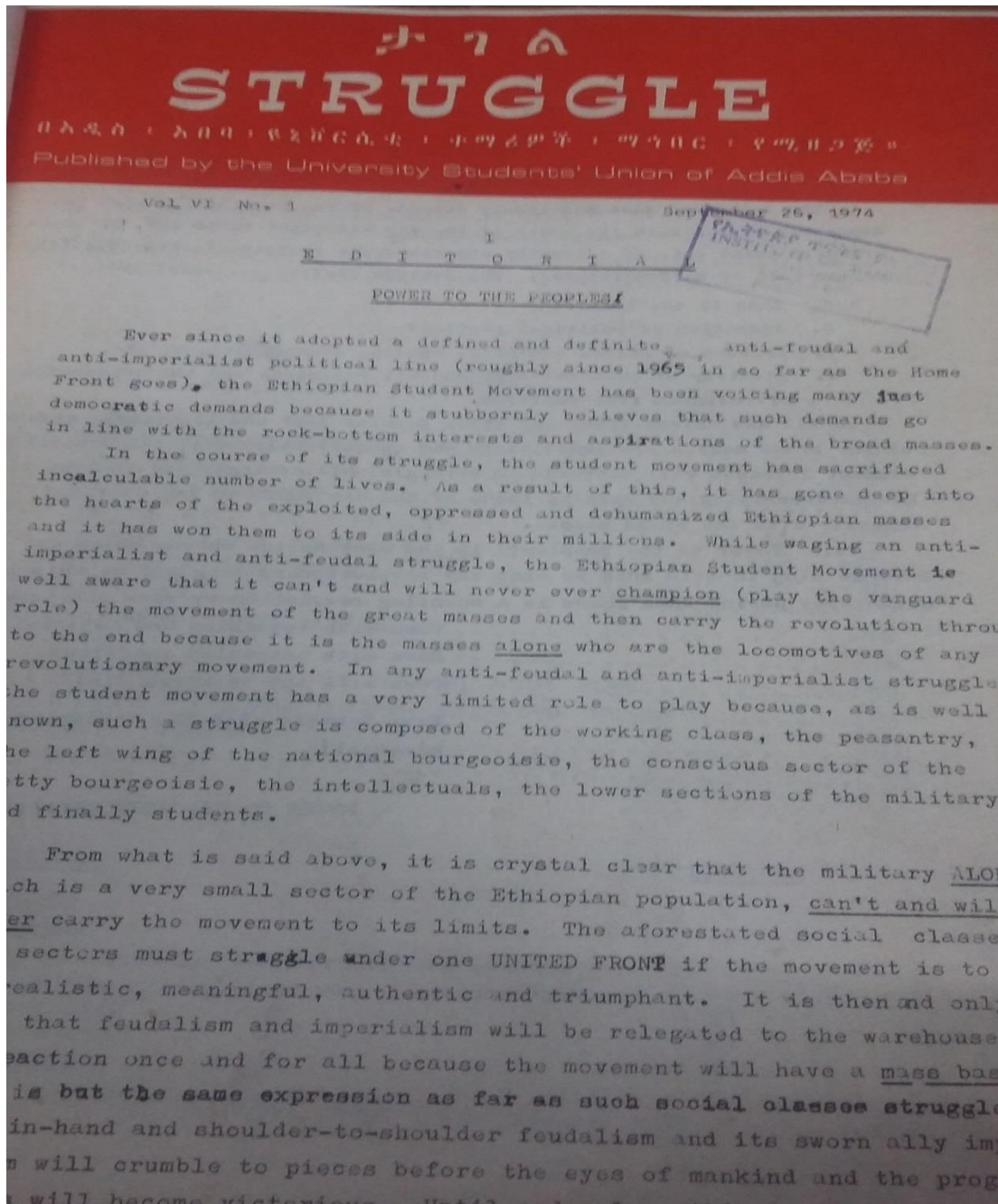
~~ለሌሎች~~ ገንዘብ ባንክ አባል ሆኖ ለሌላ ዘንድ የመኖሪያ ቤት መሥሪያ ቤታል ነበር
 ርዕዮታል ። ለመስፍኑ መኖሪያ አስረላጊ በመሆኑ ባለው ገንዘብ ለማውጣት የዋናውን ሕገጻ ሥራ
 አገገያዝገገው በሌ ያለው 3 ጋሽ መረት ተሸጦና በጉደለው ተጫልተ ለበታና ለቤተ ማሪያ ከ
 \$250.000 ብር የማይበልጥ ሆኖ የሕገጻውን ሥራ የሚሠራው ተፈራጭ ሁለተኛው አገዳዥ
 ለሆኑ ለሌላው ፕላን ተጠጫሪ ዋጋ ባይጠይቅ ለሠራ ስለሚችል ገንዘብ ለመጠቀም ያስችላል ።
 ከከተሠ 1ኛ / የልዕልት ማገገጥ ሀብተ ማርያም ጥያቄና የአስረጂዎችንም አባባ ^{ከ5004743}
 የታሰበው የሕገጻ ሥራ ፕላን በሥራ ሚኒስቴር ተጠገተ ከተረገበ በኋላ ፣ ለገርማዊነታቸው ተ
 ርቦ የተፈቀደ ከመሆኑም በቀር ፣ የዚህ ሕገጻ ሥራ ቀደሚያ ቢሰጠውና ለሠራ ከፍ ያለውን
 መስጠት የሚቻለውን ስለሆነ አባባን ይገፈናል ። አሁን አከራካሪ ነገር የፈጠረው በገንዘብ
 ማህበረሰብ አገጂ ለመስፍኑ መኖሪያ ቤት ለሠራ አስረጂዎችም የማይታወቅ መሆናቸውን ተ
 ረድተናል ።

2ኛ / በመመሪያው ትክክዝ በ2ኛው ደረጃ የናይጄሪያው ኤምባሲ ገዝተት በተረፈው በታ
 ላይ ቤተ ሠራ ለተባለው ፣ በዚህም አባባ ላይ ዝግግው በሰፊው አባባ ^{ከ5004743}
 ላይ ለመስፍኑ መኖሪያ ቤት ለሠራ ገንዘብ ለመጠቀም ከማስቻሉም ሌላ በታወቀው ለመኖሪያነት መ
 ጥቀው የታወቀ ነበር ፣ ዳሩ ገን የዋናውን በታ ኤምባሲው የያዘው ሲሆን ፣ በዝቅተኛው ሥፍራ
 ላይ የመስፍኑ መኖር ~~ከ~~ ለልዕልት ማገገጥ ባለማስደሰት ፣ በገዢ ይገኛል የተባለው በታ ተገ
 ዝተ ለበታውና ለቤተ ማሪያ ከ\$200.000 አስከ \$250.000 ብር ባልበለጠ አገገገና
 ወን አገገፈቀድ ።

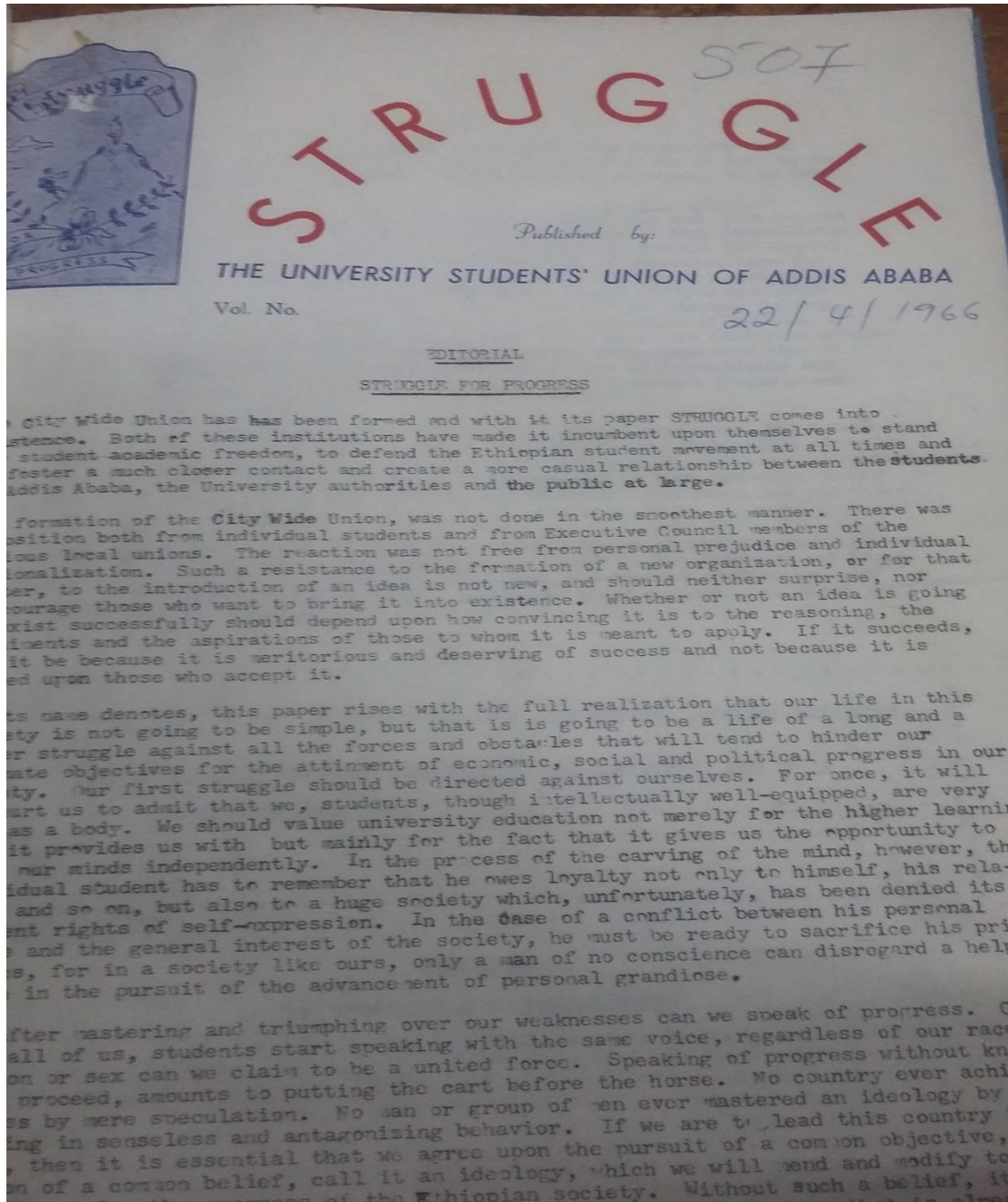
3ኛ / ለዚህ መሥሪያ አገገገን ይሸጥ የተባለው የላይኛው በታ አስረጂዎች አገገገሰሰ
 ቡት የይተ ቢላዎች ለሠራ በታ ከፍ ያለውን የሚሰጥ ስለሆነ ፣ የርሱ መሸጥ ቀርቶ በሌ ከ
 ኢንተርኔሽናል ኤርፓርት አልፎ ወደደረሰ ፊት ይገኛሉ የተባሉት ሦስት ጋሽ መረተች ተሸጠው
 የዚህ ዋጋ ለሌላው መሥሪያና ለበታው ማዘ አገገገን ።

4ኛ / የሚሠራውን ሌላ ፕላን ትልቅን ሕገጻ የሚሠራው አርጂቲክት ለሠራው ለዚህ
 ጠጫሪ ገንዘብ የማያስጠይቅ በመሆኑና አገገገገው የሕገጻውን ሥራ በጠረታ የተሰጠው ከገንት
 ከተር ሥራውን ቢወስድ ፣ በአገገገው ነገር ዋጋ ሊቀንሱ አገገገገሉ በሚቲው ^{ከከተሠ}
~~ታ~~ ይሸጥ አባባ ለገርማዊነታቸው ቀርቦ አገገገገው በማለት ዝግግው በአገዳ ታል ተ
 ማጣ ።

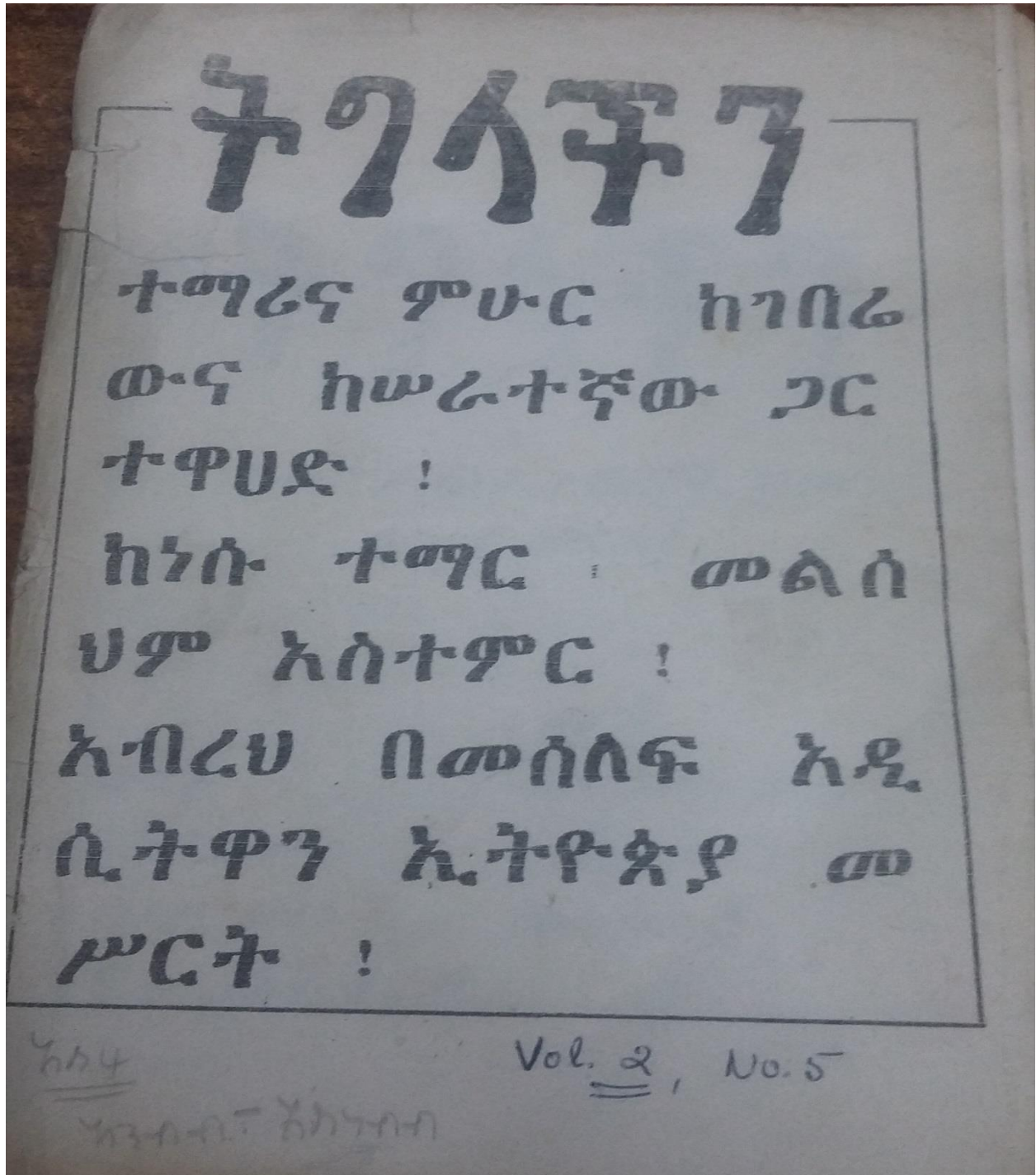
Appendix 6: From the students' newspaper called *Struggle*: which had great role in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots.



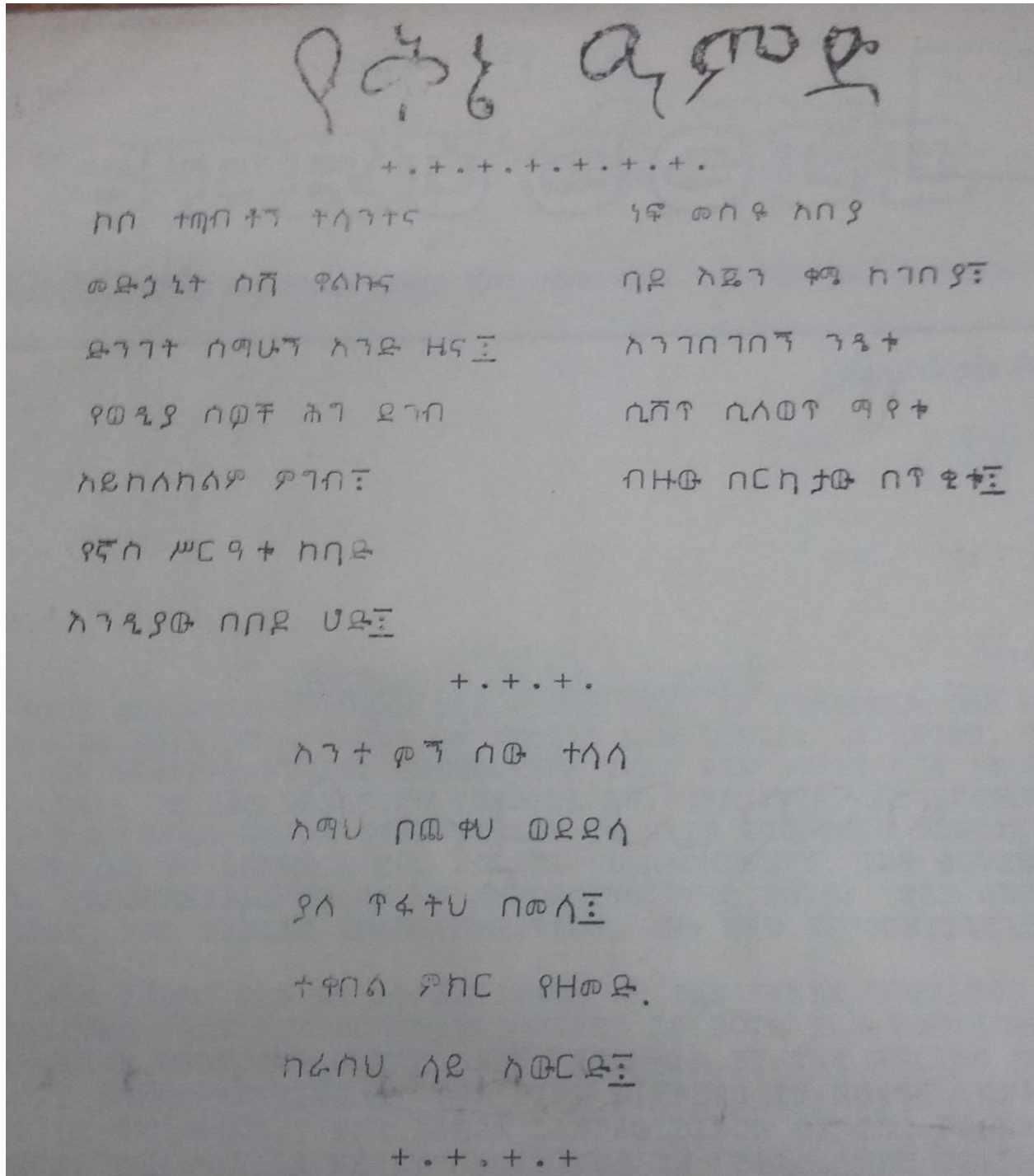
Appendix 7: From the students' newspaper called *Struggle*: which had great role in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots.



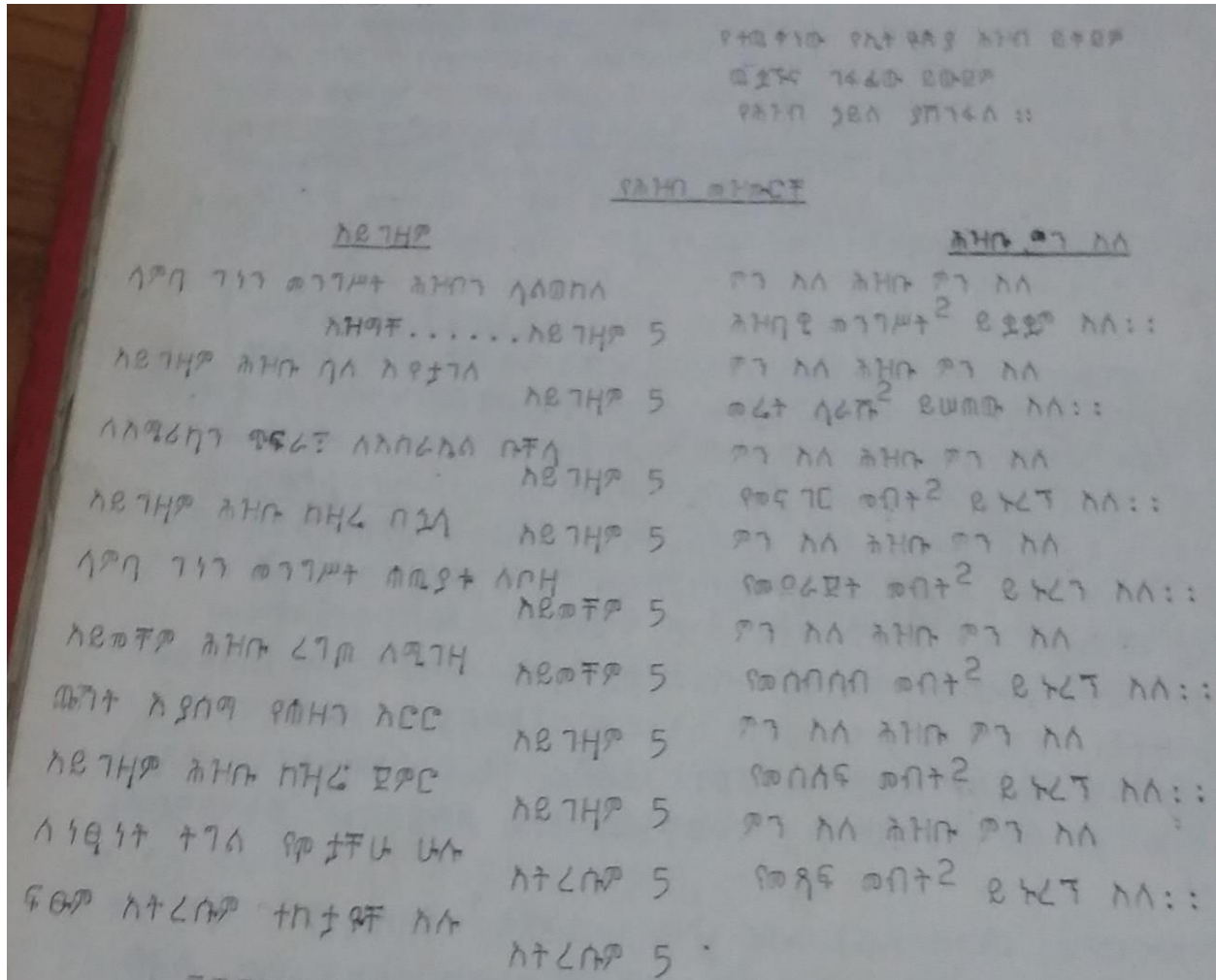
Appendix 8: From the students' newspaper called *Struggle*: which had great role in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots.



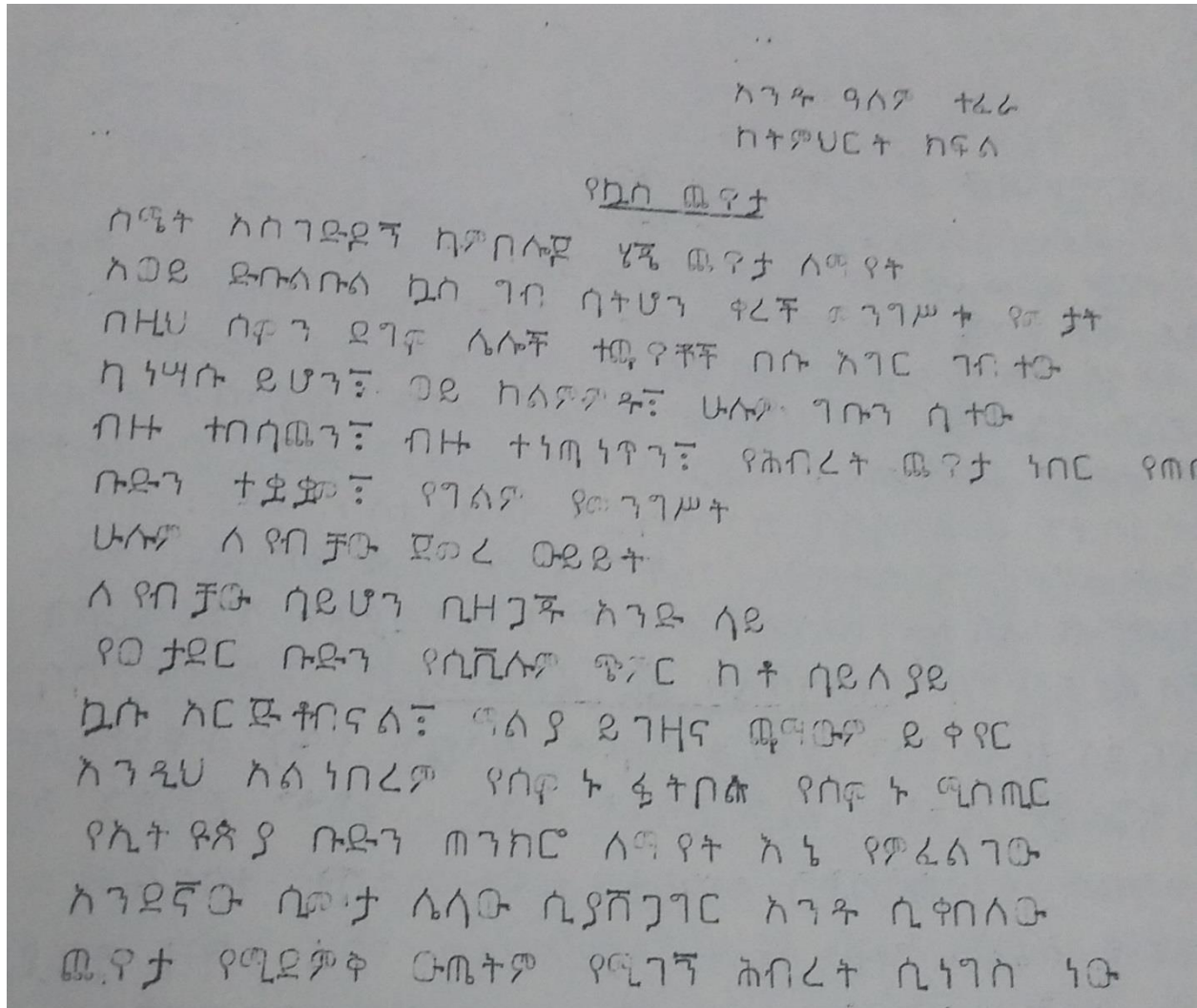
Appendix 9: Artistic works of the students from their newspaper called *Struggle* that had great role in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots.



Appendix 10: Artistic works of the students from their newspaper called *Struggle* that had great role in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots.

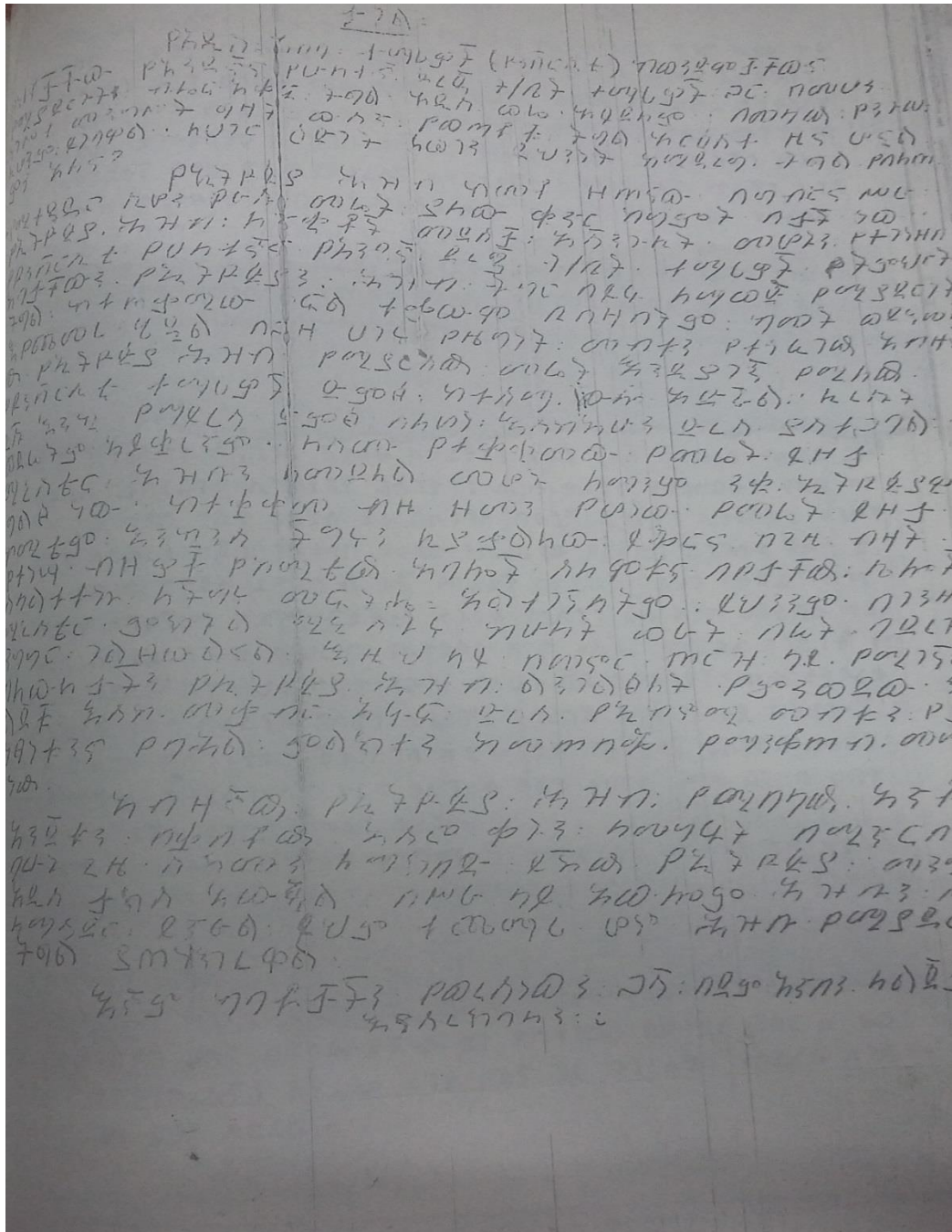


Appendix 11: Artistic works of the students from their newspaper called *Struggle* that had great role in developing the political consciousness of the grass – roots.



Appendix 12: One of the flyer of the students' that motivated the rest of the students to develop

the consciousness of the grass – roots.



Appendix 13: One of the flyer of the students' that motivated the rest of the students to develop

the consciousness of the grass – roots.

