

Topical Note

**Ethiopia: The Ginbot 7 party**



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## **SUMMARY**

Ginbot 7 (G7) is a political party established in 2008. The party works for regime change, including the use of military means, and is therefore illegal. G7 mobilises Ethiopians in the diaspora and in Ethiopia, but it is uncertain how extensive the party's activities in Ethiopia are. Several people have been arrested, indicted and convicted of terrorist acts under the auspices of G7 in 2009 and 2011. However, it is unclear whether the arrests reflect the defendants' concrete connection to terrorist plans or acts, or whether the charges camouflage measures to limit unwanted oppositional activity.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This report deals with the Ethiopian party Ginbot 7 (G7). The report illustrates the party's establishment and program, activities inside and outside of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian government's reactions to people suspected of being affiliated with the party.

The report is based on information from a variety of open sources, from meetings Landinfo has had with various sources during their stay in Ethiopia and from conversations with Ethiopians in exile who were affiliated with the party.

The possible impact of Ethiopians' political activities in exile is discussed in the response *Political activities in exile (Sur Place)* (Landinfo 2012).

## 2. BACKGROUND

Since the transfer of power to the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF)<sup>1</sup> in 1991, Ethiopian politics has been characterised by a Marxist and centralised political model which leaves very little room for oppositional political activity. This authoritarian trend has roots in the Ethiopian political culture, but is also characterised by an ideological, revolutionary democracy and carries experiences from the armed resistance to the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF)<sup>2</sup>.

The government held elections for parliament in 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010, but the implementation has been criticised for favouring the ruling party, which is the dominant party with strong influence on the administration and the courts. There are registered opposition parties in Ethiopia, but their scope is significantly restricted by law, a politicised central government and ethnic conflict (Abbink 2010). 70 registered parties participated in the election in 2010. The ruling party won all the seats except one in parliament and 1904 seats in the regional assemblies. The opposition won four seats in the regional assemblies.

Since 1991, several Ethiopian parties inside and outside Ethiopia have had armed rebellions as a means of regime change. Amongst these are the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) (see Landinfo 2010b), the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) (see Landinfo 2011) and the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP) (see Landinfo 2010a). These parties are illegal (Criminal Code 2005), and any activities in Ethiopia are mainly underground.

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<sup>1</sup> The Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) is led by the party's Chair and Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi.

<sup>2</sup> TPLF, also known as Woyane, was established in 1975 and is considered the most powerful party in the EPRDF government umbrella.

### 3. THE PARTY'S ESTABLISHMENT AND PROGRAM

Ginbot 7<sup>3</sup> (referred to as G7) was established 15 May 2008. The name means 15 May in Amharic and refers to the date when the election for the parliament in Ethiopia was held in 2005. The party was established on an initiative from Berhanu Nega<sup>4</sup> and Andargachew Tsige. Both have roots in the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party (EPRP), and they were active in the opposition coalition the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD)<sup>5</sup> before and after the election in 2005.<sup>6</sup>

G7 has not developed concrete plans for alternative politics, but there is a several page-long program on the party's website (Ginbot 7 n.d.). Party leader Berhanu Nega told Landinfo in May 2009 that the party primarily wants a regime change, and that it has a goal of embracing all ethnic groups in Ethiopia and creating a comprehensive oppositional alliance. G7 does not exclude the use of violent means to overthrow the current ruling coalition EPRDF.<sup>7</sup> The party did not place candidates in the election in May 2010, because they had no confidence in the electoral process.

Since the establishment of the party, the leadership has mobilised Ethiopians in exile in Europe, Africa, Australia and North America. They want to mobilise support for the group's goals and create a cohesive network of Ethiopian opposition groups in exile. In August 2010, the party joined with two other unregistered political groups in Ethiopia; Afar People's Party (APP) and Ethiopian Movement for Unity and Justice (Ethiopian Review 2010). The coalition's new name is "Alliance for Liberty, Equality and Justice in Ethiopia" (ALEJE).

The Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), under the leadership of Kemal Gelchu, announced on 2 January 2012 that the party no longer demands independence for the Oromo and sought cooperation with other Ethiopian groups for regime change. The day after, the ALEJE coalition confirmed the agreement. This marked a new alliance between Kemal's faction of OLF and G7 (Mohamed 2012).

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<sup>3</sup> The party's full name is Ginbot 7 Movement for Justice, Freedom and Democracy.

<sup>4</sup> Berhanu Nega was the CUD candidate for mayor in Addis Abeba in 2005.

<sup>5</sup> CUD was an opposition coalition consisting of four parties who placed candidates for election in 2005. CUD won many seats in the election, but the majority of them boycotted the opening of parliament. Most of CUD's leaders were charged with undermining the country's constitution in 2005/2006. The party split after the arrest of the party's leaders. In Amharic, the group is known as Qinijit.

<sup>6</sup> Before this election, the opposition politicians were allowed to express their views in the national media, and the Ethiopian government won international recognition for taking important steps in a more democratic direction. After the opposition parties and coalitions surprisingly won a third of the seats in the Federal Assembly and won all seats except one in Addis Abeba, unrest broke out in the country. The opposition said the election had been characterised by widespread fraud and would not recognise the results. In turn, the government tightened heavily in a number of areas and met the riots with force (Landguiden n.d.).

<sup>7</sup> In their political program, G7 partly emphasises the significance of free elections, the opportunity for political opposition and that a regime's legitimacy cannot be based on force. G7 also indirectly rejects the idea that their goals can be reached through "peaceful struggle", because the government does not respect the citizens' right to dissent (Ginbot 7 n.d.).

#### 4. THE PARTY'S ACTIVITIES IN ETHIOPIA

In a conversation with Landinfo in March 2011, party leader Berhanu Nega said that G7 has a widespread, secret party network in Ethiopia. He said that the party is organised in a cell structure and is active throughout Ethiopia. The cells are autonomous and each cell consists of four to five people.

Another central G7 leader (conversation in Oslo February 2012) has described the organisation as *quatero* (Amharic for cell system). According to this G7 leader, the cells are found in all universities and colleges in Ethiopia, and this cell organisation was reportedly presented on Ethiopian TV in 2011 in a news broadcast in which the government asked Ethiopian to be vigilant for such activity.

A Western diplomatic source (e-mails September 2010 and December 2011) emphasised that there is no confirmed information regarding G7 activities in Ethiopia. The source considered it likely that any activities ceased after the arrests of dissidents in the spring of 2009 (see chapter 6). This is confirmed by German, Swiss and Austrian immigration authorities, who, after conversations with a number of sources in Ethiopia in 2010, concluded that the movement is barely present in the country (Bundesamt für Migration (Schweiz), Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (Deutschland) & Staatendokumentation des Bundesasylamtes (Österreich) 2010).

Information on G7's ideas and organisation are available in Ethiopia. This especially applies in urban, academic environments where there is access to Internet and satellite TV. Meanwhile, the restrictions the government wants to put on oppositional political activity, and especially on illegal political groups, are so extensive that any organised activity would be difficult to track. Neither the Ethiopian government nor G7 can be considered reliable sources for the presence of a widespread G7 cell structure in Ethiopia.

#### 5. THE PARTY'S ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE ETHIOPIA

G7 has been active in the diaspora and since 2008 has built up an organisation with many former CUD members in Europe, Australia and North America. The party has offices in many European countries, including Norway, Denmark, England, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and Germany (Berhanu Nega, conversation in Oslo March 2011).

The party operates the website [ginbot7.com](http://ginbot7.com). This and a series of other similar websites are sometimes shut down by the authorities in Ethiopia (U.S. Department of State 2011).<sup>8</sup> G7 is also responsible for radio broadcasts which are transmitted to

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<sup>8</sup> In 2009, there were 447,000 Internet users in Ethiopia, 47,000 of these had a permanent subscription, and of these, 3,500 had access to broadband. The state-owned Ethio Telecom has a monopoly on all telecom services. Ethiopia is the only country in Africa south of the Sahara which blocks websites. This occurs sporadically and especially during politically sensitive periods. The government then blocks IP address and domain names for political groups, news services and human

Ethiopia twice a day, three times a week. The radio broadcasts are transmitted on four different bandwidths to avoid the government's attempts to block the transmissions (Ginbot 7 n.d.). The signals for international radio broadcasts are sometimes blocked (Freedom House 2011).

Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT) started transmissions to Ethiopia by satellite in April 2010, and was presented as the first independent news provider of TV signals in Ethiopia. ESAT broadcasts programs, including G7 programs, 24 hours a day. It is unclear how much of a viewership these transmissions have, but there are an increasing number of Ethiopians who have access to satellite TV (Freedom House 2011). ESAT was blocked eleven times in 2011 by the Ethiopian government (Amnesty International 2011a). Two Ethiopians in exile with connections to ESAT were charged in absentia with violations of criminal law and anti-terrorist law in 2011 (Amnesty International 2011a).<sup>9</sup> ESAT and G7 are partially financed by the same sources, but are otherwise separate entities, according to a central G7 leader (conversation in Oslo February 2012).

## **6. THE GOVERNMENT'S REACTION TO G7 IN 2009 AND 2011**

### **6.1 ARRESTS IN THE SPRING OF 2009**

In April 2009, G7 was the subject of extensive attention for the first time, both inside and outside Ethiopia. 35 Ethiopians were arrested in Addis Abeba for trying to overturn the constitution. In May 2009, 11 more people were charged. On 4 June 2009, the government brought charges against these 46 Ethiopians. They were charged with membership in an illegal group, G7, and for planning the executions of government officials (Abbaymedia 2009). Further information was not provided on who these government officials were.

According to a diplomatic source Landinfo contacted in December 2009, the group of 46 defendants were primarily current and former officers in the Ethiopian army. According to the journalist Peter Heinlein (2009), there were also people in civil government sectors amongst those arrested. Most of the 46 defendants denied having connections to G7 and accused the government of constructing this association.<sup>10</sup> The majority of those arrested were reportedly of Amharic origin.

The Ethiopian Federal Court convicted 40 of the 46 defendants in 2009. They were found guilty of five of the charges in accordance with the Ethiopian Penal Code, including (i) planning killings of government members, (ii) plots against electrical and power supplies and (iii) planning to remove Prime Minister Meles Zenawi from

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rights groups.

<sup>9</sup> Abebe Belew and Neama Zeleke.

<sup>10</sup> This does not apply to the G7 leaders Berhanu Nega and Andergetchew Tsige, who both live outside Ethiopia.

power (Well-informed diplomatic source, e-mail December 2009).

Five<sup>11</sup> of the defendants were sentenced to death, 33<sup>12</sup> were sentenced to life in prison, while two were sentenced to ten years in prison based on having admitted to the charges. Eight of those who were sentenced to life in prison were in exile.

Several of the accused have explained that they were subjected to physical assault with the intent of getting them to confess (U.S. Department of State 2010). In connection with the death sentence for five of the defendants, the judge explained that these were people who had previously been convicted of similar charges.<sup>13</sup>

After appeals, the Ethiopian Supreme Court confirmed 25 life sentences on 11 November 2010.<sup>14</sup> The Ethiopian Supreme Court upheld the death sentences for Berhanu, Andargachaw, Muluneh and Melaku. Only Melaku was in Ethiopia during the conviction (Ethioplanet n.d.).

Those who were convicted of planning regime change mainly had military backgrounds. Whether they were actually active for G7 is uncertain, according to a Western diplomatic source (e-mail December 2009). It is not inconceivable that some of the charges of assault may be justified, at least in part, according to the diplomatic source. However, the same source said it was unlikely that G7 as an organisation was behind a conspiracy of such dimensions.

Two of those who were sentenced in absentia, Habtewold and Yenealem, were editors of G7's political newsletter, which is banned in Ethiopia (Committee to Protect Journalists 2010).

G7's leader, Berhanu Nega, has claimed (conversation in Oslo May 2009) that the arrests in 2009 were primarily the result of an internal rebellion in the army, and not politically motivated. According to Berhanu, it was military leaders with Amharic backgrounds who were behind the rebellion.

## 6.2 THE CASE AGAINST ANDUALEM ARAGE ET AL. 2009

Since March 2011, at least 114 journalists and opposition politicians have been arrested in Ethiopia, accused of being involved in various terrorist groups (Amnesty International 2011). Sources Landinfo met in Ethiopia in March 2012 pointed out that the number of arrested people could be higher. An Ethiopian dissident (meeting in Addis Abeba March 2012) estimated the number arrested to be 401 as of March 2012. This constitutes the largest wave of arrests since the government cracked down

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<sup>11</sup> Berhanu Nega, Muluneh Eyoel, Andergetchew Tsige, Mesfin Aman (convicted in absentia) and Melaku Teferra (in Ethiopia).

<sup>12</sup> Alehubel Amare (absentia), Yaregal Yimam (absentia), Dan (full name not available, in absentia), Aweke Afework (in absentia), Dereje Habtewold (in absentia), Daniel Assefa (in absentia), Chekol Getahun (in absentia), Efreem Madebo (in absentia), Fasil Yenealem (in absentia), Brigadier General Teferra Mamo, Asamnew Tsige, Tsige Habtemaryam, Mengistu Abebe, Lt. Col. Solomon Ashagre, Lt. Col. Alemu Getenet, Major Mesekere Kassa, Lt. Col. Getachew Berele, Captain Temesgen Bayleyegn, Getu Worku, Lt. Col. Fantahun Muhaba, Lt. Col. Abere Asefa, Major Misganaw Tessema, Yeshiwas Mengesha, Emawayish Alemu, Lt. Col. Demsew Anteneh, Yeshiwas Mitiku, Gobena Belay, Amerar Bayabil, Goshirad Tsegaw, Wudneh Temesgen, Yibeltal Birhanu, Major Mekonen Worku and Kifle Sinshaw.

<sup>13</sup> This refers to the conviction of political leaders after the election in 2005. In 2007, their life sentences were commuted and covered by an amnesty.

<sup>14</sup> There were, amongst others, Fanaye Wube (Maj.), Ababu Tefera (Lt.), Getu Wolde and Aragaw Asfaw (Inspector).

on regime critics after the parliamentary election in 2005 (Western diplomatic source, e-mail September 2011).

Most of the accused are members of the two largest Oromo parties, the Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement (OFDM) and the Oromo People's Congress (OPC). However, amongst the defendants are a group of 24 people who are accused of G7 activity. This is the case against Andualem Arage et al., also referred to as the Ginbot 7 case.

### **6.2.1 Arrests in Ethiopia**

On 14 September 2011, the journalist Eskinder Nega and the opposition politicians Andualem Arage, Nathaniel Mekonnen, Asaminew Berhanu and Zemene Molla were arrested in Addis Abeba. Andualem, Nathaniel and Asaminew<sup>15</sup> have prominent positions in the opposition coalition Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ)<sup>16</sup>, while Zemene is the Secretary-General of the Ethiopian National Democratic Party (ENDP).<sup>17</sup> The four were arrested on the basis of suspicion of participation in G7 (Amnesty International 2011, p. 9). According to a well-informed Ethiopian dissident (meeting in Oslo February 2012), none of those arrested were connected to G7.

In addition to these four, Yeshewale Yehunalem (member of UDJ), Mitiku Damte (member of UDJ in Desse), Yohannes Terefe (unknown background) and Andualem Ayalew were arrested. Andualem was abducted in Sudan, according to a well-informed diplomatic source (1) Landinfo spoke with in Ethiopia in March 2012. Andualem allegedly had a list of other G7 members. It is unclear why Yeshewale, Mitiku and Yohannes were arrested and what relation they had to G7.

On 10 November 2011, all eight of these people were accused of violating a number of provisions in the anti-terrorism law (Anti-Terrorism Proclamation).

### **6.2.2 Charges against 16 people in exile**

In addition to the eight already mentioned, 16 exiled Ethiopians were charged in the same case (Andualem Arage et al.) in absentia (see attachment 8.1). Four of these are G7 leaders (Andargachew Tsige, Berhanu Nega, Efreem Madebo and Mesfin Aman), while one (Colonel Alebel Amare) is a member of the Amhara Democratic Force Movement (an armed opposition movement in exile).

According to Amnesty International (2011, p. 19), three of the accused in exile have unknown political affiliation: Desalegn Arage Wale, Wube Robe and Elias Molla. However, a well-informed Ethiopian dissident Landinfo met in February 2012 explained that Desalegn and Elias represented ENDP and not G7. The source also

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<sup>15</sup> Asaminew was later released without charge.

<sup>16</sup> UDJ, a splinter group from CUD (Qinijit), was established in June 2008 in order to run in the parliamentary election in 2010.

<sup>17</sup> According to a well-informed Ethiopian dissident (conversation in Oslo February 2012), ENDP has roots in the Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP). EDP was established in 1999. In 2003, EDP was united with the Ethiopian Democratic Union (EDU) and Medhin. The party then changed its name to UEDP-Medhin. Until October 2005, UEDP-Medhin was one of four parties in the CUD alliance. Today, the party goes by the name Medhin. The current relation between Medhin and ENDP is unknown.

said that the G7 leadership in exile gave orders to G7 members in Ethiopia to support ENDP in the country. According to the same source, Alebel Amare reportedly had meetings with G7 outside Ethiopia, but did not belong to the organisation himself. According to the source, Wube Robe was a pseudonym.

There are also five journalists amongst the accused in exile (Fasil Yenealem<sup>18</sup>, Abebe Belaw<sup>19</sup>, Abebe Gelaw<sup>20</sup>, Mesfin Negash<sup>21</sup> and Abiye Teklemariam<sup>22</sup>), one human rights activist (Obang Metho), one political leader (Zeleele Tsegaselassie<sup>23</sup>) and the leader of Ethiopian Satellite Television (ESAT) (Neamen Zeleke).

### **6.2.3 The charges**

The 24 in the Andualem case were charged in accordance with paragraphs 3, 4, 5 (not all), 6, 7 (not all), 248 and 252 of the Criminal Code (2005). They were charged with the following offences:

1. Terrorist acts by being guilty of another person's death or serious injury, by exposing the public to serious risk, by kidnapping, by destroying government buildings and by disrupting public services
2. Planning, preparing/conspiring and attempting to carry out terrorist acts
3. Encouraging terrorism
4. Treason, by having contact with a nation at war with Ethiopia (Eritrea)
5. Espionage
6. Participation in a terrorist organisation through activities as leader or decision maker in the organisation (for defendants 1 through 18, see Appendix 8.2)
7. Participation in a terrorist organisation by recruiting members, training or holding membership (for defendants 19 and 20, see attachment)

### **6.2.4 Sentencing**

On 27 June 2012, 24 of those charged in the Andualem case were found guilty of multiple charges by the Lideta Federal Court in Addis Abeba. The sentencing occurred on 13 July 2012, and prison sentences of eight years to life were pronounced (Reuters 2012).

### **6.2.5 The basis for the arrest**

It is uncertain what the basis for the arrests in the Ginbot 7 case was. Several of those arrested are affiliated with the opposition party UDJ. EPRDF made a clear warning to UDJ in March 2011 that members of the party were conducting "illegal activities

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<sup>18</sup> Fasil is affiliated with ESAT.

<sup>19</sup> Abebe is affiliated with Addis Dimts and ESAT.

<sup>20</sup> Abebe is affiliated with Addis Voice and ESAT.

<sup>21</sup> Mesfin was affiliated with the newspaper Addis Neger, which is now closed.

<sup>22</sup> Abiye was affiliated with the newspaper Addis Neger, which is now closed.

<sup>23</sup> Leader of the All Ethiopian Democratic Party, in exile after 2010.

under the guise of legal opposition," and that the government was following them closely and was going to crack down on them (Western diplomatic source, e-mail September 2011). This can be understood as an indirect reference to G7. Both G7 and UDJ have roots in CUD (Qinijit) and recruit members from the same environments. UDJ is different from G7 in being a legal political party which recognises the constitution and places candidates in elections. According to a Western diplomatic source (e-mail December 2011), the government has presented examples of opposition politicians who formerly advocated a peaceful line, now having contact with G7. In connection with the arrests, the federal police in Ethiopia said that they had proof that the accused were connected to what they referred to as G7's terrorist plans (Tekle 2011).

At a press conference held on 16 September 2011, UDJ categorically denied that the arrested members were involved in illegal activities. The party claimed that EPRDF used anti-terrorist legislation in order to stop critics, and that the arrests would also increase dissent amongst the population, which was already high due to inflation, rising prices and inspiration from the Arab Spring (Western diplomatic source, e-mail September 2011).

A dissident who Landinfo met in Ethiopia in March 2012 explained that there are three pieces of evidence in the Andualem case:

1. Contact over social media on the Internet between Ethiopians affiliated with G7 and accused Ethiopians at home
2. E-mails sent from G7 in exile to people at home
3. Transmission of G7's party program from G7 in exile to Ethiopians at home

The source emphasised that many thousands of Ethiopians received similar e-mails from G7. Several well-informed, diplomatic sources (1, 2 and 3) Landinfo met in March 2012 explained that the evidence presented in these cases is thin, and that the threshold to convict a person of terrorism is low.

According to Landinfo's assessment, the fear of the spread of similar rebellions to those which took place in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Syria and Yemen, amongst others, in 2011 was the most important reason for the government making these arrests. Those arrested were considered to have the capacity to promote protests against the Ethiopian government. In fact, the Arab Spring was the topic of Eskinder Nega's speeches prior to the arrests in September 2011.

The evidence which was presented during the trial against these 24 people in March 2012 was thin, according to several of the sources we met in Addis Abeba in the spring. In addition to Andergetchew Tsige, Berhanu Nega, Efreem Madebo and Mesfin Aman, who are all recognised to be G7 leaders, it is uncertain what relation to the movement the other 20 defendants had.

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## 8. ATTACHMENTS

### 8.1 PEOPLE INDICTED FOR G7 ACTIVITY IN 2011

#### Defendants in the Andualem et al. case

##### In Ethiopia:

Eskinder Nega	Journalist
Andualem Arage	Deputy Chair of UDJ
Nathaniel Mekonnen	Leader of UDJ
Kinfemichael Debebe	Member of All Ethiopian Democratic Party
Yohannes Terefe	
Yeshewale Yehunalem	Member of UDJ, candidate in election in 2010
Mitiku Damte	Member of CUD (EDP), candidate for UDJ in the 2010 election
Andualem Ayalew	

##### In absentia:

Fasil Yenealem	Journalist affiliated with ESAT (Ethiopian Satellite Television)
Abebe Belaw	Journalist affiliated with Addis Dimts and ESAT
Abebe Gelaw	Journalist affiliated with Addis Voice and ESAT
Abiye Teklemariam	Journalist previously affiliated with Addis Neger
Mesfin Negash	Journalist previously affiliated with Addis Neger
Obang Metho	Human rights activist
Zeleele Tsegasselassie	Leader of the All Ethiopian Democratic Party, in exile after 2010
Neamen Zeleke	Leader of ESAT
Andargachew Tsige	G7 leader
Berhanu Nega	G7 leader
Efrem Madebo	G7 leader
Mesfin Aman	G7 leader
Colonel Alebel Amare	Amhara Democratic Force Movement
Desalegn Arage Wale	ENDP
Wube Robe	Pseudonym
Elias Molla	ENDP

## 8.2 PEOPLE INDICTED FOR G7 MEMBERSHIP IN 2009

1. Brigadier General Teferra Mamo
2. General Asamnew Tsige
3. Berhanu Nega, G7 leader (indicted in absentia)
4. Andargachew Tsige, G7 leader (indicted in absentia)
5. Muluneh Eyoel, G7 leader (indicted in absentia)
6. Dereje Habtewold, G7 member (indicted in absentia)
7. Mesfin Aman, G7 member (indicted in absentia)
8. Daniel Assefa, G7 leader (indicted in absentia)
9. Chekol Getahun, G7 leader (indicted in absentia)
10. Efrem Madebo, G7 leader (indicted in absentia)
11. Tsege Habtemaryam (80 year old man)
12. Getu Worku
13. Amerar Bayabil
14. Goshirad Tsegaw
15. Abere Asefa
16. Misganaw Tessema
17. Fanaye Wube
18. Yeshiwas Mengesha
19. Melaku Teferra
20. Getu Wolde
21. Mengistu Abebe
22. Emawayish Alemu
23. Kifle Sinshaw
24. Adugna Alemayehu
25. Demsew Anteneh
26. Ababu Teferi
27. Aragaw Asfaw
28. Fantahun Muhaba
29. Wudneh Temesgen
30. Ayten Kassa
31. Yeshiwas Mitiku
32. Gobena Belay

33. Alehubel Amare (indicted in absentia)
34. Dan (indicted in absentia)
35. Aweke Afewerk (indicted in absentia)
36. Amanuel (indicted in absentia)
37. Yaregal Yimam (indicted in absentia)
38. Fasil Yenealem (indicted in absentia)
39. Yibeltal Birhanu
40. Mekonen Worku
41. Alemu Getenet
42. Adefris Asamnew
43. Mesekere Kassa
44. Getachew Berele
45. Temesgen Bayleyegn
46. Solomon Ashagre