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Furnish this exhibit for EACH foreign principal listed in an initial statement and for EACH additional foreign principal acquired subsequently.

1. Name and address of registrant		2. Registration No.
<u>YIRGU MIEGEDASA DEBELLO</u>		<u>4868</u> <u>#4488</u>
3. Name of foreign principal	(SEPDC)	4. Principal address of foreign principal
<u>SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC COALITIONS</u>		<u>P.O. BOX 30902</u> <u>ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA.</u>

5. Indicate whether your foreign principal is one of the following type:

- Foreign government
- Foreign political party
- Foreign or  domestic organization: If either, check one of the following:
  - Partnership
  - Corporation
  - Association
  - Individual—State his nationality \_\_\_\_\_
  - Committee
  - Voluntary group
  - Other (specify) \_\_\_\_\_

6. If the foreign principal is a foreign government, state:

- a) Branch or agency represented by the registrant.
- b) Name and title of official with whom registrant deals.

NONE

7. If the foreign principal is a foreign political party, state:

- a) Principal address P.O. BOX 30902 ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA
- b) Name and title of official with whom registrant deals.  
DR. BEYENE PETROS, CHAIRMAN.
- c) Principal aim
  - (1) SAFEGUARD AND PROTECT THE RIGHT OF THE SOUTHERN ETHIOPIAN PEOPLE'S
  - (2) HELP AND RESOLVE POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND DIFFERENCES JOINTLY WITH OTHER DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS IN ETHIOPIA.
  - (3) PROMOTE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTHERN AND INCLUDING COOPERATING WITH THE REST FORMERLY OBD-67 OF ETHIOPIANS.

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REGISTRATION UNIT

8. If the foreign principal is not a foreign government or a foreign political party,

a) State the nature of the business or activity of this foreign principal

b) Is this foreign principal

- Owned by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal ..... Yes  No
- Directed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal..... Yes  No
- Controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal ..... Yes  No
- Financed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal..... Yes  No
- Subsidized in whole by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal..... Yes  No
- Subsidized in part by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal..... Yes  No

9. Explain fully all items answered "Yes" in Item 8(b). (If additional space is needed, a full insert page may be used.)

10. If the foreign principal is an organization and is not owned or controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party or other foreign principal, state who owns and controls it.

Date of Exhibit A	Name and Title	Signature
	YIPCU MEGERSSA DEBELU REPRESENTATIVE AND CHAIRMAN IN THE U.S.A.	

**INSTRUCTIONS:** A registrant must furnish as an Exhibit B copies of each written agreement and the terms and conditions of each oral agreement with his foreign principal, including all modifications of such agreements; or, where no contract exists, a full statement of all the circumstances by reason of which the registrant is acting as an agent of a foreign principal. This form shall be filed in triplicate for each foreign principal named in the registration statement and must be signed by or on behalf of the registrant.

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Name of Registrant	Name of Foreign Principal
YIRGU MEGERSA DEBELLO	SOUTHERN ETHIOPIA PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC COALITION (SEPDC)

Check Appropriate Boxes:

- 1.  The agreement between the registrant and the above-named foreign principal is a formal written contract. If this box is checked, attach three copies of the contract to this exhibit.
- 2.  There is no formal written contract between the registrant and foreign principal. The agreement with the above-named foreign principal has resulted from an exchange of correspondence. If this box is checked, attach three copies of all pertinent correspondence, including a copy of any initial proposal which has been adopted by reference in such correspondence.
- 3.  The agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal is the result of neither a formal written contract nor an exchange of correspondence between the parties. If this box is checked, give a complete description below of the terms and conditions of the oral agreement or understanding, its duration, the fees and the expenses, if any, to be received.

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4. Describe fully the nature and method of performance of the above indicated agreement or understanding.
- (1) REPRESENTATION OF THE PRINCIPAL (SEPDC).
  - (2) PROMOTING AND PUBLISHING THE ACTIVITIES OF SEPDC IN THE U.S.A.

5. Describe fully the activities the registrant engages in or proposes to engage in on behalf of the above foreign principal.

6. Will the activities on behalf of the above foreign principal include political activities as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act?<sup>1</sup>  
Yes  No

If yes, describe all such political activities indicating, among other things, the relations, interests or policies to be influenced together with the means to be employed to achieve this purpose.

Date of Exhibit B	Name and Title	Signature
	YIRGU MEGERSA DEBELLO REPRESENTATIVE	

<sup>1</sup>Political activity as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act means the dissemination of political propaganda and any other activity which the person engaging therein believes will, or which he intends to, prevail upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, persuade, or in any other way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.



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*Southern Ethiopia People's Democratic Coalition  
(SEPDC)*

A Statement issued by the southern Ethiopia  
Peoples' Democratic Coalition (SEPDC)

Ethiopia has a long history of Sovereignty. Whatever the history of formation of statehood of the country may have been, its peoples have lived in unison. As a result of this cohabitation, there has been cultural, linguistic and historical interactions between different nations and nationalities. This has brought about a common psychological make up among the peoples. It is the conviction of the SEPDC that dismantling of this unity would only be detrimental to the well being of all the peoples. This however does not mean to deny the history of oppression of various nationalities of the country. It is also a historical fact that as a result of the oppression, different nations and nationalities have been taking up arms against the oppressor. Thus to resent, fight and defeat oppression are not new phenomena for Ethiopians.

SEPDC is an independent political organization formed to conduct a peaceful political struggle for the rights of nations and nationalities both in its domain and in the rest of the country.

SEPDC was found on March 11, 1992 as a coalition of ten political organizations that have seats in the Council of Representatives, and representing the five regions (regions 7, 8, 9, 10 & 11) formed by proclamation No. 7/1984. By November 11, 1992 members of the coalition increased to fourteen. In addition to a number of regional organizations that want to join the coalition, many nationality organizations and parties based on other parts of the country are also expressing their willingness to forge unity with the coalition. The positive response the coalition enjoyed in such a short period of time is a proof of the correctness of our political line.

The purpose of issuing this statement is to try to contribute what we could in order to draw the attention of our people and that of the whole world, to the dangerous political trend in the country and the attempts being made by the dominant party to stifle the fledgling democratic process.

Although this is not our first attempt in so doing, we have found it necessary to repeat it as the Government controlled mass media distort facts and present them as they may serve the propaganda purposes of our political opponents. Thus this press statement is prompted by the request of our many supporters who wanted us to further elaborate our stand on the current political situation of the country.

The contents of the present press release are largely a summary of the feelings expressed, and the conclusions arrived at, by the conference organized by the coalition on 22 November, 1992. This public mass gathering discussed the volatile political situation in the country and the ever worsening violation of basic human and democratic rights of the peoples of the South, in particular, and that of the whole population in general. The following are the major conclusions arrived at by the conference.

- Since the efforts undertaken by SEPDC to address current issues and chart the future direction of the social, political and economic life of the people of the South has received an overwhelming mass support, an extra effort to strengthen it must be made.
- Cognizant of the fact that all hitherto governments of the country have been imposing all forms of administration without the slightest consent of the people, that it is of utmost necessity to curb any attempt by any party to impose its own arbitrary will on the peoples of the South in particular and the whole nation in general.
- The meeting thoroughly analyzed the economic and political ills inflicted on the Southern peoples by governments of the past. It was also brought to the light that one of the declarations of the transitional period which was hoped to safeguard the basic human and national rights, guaranteed by the "Charter", was the electoral proclamation. It also noted that the opportunity for a democratic and peaceful transition hoped to be achieved through the June, 1992 election was lost due to purposeful manipulations and forceful measures of the dominant party and its surrogates. The conference foresaw that for a genuine democratic system to be instituted and human rights to be guaranteed, a long struggle has yet to be waged. The conference also concluded that even though proclamations are promulgated in the Council of Representatives with the participation of all members, their implementations are, by and large, utterly disregarded and their spirit and meaning distorted to suit the agenda of the dominant party and its surrogates.
- The administrative, legal, economic, defence and police organs are being established to suit the political views of just one

organization; that the well-being of citizens of the country has fallen under the prerogative of individuals who work not for justice but for personal materials interest. As a result that day to day uncertainty reigns in the country and political allegiance is needed to work for ones livelihood.

- Even though *de facto* political power is in the hands of a single organization, the outside world is deluded by the propoganda that democracy and multiparty order is reigning in the country. On the contrary it is not that the Western diplomatic circles do not understand the lack of concurrence between what is being propogated and the actual situation, it is that their judgement is blinded by their ethnocentric bias that "no better can be expected from such backward peoples". As a resolute they have continued to give a deaf ear to the plights of millions of Ethiopians whose basic human rights are being trampled upon.
- The objective of the long and bitter struggle waged against the previous dictatorial regime was in no way to bring to the fore hitherto unforeseen contradictions, among the various peoples. However, the activities of the puppet organizations, who do not seem to have any farsighted objectives are pushing the people towards that end and this has continued unabated. This trend is a serious set back on the democratic process.
- The so called "Southern Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Front" established in the South is only a bearer of the name "South" as the "Front's" preoccupation is to please and serve its creator and mentor organization, and is doing nothing to uphold the interests of the Southern Peoples.
- There should no be any objection as to the establishment of the "Front". But if the "Front" continues to take undemocratic decisions that would compromise the lasting interest of the people with a total disregard for popular participation, it will be difficult for us to accept it as a genuine alternative democratic organization.
- Even though SEPDC has no reservation on the question of unity and that it has repeatedly declared its firm position on the need for maintaining national unity, we outrightly reject the bureaucratic merger of the five Southern Regions. This is because the merger is an illegal act that did not receive the approval of the Council of Representatives but was arrogantly being implemented by the government. The objection to the forced merger has been expressed by all member organizations of the coalition. The imposed merger is a hasty decision on top of being a flagrant violation of proclamation No. 7/1984. Thus the contemptuously imposed merger of the 5 regions will only saw seeds of discord and fuel contradictions and will not contribute an iota for peace.

It is not our interest to open up unnecessary dialogue on issues such as "coalition" and "Front". However, it is the ill-advised measures that are being taken by the self-declared administrators of the South who may not understand the dire implications of their actions and the possible political gains which their mentor may desire to extract from it. Above all, it is the possible consequent danger of conflicts being triggered by their actions amongst the hitherto peacefully coexisting peoples of the region, that has forced us to issue this statement.

The advocates of the illegal merger want to tell us that, "the merger of the Southern regions is exemplary to Ethiopian Unity." To them we ask, was Ethiopia not a united country in the first instance? And we say, why is it necessary to dismantle the already existent unity and start reconstructing it only in the South? - if that is what is implied by their statement. Even in that case, we ask, should the South be a social laboratory? It is the coalition's crystal clear positions that unity is advantageous to our peoples and thus we have no quarrel on the issue. On the other hand, find it totally unnecessary to play a game of jigsaw puggle by trying to fix and refix administrative set ups. We feel that it is a misplaced priority. The region's crying prime necessity is to construct economic infrastructures such as transport, commercial and cultural facilities? For example, the people of regions 10 and 11, that are only separated by the Omo river must travel more than 1000 Kms. via Addis Ababa to meet. It is under such a situation of total isolation that one would consider a merger? How come their mentors forget overnight their own slogan that they are against forceful unity of the people? We feel that it's possible for political organizations from various regions to work together on the basis of their political agendas without imposing a forceful merger of regional boundaries.

SEPDC strongly opposes the merger of the 5 regions on the ground that it may have been contrived to fulfil the ulterior motives of certain quarters, such as to minimize budgetary allocations. Furthermore, it is being carried out without the consent of the people and other political groups, and against the "right for self determination" guaranteed by the charter. On this issue, we would like to remind those who arrogantly continue with their ill motivated plan of annulling the 5 legally recognized regions that they may have to be responsible for a possible public discontent and strife.

The SEPDC is an independent democratic organization that firmly believes in popular power. Thus it would like to challenge other political organizations to stop dictatorial practices and to submit to popular public will. We would like to point out that no matter pious a political organization (party) might portray itself to be, it is impossible for it alone to give the needed leadership for a nation. Testimony to this are the heinous damages done to countries ruled by single party dictatorships. Thus to counter

taking root of such a danger in our country, it is of atmost necessity to organize a strong multi-national political organization, as an opposition.

Even though the majority of members of the coalition have seats in the Council of Representatives in the name of their peoples, the opposing political organizations that have usurped power through different forms of machinations have made it too difficult to interact with, and freely work among, the peoples. They set all sorts of hinderances on our way so as not to allow communication with the people. Having put this systematically managed embargo in place, they then turn around and try to establish a point that we do not work among the people and hence do not have a mass base. On the other hand, the cadres of their mentor organization have been teaching in public that people should not listen to us and the intellectuals in general, alleging that we only want to snatch power from the people. They also have been trying to portray us as the "Class enemies of the people" and they use all forms of intimidation to force our members and supporters to quit the organizations of their "Class enemies" and join them. In spite of all their naive attempt to create a wedge between us and the people, the coalition is enjoying full support of a broad sector of the society.

In spite of the proclamation that allows political organizations to freely conduct peaceful political work among the people, this is made too difficult, if not impossible, for any opposition group. For example, any attempt by an opposition movement to collect membership fees and voluntary contributions from its members in the country side could lead the various forms of intimidation and human rights violation. Therefore, if opposition forces are not allowed to collect membership fees, hold public gatherings, conduct mass rallies (except when the opposition finds it fit), how can one think of a viable political opposition develop at all?

Our main objective is to guarantee equality to our peoples. Thus with the exception of those who may have a hidden motive of supremacy, we have no contradiction with any party that wants to work on an equal basis. Furthermore, it is our hope that those who are currently selling out the interests and free will of our peoples will realize the complex political motives of their allies and one day work with us for the self determination of our peoples. It is with this hope and understanding that we have been relentlessly working to show them the evils being committed against the people.

Even though patience is a virtue and criticism an indispensable guide for correcting mistakes, it is only the wise person who can make a best use of a friend's advice. In Ethiopia today there is a systematically managed democracy primarily put in place as a show case for Western consumption. But in reality the exercise of democratic rights is a privilege rather than a right. This makes

the situation in the country highly volatile and this situation could degenerate from bad to worse.

Thus to remind the concerned government bodies to take appropriate corrective measures, and to make the Ethiopian people aware of its position on the current situation prevailing in the country, the Southern Ethiopia peoples' Democratic Coalition has issued the following statement:

1. The merger of the regions.
  - 1.1. We strongly demand that the illegal decision of the so called "Southern Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Front" to merge the five Southern regions (7,8,9,10 & 11) that did not receive the consent of the people should not be implement.
  - 1.2. As we had repeatedly stated, we vehemently oppose the implementation of all decisions being taken by those who assumed administrative positions through the June 21, 1992 undemocratically and illegally staged "elections".
2. Peaceful political activities.
  - 2.1. We strongly demand an immediate end to any form of overt and covert measures being taken against political movements to hinder their peaceful political activities among the people they represent.
  - 2.2. We demand an end to all sorts of underhanded anti-intellectual political manipulations of the unsuspecting peoples by puppet political organizations.
3. Development Programs for the South.
  - 3.1. We demand that the backward nations of the South with a population of over 20 millions should receive adequate attention with regard to basic development programs and in the provision of health, education, communications, transport ....etc facilities as stipulated in the Charter of the transitional period.
  - 3.2. We demand that all foreign aid and lone obtained in the name of the people of Ethiopia be distributed on equitable basis to all regions of the country and the handling of the resources be an transprant as possible.
4. Issues of Human Right.
  - 4.1. It must be taken for granted that all citizens must get promoted to or demoted from civil service positions only on the basis of their merit. Currently, however, the basic rights of the citizens to work is being violated simply because of their different political outlets. Thus we strongly demand an end to this act of human rights violation.
  - 4.2. We strongly demand an immediate end to detention and other forms of violations of basic human rights that are being perpetrated in the form of political decision and

we demand that all the victims of such arbitrary arrests  
be freed.



Executive Committee of  
the Southern Ethiopia  
peoples' Democratic  
Coalition

January 18, 1993  
Addis Ababa.

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*Southern Ethiopia Peoples'  
Democratic Coalition  
(SEPDC)*

April 16, 1993

**A Statement  
by The Southern Ethiopia Peoples' Democratic Coalition  
on its expulsion from the Transitional Council  
from the Coalition's North American Office**

The Transitional Government led by the Tigrean Peoples' liberation Front (TPLF) expelled on April 1, 1993 five member organizations of the Southern Ethiopian Peoples' Democratic Coalition (SEPDC) for participating in the Paris Peace Conference. EPRDF expelled only five out of the nine organizations of SEPDC who signed the Paris Peace Conference Declaration intentionally to wedge differences among the coalitions' members.

TPLF justified the expulsion by citing articles from its bylaws referring to acts of individuals but not to those of organizations, thus quoting wrong articles to legitimize its illegal action.

SEPDC participated in the transition council with the hope that it could contribute to the process of democratization in Ethiopia. It tried unsuccessfully to point out to TPLF its undemocratic actions; here are some highlights:

SEPDC released a declaration regarding the invalidity of the results of the so called democratic elections of June 1991 to international community right after the elections.

SEPDC asked for the encampment of TPLF forces from the South, for they had abused the democratic rights of the people in the region. Flagrant human rights abuses are still being committed by TPLF forces in the South.

SEPDC is opposed to the appointment of TPLF cronies, mainly

salaried government officials, to public offices in the South and installation of surrogate organizations in the region. These surrogate organizations are making decisions that do not reflect the interests of the people of the region.

SEPDC is opposed to the transformation of TPLF army into an Ethiopian army so as to promote and uphold TPLF's political and economic agenda.

SEPDC asked for fair, equal and up front distribution of international aid and loans received on the behalf of all Ethiopian peoples. SEPDC is opposed to skewed distribution of these resources under TPLF.

SEPDC asked for clarification regarding the choices being presented in the Eritrean referendum and the implementation of the referendum.

SEPDC participated in the Paris Peace Conference and called for a National Reconciliation Conference.

Until recently, because of SEPDC's stands, its leadership have been denied free movement in the region they represent by the cronies appointed by TPLF. Now, finally, TPLF could not even stomach SEPDC's bitter pills, and it had to expel it from the Transitional Council in a very flagrant, undemocratic, TPLF style.

Irrespective of TPLF's action, SEPDC will continue to work towards a democratic order in Ethiopia with all progressive forces.

Victory to SEPDC.

May 21, 1993

The Honorable Harry Johnston  
Chairman  
Sub-Committee on Africa  
United States Congress  
2210 C St., NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Chairman:

We wish to express our deep appreciation to you for giving us, members of the Steering Committee of the Paris Peace and Reconciliation Conference, the opportunity to discuss with you the current critical situation in Ethiopia.

Ethiopia, Mr. Chairman, is in deep political and institutional crisis with renewed armed conflict in the entire country. Millions of Ethiopian peoples, both inside and outside the country, expect the U.S. Congress and President Clinton's Administration to carry out a thorough review of current U.S. policy towards Ethiopia, and help save their country from sliding further into a potentially catastrophic civil war and anarchy. We fear that will be the consequence if the United States continues to support the TPLF/EPRDF regime currently ruling in Ethiopia despite massive popular opposition to it. We hereby submit some specific requests and suggestions that may advance the cause for peace and democracy in Ethiopia:

**I. THE NEED TO REEVALUATE U.S. POLICY ON ETHIOPIA**

1. In the nearly two years since the transitional government led by the TPLF/EPRDF replaced the Marxist regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam, the U.S. has consistently backed the new regime. Little, if any, of the publicly stated preconditions for this support have, however, been met by the ruling regime. It is, therefore, appropriate for the U.S. to reexamine its policy on Ethiopia and effect appropriate changes.

2. The ruling regime has not made any progress whatsoever towards democratization. Witness for instance: (1) the ever narrowing base of the transitional arrangement as more and more of the former partners of the government either withdrew or were dismissed by the TPLF/EPRDF from the transitional government, (2) the continued banning of many political organizations from open and legal political activity in Ethiopia, (3) the mockery of the democratic process exhibited during what was to have been district and regional elections held in June, 1992, and (4) the gross violation

of basic civil and human rights and the government's eagerness to resort to violence against the very peoples it claims to govern, including the massacre of unarmed University students on January 4, 1993. The TPLF/EPRDF has also dismissed over 40 University teachers, an action which was condemned by a group of American professors as "capricious" and "arbitrary". Continued U.S. support for the TPLF/EPRDF amounts to condoning violations of basic democratic rights in Ethiopia.

3. Contrary to the claim of peace and stability by the TPLF/EPRDF regime whose force has exclusively replaced the state coercive apparatus, there is a bloody armed struggle going on in most parts of the country with the fighting now expanded to the center and the south. To mention just a few, fighting is going on in Harar, Shewa, Bale, Wollaga, Sidamo, Gojam Gondar, and Afar region. It is evident that currently there is no peace and stability in Ethiopia and the intransigent stance of the ruling regime is leading the country along a disastrous path of violent confrontation.

4. As stated in the Paris Declaration regarding the question of Eritrean referendum, there is not, at present a legitimate Ethiopian government to commit the peoples of Ethiopia regarding the process and the outcome of the referendum and related matters. The right of a democratically constituted future government of Ethiopia is, therefore, reserved on this question.

## II. REQUEST OF U.S. SUPPORT FOR A NEW PEACE AND RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE

5. In light of the widely shared view that the democratization process in Ethiopia has failed and put on a violent confrontational course, we urge the U.S. Government to reassess its policy towards Ethiopia. Specifically, we urge the U.S. Government to help restart and facilitate the process of peace and reconciliation and prevent the country from sliding into another cycle of large scale war and famine. It is proper to accord recognition to the emerging consensus among the opposition forces in Ethiopia and their aspiration for peaceful participation in deciding the country's political future.

6. U.S. backing for the Declaration issued at the recently concluded Paris Peace and Reconciliation Conference attended and/or endorsed by nearly all of the opposition forces will assure that peace will have a chance in Ethiopia. The Paris Declaration has received broad international support and the consensus support among the peoples of Ethiopia. The Declaration asks for nothing more nor nothing less than the reconvening of a peace and reconciliation conference where all political organizations,

including the EPRDF will be represented. The Conference will design a genuinely broad-based transitional arrangement paving the way for constitution making and internationally monitored open, free and fair multi-party elections. The Declaration is attached herewith.

### **III. MODALITIES FOR SUPPORTING THE WORK OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN ETHIOPIA**

7. An appropriate first step for the U.S. in support of peace and reconciliation in Ethiopia would be for the Secretary of State to receive a high level delegation consisting of the senior leadership of the participating opposition political organizations at the Paris Peace and Reconciliation Conference. Delegates will brief the Honorable Secretary of State on the prospects for peace and on what must be done to avoid war in Ethiopia. Such a session may also be the occasion for establishing a consultative procedure for designating a staff person who would act as a contact point for any future communication. The next step will be to arrange a peace and reconciliation conference in which all political forces including the TPLF/EPRDF will participate in order to map out the political future of Ethiopia. That is also the logical and proper forum to discuss the constitutional making modalities and devise an acceptable mechanism that would allow effective participation by all political forces, and the peoples of Ethiopia.

### **IV. SUPPORT FOR THE RIGHT OF ALL POLITICAL FORCES TO PARTICIPATE IN PEACEFUL POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN ETHIOPIA**

8. Given its special position as the only superpower and its role in the EPRDF's ascension to state power, the U.S. has the moral obligation and responsibility to exert appropriate pressures to see to it that the right to engage in peaceful political activities in Ethiopia is fully assured for all its peoples and political organizations.

9. But given the TPLF/EPRDF's prior history, nothing would be achieved by mere physical presence in the country, unless political organizations and their rank and file membership can be assured of freedom of movement within and without the country, physical security, access to the media, and the government refrains from harassing officials and members of opposition forces. The U.S. should thus insist that these basic rights are in fact fully respected for all participants in the political process.

It is in this context that we, the undersigned members of the Steering Committee for the Paris Peace and Reconciliation Conference in Ethiopia, appeal to you, Mr. Chairman, to reexamine current U.S. policy towards Ethiopia, and stop supporting the

dictatorship in Addis Ababa that does not command the support and confidence of the Ethiopian peoples. The peoples of Ethiopia await your initiative and we pray that you give this memorandum your most favorable consideration.

Respectfully,

The Coalition of Ethiopian Democratic Forces

The Ethiopian Medhin Democratic Party

The Oromo Liberation Front

The Southern Ethiopian Peoples  
Democratic Coalition

Abera Yemane Ab  
Jirafalo Goshu  
Tamam A. Youssouf  
Yohannes Harfere

May 10, 1993

Chairman  
House Subcommittee on African Affairs  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman:

Recently, nine political organizations from Ethiopia convened in Paris from March 11 to 13, 1993 under the auspices of The French Catholic Committee Against Hunger and for Development. The Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), which is heading the present transitional government, was also invited, but declined to attend. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss peaceful means to bring about democracy in our beleaguered country and to avoid further bloodshed among opposing parties.

The political environment in Ethiopia is increasingly becoming more tense as the EPRDF leadership is resorting to the use of force and threats to resolve conflicts while professing to uphold democratic rights. A number of recent developments in the country testify to this fact.

When the United Nations Secretary General went to Addis Ababa to address the feuding Somali parties in Addis Ababa, students from Addis Ababa University tried to stage a demonstration against the United Nations involvement in the internal affairs of Ethiopia. The students were met with brutal force as they were marching out of the university, and some students were killed. In the aftermath of the killings, the University was closed and the leaders of the student union were imprisoned.

Just a couple of weeks ago, the EPRDF leadership dismissed forty two University professors, some of them among the best and brightest the country ever produced, out of their positions without the slightest regard for the internationally adhered principle of academic freedom. This is not surprising, for the leadership of EPRDF were avowed Stalinists whose paradigm of human progress was Albania until they ascended to power with the blessing from the US state department ( Mr. Herman Cohen, Assistant Secretary of State conducted the London conference that handed over power to EPRDF in June of 1991). In fact some of the EPRDF leadership, former members of the Tigrean Marxist League, are Khmer Rouge type Marxists who openly assert that Ethiopia does not need all the modern institutions such as the university. Frustrated by this lack of respect for higher education, additional thirty university professors have asked for resignations.

Other undemocratic recent developments include the expulsion of the Southern Ethiopia Peoples Democratic Coalition from the Transitional Council for having participated in the Paris Peace Conference. This comes on top of the banning of the All Amhara Organization. A year ago, the Oromo Liberation Front, one of the three signatories at the London Conference, had to withdraw from the Transitional Government as its members were constantly harassed and intimidated before the June elections of 1992. Though EPRDF denied any wrongdoings then, however, the international observers concluded the elections were not free and fair and confirmed the intimidation and harassment, even killings, of opposition party members.

EPRDF will not hold onto power if democratic elections are held because the front has a structural problem. Until just before they came to power, EPRDF was known as TPLF, the Tigrean Peoples Liberation Front. Thus the front is a very regional and ethnic one despite its apparent attempt to transform itself into a national front by incorporating prisoners of war from other parts of Ethiopia. Because of this regional and ethnic nature of the front, it does not have broad support from the other regions of Ethiopia. Hence it has tried to form surrogate organizations, usually out of government employees , in other regions of the country so far in its adamant attempt to hold onto power at any cost rather than sharing it. Its refusal to attend the Paris Peace Conference is a prime example of such intransigence.

As a result, now, there are skirmishes between EPRDF forces and regional guerrilla forces in Northwest, West, and Southeast parts of Ethiopia. It seems EPRDF, like its predecessor regime, thinks it can hold

onto power because it has a stronger army than that of some of the opposition.

In light of all this, only the European Parliament has publicly notified EPRDF its displeasure and reservations about the democratic process in Ethiopia. The US embassy, to the best of our knowledge, has been mute in the face all the wrongdoings. The relationship between the ambassador there and the EPRDF leadership has been likened to that of the US ambassador in El Salvador to El Salvadoran rulers during the eighties. Despite the international observers' categorical dismissal of the June, 1992 elections as invalid, it seems nothing has been done about it. In neighboring Kenya, President Arep Moi had to cave in to US and European pressure and hold democratic elections when faced with economic censure if he balked.

Even what is more surprising is the hasty US recognition of Eritrean independence, an hour after the results are announced. Why such a hurry? While it is true it is up to Eritreans to make the choices, Ethiopians should have had every right to appeal their case to the Eritreans and presented them with more alternatives than independence or unity, as was done in the referendum.

If some of the recent reports are any indications, and if they are true, the US interest in the region reflects the interests of a third country, Israel, who supposedly got access to Dahlak islands in the Red sea. If that is the case, it is a very disturbing new development in the horn which has had its share of the cold war rivalry played on its grounds.

This is a very serious issue and we hope that your subcommittee takes a serious look at the implication of dismemberment of Ethiopia through back room deals. Let us not forget that most of the borders in Africa are artificial lines drawn by European colonialists without regard to natural boundaries. Today it is Ethiopia, tomorrow it could be Somalia, Sudan, Zaire, Angola or Chad.

Finally, Ethiopia with over three thousand years of rich historical traditions despite recent blemishes on her picture is a country of historical significance to all blacks. It is the only African country that was not colonized. It is the country whose black army defeated the invading Italian army in Adwa.

Ethiopia's struggle for democracy needs your support very urgently.

In light of the above developments, the Southern Ethiopia Peoples Democratic Coalition is asking your office for review of the US policy towards Ethiopia. We feel also since it was under the auspices of the US government that the agreement to let EPRDF hold the reins of government was reached, the US is morally obligated to the peoples of Ethiopia to help bring about a peaceful transition to democracy.

May 10, 1993

Chairman  
Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee  
The United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20515

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THE ETHIOPIAN HUMAN RIGHTS COUNCIL

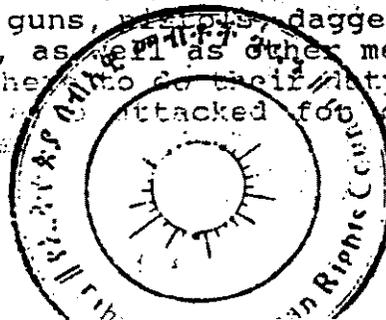
JANUARY 21, 1993

2.   
3. THE ATTEMPTED DEMONSTRATION OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS  
AND  
THE BRUTAL VIOLENCE THEY SUFFERED

In the evening of January 2, 1993, the arrival of Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, Secretary General of the United Nations, was announced over the Ethiopian news media. The students of Addis Ababa University began discussing the idea of staging a demonstration and presenting a petition to the Secretary General opposing the United Nations intervention in the referendum in Eritrea. They continued the discussion on January 3, 1993 and decided to stage the demonstration on the morning of January 4. During the time the students were having discussions about the demonstration, there were armed personnel with radio communication outside and around the University. The demonstration started at about 9:40 with very great discipline and columns of student marchers began to move out of the campus through the main gate. There was apparently no problem until the last column of student demonstrators moved out of the campus. It may be useful to enumerate the bare facts as follows:

1. the University Campus was blocked from a distance in all directions.
2. There was no attempt to stop the demonstrators before they got out of the campus.
3. The demonstrators moved out of the campus peacefully and in a disciplined manner.
4. Immediately after the tail end of the demonstrators moved out of the campus armed personnel closed the Campus gate.
5. Almost immediately after the gate was closed armed personnel who had surrounded the student demonstrators opened fire.
6. The student demonstrators were placed between the University wall on one side and the armed personnel on the other.
7. Students who climbed over the wall into the campus trying to escape the fire were pursued inside the University and attacked.
8. The most loathsome part was that there were armed plainclothes personnel who were indistinguishable from the students.

As a result, students, including women and the blind, were brutally and mercilessly attacked with guns, daggers and batons. Men and women faculty members, as well as other members of the University Community who were there to do their duty were also attacked. Some spectators were attacked for openly showing pity to the sufferers at the scene.



What happened later is indicative of the objective of the whole brutal operation.

The obvious

1. Students who seriously suffered from bullet, dagger and baton wounds were not allowed to be taken for medical care.
2. Ambulances could not penetrate the blockaded University campus.
3. Once ambulances were inside the University campus they were not allowed to take the wounded out immediately.
4. There were at least a two-hour interval between the time when gun shots were heard and when the ambulances were allowed to take the wounded to the hospitals.

The Transitional Period Charter unequivocally states that peaceful assembly and free expression ideas are permitted. Moreover, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which this same Charter accepts "fully and without any limitation whatsoever" guarantees the right of assembly and free expression. In addition, Proclamation No. 3/1991 acknowledges that it is the right of every person to make public demonstration. The Proclamation, however, does indicate certain procedures that must be followed by all who seek to demonstrate. But it is obvious that if persons engaged in demonstrations without following the procedures outlined in the Proclamation, the government might prosecute them in accordance with the criminal law instead of using such an obviously gross force against them as it did to the University Community.

To the government could prevent demonstrators from reaching institutions that are legally out of bound for demonstrators. Even then the use of excessive force as was used is uncalled for. The managing of demonstrators must be done in a humane and charitable way.

The students, whatever the issues might be, had the right to make a demonstration. The fact that they did not get the necessary permit for the demonstration is not, in itself, a major issue. If criminal charges were brought against them, it would not be for not getting permission but for whatever offenses that omission might have entailed.

The brutal violence perpetrated on the students is by any standards inhuman and illegal. At the moment, although we do not have complete and accurate information on everything that happened, we have sufficient eye witness accounts in addition to what was stated in the government media to pronounce the government's actions as deplorable.

It appears that the Transitional Government's wrath and cruel action was instigated by the statements: "there is no government;...we shall not ask for permission to demonstrate;...we do not accept the Charter.." ascribed to the students. If one accepts, as the Charter does, the right to foster an opposite idea, so what if it is true the students said all they are supposed to have said? If they were trying to impose their ideas by force of arms, that would be criminal. But the objective of the students was peaceful demonstration. As stated earlier the procedure for informing the government on and getting permission for demonstration has only one purpose: to facilitate the maintenance of law and order. If that is true, the government

