

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

The Power of Culture in History: Traditional Conflict Management Mechanism among the Dizi Community, Southwest Ethiopia

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Abstract:

This article deals, among other things with how both traditional and modern institutions and mechanisms of conflict management which are being implemented in the southwest frontier areas of Ethiopia in which the Dizi people settled for centuries, do not save the people from death. Dramatic traditional conflict management mechanisms of Dizi people, mainly Dofie simply become successful in solving intra conflicts. Following the introduction of modern administration in 1898 in this frontier area the un-preserved Traditional Conflict Management Mechanism of the Dizi Community became powerless from time to time. Number of death, lose of property e.g. Cattle and land due to conflict between the agriculturalist Dizi and pastoralist Suri continued from time to time since time of immemorial. Cultural factors, ecological crisis, population movements and rapid spread of modern weapons make the problem complicated.

Keywords: Conflict resolution, Dizi, Suri, Dofie, Geima, Maji, Bero, "Reading" intestine

1. Introduction

Ethiopia is ethnically and linguistically diverse country and is called a museum of nations and nationalities. There are over 80 ethnic groups inhabiting its territory.ⁱ Among these Ethnic groups, the Dizi people are the one who are situated in southwestern landmass of the country. Currently, the Dizi people are predominantly found in Maji and Bero *woredas* which were formerly included under Kafa administrative region, specifically in Maji province. Maji *woreda* is bordered in the east by River Omo, in the west by Gambela, in the north by Me'en *woreda*, and in the south by Surma *woreda* and south Omo zone. Whereas Bero *woreda* is surrounded in the north by Guraferda in the south by Surma in the east by Maji and in the west by Gambela Region.ⁱⁱ

The Dizi are Omotic people who are lighter and more rugged looking than the surrounding dry land and low land inhabiting Nilo-Saharan people like Suri, Me'en, zilmamo and Mursi.ⁱⁱⁱ They settled to elevations that ranges form 450-2370 meters above sea level. The highest elevation point is at Maji town located at central Maji.^{iv}

As compared to their neighboring communities, the Dizi are one of the most settled agriculturalists in the area. They were known for their hoe culture even before the introduction of plow agriculture.^{vii} Although there is no problem related to scarcity of arable land, the Dizi people remained most dominantly dependent on consumption driven agriculture throughout their history. Informants clearly state that there are various reasons for poor agricultural practices among the Dizi people. The main problem is associated with the historic insecurity problem in the area. The rural peasant cannot cultivate their lands freely and timely since the surrounding cultivating lands are visiting by the Suri people who carried semi-automatic refills to kill the Dizi. Therefore, significant number of producing labor forces are remained in their cultivation lands after they are shot by the Suri. Additionally, the Dizi people, both male and female, are known by their drinking habit. In fact, this habit emanates from the social and psychological crisis resulted from day today indiscriminate killing by the neighboring Suri, according to informants.^{viii}

Thus, most population of the rural people passes their time either drinking *bordie* (traditional alcohol) and katicala in the nearby towns or sitting in their guards. Thus, their agricultural products are remaining in forests and are being damaged by wild animals and wild fire. Moreover, due to ridden and invasion by the Suri in one side and their extravagant (in time and money) behavior, only few of the Dizi people, have pair or single oxen for plowing. This oxen shortage is aggravated by their culture to sell bull and to keep heifer.^{ix}

Although they are not reared highly for the sake of food and income, cattle have very important place in peace making process and ritual ceremonial lives of the Dizi people. Among different chieftaincies and in various localities, cattle play a role as sacrificial feasts and as means of bride wealth. Cattle are slaughtered for every ritual of purification, divination and in rain making ceremonies.^x

Significant number of the Dizi people lived out of few existing towns in the area constructing specially designed and built short hut called *Ei*. The wall and base of the hut is not separated. Rather they used long sticks that can be stretch from the ground to the top of the root making conical shape. They used local wood types like *duquma* and *shatero* together with *bahir zaf* to build their house.^{xi} They used a special plant called *Mulmuzu* as ropes in constricting their houses. External part of the house is covered by grass.



Figure 1: A Dizi hut from outside view (a photo taken by the authors)

Similarly, they used mud to cover the internal part of the wall. In the internal part of the wall they prepare pocket like corridor to put materials mainly eggs from mud. Their house has no partitions. Decorating the internal and front side of the house is mostly left for females.^{xii}

The Dizi people have a tradition to work cooperatively. They have social working practice called *Gabsu*. A needy man can make a call on the neighboring relatives and others to assist him in constructing houses or in helping him in other agricultural doings. The needy man who hosted *Gabsu* prepares their traditional *borde* which can help as food and drinking for those who can assist him. All members of the *Gabsu* can be assisted each other turn by turn. Others who have no assistance (like women, elders, patients) can get assistance in their house construction and agricultural practices.^{xiii} Women can also be part of *Gabsu* in bringing grass for house construction and in collecting agricultural produces during harvesting seasons.^{xiv}

All Dizi people situated both in Maji and Bero *woredas* have one language, Dizu and they can communicate each other without significantly observed barriers in their socio-economic lives. Linguists who study the Dizu language, however, try to show the slight dialect difference among Dizi families. For instance, according to Muldrow we can list out the Dizi dialects in the following way.^{xxi}

S. No	Dialect group	List of families	Number of families
		With similar dialects	
1	Group 1	Aro Bero, Damt, Duku	4
2	Group 2	Maji, Meshi, Galkem, Dagu, Urr, Kersi	6
3	Group 3	Jaba, Garo, Gay	3
4	Group 4	Kolu, Oskolls, Kanta	3
5	Group 5	Muyi	1
6	Group 6	Adnt	1
7	Group 7	Say	1
8	Group 8	Gobi	1
9	Group 9	Siski	1

Table 1

2. Meanings of Conflict and Traditional Conflict Management

Different scholars have forwarded different ideas about the difference between terms like conflict and dispute, conflict management and conflict settlement and conflict transformation though some of them do not show distinct difference between them. For instance, Kestner and Ray explain that conflict is the heart of most disputes. They attempted to explain how the two terms are interconnected and how most disputes existed in a larger and intractable conflict. Besides, they discuss that conflict could breath for so long whereas the life expectancy of disputes is short since they are characterized by short term disagreements. They also argued that some disputes are reinforced by the intractable conflicts and others stand alone and settled permanently.^{xxii}

Jeong explains how disputes can be caused by simple facts lie disagreement on salaries, *education* of children and other matters in ordinary social life. They could not harm the values and norm of the society, and hence disagreements are easily negotiated. According to Burton “disputes does not involve serious institutional problem and it can be handled through bargaining and arbitration. Long term and deep routed conflicts, on the other hand are, rooted in interpretative dynamist of history, psychological relationship,

cultural norm, social values and beliefs, systems of identify groups.^{xxiii} According to Burton deep rooted conflicts over the above-mentioned issues tend to be down out and highly resistant to management, often escalating or evolving in to intractable conflicts. Therefore, they are in need of complex processes to be managed. Besides, as compared to disputes, conflicts have the power to motivate antagonistic feelings and frustration among the conflicting parties and hence deeper adversarial enemy images.^{xxiv}

Many conflict scholars have also drawn distinction between dispute settlement, conflict resolution, conflict management and conflict transformation. According to Jeong “the outcomes of interest based dispute are bound by the resources at stake”. Thus, to him dispute settlement mechanism is used to settle disputes based on negotiable interaction than dealing in the actors and their relations. It is considered as the easiest and fastest way to reach on agreements. This mechanism has its own role to keep the stability of the society by protecting the accepted norm, values and institution in everyday life. Even though dispute settlement is effective in the short term, it could not able to address the underline causes. Because its focus is on objective issues, meaning attitudinal, structural and behavioral issues are not taken in to consideration. Its main goal is to avert the disagreement and reduce suspicion and distrust but not really peace. Therefore, the probability of re-eruption of dispute is high after settlement.^{xxv}

On the other hand, conflict resolution is a long-term settlement or an underlining long running conflict. It needs the long-term commitment of the actors to solve their difference since the deep-rooted conflicts arose over non-negotiable issues. The main target of the mechanism in to remove the cause of conflict. It requires a more analytical problem solving approach than dispute settlement and need to pass through complex process.^{xxvi}

Conflict management, according to Jeong is seen in terms of social control designed to minimize the challenge to core values of the system. However according to Imobighe (2000), if conflict management is conceived in its integrative form, it would include of broad array of activities; prevention, mitigation and resolution.^{xxvii} Ryan states that conflict transformation should address issues such as long term security, economic justice and culture of violence.^{xxviii}

Scholars also defined indigenous knowledge in different ways. For the purpose of this study, I will employ the following concepts. Indigenous refers to the knowledge and practice that are developed and accumulated over time in a particular cultural group and region. Hence it is unique to that group and region. Indigenous knowledge systems do involve from within and also will internalize knowledge to shift the local situation^{xxix}

In conclusion, the term dispute settlement implies the mechanism to settle dispute in a short period without addressing underlying issues. Conflict resolution refers to the long-term mechanisms to eliminate or resolve and underlying long running conflict. Conflict management implies the attempt to prevent and control conflicts from escalating further and to create harmonious relationship between the contestants; and conflict transformation indicates the changes in the nature of relationships. Since human beings could not able to avoid disagreements at all and their attempt to transformation their relation is too idealistic, we saw conflict management more appropriate for this research than other.

3. Traditional Conflict Management Mechanisms among the Dizi

Conflict is a common phenomenon among human being. People experienced it in their day today life while they are interacting. Hence it is part of social life that could not be avoided overall. Therefore, different societies have developed their own mechanisms to manage conflict not to throw their existence in to danger. In line with this, different scholars have forwarded different ideas about the definition, causes, and types of conflicts based on their own experiences and understanding. Nevertheless, conflict scholars agreed on the possible ways of conflict management.^{xxx}

Like in other parts of the world, in Africa, people with different background, culture, class, age and others came into conflict. The conflicting parties may be individual, groups, families, lineages, clans, ethnic groups... etc. To manage their conflicts African have devised indigenous mechanisms. In other words, those indigenous conflict management systems helped them to heal the scare of their conflicts. However, the mechanisms differ from a given societies to the other because of the different ways of life. Side by side with indigenous institution, the Africans have also used the formal institutions to manage their differences.^{xxxi}

Ethiopians like their counter parts in Africa have also employed indigenous conflict management institutions. Among the different ethnic groups in Ethiopia the Dizi people who are well-organized ethnic groups in the Southwestern border areas of Ethiopia have used different mechanisms to manage conflicts among themselves and with others. Even though some researchers have carried out historical and linguistic research on the Dizi community they did not deal with indigenous conflict management mechanisms. In particular, the major causes of conflicts and techniques to solve them through “traditional ways among the Dizi communities have not been explored.

4. Conflict and its Causes in the Dizi

As explained above, conflicts are inevitable phenomena in diversified county, like Ethiopia. Of course, the levels, causes and natures, and the way to manage conflicts may vary depend on the nature of the society. In the case of the Diz people conflicts can be categorized in to inter and intra. Intra conflict in this context refers to conflict that arises among the Dizi themselves. Such conflicts may arise at individual, family, and clan levels among the Dizi community. Since the time of immemorial the Dizi people have organized themselves in clan structures. Each clan had its own specified territory and hierarchical leaders. As a result of this, conflict may arise between these different clans and it has devastating effects. The causes of these conflicts have been many but bordering issue and competition for natural resources are the major one.^{xxxii}

In this regard, oral traditions gathered in deferent Dizi localities reveal that before the incorporation of the Dizi into the central government of Ethiopia in 1898, conflicts were commonly raised and were settled by traditional ways of conflict resolution. Though informants fail to tell us the exact time, in the Dizi of Bero area two clans that are Garo and Kasie fought for territorial ownership

before modern court system was introduced following the incorporation of the area in to Ethiopian Empire. In the Maji area the same case had occurred between two clans who were headed by their own local leaders, Maji kuri and Maji Geji. These clans fought each other due to their territorial competition and border claim. However, all these conflicts were fully managed by traditional conflict management mechanism which the people exercised at list for centuries.^{xxxiii}

Inter conflicts refer to conflicts which arise between the Dizi and their neighboring communities. Though the Dizi have cordial relation with many of their neighbors such as Me'en, Zelmamo, Sheko and others, they have hostile relation with the Suri people in the region. The severe conflicts that are intact until today between the Dizi and Suri communities mostly are caused by deferent economic and cultural reasons. Among other things, cattle raiding, grazing lands, bordering, abductions and culture of the Suri themselves have been considered as the major causes of conflicts between the Suri and Dizi.^{xxxiv}

Traditionally, the Dizi had special concern in protecting and preserving the nearby forests. Each local leader has reserved forests for graving and heave's accumulation purpose in their jurisdiction. As a result of this, natural resources such as grazing land and water have been abundant in the Dizi territories than the Suri since the time of immemorial. Unlike the Suri, the Dizi have also been mainly engaged in agricultural activities which enable them to store their products for some time.^{xxxv}

On the other hand, the Suri have been pastoralists. They move from one place to another area in search of grazing lands and water for their cattle. They had no reserve food for themselves. As a result, they were easily vulnerable to climatic changes. Therefore, when drought occurs and some of scarcities of natural resources happen, the Suri cross the borders of the Diz easily and overrun the territories. They plunder the agriculturalists, the Dizi who relatively reserve their food for some time. This was a wide phenomenon which has remained the sources of conflict between the two until today. In this respect in the last about five decades, as informants explain, the Dizi lost their historic territories for the Suri via forceful eviction.^{xxxvi}

Two fundamental reasons help the Suri to successfully overrun the territories of the Diz and evict the Dizi; and hold the territories for themselves once and for all. First, the Dizi mainly engaged in agricultural economic activities and they had remained for a long period of the time sources of tax and state revenue. Besides, since 1898 the Dizi territory has been center of the administration and political seat of central government representatives. Slavery and all types' administration system exercised over them. This made weak in their wealth and military equipment since the incorporation. Even those who had weapons are already registered by the government and fill responsibility. The Suri on the other hand, were pastoralists in which they were relatively free from forceful taxation and registration of weapons. They were far from the center, Maji which has been the center of the administration of the government body. Secondly, the Suri had easily access to get weapons from the Sudan since they have boundary link with Sudan and sometimes from Kenya across Bomie, another equipped frontier pastoralists.^{xxxvii}

Beyond economic reasons and access to fire arms, the cultural practices of the Suri have been considered as the cause of conflicts between the two Ethiopian neighboring communities, the Dizi and the Suri. Among Suri community young men are expected to prepare large number of cattle for bride wealth to get wives at a competitive base. One of gaining mechanism of this large number of cattle is making raid against the neighboring communities. Moreover, Suri ladies have their own singing to appreciate men who show his braveness killing his equivalent male. These traditions, therefore, have been exacerbating factors of conflicts between Dizi and Suri people.^{xxxviii}

As a result of these, the Suri have been always threatening their neighbors, the Dizi since the time of immemorial. In the last two government systems of Ethiopia (the imperial and military) the Dizi were highly suffered from the attacks of the Suri. Paradoxically, the worst is now happening in current government in which ethnicity and self-administration recognized. According to our informants, the number of Dizi who were killed by the Suri and the Dizi settlement areas which were taken by the Suri in the last two decades is greater than the period of the imperial and *Derg* regimes.^{xxxix}

5. *Dofie* Ceremony of Dizi the People

To solve the above mentioned inter and intra conflicts, employing traditional conflict management mechanism called *Dofie* have been common in the Dizi people like other communities of Ethiopia. According to our informants their conflict management mechanism was highly important and mostly valued until the introduction of modern administration systems. In the last two governments of Ethiopia (imperial and military regimes) the local traditional mechanisms of conflict management began to lose its value. Currently efforts are mainly being made by the government to solve conflicts through modern legal institutions established around these communities. But their conflicts particularly with their pastoral neighbors continued from time to time.^{xl}

Although there are different traditional conflict management mechanisms among the Dizi, *Dofie* is the most important one. It was very important institution to solve conflicts that arises between clans in the Dizi, and the Dizi versus their neighbors. The very nature of *Dofie* is for reconciliations. Kiyam is a place where the conciliation has been commonly under taken.^{xli}

Those who have special talents of making a *Dofie* are called *Geima*. In each of the Dizi clan under its leaders there have been *Geimas*. Of course, the *Geimas* have different names in different clans of the Dizi and the Suri too. For example, in Kasi and Sayi clans of the Dizi, individuals who have special experts called Ari Babu and Zaku respectively. They are experts in forecasting the bad and the good futures of individual as well as the whole society. Besides, under the supervision of the *balabats* (*Amharic term to traditional leaders and land owners*), they arbitrate both inter and intra conflicts. They have also an ability to check whether the management is heartily or superficially by examining the intestine of slaughtered sheep or goat. Some of our informant's note that before the incorporation, the Suri was highly respects the tradition of the Dizi because they fear the curse that comes from the Dizi. Even though, each clan use for both inter and intra conflicts, the way they make the management for inter conflicts is different from the way that to solve intra conflicts.^{xlii}

Let us have a look at the intra conflicts that arises in a family or a clan or in different clan members of the Dizi. If a son or girls quarreled with his or her fathers, the *Geima* would be called and make reconciliation by making *Donfie* at the house of a boys or girl's father. There is a fest ceremony. The sons or girls and grandsons bring a goat or sheep, and cattle to the ceremony for slaughter. Such ceremony is not only for arbitration and blessing but sometimes done at the time of inheritances. However, it is mandatory that the *Geima* first slaughter the sheep or goat, and cattle next.⁴² This is because the primary concern is to scrutinize the intestine of the slaughtered sheep or goat to verify the appropriate day and the fate of the reconciliation. The *Geimas* first stretch the intestine of the goat or a sheep and examine it to check and forecast whether the conciliation will be successful or not; and the futures situations of the arbitration.^{xliii}

After they carefully examine the intestine they read loudly to the clan elders what they forecast. If they forecast the peace making is not good for that day, the peace-making process will be terminated and they will arrange another day and date. If they say everything is good and the conciliation is to be carried out heartily, the next step that is slaughtering a cow or an ox and other ceremony would take places. Culturally, in the Dizi people eating meat of goat and sheep by the clan leaders and their relatives is forbidden. Therefore, a slaughtered goat or a sheep meat is going to be given for the *gima* but the cattle meat for the local *chiefs*. To get blessing of their father the sons and grandsons are anoint the slaughtered goat and sheep's blood on the navel. The same is true for reconciliation among the quarreled individuals from different clans; first as stated above anoint the blood of the sheep on the navel, second the two individuals who quarreled each other requested to drink *bordie* (traditional drink) by the same dish and eat a piece of meat together.^{xliiv}

If a person kills someone from other neighboring non- Dizi man like Suri or vice versa first the *balabats* send *babu* (*elder*) to the deceased clan leaders or the family for reconciliations. If they agree the killer with his family and the deceased family meet at predetermined place that is called the Kiyama. The killer should come up with a sheep or a goat and a cow to the reconciliation place. Until the *Geima* slaughter a sheep or goat the killer and the deceased family cannot see face to face. A cloth called *abujedie* will be hanged between them. After the *Geima* slaughter a sheep or a goat and "read" the intestine about the arbitration, they bury the *fers* (chime) and blood of the slaughtered sheep under the ground. Beyond solving conflicts and disputes, the process also is believed to enable them to predict what would happen in the future. However, it is secret what the *Geimas* read on the intestine of the slaughtered animal. They, then, ordered the two parties to stand on the buried *fers* (chime) and then the hanged cloth can be removed to let the two parties see face to face. And the killer and one of the deceased family members is going to be hold single piece of meat by their tooth and eat it. Besides, the two parties drink a *bordie* by the same dish at same time. Look the photo that signifies the final arbitration of the two individuals who drink from the same bottle at a time.^{xliv}



Figure 2: Dizi people drinking borde together (photo taken from the web)

Then the *balabats* began to eat the cow's meat whereas the *Geimas* eat the sheep or a goat meat which is slaughtered for this purpose.^{xlvi}

In the Bero area where significant number of Dizi community settled, all conflicts at any level are solved by Jeba Burji, their traditional political and religious leader. In Bero conflict management mechanism is somehow different from the Dizi who have been living in Maji area. Serious matters or conflict issues are directly referred to Jeba Burji. In Bero there were more than eleven clan leaders each of them have defined territories but there has been one chief that is, Jeba Burji. All clan leaders are directly responsible to Jeba Burji. If individual from different clan members quarrel each other, they will be referred to Jeba Burji. In Maji areas all clan leaders have defined territories and parallel powers. Therefore, if conflicts arise between two or more individuals from different clan members the problem will be solved through the participations of all clan leaders of the quarreled. What makes them common both the Bero of Dizi and the Maji of Dizi are the presence of *Geimas* with different names who bring the quarreled to "justice". But in Maji area *Geimas* have significant role in the arbitration or negotiation periods.^{xlvii}

If an individual kill another person who has no blood relation with him, in the reconciliation date the killer is going to be forced to provide his daughter or his relative daughter to the deceased family as indemnity. This exercised for a long period of time until the end of *Derg* regime. However, today such kind of punishment is totally forbidden by the government and the community also accepted this. Instead of a girl a killer is expected to pay at least seven cattle for the deceased's family.^{xlviii}

6. The Role of Traditional Conflict Solving Ways after the Introduction of Modern Legal Institutions

Since the area became part of Ethiopian empire in 1898, modern administration and legal institutions were introduced. Emphasis has been given to solve conflicts through modern court system. Since this southwestern frontier area of Ethiopia is dominated by non-settled communities, modern court system did not prove to be effective. The Ethiopian government was successful to implement its policies in the agriculturalist Dizi. The role of traditional conflict solving ways deteriorated after the introduction of modern legal institutions and the Dizi became more victims. The problem was intensified when the area was controlled by Italians from 1935-1941.^{xlix}

In the 1941 the combined Ethiopian patriots and British force liberated Ethiopia from Italian occupation. It was this episode reinstalls Emperor HelieSeliese I to the throne. Immediately, after restoration numerous loyal individuals appointed as administrator over each of various provinces of the country. These appointees tried to implement the tax and *gebar* systems on their jurisdiction. They forced the people to register their weapons for the government. However, this move created tension among the southern Ethiopia in general and the Diz people in particular. The people feared that the previous *gebar* system would re-institute in the region.¹

Even though the Dizi in Maji areas unable to resist this move of the government because of their nearness to the settled soldiers and administrator, the Dizi of Bero, Me'en and the Sheko of Gurafereda were highly refused and rejected mal administration and high tax of the government. On the other hand, the security in the area deteriorated; crimes and murder became common. In 1946 *Ras MesfinSelish* brought a relative peace but after 1960s the area became insecure.ⁱⁱ

In the period under discussion the principal cause for the security problems of the area was very complicated and unsolved until today. Secrete bullet and gun trading was considered as one sources of insecurity in the Dizi and neighboring territories. The main sources of guns and bullets that circulated in the area were from the then Italians, Sudan and Addis Ababa (the center of the central government of Ethiopia). Traders brought bullets and guns from Addais Ababa by airplane as far as Maji and MizanTeferi and sold it in various parishes secretly for Suri, Dizi, Me'en and others peoples.

አሁን ደግሞ እስከ ሚያዝያ 1941 ድረስ በአየር ኪኒዚያ ባለታችን በአግር ማግኘት ዝጅም ረዋል በዚህ ምክንያት መሳሪያዎች ለከፋ ጎረቤት ማራራት ማራራት ማራራት ደርሶባቸዋል ለሌሎችም ደርሶባቸዋል.....^{lii} Nowadays, the war weapons transported bay airplane from Addis Ababa to MizanTeferi and Maji and it would be sold publicly in Kefa and 'Gimira' awraja and it distributed to the mass.

To halt undisclosed armament trading the pen minster granted the right and power to the *nechlebash* to hunt and control the underground armament traders. Besides, *Balambaras* MahtemeSellasie, the work and communication minster remarked in his letter to Ethiopian airline authority that any armament without the permission of the government should not be transported by the Ethiopian airlines to Maji. The main actors of bullets and gun traders were individuals who came from other regions of Ethiopia. These traders from different regions of Ethiopia brought bullets and guns to the area and exchanged it with gold. For instance, as archives confirm *ato* MisganewTafese, *ato* BogaleHailemaryam, Lobawi Agefrie and *ato* MekonenAlayeu were some of the traders who actively involved at the time. In 1970 the three individuals fired the police station of in Geleb but later Misganew was captured by the Geleb *woreda* police and the rest escaped.^{liii}

Some of the police members were collaborators of the secret traders. This aggravated the insecurity of the local people and had made it unmanageable. The police members in Maji namely, shamble Yirdaw Teferi, Shambel Tadese Agedie, Shamble Tadese Ligidie Burka, *Hamsa Aleqa* KebedeYimer, Mamo Hailemaryam, kebede Feyesa, Tefera (Zelmamo police center), soldier Gebere Egizihabihier, Bogale Lakew, Bogale Wolde Giyorgis, Fekadu Hailemaryam, Aba Mekesie (the main gold Bayer), all soldiers at Kullie center were identified by the people that directly participated in the secret trading activities. However, the government did not take measures rather it transferred them to other *woredas*. This in turn discouraged the local people to cooperate with the government.^{liv}

The local population in Dizi and neighboring people had got access to the left over of Italian guns and the neighboring areas. Those who had enough wealth could buy the bullets and guns. In this regard, the Suri and Bomie people were number one buyer of these commodities. The Suri and Bomie were relatively free from tax burden of the government of Ethiopia which helped them to accumulate wealth than the Dizi. The Suri had got their armaments from the Sudan particularly the SPLA (Sudan people liberation). Those who buy the guns had made sudden attack and looted the Dizi cattle and other properties. In 1954 the relation between Dizi and Suri became tough.^{lv}

Another cause for security problems have been emanated from absences of effective leadership over the border area of Ethiopia particularly the borderline between Ethiopia and Sudan, and Ethiopia and Kenya. Therefore, illegal peoples from Sudan came to as far as Maji and Jeba. They across Gelebawraja had made frequent attack and loot Nebrebus and Harokebele which were under the firm control of the Dizi and Suri.^{lvi}

In 1953 major Yohannes came to Maji and assigned police to protect the borders of Ethiopia from the illegal peoples from Sudan and Kenya. In this case *grazmach* Gebere Sellasie Dejenie, assigned Yirdaw Teferi and other personals in Nebrebus near Sudan to protect the borders. However, the guards suffered from a continuous threat of English personals from Sudan. Some reports asserted that the English personals from Sudan came to the region and exchanged natural resources and crops with cotton cloth. Their heavy tracks carried large number of crops, cattle, sheep, got and natural resources from Ethiopia territories to Liktab the town in Sudan per a day. Some *balabats* in the region were lobbied by the Sudanese to provide commodities. Particularly,

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 - xli. Ibid.
 - xl.ii. Ibid.
 - xl.iii. Ibid.
 - xl.iv. Ibid.
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 - xl.vi. Informants: Mershi Adikas, Markos Gebre Selasie and Sehalie Miyangu
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 - xl.ix. Informants: Mershi Adikas, Markos Gebre Selasie and Sehalie Miyangu
 - l. Ibid
 - li. Informants: Tademe Gumoro, Yohannes Bogale, Kayimu Kiyamis and Kebede Burji
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