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## Is the TPLF/EPRDF an ethnic-based-apartheid government?

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Institutions are to be independent of political control in a healthy, just and inclusive society; however, in Ethiopia, one can see that one ethnic group, affiliated with one ethnic-based political party, dominates key positions in government and its institutions. Judge for yourself. The majority of the examples given below provide information of ethnic background and political affiliation for key leaders within key institutions in Ethiopia. This is a sampling of some of the most critical institutions under the control of the Government of Ethiopia. Civic organizations should act as watchdogs, but a similar sampling of such organizations would show a similar ethnic makeup and party affiliation following the passing of the Charities and Societies Proclamation (CSO law). It should be noted that the TPLF has often placed persons from other ethnicities in a top role, but in most cases, those second in command are the hidden power-holders to fool Ethiopians, donor countries and other outsiders into believing this is an inclusive government when it is not. This kind of domination should be admitted and openly discussed, for tensions related to it have become a source of potential backlash that could evolve into ethnic-based violence and instability. We should all try to avoid this outcome; yet, it will require honesty, integrity and a willingness to put humanity before ethnicity or any other distinctions. Until then, none of us will be free!

### Some of the current leaders heading key institutions in Ethiopia:

Institution	Head	Ethnicity	Political Affiliation
<p>1. <b>Ethiopian Prime Minister:</b> PM Hailemariam Desalegn is said to be a figurehead, without any real power, who was appointed to bring the appearance of ethnic diversity to the TPLF/ERPDP. He led the team that drafted the draconian Charities and Societies Proclamation law (CSO law) that when adopted in 2009, virtually eliminated civil society. There are currently four deputy prime ministers (DPM) rather than only one, as done in the past. Each DPM is from a different party within the EPRDF, each representing one of the four ethnic-based parties that make up the EPRDF; however, the de facto prime ministers are said to be Abaye Tsehaye and Seyoum Mesfin.</p>	<b>Hailemariam Desalegn</b>	Wolayta	EPRDF

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2. **Minister of Federal Affairs:** Abaye Tsehaye is said to be the “hidden prime minister.” He is the founder of the Marxist-Leninist League of Tigray; member of the TPLF Central Committee; allegedly, he helped mastermind the massacre of Anuak leaders in Gambella in 2003, as well as other human rights crimes in the country. **Abaye is a fervent disciple of Marxist-Leninist repression of all religious groups, seeing them as a primary potential threat to the ruling party.** Reportedly, he believes that religious groups, above all other members of civil society, can more rapidly and effectively mobilize to bring about an uprising that could result in the downfall of the Government. Additionally, Abaye, along with **Seyoum Mesfin**, a retired member of the TPLF Central Committee and the current Ambassador to China, are alleged to be the real power-holders in the regime.

**Abaye Tsehaye** Tigrayan TPLF

3. **National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS):** From the very top positions of the NISS to the kebele (local) level, most every key position is held by Tigrayans, or their proxies, who are also affiliated with the TPLF. According to [Human Rights Watch’s report](#) (p 29), the NISS together with the Federal police, form the anti-terrorism task force responsible for the arrests and detentions of numerous journalists, politicians, opposition leaders, and others. Currently, it is believed Getachew Assefa and Debretsion Gebremikael, another Tigrayan and the head of the **Ministry of Communications and Information Technology (MCIT)**, work closely together and were responsible for the arrest and detention of Ethiopians like the **Zone9 bloggers and the Oromo students, and the kidnapping and extradition of Ethiopians holding foreign passports from other countries like Okello Akway Ochalla, the former governor of Gambella, a Norwegian citizen, who was taken from South Sudan and Andargachew Tgige, a British citizen, who was taken from Yemen.** It is also rumored that they acted independently of the prime minister, the military and other government officials. HRW indicates that the NISS shares little information with others, including the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (EDF). (p 30)

- **Second in command in the NISS:** The role of Isayas has allegedly been the purposeful creation of division—ethnic, religious, political and other. Polarizing society has been a well-used strategy of the TPLF as a means to maintain minority rule when they make-up only 6% of the population of Ethiopia.
- **Head of NISS for Religious organizations:** Mikael Abraha is responsible to ensure religious groups do not pose a threat to the ruling party, using puppet leaders, division, repression, and other strategies, particularly by advancing regime-friendly leaders to positions of responsibility.

**Getachew Assefa** Tigrayan TPLF

**Isayas Woldegworgis** Tigrayan TPLF

**Mikael Abraha** Tigrayan TPLF

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This is particularly obvious within the Ethiopian Orthodox Church and Muslim leadership; this has led to the division of the EOC and to continuing protests by Muslims, including arrests of leaders, due to government interference in religious affairs. This practice is also carried out among Protestant groups at the local level, affecting top leadership. The TPLF/EPRDF Strategic Plan for Hegemony and Perpetual Rule gives some further details on this practice on how the TPLF/ERPFD has controlled religious groups and other parts of civil society as part of a master plan.

4. **Ethiopian Federal Police:** The federal police and security agents enforce the will of those in charge from the top federal level to the district level. This includes having primary responsibility for all federal, regional and district investigations; including, directing others in that role at the local levels. The various departments of the federal police are led by individuals of the same ethnicity and party affiliation; for example, the head of the police, the head of investigations, the head of forensics, and the head of the prison system are all controlled by Tigrayans who are committed to enforcing TPLF policy, regularly trumping the rule of law. The federal police work closely with the NISS and are often the first called to suppress protests. They are believed to be responsible for recently killing student protestors in the Oromo region.

**Aregash Beyene (Head of Federal Police)** Tigrayan TPLF

**Girmay ? (Commander of Investigations)** Tigrayan TPLF

**Meucha ? (Commander of Forensics)** Tigrayan TPLF

5. **Ministry of Defense:** This ministry is led in name only by a non-Tigrayan from the South; but again, it is a TPLF effort meant to deceive outsiders while maintaining control for the interests of the TPLF. The real power of the military is clearly seen in the [nearly total domination of Tigrayans](#) in the roles of the top leadership within the military. Out of 55 top officers, only 2 were of an ethnicity other than Tigrayan. Please refer to the list below.

**Siraj Fegesa Sherefa** Silte EPRDF

- **Ethiopian National Defense (END):** The makeup of the leadership of the military is almost all made up of people of Tigrayan ethnicity and affiliated with the TPLF, making it an ethnic-based, namely Tigrayan defense force rather than an Ethiopian National Defense Force. Please see below for a detailed list of the ethnic composition of ENDF leadership or the [link](#).

**General Samora Yunis** Tigrayan TPLF

6. **Minister of Foreign Affairs:** In order to protect the interests of the regime, all key foreign relations positions are held by Tigrayans or others who are regime loyalists; one notable case is **Seyoum Mesfin**, previously a member of the TPLF Central Committee, a founder of the TPLF, the head of EFFORT—the Tigrayan business conglomerate that enjoys favorable treatment by the TPLF/EPRDF in

**Tedros Adhanom** Tigrayan TPLF

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regards to business dealings—and an ambassador to China. Sources indicate he was given the ambassador position in case the US backs out of the long-standing supportive partnership with the TPLF/ERPFD. Seyoum also is highly influential in all matters of the TPLF.

**7. Minister of Communications and Information**

**Technology (MCIT):** This ministry monitors and controls technology and information systems; this includes radio, television, websites, telecommunications, networks and the development of technology services within the country, where Ethiopia is lagging far behind most other countries on the continent. This ministry is responsible for the control and surveillance of the Internet, Voice Over IP, mobile phones, messaging, video conferencing, and jamming various programming. **Debretsion Gebremikael** is said to work closely with **Getachew Assefa** and the **NISS** and are thought to be responsible for

information leading to the arrest of journalists, opposition figures and activists under the politically-motivated and repressive anti-terrorism law. When facing charges, records of phone calls and emails are misused as evidence of false terrorism charges, often manufactured.

**8. Ethio Telecom:** This government-owned company is the sole provider of telecommunications in Ethiopia. **Debretsion Gebremikael**, who is also the Minister of Communications and Technology, is the board chairperson. In an unusual display of [open criticism by parliamentarians](#), he has been confronted for the **poor performance** of Ethio Telecom; **accusations of placing security over service and development**. Ethio Telecom operates under the auspices of **MCIT and the government**.

**9. Minister of Finance and Economic Development;** This ministry is in control of financial institutions, loans, investments, banking and is very powerful. It has been criticized for its practice of giving preferential treatment to Tigrayans, EFFORT businesses and TPLF approved individuals and businesses. EFFORT has never been audited. Seyoum Mesfin was the head of EFFORT until Azeb Mesfin, the wife of deceased former prime minister, Meles Zenawi, took it over. She has now been replaced by another Tigrayan.

- **Second in Command** and the real power in the ministry again is a Tigray and TPLF member. Many of the banks are government owned, but operated as extensions of the TPLF.

**10. Ethiopian Revenues and Customs Authority:** This is a key ministry which has been used to control individuals and

**Debretsion Gebremikael** (also holds position of Deputy Prime Minister, one of four with same title and role) Tigrayan TPLF

**Debretsion Gebremichael** Tigrayan TPLF

**Soufian Ahmed Beker** Oromo ERPFD

**Mikael Abraha** Tigrayan TPLF

**Kaidaki Gezahegn (Deputy** Tigrayan TPLF

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businesses to ensure regime compliance through assessing revenues/taxes or by giving favored treatment. Most customs agents are Tigrayans, many of whom are former TPLF guerilla fighters. This includes women soldiers who were given these jobs in lieu of other appointments.

**Director)**

Agents are said to regularly give preferential treatment on custom tariff rates to fellow Tigrayans; sometimes eliminating fees altogether, while exorbitant fees are charged to non-Tigrayans. This practice has curbed development and opportunity in non-Tigrayan regions; for example, import taxes on electronic equipment are prohibitively expensive and deter persons from bringing them into the country.

**11. Ministry of Justice:** As one of the most strategic institutions, the Ministry of Justice is one of the most crucial to the TPLF if they are to maintain their minority rule. The current head is said to hold little power, but instead is thought to be used by the TPLF to show ethnic diversity when there is little to none. The following positions are key:

**Berhane Hailu Dagne** Amhara EPRDF

- **President of Federal Supreme Court;** This man controls the Court to ensure the interests of the TPLF are primary, from the highest courts of the land to the local level. Both he and the Deputy President of the Federal Supreme Court were rebel fighters in the bush With Meles Zenawi.

**Dessalegn Berhe** Tigrayan TPLF

- **Deputy President of the Federal Supreme Court** Although Medhen Kiros is second in command, he is the actual head of the Ministry of Justice. He is a former TPLF guerilla fighter. Dessalegn Berhe and Medhen Kiros are responsible for making sure the court serves the agenda of the Tigrayan/TPLF.

**Medhen Kiros** Tigrayan TPLF

- **State Minister of Justice:** Dr. Hashim is reported to be the mastermind of the manipulation of the legal system so to serve the goals and purposes of perpetuating TPLF control of any challengers. He has the equivalent power of **Isayas Woldegworgis, second in command of the NISS intelligence ministry** and is the right hand of **NISS minister, Getachew Assefa**; known for getting things done him at the Ministry of Justice. He is a true TPLF supporter.

**Hashim Tewfik** Harare EPRDF

- **Federal High Court Judge:** Now a judge, but previously the prosecutor in charge of the cases involving the Swedish journalists, Reeyot Alem, Eskinder Nega, Andualem Arage and other political prisoners. Some believe his judgeship is a

**Berihu Teweldebirhan** Tigrayan TPLF

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**Berihu Teweldebirhan** Tigrayan TPLF

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## Ethnic Preference Seen at ETV

Name	Ethnicity	Position at ETV
1. Temesgen Beyene	Tigray	News Anchor
2. Kibrom Woldselassie	Tigray	Amhara Region News
3. Eden Gebrehiwot	Tigray	ETV Special Entertainment Anchor
4. Le-Alem Desta	Tigray	ETV Producer
5. Hermela Gebrekidan	Tigray	News Anchor
6. Helena Mebratu	Tigray	News Anchor
7. Alganesh Teka	Tigray	ETV Program Producer/News Anchor
8. Solomon Gebremedhin	Tigray	ETV-Southern Region of Ethiopia News Anchor
9. Eden Berhane	Tigray	Special correspondent: Office of the Prime Minister
10. Abrehet Adem	Tigray	ETV Camera/Film Producer

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11. Daniel Gebregziabher	Tigray	Southern Region of Ethiopia ETV News Anchor
12. Hirut Gebreamlak	Tigray	ETV Sports News Anchor
13. Metasebia Legesse	Tigray	ETV Correspondent
14. Kebkab Tadesse	Tigray	ETV Correspondent
15. Atkilt Gebremeskel	Tigray	ETV Photographer
16. Tsega-Leoul Woldesadik	Tigray	ETV Program Producer
17. Rahel Tekleyohannes	Tigray	ETV English Program News Anchor
18. Sara Feshaye	Tigray	ETV Program Producer
19. Alemayehu Gebrehiwot	Tigray	ETV Program Producer
20. Siyaf Aseged	Tigray	ETV Program Producer

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This report comes from an insider who alleges that over the past twenty years, different techniques have been used for giving preferential treatment to people of Tigrayan ethnicity. In the broader society, especially in regards to journalists and people in the media, techniques such as firing without just cause, intimidation, imprisonment, torture, and other such methods, have been used to eliminate any who might be critical of the TPLF/EPRDF. Through various tactics, the Ethiopian regime has managed to replace 95% of ETV employees with a single ethnicity, without proper evaluation of their journalistic qualifications or experience. The dominant hiring factor is simply their ethnic origin (Tigray) and their loyalty to the TPLF/ERPFD regime.

## **SIX PERCENT OF ETHIOPIAN ETHNIC TIGRE / TPLF DOMINATE ARMY TOP POSITIONS**

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By Nemera Dinsa W | May 31, 2013

<http://ayyaantuu.com/horn-of-africa-news/ethiopia/six-percent-of-ethiopian-ethnic-tigre-tplf-dominate-army-officers/>

### **Defense Departments**

<b>No</b>	<b>Job Division</b>	<b>Name &amp; Rank</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
1	Armed Forces Chief-of-Staff	General Samora Yenus	Tigre
2	Armed Forces Head of Training	Lt.General Tadesse Worde	Tigre
3	Head of Logistics	Lt.General Gezae Abera	Tigre
4	Head of Intelligence	Br. General Gebre Dela	Tigre
5	Armed Forces Head of Campaign	Major General Gebreegzher	Tigre

6	Armed Forces Head of Engineering	Lt.General Berhane Negash	Tigre
7	Chief of the Air Force	Chief of the Air Force	Tigre

### **Heads of the Ethiopia's Four Military Commands**

<b>No</b>	<b>Job Division</b>	<b>Name &amp; Rank</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
1	Central Command	General Abebaw Tadesse	Agew
2	Northern Command	Lt.General Saere Mekonene	Tigre
3	South Eastern Command	Lt.General Abraha Wolde	Tigre
4	Western Command	Br. General Seyoum Hagos	Tigre

### **Army Divisional Commanders**

#### **Central Command & Northern Command**

<b>No</b>	<b>Job Division</b>	<b>Name &amp; Rank</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
1	14st Army Division	Colonel Wodi Antiru	Tigre
2	21st Army Division	Colonel Gueshi Gebre	Tigre
3	11th Army Division	Colonel Workidu	Tigre
4	25th Army Division	Colonel Tesfay Sahiel	Tigre
5	22nd Army Division	Colonel Teklay Klashin	Tigre
6	4th Mechanized Division	Colonel Hinsaw Giorgis	Tigre

#### **South Eastern Command**

<b>No</b>	<b>Job Division</b>	<b>Name &amp; Rank</b>	<b>Ethnic Group</b>
1	19st Army Division	Colonel Wodi Guaae	Tigre
2	44st Army Division	Colonel Zewdu Tefera	Tigre
3	13th Army Division	Colonel Sherifo	Tigre
4	12th Army Division	Colonel Mulugeta Berhe	Tigre



5	32nd Army Division	Colonel Abraha Tselim	Tigre
6	6th Mechanized Division	Colonel G/Medhin Fekede	Tigre

#### **Western Command**

No	Job Division	Name & Rank	Ethnic Group
1	23rd Army Division	Colonel Wolde Belalom	Tigre
2	43rd Army Division	Colonel Wodi Abate	Tigre
3	26th Army Division	Colonel Mebrahtu	Tigre
4	7th Mechanized Division	Colonel Gebre Mariam	Tigre

#### **Commanders in Different Defense Departments**

No	Job Division	Name & Rank	Ethnic Group
1	Agazi Commando Division	B.General Mohammed Esha	Tigre
2	Addis Ababa & Surrounding Area Guard	Colonel Zenebe Amare	Tigre
3	Palace Guard	Colonel Gerensay	Tigre
4	Banking Guard	Colonel Hawaz Woldu	Tigre
5	Engineering College	Colonel Halefom Eggigu	Tigre
6	Military Health Science	B.General Tesfay Gidey	Tigre
7	Mulugeta Buli Technical College	Colonel Meleya Amare	Tigre
8	Resource Management College	Colonel Letay	Tigre
9	Siftana Command College	B.General Moges Haile	Tigre
10	Blaten Military Training Center	Colonel Salih Berihu	Tigre
11	Wourso Military Training Center	Colonel Negash Heluf	Tigre
12	Awash Arba Military Training Center	Colonel Muze	Tigre
13	Birr Valley Military Training Center	Colonel Negassie Shikortet	Tigre
14	Defense Administration Department	B.General Mehari Zewde	Tigre

15	Defense Aviation	B.General Kinfe Dagneu	Tigre
16	Defense Research and Study	B.General Halefom Chento	Tigre
17	Defense Justice Department	Colonel Askale	Tigre
18	Secretary of the Chief-of-Staff	Colonel Tsehaye Manjus	Tigre
19	Indoctrination Center	B.General Akale Asaye	Amhara
20	Communications Department	Colonel Sebbhat	Tigre
21	Foreign Relations Department	Colonel Hassene	Tigre
22	Special Forces Coordination Department	B.General Fisseha Manjus	Tigre
23	Operations Department	Colonel Wodi Tewk	Tigre
24	Planning, Readiness and Programming Department	Colonel Teklay Ashebir	Tigre
25	Defense Industries Coordination Department	Colonel Wodi Negash	Tigre
26	Defense Finance Department	Colonel Zewdu	Tigre
27	Defense Purchasing Department	Colonel Gedey	Tigre
28	Defense Budget Department	Ato/Mr. Berhane	Tigre