ETHIOPIA

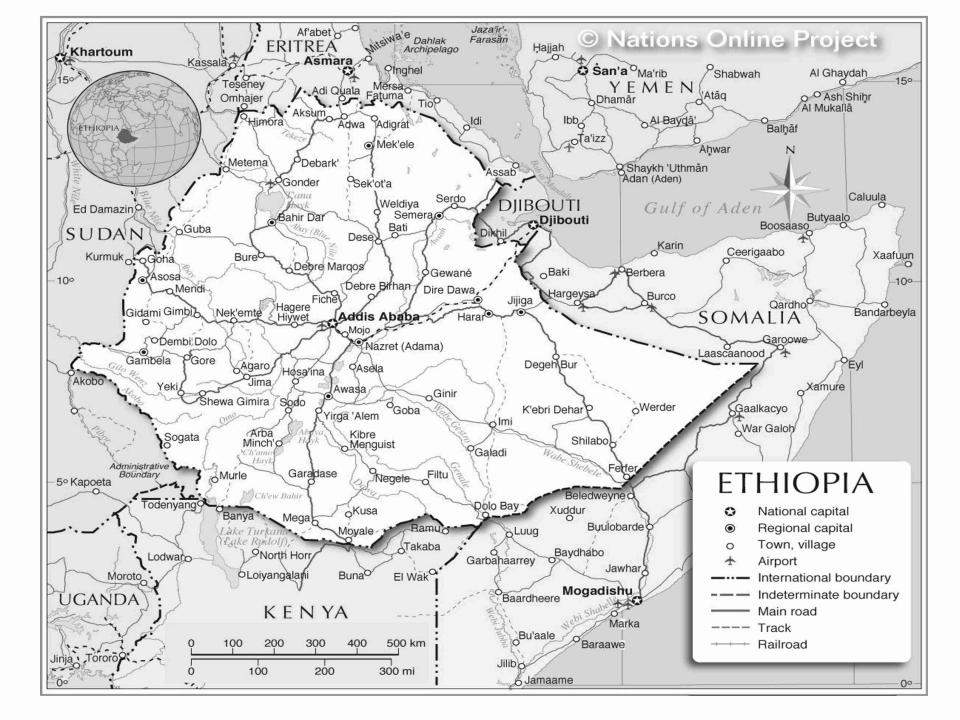


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JULY 14, 2020

OUTLINE

- Overview
- Demographics
- > Government of Ethiopia
 - Ruling Party and Leadership
 - State Security and Security Forces
- Opposition
 - Political vs. Armed Opposition
- > Recent Developments
- Regional Violence



HISTORY: OVERVIEW

- ➤ 1930-1974: Emperor Haile Selassie
- ➤ 1974-1991: the Derg (Armed Forces Coordinating Committee)
- ➤ 1991: coalition led by the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) ousted the Derg
- ➤ 1994: established nine ethnically based regional states

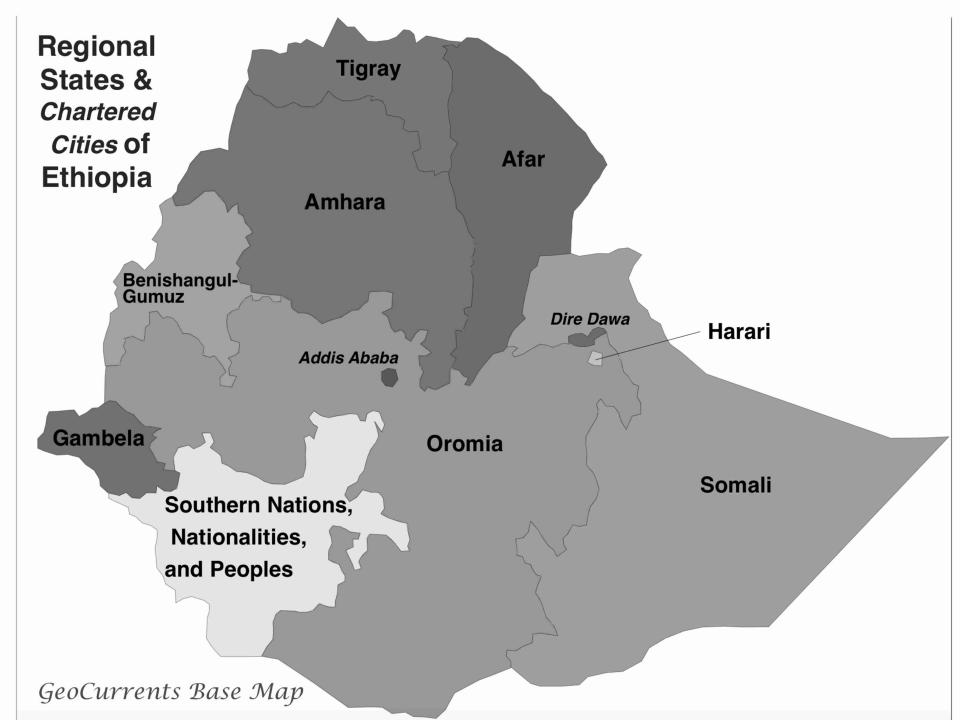






DEMOGRAPHICS

- Nine Regional States: Tigray, Afar, Amhara, Oromia, Somali, Benishangul-Gumuz, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), Gambella, and Harar
- Ethnic Groups: Oromo is largest (35%), Amhara is second largest (27%)
 - 80 different ethnic groups in Ethiopia
 - ☐ Total population: 105 Million (est.)
- Languages: Amharic, Oromo, Somali, Tigrigna, Sidamo, Gurage
- Religion: Ethiopian Orthodox (44%) and Sunni Muslim (34%)
- ➤ Kebels and Woredas: regional administrations



OROMO

- > Two major groups
 - Borena Oromo
 - Barentu Oromo
- Gada system
 - Traditional governing structure
- > Religion: Christian and Muslim communities
- ➤ Language: Oromo or Afan Oromo or Oromiffa
- ➤ Location: Oromia
 - Eastern, central and western parts of Ethiopia
 - Population: 40 million (est.)

AMHARA

- > Second largest ethnic group
- Language: Amharic
 - Related to Ge'ez
- > Religion: mostly Christian
 - Orthodox Church
- Location: Amhara Region
 - Capital Bahir Dar
 - Northern and central part of Ethiopia
 - Population: 20 million (est.)

GOVERNMENT OF ETHIOPIA (GOE)

- ➤ Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)
 - Coalition from Tigray, Amhara, Southern & Oromo regions
- Leadership: Abiy Ahmed
 - Hailemariam Deslagn: resigned in Feb. 2018
 - President Sahle -Work Zewde
- > Legislature: bicameral
 - House of People's Representative
 - House of the Federation





GOE: RECENT UPDATES

- November 2019: Prosperity Party
 - Membership goal: includes all ethnic groups
 - "Medemer" merit versus ethnic alliances
 - Opposition from the TPLF and some Oromo political groups and leaders
- ➤ March 2020: August elections postponed due to COVID-19
 - Opposition from several groups and parties
 - Tigray region request to hold regional election denied

STATE SECURITY

GOE: ARMY

- > Ethiopian National Defense Force (ENDF)
 - Ground Forces and Air Force
 - Age of service is 18
- > Size: peak during border war (1998-2000)
 - 60,000 to 250,000
- Demographics
 - Officer core traditionally
 from the Tigray ethnic group
 - PM Abyi's reforms
- June 2019: assassination of Army Chief Mekonnen



GOE: POLICE

- > Ethiopian Federal Police
 - Special police (Liyu Police)
 - Federal and regional prisons
 - Republican Guard Unit



- ➤ Anti-Terror Proclamation Act (ATP) 2009
 - Broader arrest and detention authority
 - May request to detain for 28 days,
 up to four months (maximum)



 January 2020: ATP amended to Proclamation to Prevent and Control Terrorism
 Interpol- Ethiopia Federal Police

GOE: INTELLIGENCE

- > National Intelligence and Security Services
 - Intelligence, border security and criminal investigations
 - Several leadership changes
 - Senior officers: several members removed for corruption
- ➤ NISS Proclamation July 2013
 - January 2020: currently under review
- Information Network Security Agency (INSA) 2011
 - Ethio Telecom: state-owned telecommunication company
 - Computer Crime Proclamation June 2016

OPPOSITION

ELECTIONS

- > National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE)
 - Constitutionally mandated
 - Duties: all aspects of the electoral process
 - Leadership: nine-member board
 - ■November 2018: appointment of Birtukan Mideksa
 - August 2019: new legislation
- > Elections: 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015
 - 1995: first elections post-Derg
 - 2005: Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD)
 - ■Won 109 seats and boycotted parliament-fraud concerns

OPPOSITION (PRE-APRIL 2018)

Political Groups Designated Armed Groups

- > Medrek
- ➤ Unity for Democracy and Justice
- Ethiopian Democratic Party and All Ethiopian Unity
- > Semayawi (Blue) Party
- ➤ Zone 9 Bloggers
- Regional: Gambella, Sidama

- > Oromo Liberation
 Front
- Ogaden National Liberation Front
- ➤ Ginbot 7
- > Al-Shabaab

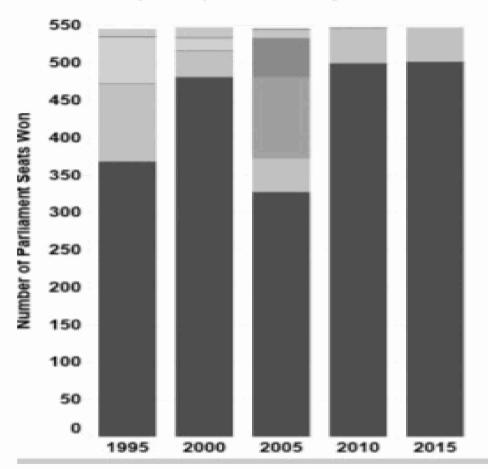
2005 AND 2010 ELECTIONS

- May 2005 elections: largest protests against GOE
 - Opening of political system: access to state media, debates, rallies
 - Nov. 2005: public protests turned violent
 - ☐ Issues with voter intimidation, mistreatment of opposition members (detention, harassment)
 - □CUD boycott of parliament
 - □ 131 opposition leaders, journalists and civil society member arrested and over 200 people killed
- ➤ May 2010 elections: less opposition seats in parliament
 - Medrek: won a single seat among 487 candidates

2015 ELECTIONS

Party Name

- Independent
- MEDREK: Ethiopian Federal Democratic Unity Forum
- OFDM: Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement
- Other opposition parties
- UEDF: United Ethiopian Democratic Forces
- CUD: Coalition for Unity and Democracy
- EPRDF-affiliated parties
- EPRDF: Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front



- ➤ 100 percent of vote to EPRDF
 - Monitoring,
 harassment, arrest of
 legal opposition
 groups
 - Arrests: SemayawiParty, Medrek, Zone-9 bloggers

GINBOT 7

- Established on May 15, 2008
- > Leadership
 - Berhanu Nega
 - Andargachew (Andy) Tsege
- > Formerly based in Eritrea
- ➤ July 2015: Patriotic Ginbot-7
 - Merged with Ethiopian People's Patriotic Front (EPPF, Arbegnoch Ginbar)



OROMO LIBERATION FRONT (OLF)

- ➤ Leadership: Chairman Dawud/Daud Ibsa
- ➤ Ideology/Mission: right to self determination
 - Oromo Liberation Army (OLA): "low-level guerrilla campaign" (Source: Jane's)
 - 2020: OLF political body vs. OLA "fighters"
- > Structure
 - Executive Council National Council
 - Regional and local organizations
- > Area of Operations
 - Asmara, Eritrea
 - South, west, east and central Ethiopia
 - Ethiopia Kenya border

ACTIVITIES

- ➤ Late 1990s Early 2000s
 - Small-scale bomb attacks e.g. September 2002 bomb attack in Addis Ababa
- > Mid 2000s
 - 2007 resumption of hostilities
- ➤ Late 2000s
 - 2010 Kenya security forces in Eastern Province
 - June 2011 listed as terrorist organization by GOE
 - Ethiopia COI Query Response: Master Plan, OLF members (See pages 25-26 for list of OLA activities, Asylum Research Consultancy, September 7, 2016)
- > 2019-2020: OLF (Daud Ibsa) vs. OLA faction (OLA "in the bush")

OTHER OROMO GROUPS

- Oromo Federation Congress (August 2012)
 - Merger of Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement and Oromo People's Congress
 - 2015: Bekele Gerba arrested with 22 other OFC officials
- ➤ Oromo Democratic Front (2013)
 - Lencho Lata: former OLF member
 - 2015: left Ethiopia
- Oromo People's Democratic Organization (OPDO)
 - Member of the EPRDF coalition
- > 2018 mergers
 - Nov. 2018: Oromo Democratic Front and Oromo Democratic Party
 - ➤ Sept 2018: Oromo Federalist Congress and Oromo Liberation Front (Daud Ibsa)

OROMO AND OLF

- Dissent and/or protest
 - Protest may equate criticism and/or opposition of GOE
 - Range of community members: business people, medical and education professionals, civil society members
 - Protestors and students
- > Actions
 - Refusal to join ruling party, "inherit" suspicion based on family member, dissention
- > Arrests and/or Detention
 - Local or federal police, military or intelligence
 - Kebele, Woreda detention centers including Maekelawi detention center
 - Conditional release

RADIO, TV, NEWSPAPERS SOCIAL MEDIA

- > State-run television and radio
 - Fana Broadcasting Corporate
- > Journalists
 - At least 75 journalists in exile
 - Detained journalists e.g. Eskinder Nega
- > Actions
 - Reported suspicion of surveillance
 - Jamming signals of international radio stations e.g. Voice of America
- ➤ Internet and Social Media
 - Internet "blackout"
 - Zone 9 bloggers
- ➤ March 2020: Hate Speech and Disinformation Prevention and Suppression Proclamation

PROTESTS 2015-2018





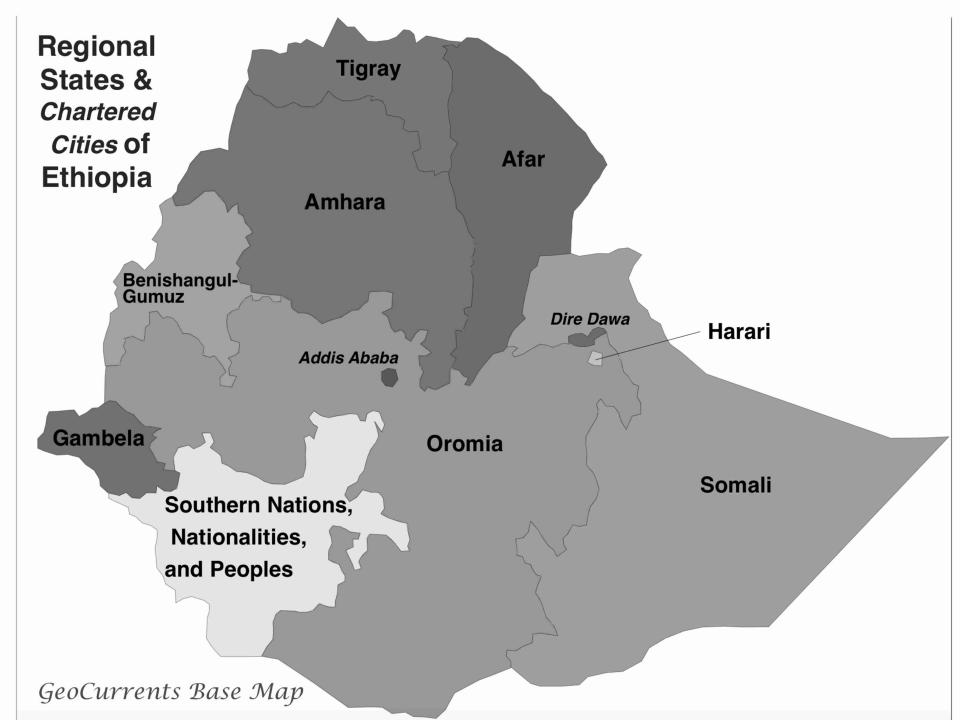


2015 PROTESTS

- ➤ March and April 2011: large scale arrests in Oromia and Addis Ababa
- ➤ April June 2014: student protests at Jimma University
 - Integrated Regional Development Plan for Addis Ababa (Addis Ababa Plan)
- Nov. 2015 Jan. 2016: began in Ginchi protests also included farmers
 - Protests spread throughout Oromia
 - GOE canceled the Addis Ababa Plan
- Ethiopian Human Rights Project March 2016

2016 PROTESTS

- ➤ January 2016: protests continue with broader list of grievances
- ➤ July 2016: Amhara region Bahir Dar and Gondar
- ➤ GOE response: security crackdown in both regions
 - Security forces, including military killed, arrested, detained large groups of people (Human Rights Watch 2016)
 - Students, teachers, business people, healthcare workers, people providing assistance or shelter to protestors
 - Leadership from other Oromo political parties
- ➤ October 2, 2016: 50 killed during Irreecha festival
- October 9, 2016: State of Emergency Proclamation
 - Ended August 2017





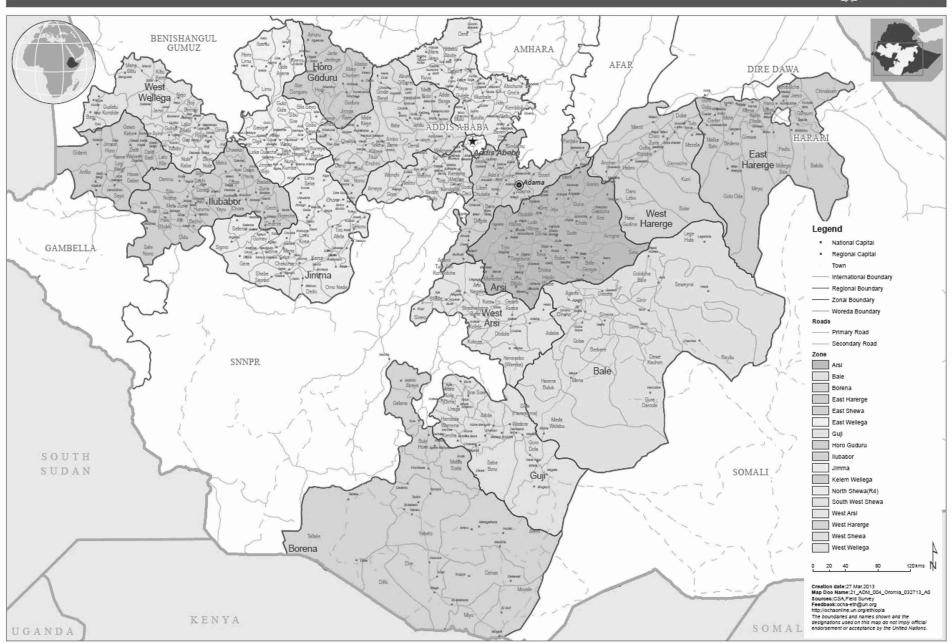
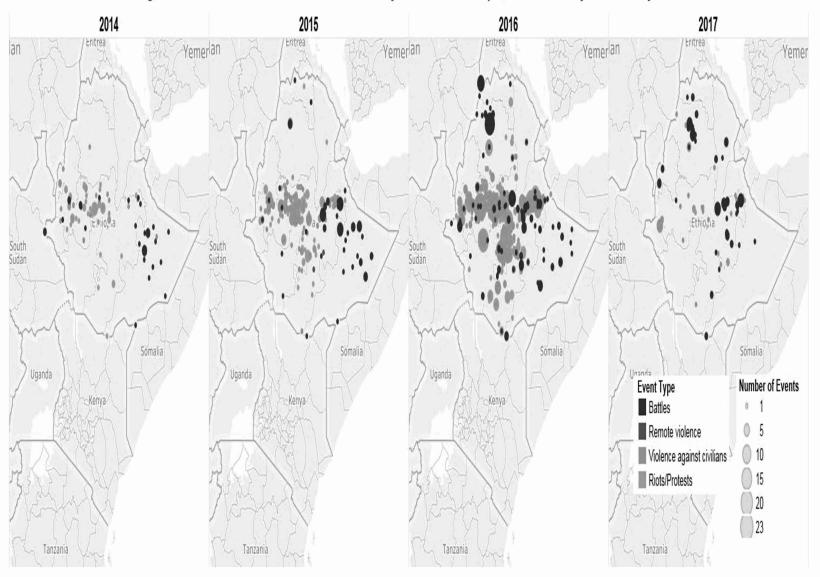


Figure 1: Number of Conflict and Riots/Protests by Location in Ethiopia, from 1 January 2014 - 8 July 2017



PROTESTS: 2017 - APRIL 2018

- ➤ Renewed protests and student strikes: spread to other regions including Gurage in SNNPR
- ➤ October 2017: 35-day-long "evaluation session"
- > February 2018: resignation of Hailemariam
 - Six-month State of Emergency
- > April 2018: PM Abiy Ahmed
 - Internet black out lifted
 - Maekelawi detention center closed

APRIL 2018-PRESENT

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (2018)

- Release of <u>Andargachew (Andy) Tsege</u> (Ginbot 7) from death row (May 2018)
- ➤ Pardoning of Jawar Mohammed (Oromo Media Network) and <u>Berhanu Nega</u> (Ginbot 7) (June 2018)
- ➤ Meskel Square Grenade Attack (June 2018)
- Resolution to remove ONLF, OLF and Ginbot 7 from "terror list" (June 2018)
- Ethiopia and Eritrea Summit and signing of peace treaty (July 2018)

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS (cont'd)

- ➤ OLF declared a ceasefire (July 2018)
- Exiled leadership of OLF returns (September 2018)
- ➤ Soldiers march on PM Abiy Palace(October 2018)
- ➤ Return of 1,500 OLF fighter led to unrest and arrests in Addis Ababa (September 2018)
- Sovernment offense against "Oromo rebels" (January 2019)

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS (POST 2018)

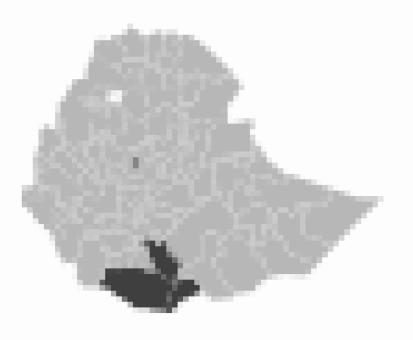
- June 2018: National Movement of Amhara/Amhara National Movement Party
 - Based in Bahir Dar: seat of Amhara regional government
- May 2019: Ethiopian Citizens Party for Social Justice
 - Patriotic/Ginbot 7, Unity for Democracy and Justice, Semayawi Party, All Ethiopian Democratic Party, Gambella Regional Movement and Ethiopian Democratic Party
- May 2019: Ethiopian Unity National Front (National Front)
 - Two national and seven regional political organizations
- ➤ January 2020: Oromo Federalist Congress, Oromo Liberation Front and Oromo Nationalist Party coalition
- March 2020: Balderas for True Democracy and AEUP coalition
 - Chairman: Eskinder Nega

REGIONAL VIOLENCE

SOMALI and **OROMIA**

- ➤ Unresolved grievances between Oromo and Somali ethnic groups
 - Land/border disagreements access to water issues
- ➤ 2017- 2018 clashes: one million internally displaced persons (IDPs)
 - June August 2018: renewed clashes in Jijiga
 - March 2018 and December 2018: Moyale attacks
- February 2019 peace deal and displacement continues



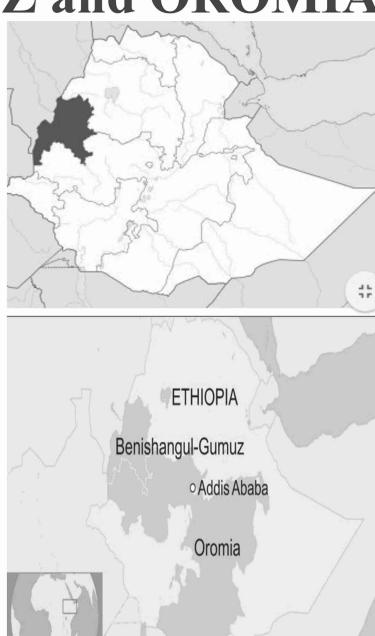


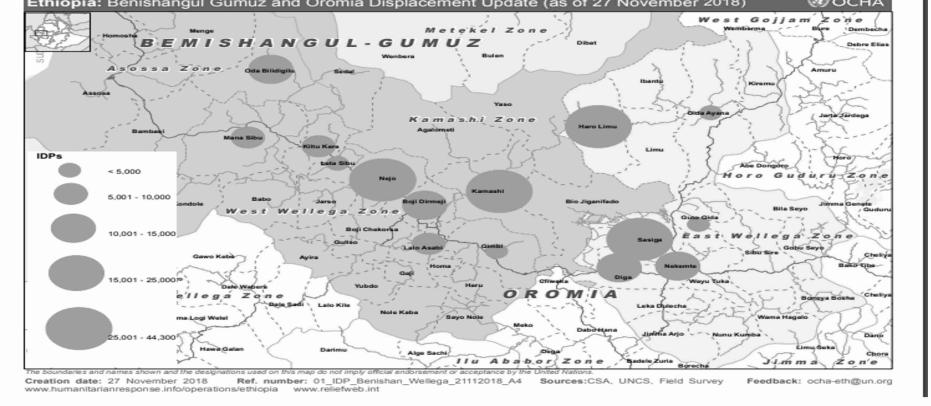


- ➤ March 2019: government-supported IDP returns
- May 2019: Guji, Borena Moyale clashes continued
- ➤ June 2019: 700,000 people displaced
- ➤ January March 2020: ethnic fighting betweer Afar, Somali and Oromo (Eastern Oromia) communities

BENISHANGUL-GUMUZ and **OROMIA**

- ➤ Benishangul-Gumz: large pop. of Amhara and Oromo
 - Berta and Gumuz considered indigenous to this region
 - Kamashi Zone and East Wollega /West Wollega
- ➤ June 2018: violence among various ethnic groups
- Cottober 2018: over 100,000 fleeing violence, 60 people killed

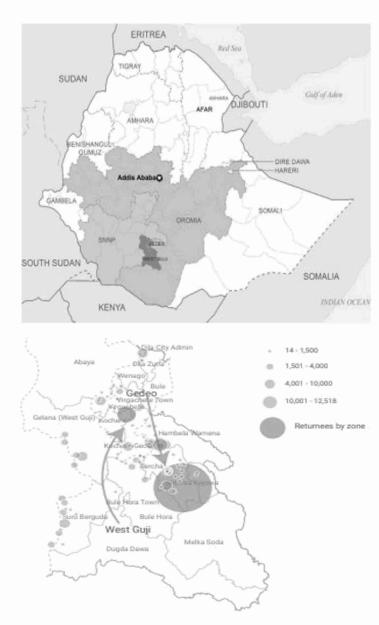




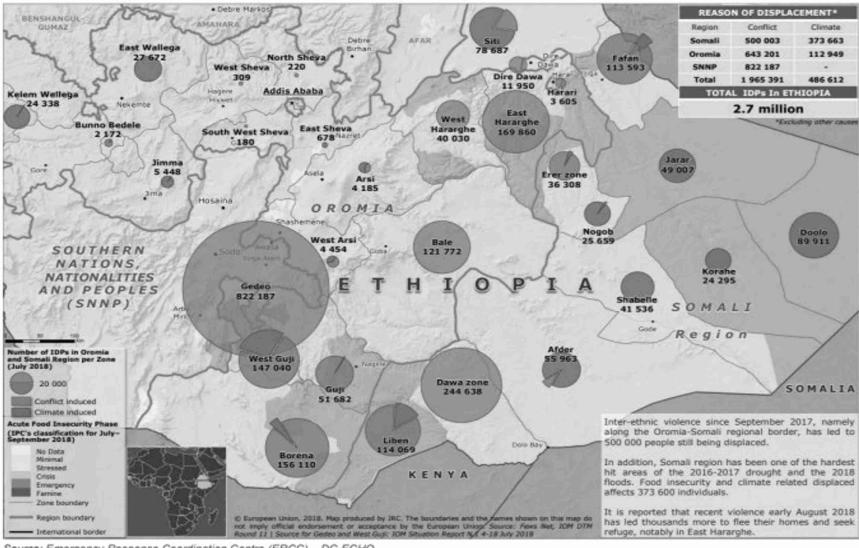
- May 2019: West Wellaga security situation limiting access to humanitarian aid
- May 2019: reports of government enabled returns to "sub-standard sites"
- ➤ January March 2020: fighting between Gumuz, Amhara in Benishangual Gumiz and Amhara regions
- ➤ January March 2020: fighting between Gumuz and Oromo in East and West Wollega in Oromia

SNNPR and **OROMIA**

- ➤ Inter-communal violence along borders of Gedeo (SNNPR) and West Guji (Oromia)
 - History of land disputes and border demarcations issues
- Close to one million displaced and 75 deaths
 - April and June 2018: escalation of violence
- ➤ May 2019: West Guji clashes
 - Safety of IDPs
- ➤ January March 2020: increased GOE presence in West Guji



Ethiopia | Drought, conflict and displacement in Oromia, Somali and SNNP regions as of 9 August 2018



Source: Emergency Response Coordination Centre (ERCC) - DG ECHO

Change and Continuity in Protests and Political Violence PM Abiy's Ethiopia, ACLED, October 2018

AMHARA

- February 2019: 90,000 IDPs (60,000) displaced in Central and West Gondar zones
 - Qemant/Qimant communities
- ➤ June 2019: assassination of regional leader Ambachew Mekonnen and two advisors in Bahr Dar
 - Addis Ababa: Military Chief Seare Mekonnen killed by bodyguard
 - Reportedly led by Brig Gen. Asaminew Tsige Amhara regional security chief
- ➤ GOE Response: arrests of 250 people, including 56 from NAMA
- ➤ GOE states similar assassination attempt of local governor in Benishangul-Gumuz

AMHARA (cont'd)

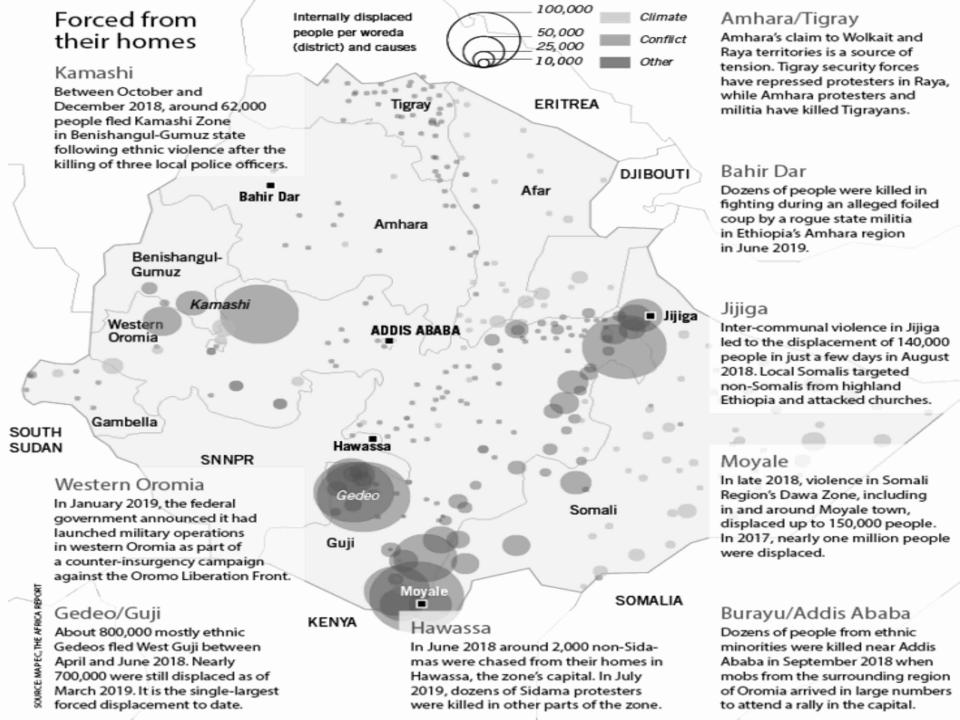
- ➤ January 2019: inter-communal conflict continues
 - Sept. 2018-Oct. 2019: spike in violence between Amhara and Qemant/Qimant communities
- ➤ GOE limited response
 - "Fanno", regional police and kebele officers
- ➤ January March 2020: fighting between GOE and local "militia"
 - March 2020: communication access issues and limited movement in the region





TIGRAY

- ➤ Inter-communal grievances between the Tigray and Amhara regions
 - Welkait and Raya territories
- > October November 2019: Welkait clashes
 - Proxy conflict: Tigray, Amhara and Qemant/Qimant
 - North-western Amhara region
 - Last quarter of 2018: 200 Qemant/Qimant killed
- Former TPLF leadership in Tigray Region
 - Former NISS chief: Getachew Assefa
- > Eritrea and Ethiopia Peace Agreement



SIDAMA

- ➤ Sidama: 5th largest ethnic group in Ethiopia
 - SNNPR: over 50 ethnic groups
 - Pop.: two million in SNNPR
- ➤ July 2019: calls for own regional state
 - Delays lead to protests: 25 people died
- November 2019: vote for referendum passed
- Next steps: establish Sidama Regional State





CURRENT UPDATES: OROMIA

- ➤ January 2019: GOE command posts in established in Oromia, Amhara, Harar and SNNP regions
- > Oromia: GOE response to new faction of the OLF
 - OLA: splintered from the military wing of the OLF
 - Rejected peace agreement between the GOE and OLF
 - Violence mainly in western and southern parts of Oromia
- ➤ October 23 2019: Jawar Mohammed
 - > 86 people killed in two days and
 - ➤ Qeerroo
- ➤ Jan. & Feb. 2020: OLF related arrests
 - 75 "supporters" including Chaltu Takeele
 - West and East Guji zones in Oromia reports of arbitrary arrests and detention



CURRENT UPDATES

- ➤ December 2019: deployment of federal police to 45 public universities
- February 2020: bomb attack in Ambo during a rally in support of the PM
 - 30 injured GOE states OLA links
- February 2020: several reports of political parties members unable to host meeting, press conferences
 - Including Eskinder Nega and OLF supporters

CURRENT UPDATES





- > June 29 2020: musician Hachalu Hundessa killed
- ➤ Arrest of Jawar Mohammed and Bekele Gerba of the OFC
 - Eskinder Nega
- ≥239 killed and over 3,500 arrested
- ➤ July 2020: internet shutdown
 - Two men arrested on July 12, 2020

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