Copied from an internal Document of the EPRP written in 1980 by order of the CC of the EPRP

On Yekatit 11-1967 (Ethio cal) seven individuals agreed to form T.P.L.F. They are:
1. Atsbeha Dagnew
2. Aregawi Beke
3. Alomsaged Mergesha
4. Amha Tesfaye
5. Zeru Gessesse
6. Embaye Meotfn
7. Mulugeta Hagos.

These individuals formed T.P.L.F. It is said the role of Aregawi was great from the individuals. When these individuals signed the agreement many were already prepared to join the movement.

From these:
1. Ogazghi Beyene
2. Weldeslasie Nega
3. Legesse Zengawi
4. Sahle Abraha
5. Gebret Asrat
6. Berhan Gebrekristos
7. Tewodros Weidemariam
8. Tsegai Temalowu
9. Yohannes Gebremedhin (Walta)
10. Tikelu Wedu/Awalom
11. Gesesse Ayelle
12. Berha Ayelle
13. Hailakel Hailuf
14. Kelebet

and other individuals - were waiting for the movement.


When the "7" individuals laid the foundation of their organisation - some of them went to Eritrea (EPLF) for training and the remaining stayed in Tigray to study the field.

The no. of fighters who came after training were:
1. Atsbeha Dagnew
2. Tikelu
3. Zeru
4. Aregawi (not in Eritrea)
5. Yohannes
6. Tesfu Tefidamariam
7. Mulugeta
8. Aseki Hailuf
9. Atsaka Wamikael
10. Tekle Sherifo
11. Legesse
12. Kelebet
13. Musie
14. Ogazghi
15. Sahle
16. Hailuf
17. Tsegai

The above named fighters after their training in Eritrea joined Gesesse Ayelle in Debedit. After this they started their activity: They freed Musie from police station (prison) Endasellassie; raided Akusum's bank; liquidated TLF by deceiving. During all this time they were lead by the self-appointed individuals. The leaders at this time were:
1. Gesesse Ayelle
2. Alemsaged
3. Aregawi
4. Zeru Gessesse
5. Amha
6. Embaye
7. Asfaha.

On 11 Yekatit 1968 in Marwa a meeting was made to elect a new leadership. The total number of participants were not more than 70.

The criteria for elections were:
- who was in the organisation for 2/3 of age of the organisation
- who believes in his Tiglani and has strong Tiglani feeling
- who struggles to reserve his culture and language
- who has a strong stand against feudalism, imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, fascism, and national oppression
- age over 21
courageous, disciplined

On these criteria the following were elected:

- Seyum 100%
- Agazi (Zenu) 2nd
- Amha 3rd
- Musie 4th
- Sebhat 5th
- Berihu 6th
- Griday 7th

After election they made division of work:

Berihu - Chairman
Seyum - Foreign Affairs
Sebhat - Economy - later (Aghazi)
Musie - Military

The remaining of the military leaders for Western front and others. This leadership:
1. Law and Administration Regulations
2. principle, like for the organ produced and distributed in the fighters.

At this time TPLF had two "Ganta" but they were called on the name of "Haili". Their leaders were:

1. Haili Weyane
   Gebru Amha Hagos
   Haile Port Sudan-Leader
   Kelebet
   Recem - P/Commissar

2. Haili Dedebit
   Wata
   Berhan Ayele
   Gessesse Ayele

During this time:

1. Their relation with EPLF was not good. This is because after Dr. Fentum reconciled them with EPRP, they did not show any progress.
2. Because of TLF they had a contradiction with ELF.
3. The two haili - which were only in name but in their capacity only ganta were able to be filled.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Vice</th>
<th>Tactic</th>
<th>Leaders of Ganta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haili Dedebit</td>
<td>Wahta</td>
<td>Berhan Ayele</td>
<td>Bertha Hagos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haili Weyane</td>
<td>Haile Port-Sudan</td>
<td>Koileb</td>
<td>Kebrom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gessesse Ayele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Later the Hailis were grown to 3. Leaders were:

for 1st - Haile Port-Sudan
for 2nd - Aged then Anferom
for 3rd - Kelebet

On Sene 12, 1968 Eth. Cal. a war was made in ...... . In this battle 8 M14, 6 MI were captured. In this battle Gessesse Ayele died. On Hamile two "Hailis" reached Addi Daero and made a battle on 12th Hamile 1972. (887) In this battle 150 - 180 people were captured. Most of them were set free and few are executed.

On 1/1/89 TPLF made a reconciliation with EDU. On this occasion 7 oxen were slaughtered and eaten. By the TPLF the agreement was serious. But on EDU side it only tactical. The document which was found later proves this. This agreement did not last long and is violated by EDU. On 23/169 at Chia-Meskebet a battle was made. On both sides there was heavy loss. On TPLF side 17 died and 15 wounded. From the dead: Musie, Anferom, Haile (Ganta leader). All the vice Ganta leaders of the two Haile died. After this heavy loss TPLF filled their forces from those in training.

11. Haile Port Sudan
21. Berhan Ayele
31. Kelebet
On Yekatit 1969 EDU entered Shararo and Halle 21 was completely destroyed except 13 fighters. Fortunately Mahjur was sick and was at base at that time. — Six Halle to defend EDU they made a battle in Addi Nebri Eret. On this battle one full Halle was destroyed two. vice leaders of Halle died. Kebebe Yohannes and Tesfay (Haili leaders) were wounded. Halle Port-Sudan was in prison. After this war the number of Halle dropped to only 5.

The Hallis who did not participate in this battle:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asmerom</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Semere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzadikan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zerai-Tadesse Agedon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shambel Wimmichael</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible to see TPLF in three periods of time:

1st - 1967 - 1968
2nd - 1968 - 1969 July
3rd - July 1969 - up to now.

The first period 67 - 68
1. It tried to resolve democratically internal problems. Criticism and self-criticism were used properly.
2. There were individuals who were not happy the liquidation of TLF.
3. There was weak regional contradiction.
4. There was a stand "we have to agree with EPRP" this stand was published on a paper.

The 2nd period 68 - 69
1. Criticism and self-criticism was no more believed, the contradiction aside the fighters became very acute and divided the army into two.
2. The regional tendencies created by the leadership became out of control.
3. The leadership instead of resolving contradiction on clear and democratic way, started to resolve in feudalistic, deceiving way. And moreover start to kill, to arrest and to blackmail fighters. He changed and divided the fighters and started to form his own supporters.
4. The army wanted another election but the leadership was not ready.
5. The efforts made to take a stand on EPRP and other police questions, the leadership did not agree with the representatives of the army. The leadership believing they will get a support of the broad base brought the issues into the base. Similarly the fighters oppose the leadership stand. The fighters asked for those who are killed by the leadership. In general it was a period where the undemocratic trend was exposed and contradiction were grown.
6. To oppose the political and military weakness that appeared. For example, it criticised the war with EDU for it was not tactical and timely.
The 3rd period

- The leadership was not able to resolve contradiction democratically and made great killings.
- It was a period where dictatorship reigned the organisation and democracy completely disappeared (abolished).
- The fighters as they did not find a better alternative fled to the enemy not only as individuals but also in a Haille.
- After it was cleared from inside, it was the period a battle with EPRP was made.
- The organisation came under the control of other organisations directions.

At this period the internal struggle was condemned; by exaggerating the peasants weak democratic feeling the role of the intellectuals was neglected.

TPLF and TLF

One which revealed the anti-democratic nature of TPLF (A-Sh-A: Assum-Shire-Adwa) is three deeds which is committed on TLF. They liquidated TLF. Can’t they form a united front and struggle together? To resolve the difference of the two organisations what efforts were made?

TPLF was formed on Hamile 1964. It was formed from three different national groups.

One group was lead by Yohannes Thaimananot.
2nd Group was lead by Amare Tesfu.
3rd group was lead by Ghidey Ghebrewahid.

These different groups their comment point is their one national feeling. However, they had differences on many questions. One of the main question was, e.g., the struggle to run in Tigray should be colonial or national? was suspended. On this situation they formed the Tigray Liberation Front. Many of them they agree to continue the struggle and in the meantime adjust their stand. But some individuals like Zerue Gesse (later become TPLF leadership) left the organisation on difference. This organisation was able to collect the support of many intellectuals.

In 1976 as Derg controlled their main members such as Ghidey Ghebrewahid and Rezene Kidane they took the struggle in the town as a second and left to the field. From those who went to the field:

1. Yohannes Thaimananot
2. Ghebre Kidan
3. Said Mehamed Tiasm
4. Tekena Kassa
5. Halekiros Angede
6. Desta Tesfay
7. Yemane Ghebreemeskel
8. Amare Tesfu
9. Yewhanes Andemikael
10. Tadesse Tilahun

now he is Administrator for Enderta Awraj
was Head of public organisation office Mekelle
Adrign, 2nd year university student from Adwa, a teacher in Gonder
Mekelle, university student
Mekelle, EPID employee

and others.

With their members in the field they formed Executive Committee.

Its members

1. Ghebrekidan
2. Yewhanes Thaimananot
3. Yemane Ghebreemeskel
4. Tefere Kassa
5. Said Mehamed Tiasm
6. Desta Tesfay
7. Amare Tesfu

The Chairman was Yewhanes Thaimananot. On this election Amare Tesfu was not satisfied. He wanted to be the Chairman. When he was sent for a mission to Mekelle he started to agitate that he was the chairman of the organisation. As he was starting to be against the leadership Said, Yewhanes and Tefere entered Mekelle and killed him. The killing was very secret and no one knew about it.
When TLF entered the field it got moral and material support from ELF. Form the start they were armed with effective weapons. At this time on the situation in Ethiopia, their principles start their teaching and explaining to the people. Their place of movement was Agame, Asimba and the border to Eritrea.

In such situation they start to negotiate with TPLF for unity.

After many negotiations they formed a unity and start to work together on 2nd Hidar 1968. After they worked together for some weeks; at a place called Zegeblis (...), where they overnighted, the fighters of TPLF upon the instruction of their leadership attacked the fighters of TLF, TPLF fighters woke up earlier than TLF's. Most of the dead were from the peasant section. Yewhanes T'haimanot and Tadesse Tilahun were captured. Yemane Ghebremsikel was killed in the place. Teferi Kassa, Desta Tesfay, Haile Kiros Asegde fled to the town. Some were forced to join TPLF.

Yewhanes T'haimanot and Tadesse Tilahun after long suffering in a TPLF-prison were killed in Genbot 1968.

From the TPLF who took this step it was Aregawi Berhe. Aregawi Berhe because of power he did not agree with the individuals who formed TLF besides he wanted to revenge the blood of Amahre Teslu.

The individuals who fled from the attack of TPLF tried to re-organise TLF. However, the propaganda of TPLF that TLF is a murderer organisation made them to be rejected by the society especially by the youth. After this they joined Derg.

Conclusion:

TPLF is an anti-democracy organisation, murder organisation. It decided to be the supreme Tigray leadership and is not ready to work with other organisations.

Concerning EDU

Tigray People Liberation Front - "Terenaft" Committee.

This organisation was formed at the same time with TPLF. At the start the main leaders were Yirga Zana, Berhe, a teacher, Aoleka Tesfay, Tesfay Asegdom, Sisay, Alemeshet.

On this organisation there were many stands. It is mainly formed of two groups:

1st group: High national feeling who struggle for Tigray.

2nd group: who want the organisation to be the army of EDU.

The situation which help this organisation to strengthen:

1. The 1966 people uprising created a problem to the bureaucrats,
2. the already existing strong bandita,
3. Derg before organizing and mobilizing the peasant who armed to send to fight in Eritrea for his (Raza project).

Although the leaders of the organisation are murderers and the wolf of the feudals, most of its fighters 98 % were from the toiling mass (peasant).

The leadership was not able to organize war and lead the organisation. Besides it has a pressure from EDU which was its main source of arms.

The Army has to wait long time in Sheraro area to wait for weapons from EDU. At this time some of its members started to commit theft and banditry.

TPLF wanted to make unity with this organisation so as to systematical liquidate it. It has tried many negotiations but all failed. Members of Terenaft who don't like students, and some intellectuals who know about TLF, oppose the unity with TPLF.

Terenaft has liberated many towns such as Sheraro, Adi Awalla, Adi Hageray, Adi Nebred, Adi Daero (all Western Tigray).

While Terenaft operated in this area, Gesese Ayele, who is from this area was representative of TPLF. He was teaching the people the nature and principles of TPLF. One day in a place
called Adi Nebraed the army of Tenaafit after taking one bus belonging to Northern transportation were on their way to Adi Awalla. Gesesse Ayele opposed this and a fire was opened.

Gesse and another one were killed. After this TPLF collected its force from Adwa and marched to the Western front to revenge the blood of Gesesse. The TPLF tried many ambushes and last on Hamle 12/1968 in Adi Nebraed after besieging the town they open fire. 135 captured, 2 wounded, many died from Tenaafit. From this onward Tenaafit started to decline. Many abandoned the organisation, some joined TPLF and many fled to Sudan. Some of them re-organised themselves under a new name EDU under the leadership of Admasu Tsefe (from Adwalla area) and Hakeka Tsefay and started to operate in Sherao area in Meskerem 1969. TPLF, because its force was scattered, asked people to do his effort for the unity of Tenaafit and TPLF.

Although the leadership of EDU was conscious of it for a false unity 7 oxen were slaughtered. They operated the two organisations in Sherao area.

On Meskerem 17/1969 (Meskel) after the army of Tenaafit-EDU fired many bullets to the sky their full force withdrew from the town and began preparations for a war. TPLF with what it has at the area three forces on 23 Meskerem at Cheaa-Meskebet made heavy war. On TPLF side many fighters and many of the unit leader and Musie from central committee died. From EDU-Tenaafit Admasu Tsefaye and Kahsay from the leadership were captured, later they were killed. From that date on many wars were made between them such as at Tsehayo, at Adi Nebraed mesel, at Tekeze river. TPLF lost many fighters up to the liquidation of a full force (Haile) and later continued the big war with EDU.

TPLF and EPLF

1. They said EPRP is reactionary.
2. They accept Derg is faiseist and Soviet is revisionist.
3. They agree Eritrean question is a question of colony.

TPLF and ELF

TPLF accuses ELF for:

1. They cooperate with our enemies.
   a. They made Mengesha to go to foreign.
   b. They formed TLF and armed it against us.
   c. They formed "Tenaafit" against Tigrean people. They were an obstacle for agreement between us and "Tenaafit".
   d. They co-operate with EDU. They armed it to attack us.
2. They agitate the Eritreans living in Tigray to stand against TPLF and co-operate with EDU. They pressed us also for unity with the reactionary organisation.
3. EPRP before they started war with us they had no relation. After EPRP fired the war against us ELF gave full support. Now they are encouraging EPRP to stand against us.
4. ELF is expansionist. They claimed that Adyabo belongs up to ENB a lilo belongs to Eritrea.
5. They made segregation between Eritreans and Tigrians, e.g. For merchants who want to bring goods from Sudan the permission for Eritreans is easy but for Tigrians is other.
6. With EPLF we have good relation, this is because EPLF doesn't claim for land which does not belong to it. Keeps the right of people. However, ELF is always against us. They killed three of our comrades. They tried to fire a war in Sherao. Our patience is not cowardly. We will defend against the one who want to attack us.

(1972 document captured from a war prisoner)

TPLF's agitation against EPRP

1. They roast people on fire. They killed people.
2. They don't believe in hard and long struggle. They are afraid of sacrifies. They are not ready for hard struggle. They believe in victory without martyrs.
3. They are not anti-feudalism. They co-operate with EDU and ELF.
4. They don't believe inn the existence of Nationals and Ethiopian.
5. EPRP is a petty-bourgeois opportunist organisation. On the main questions they don’t have a principled stand.
6. EPRP is ready for people violation (insurrection) on short-cut.
7. EPRP has started the war against us. In defence of ourself we fought.

TPLF’s Economic Source
1. Help (esp. from EPLF) © mines, shells, bullets, weapons© Training for heavy weapons and mines is also offered.
2. FarmThey started to farm in Adyabo with the help of the“local and seasonal farmers.
3. The city and immigrant supporters of TPLF pay 10% of their”income.
4. From the peasant Association many collected on fine (punishment).
5. The profit from the trade run by economic office.
6. Things captured from the enemy and to sell to the local market such as sugar, coffee etc.
7. DM®© they collect and selling to Sudan.
8. Tax from markets.
9. Rent from House in the Liberated towns.
10. From the cereals collected by peasant association.
11. From accused people criminals etc. money collected for punishment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Broad</th>
<th>Organisational Congress</th>
<th>Central Committee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>Economic Committee</td>
<td>Military Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic medical</td>
<td>Culture public information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wayane GAURD&quot;</td>
<td>&amp; propaganda militia&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

© 7 ©” „r” „A © 7 ®” “The different departments of TPLF are ten. For nine a code name

(01©09) is given, for the one there is no code name.” 1. Training
© (02)” 2. Dept. economy © (05)” 3. medical
© (03)” 4. culture © (01)” 5. Public Relation
© (07)” 6. Security (Hellewa wayane) © (06)” 7. Cadres Chool
© (09)” 10. Foreign Office.

TPLF Leadership
1. GHIDET (FantahunTseratsion)
His family are Eritreans, who lived in Shire on trade and bar. He has two brothers who fought one in ELF and one in EPLF. This individual has strong hatred against ELF. He was 3rd year University Engineering College. He joined the leadership from the start with rank errand to other rank. He has strong nationalistic feeling which has anti-democratic tendency. He always says that Amhara (Showa), even if they are communists, they will never be free from Chauvinism. He reflects strong fascistic nature. He has strong stand anti-EPRP and ELF.

2. SEBHAT (Woldeselassie Nega)
He is born and grown in Adwa. He completed his High School in Mekelle. In 1956 he lead the students movement against the school director. At that time he started to agitate the people on nationalistic feeling. He entered the University and interrupted and started to work. Again he continued to study and graduated in 1964. This individual has good approach to people. At first he started to work with the Ministry of Finance but soon he applied for teaching. First in Yirga Alem then to Adwa again to Aksum he taught He might have choosen purposely teaching for his political aim in Aksum. Until he joined the bush he was a school director. From the start he is not in the leadership of TPLF. He is conservative and anti-communism. He admires the feu-
3. BERIHU (Aregawi Berhe)

Born and grown in Adwa. 3rd year University he studied political science. He made one year national service. In his experience as a national service teacher he was once in "contradiction with a student. In the university he was from the progressive part. He was anti-feudalism. Berihu he made great effort to found to TPLF. He is the one who made the relation with EPLF. From the start he lead TPLF as Chairman. Now he is responsible for military affairs. He has better military abilities. He feels, if he dies, it would be the end of the TPLF. He works very hard for TPLF. He was not afraid of internal political struggle. He is anti-EPRP although not as much as Sebhat.

4. MELES (Legesse Zenawi)

Born and grown in Adwa. 2nd year University - pre-medicine student. His father is a strong follower of EDU. He competed for the USUAA leadership but failed. He is arrogant. He is anti-democracy. He is a boaster, and feels himself he is superior to others. He has anti-EPRP tendency.

5. SEYUM (Embaye Mesfèn)

Born Adigrat, from a very rich family. He was a university student. He did not national service. Seyum is one of the founders of TPLF. He is conscious and very diplomatic. He is well liked by the fighters. He has a good relation with the fighters. He is a warrior, and once had been wounded in one offensive. He is sent to Sudan now for diplomatic work. He is feared by others that he might create a cult. In the last election he got 100% of the vote. For the future the fighter is sure to give his confidence.

6. ABBAY (Amha Tsehay)

Born Aksum, finished High School in Mekelle. 3rd year university student. In EUSU struggle was in chief. He increased his consciousness from time to time. He reads, he is very conscious. He is responsible for political affairs. He has democratic feeling. Until lately he has the conviction that the difference (contradiction) between TPLF and EPRP would be solved peacefully. He is afraid of internal opposition of fighters. He is afraid of attack from other members of the leadership for his stand on EPRP. He has a broad outview. He is well liked by the fighters next to Seyum. He believes on marxism-leninism.

7. SHEWIT (Atzabah Dagnew)

Born Adwa - University student pre-medicine. Now he is used to bureaucratic. He can't walk long ways. As he made many mistakes he is accused by the fighters. He likes a petty-bourgeois way of living. He has strong nationalist feeling, strong anti-EPRP. His political consciousness is not that much.

8. AWALLOM (Tékue Weidu)

Born Aksum, 2nd year University student, (Aris). He has strong national feeling. His political consciousness is not high. He is patient. He knows bureaucratic way of work. He has not military ability. He is very cowardly. He is hard-worker, he tries to read. He is democrat, he is not anti-EPRP.

9. SIYE (Sahle Abraha)

From Tembourg. The son of Grazmat Abraha. His father a very rich feudal. He completed his High School in Mekelle. He was a pre-medicine student in University. This individual is very arrogant and he likes to do on his own single decision. He is not confident on his work. His political consciousness is fair, his military ability is better. His stand against EPRP is not strong, however, his slogan "Tigray or death" which is very narrow nationalist.
10. GE BRU ASRAT
(Mekelle). He is from poor family. He was 2nd year University student (history and geography). His democratic tendency is good and likes to work by discussion and agreement. He is patient. His political consciousness is very high. He is not anti-EPRP. It seems he joined TPLF only because he believed a national movement should be done. While other TPLF leadership members condemned the Amhara, he defended that only the ruling class of Amhara should be condemned, other working and exploited Amharas are our natural allies, on this and other democratic questions during 1969 EC on the time of internal democratic movement. It was asked why not Gebru be part of the leadership, second he has trachoma (eye-disease). But now he is a member of the leadership. He has a strong hatred on Sebhat and Berihu.

11. ATAKILT (Raswerk Ketsella)
Aksum. He attended his High School in Mekelle and Gonder. He was very active in High School student movement. He studied for public health officer in Gonder for 3 years. He is one of the youths who struggled for the common Association between "EUSU" and "Public Health College". In 1967 he was in prison. He was a member of TLF. After TLF was liquidated he joined TPLF. When he joined TPLF he worked in medical service. In 1969 he was the commander of the Base and later the Representative of the leadership on the Western front. His political and military ability is not bad. He is a narrow nationalist. He has concluded that EPRP is a chauvinistic organisation. He is very loyal to the leadership. His power hunger, however, is very high.

12. TSADKAN (Tsadkan Haile)
From Raya-Azabo. He finished his High School in Mekelle. He was 2nd year student. He is from a peasant family. He is a democrat. He agrees with the fighters and participates in their daily life. His political consciousness is low but his military ability good. He is not narrow nationalist. He is not anti-EPRP.

13. MEDHIN
Mekelle. He is 10th Grade student. His political consciousness is low, his nationalist feeling is very high. His stand anti-EPRP is strong. He is liked by Ber