

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 Dagneu
2. Aregawi Berhe
3. Alemseged Mengesha
4. Amha Tsehaye
5. Zeru Gesesse
6. Embaye Mesfèn
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. Ogbazgi Beyene | 8. Tsegai Temalewu |
| 2. Weldeselassie Nega | 9. Youhannes Gebremedhin (Walta) |
| 3. Legese Zenawi | 10. Tèkue Weldu (Awalom) |
| 4. Sahle Abraha | 11. Gesesse Ayelle |
| 5. Gebru Asrat | 12. Berhane Ayelle |
| 6. Berhane Gebrekristos | 13. Haleka Hèluf |
| 7. Tewelde Weldemariam | 14. Kelebet |

and other individuals - were waiting for the movement.

1/1/1967 EC - 31/12/67 EC (11/09/1974 - 10/09/75)

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 Dagneu | 10. Tekle Sherifo |
| 2. Tèkue | 11. Legesse |
| 3. Zeru | 12. Kelebet |
| 4. Aregawi (not in Eritrea) | 13. Musie |
| 5. Yohanes | 14. Ogbazgi |
| 6. Tesfu Tesfamariam | 15. Sahle |
| 7. Mulugeta | 16. Hèbur |
| 8. Aleka Hèluf | 17. Tsegai |
| 9. Araia W/Mikael | |

The above named fighters after their training in Eritrea joined Gesessew Ayalle in Dedebeit. After this they started their activity: They freed Musie from police station (prison) Endaselassie; 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 Ayalle
2. Alemseged
3. Aregawi
4. Zeru Gessesse
5. Amha
6. Embaye
7. Asfeha.

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 Tigrian and has strong Tigrian feeling
- who struggles to reserve his culture and language
- who has a strong stand against feudalism, imperialism, burocratic capitalism, fascism, and national oppression
- age over 21

- courageous, disciplined

On these criteria the following were elected:

- Seyum 100%
- Agazi (Zeru) 2nd
- Amha 3rd
- Musie 4th
- Sebhat 5th
- Berihu 6th
- Ghiday 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 | 2. Haili Dedebit |
| Gebru Amha Hagos | Walta |
| Haile Port Sudan-Leader | Berhane Ayelle |
| Kelebet | Gesesse Ayelle |
| Rezene - P/Commissar | |

During this time:

1. Their relation with EPLF was not good. This is because after Dr. Fêtsun 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.

Name	Haili Dedebit	Haili Weyane
Leader	Walta	Haile Port-Sudan
Vice	Berhane Ayelle	Kelebet
Tactic	Sye/ ???	Hailu
Leaders of Ganta	Berhe Hagos	Kokah
	Kêbrom	Berhane Mesqel
	Semere	

Later the Hailis were grown to 3. Leaders were:

- for 1st) - Haile Port-Sudan
- for 2nd) - Asged then Ahferom
- 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 Gesesse Ayelle died. On Hamle two "Hailis" reached Addi Daero and made a battle on 12th Hamle 1972. (68?) In this battle 150 - 180 people were captured. Most of them were set free and few are executed.

On 1/1/69 TPLF made a reconciliation with EDU. On this occasion 7 oxen were slaughter 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 23/1/69 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, Ahferom, 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.
Berhane Ayele

31.
Kelebet

Shambel Woldemikael Tékue Aw'alom	Asgede Shewit	Yewhanes Yewhanes Uqbaye = (Arkebe)	
(Test? say 72)			
41.	81.	91.	
Berhe Hagos Daniel - (Estifanos) sum. Halefom Tewelde *(61 - is martyred)	Asmerom Tekeste Redae (Tarekegn)? - later Tesfai Kebede Negash - Adwa.	Ak-
71.	81.	91.	
Tesfay (Meto Alka) Ghiday Berhe (famous leader) Tilahun G/Selassie.	Tilahun (Semere)	Ghirmay (Comandos) Hayellom Asghede) (Cadet)	

Halefom, Tewelde, Reda were Ghanta leader for 21.
Ghebretzadik Haile was Ghanta leader for 41.

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

30	60	45	31	70
Tesfay Kadet Asged	Redae Shwshia Yohannes	Berhane Meskel Daniel (Estifanos)	Kelebet Samra Tekeste	Hayelom Wedi Haile Hadish.

The Haills who did not participate on this battle:

11	80
Asmerom Tzadikan Shambel W/michael	Semere Zerai-Tadese Asghedon

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 Haile.
- 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?

TLF was formed on Hamle 1964. It was formed from three different national groups.

- One group was lead by Yohannes T/haimanot.
- 2nd Group was lead by Amare Tesfu.
- 3rd group was lead by Ghidey Ghebrewahid.

These different groups their common 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 Gessee (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. Yehannes T/haimanot
 2. Ghebre Kidan
 3. Said Mehamed Tiam
 4. Tefera Kassa
 5. Hailekiros Asgede
 6. Desta Tesfay
 7. Yemane Ghebremeskel
 8. Amare Tesfu
 9. Yewhanes Andemikael
 10. Tadesse Tilahun
- now he is Administrator for Enderta Awraja
was Head of public organisation office Mekelle
Adigrat, 2nd year university student
from Adwa, a teacher in Gonder
Mekelle, university student
Mekele, EPID employee

and others.

With their members in the field they formed Executive Committee.

Its members

1. Ghebrekidan
2. Yewhanes T/haimanot
3. Yemane Ghebremeskel
4. Teferi Kassa
5. Said Mehamed Tiam
6. Desta Tesfay
7. Amare Tesfu

The Chairman was Yewhanes T/haimanot. 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 Teferi 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. From 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 Zegebla (..), where they overnigheted, 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 Ghebremeskel was killed in the place. Teferi Kassa, Desta Tesfay, Haile Kiros Asgede 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 Tesfu

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, Aleka Tesfay, Tesfay Asgedom, 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 bandits,
3. Derg before organizing and mobilizing the peasant who armed to send to fight in Eritrean 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 Nebred the army of Terenafit after taking one bus belonging to Northern transportation were on their way to Adi Awalla. Gesese Ayele opposed this and a fire was opened.

Gesese and another one were killed. After this TPLF collected its force from Adwa and marched to the Western front to revenge the blood of Gesese. The TPLF tried many ambushes and last on Hamle 12/1968 in Adi Nebred after besieging the town they open fire. 135 captured, 2 wounded, many died from Terenafit. From this onward Terenafit 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 Tsehaye (from Adwalla area) and Haleka Tesfay and started to operate in Sheraro area in Meskerem 1969. TPLF, because its force was scattered, asked the people to do his effort for the unity of Terenafit 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 Sheraro area.

On Meskerem 17/1969 (Meskel) after the army of Terenafit-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 Chea-Meskebet made heavy war. On TPLF side many fighters and many of the unit leader and Musie from central committee died. From EDU-Terenafit Admasu Tsehaye 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 Nebred 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 fascist 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 "Terenafit" against Tigrean people. They were an obstacle for agreement between us and "Terenafit".
 - 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 ENBa 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 Sheraro. 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 on hard and long struggle. They are afraid of sacrifices. 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 in the existence of Nationals and Ethiopian.

dal history of Tigray. He don't like democratic way of working and he cannot. He is anti-EPRP. He has a large number of relatives. His fighting (battle) ability is not good.

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 Mesfên)

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 the 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 Tsehaye)

Born Aksun, 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 (Atzbaha Dagnev)

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 nationalistic feeling, strong anti-EPRP. His political consciousness is not that much.

8. AWALLOM (Têkue Weldu)

Born Aksum, 2nd year University student, (Arts). 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 Tembien. 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. GEBRU 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 (Tadkan Haile)

From Raya-Azebo. 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