

The ethnic cleansing policy in Western Tigray since nov. 2020

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This report describes massacres of civilians committed during the war in Tigray and the still ongoing occupation of the administrative zone constitutionally known as Western Tigray. The repetition of massacres in the summer and fall 2021 show that these were not isolated events, but a coordinated policy implemented in all Western Tigray. At the time, the outcome of the war seemed uncertain for the federal government and its allies, and thousands of Tigrayans were arrested and deported to the eastern bank of the Tekezé river. This has already been documented by rights organizations and United Nations agencies¹. As the Amhara region adopted a state of emergency law to counter TDF's advance, there were undoubtedly orders to kill and/or deport all Tigrayans.

This document presents a list of massacres that happened in this context. ASF and *fanno* were the main perpetrators of the killings, but ENDF troops stationed in the zone did nothing to protect civilians. Eritrean troops took part in the killings, notably by assisting for gathering victims and transporting them to execution fields. On some occasions, Eritreans also pushed for the deportation of people that *fanno* forces first intended to kill. All massacres happened under the Wolqayt Committee/Prosperity Party administration of the zone.

The following elements lead to the conclusion that the killings were planned, coordinated, and implemented as part as a wider policy of ethnic cleansing led by the same administration:

- I personally witnessed, in the early months of the occupation of Western Tigray, how the administration was busy issuing laissez-passer for remaining ethnic Tigrayans to cross the Tekezé. This was one of their main tasks in March and July 2021. The wave of massacres in the summer and fall of 2021 is the radicalization and speeding up of this policy aiming at expelling Tigrayans from Western Tigray.
- Victims were called to official administrative meetings before being either jailed or taken to execution fields. The individuals and teams who called them for the meetings were known by all inhabitants as the new local rulers, be they *fanno* or *tabia* (*qebelé*) administrators. Members of the ASF were also present, and sometimes Eritreans. The massacres were carried out by embodiments of the state.
- The *modus operandi* shows that the killings were coordinated and planned. In different locations, within a few days or weeks:
 - o people were told the same things by different individuals: “leave/move out” and, more commonly “we don’t take any responsibility for what would

¹ See, among others: OCHA Situation report, 9 Dec 2021:

<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Situation%20Report%20-%20Ethiopia%20-%20Northern%20Ethiopia%20Humanitarian%20Update%20-%202020%20Dec%202021.pdf> ;

Human Rights Watch: Ethiopia: Ethnic Cleansing persists under Tigray Truce, June 1st, 2023: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2023/06/01/ethiopia-ethnic-cleansing-persists-under-tigray-truce> ;

“We will erase you from this land”. Crime against humanity and Ethnic Cleansing in Ethiopia’s Western Tigray zone”, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, April 2022.

happen to you if you stay". In meetings, Tigrayans were asked to identify themselves by raising their hands and were arrested. In some locations, people claiming to be "50/50" (Wolqayté and Tigrayan) could stay, but *fanno* soon inquired about their origins by asking their neighbors - in rural societies where interpersonal connection at local level are dense.

- People were jailed and/or handcuffed in a similar manner. A particularly painful handcuffing method known as *yiftign* was used. Handcuffing dozens of people in this way takes time and requires the preparation of ties, and manpower. Perpetrators needed to make sure sufficient soldiers or militiamen would watch over the victims before the killing, in their transportation, and once on the execution field.
- The use of lorries and excavators imply the planning and preparation of the killings.
- Many villages were burnt to the ground, as currently online satellite images, most probably taken in late 2021, show².

The context, *modus operandi* and what perpetrators told the victim all converge towards the fact that the intentional targeting of civilians served the purpose of freeing land for occupying Amhara forces. Killing civilians would scare the remaining Tigrayans and make them flee. However, on many occasions, Tigrayans were prevented to leave, as having them in the zone was also a lucrative business for *fanno* who could regularly ransom them. The ENDF have also been involved in the business of smuggling Tigrayans out of Western Tigray. Among the people most recently displaced, some had paid up to 52,000ETB to cross on military trucks.

Methodology : Adding up to events personally witnessed during stays in Western Tigray, for almost five weeks in total, spread between November 2020 and July 2021, I interviewed more than a hundred people displaced from the zone, in Sudan (Tunaydba, Um Rakuba, Qariya 8, Babikri, Gedaref, Khartoum) in November-December 2022; and in Tigray in June, November-December 2023, and February-March 2024. Interviews were conducted directly in Amharic, or with the help of an interpreter who translated from Tigrigna to Amharic, or a mix of both. I conducted formal interviews with more than 110 people, lasting from 20 minutes to half a day. Interviewees were displaced from: May Kadra, Humera, Adebay, Mogo, Addi Goshu, Rawyan, Qorarit, May Gaba, Bereket, Delesa Qoqah, May Woini, Ba'eker, May Humer, Ruwassa, Division, Idris, May Qeyh, Dansha, Addi Remets, Tekkezé, Bét Mulu, May Cha'e. All left Western Tigray between November 2020 and March 2024, and included 16 women and 7 *Tselim bét* (maybe more would identify as such).

Several interviewees had been displaced twice, including many who had first been expelled from Amhara (Metemma, Sandja, Gonder) in 2016 G.C. All interviewees had spent decades in Western Tigray, except five youngsters who were born there. All were farmers, agricultural employees, cattle keepers, or agricultural investors, except six civil servants and two gold panners. Four had been administrators of their *tabia*. Four were priests.

² See, for example, Matrebel *qushet*, in May Weyni *tabia* :
<https://www.google.com/maps/place/14%C2%B008'18.7%22N+37%C2%B015'31.5%22E/@14.1390189,37.2585182,412m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m4!3m3!8m2!3d14.1385278!4d37.25875?entry=ttu>

This document presents a chronological list of massacres based on data gathered from survivors and eyewitnesses. Lists of victims have been compiled by witnesses and relatives, all inhabitants of the localities, sometimes with the help of the IDP camp's administration – who often are former *tabia* administrators. I don't include in this list killings that happened during battles or fighting, although some military operations appear to have been directly targeting civilians, notably in the lowlands in the first weeks of the war, all the way from Dansha to May Gaba. Some events, including the January 17th Tekezé bridge massacre, were documented in the 2022 HRW/AI report³. All converge with the data I could gather, even the names of the victims mentioned. Interviewees were adamant about reporting the massacres they witnessed, however, all concluded that killings of individuals and small groups were too numerous to be fully accounted for. As a former head of militia put it: *"We stopped counting when just 3, 5, 8 got killed, there are too many"*.

Likewise, sexual violence was repeatedly mentioned, including elements indicating sexual slavery by *fanno*. According to people who remained in Western Tigray until March 2023, *"rapes are like individual killings"*: uncountable. Many families are divided, women stayed in Western Tigray while men fled in the early days of the war or were deported after having spent months in custody. Many men had to "give" their daughters to *fanno* for marriage. Kidnapping of women by *fanno* are common, and sexual slavery is practiced as well. Forced labor is ubiquitous, in agriculture and, to a lesser extent, construction and gold panning. Slavery is possibly back in Wolqayt's lowlands, as *Tselim bét* survivors from the zone were clearly told by *fanno*, from the early days of the occupation, that they came to *"buy and sell them like in Haile Sellassie's time"*⁴. While some tried to stay by taking advantage from the fact that *fanno* didn't spontaneously identified Black people as Tigrayans, many *Tselim bét* count among the people who recently crossed to the eastern side of the Tekezé, describing continuous violence and forced labor.

1. On January 17, 2021 (*Tir 9*, 2013), at the Tekezé river. 52 inhabitants of Addi Goshu killed by *fanno* and ASF.

Story told in December 2023 by K., survivor, now living in Sheraro's Semae'tat camp. On that day, *fanno* were going door-to-door in Addi Goshu to arrest Tigrayans. K. was hauled onto an FSR truck along with 60 other people. The truck stopped at the Tekkezé, and all were instructed to disembark and to cross the river's bridge at Adiabo. They crossed. Once they were on the other side, they were shot at by *fanno* from both sides of the river, while walking on the asphalt. 9 people (7 of whom were injured) survived, while 52 others were murdered. K. walked to Sheraro, which was by then under Eritrean occupation. The Eritrean army had a camp at May Hanse. For some time, they had left the control of the bridge to *fanno*, and this is when the massacre happened, on *Tir 9*. Eritrean soldiers later came back to take control of the bridge.

K. and his friends, including people from the administration of Semae'tat camp, gave me a list of people killed – all from Addi Goshu *tabia*. They all converge on the number of dead, 52, out of which they mentioned the 23 following:

³ *"We will erase you from this land"* op. cit, p. 139-146.

⁴ *"Tselim bét"* or *"Tequr bét"* are Black people, mostly from slave descent, identifying as Tigrayans, and living in Wolqayt's lowlands.

- Atalay Fekdey
- Tekle Gebremedhin
- Hayle Gebrefaél
- Gebremetchel Kefale (Kefale was *Qéshi*)
- Berihun Kinfé Gebregzér
- Kibrom Tesfaalem Gebrekristos
- Negase Amare
- Yirga Woldegebrél
- Melasu Berhn Mamo
- Hailemariam
- *Haleqa* (deacon) Kidane
- Mekonnen Haregot
- Gebreyesus Tesfaalem Gebrekristos
- Haylekiros Woldegebrél
- Hagos Tesfay
- *Haleqa* (deacon) Gebremariam Tesfantché
- Girmachawi Kahsay
- Gebrehwét Yohanni
- Sehale Bahta
- Hagos Mebrehato
- Gidey Berhe
- Metalaq Gebrekidan
- Berihu Siyoum Hagos

2. On August 4, 2021 (*Hamlé* 28, 2013), at the Tekezé river. 16 inhabitants of Idris *qushet* killed by *fanno* and ASF

Story told by E., in two interviews. E. is in early twenties and survived the massacre. On *hamlé* 18 (July 25), the zone administrators organized a meeting in Idris, where they told the population that Tigrayans should leave. Belay⁵, the head of the “peace and security” office of the *wereda*, was there. Followed three days of looting and riots in Idris and around, people were trying to flee while *fanno* were looting. E. and 50 other people (he says they were 51) left together on *hamlé* 21, crossing rural areas trying to reach the Tekezé.

They reached the Tekezé on *hamlé* 25, when they got arrested by *fanno* and ASF. They were detained there on the bank of the river until *hamlé* 28, women and men together. On the morning of the 28th (August 4th, 2021), ASF took 19 men “for a wash” at the Tekezé. Then, they put one old man and a kid apart, keeping 17 people, including E., on the bank of the river. They tied their arms in their backs with pieces of clothes. They made them sit in rows of 3 people in small holes that had been dug earlier. They were sitting like in a rowing boat; each man had another man between his legs. E. was the first of his group of three which was the first group. They were surrounded by armed men, who shot. E. wasn’t touched by the first shot, but he fell on the man behind him. Then, “they “checked” with another bullet if all were dead”, and luckily the second bullet did wound E. only slightly. It burnt the interior of his leg, but he could walk.

After the armed men had left, E. got up, but still had his arms tied. He went to a nearby field and found an irrigation tube on the edge of which he managed to cut off the clothes that tied his arms. Then, he fled and walked for three days, sleeping in the wild. After he was higher up on the bank of the river, he tried unsuccessfully to cross the Tekezé. He found himself around the sugar corporation plantation. There, Eritrean soldiers found him and arrested him. They tied him to the back of their pick-up very tightly. That was on *hamlé* 30 (August 6, 2021). Then, Shaabia soldiers asked Desta Tsegaye, the head of the Security of Wolqayt *wereda* [or rather *one of the heads*] what they should do with E. Desta told them not to kill him, that he knew him. Indeed, Desta was with a man called Yirga Ferede

⁵ Known as Belay by all, either Belay Ayenew or, less often, Belay Zewdé. He is mentioned in all killings and mass detention that happened in Humera. Some say he was in Metemma before the war, other pretend is originally from Belessa.

Djemberu, who is an investor but has no official position. Yirga had taken him breakfast some days earlier at E.'s *qurs bét* in Idris. He recognized him because of his long hair. E. remembers that Yirga had even left him a 10 birr tip. Yirga told Desta he knew E., and the Eritreans didn't kill him, but eventually took him to Addi Remets' prison, where he stayed until he was freed "as part of the negotiations" – i.e. after Pretoria agreement, precisely on December 2, 2022 (*Hidar* 21, 2015) with 35 other inmates.

E. gave me the list of the 16 people from Idris killed on August 4, 2021:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| - Gebremedhin Tesfamariam | - Gebreezgi Teklebirhan |
| - Gebrehiwot Gebremedhin | - Abdulkader |
| - Gebrehans Kidanu | - Berhane "Wedi Hager" |
| - Kinfe Gebrehans | - Kibrom Tikobo |
| - Gebrench'el Nebse | - Mebrahtom |
| - Hayle Gebresellassie | - "Ayni Masho" |
| - Abadi Gebremeskel | - Gebregziabher Hadelay |
| - Aregawi Gebrekidan | - Tekhlay |

3. On August 5, 2021, (*Hamlé* 29, 2013). 17 inhabitants from Qorarit killed by *fanno* and ASF at Qaqa

I met a survivor, M., in March 2024 in Addi Mehamedey camp (a camp with very harsh living conditions, high promiscuity, over population, not enough aid. I met several children apparently highly malnourished. More than 25,000 individuals are gathered in a small gold-mining dusty lowland town). On a day of *hamlé* 2013 he can't remember, around two weeks before the killings, M. was arrested at home by three men with ASF uniforms. He was jailed in Qorarit. He was regularly interrogated by policemen in the prison, accusing him of being a TPLF member and former combatant, which he denied. He was beaten, like all Tigrayan inmates. In the evening of *hamlé* 28, around 9 p.m., 18 inmates were taken to the place called Qaqa, known for its cliff, on the road between Qorarit and Addi Remets (somewhere around here: 13°47'31.4"N 37°21'56.2"E). The 18 men were shot on the spot. All are thought dead, except M. who was injured at the chest but could walk and managed to reach the river down the cliff. With difficulty, he followed the river up to the Tekezé, which he crossed with the help of people who knew the area and how to swim.

M. gave a list of the 17 victims. I completed with the fathers' names from the list given by K., who lost his father and older brother in the massacre. I met K. in March 2024, in Dedebit.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| - Woldemariam Mezgebe | - Gerehiwot |
| - Girmay Woldemariam Mezgebe | - Tesfakios |
| - Muzey Belay | - Fisseha |
| - Berhe Mehari | - Mekonnen |
| - Gerétché Gerezghér | - Geréntché |
| - Feqadu Gerezghér (Geréntchel's brother) | - Kidane |
| - Haylemariam Gerlassie | - Geréntché (third one) |
| - Migbey | - Beyene |
| | - Tilahun |

4. On October 24, 2021 (*Tiqemt* 14, 2014). 82 inhabitants of May Gaba and surrounding villages killed by *fanno* and Eritrean forces.

This story was mentioned by many witnesses but told in greater detail by A., survivor, displaced from May Gaba, Mehret *qushet* (“down” from May Gaba), G., a women displaced from May Gaba town, and G., a young men living near May Gaba who had been told to flee by his mother who saw the rounding up of people while going to church in the early morning. I also rely on the detailed testimony of two other inhabitants of May Gaba, including the former head of the town’s militia.

On *Tiqemt* 14, 2014 (October 24, 2021), on Saint Aregawi Day, *fanno* started to gather people from May Gaba, Delesa Qoqah and surrounding villages, loading them onto cars and telling them they were called to a meeting. G. recalls and mentions local *fanno* leaders: “It was Saint Aregawi and there was a distribution of injera at the church when they came, at Delesa Qoqah church. They were *fanno*, with Billelé, Mulugéta, Mitch’él, and Addis who came from Addi Remets. The locals identified who was Tigrayan and said to come to a meeting.”

Eritreans were also seen driving around in cars, but apparently didn’t take part in the round-up at this point. ASF and *fanno* came to the church, A. specified that he knew some of them: “we saw them growing up, they’re from here, their parents are from Tembén. And there were others, thieves from Armarch’ho, but the ones who were telling who was Tigrayan and who wasn’t were the locals”. Among the people who led *fanno* on that day, he cites:

- Gezahey Beyene, head of the militia and new administrator of Addisu *qushet*. (He fought in the *derg* army, he later became a TPLF member and was in charge of the administration of May Gaba community police. He is said to have shown *fanno* a paper or card proving his Prosperity Party affiliation when they entered the town)
- Mikaél Desta, old man mentioned as Mitch’él by other witnesses. He’s from May Gaba, and is even the godfather of one of A.’s children. He’s a former TPLF fighter who was appointed administrator of Mehret *qushet* at the beginning of the occupation.
- Gétahun, administrator of Hagos *qushet* since the beginning of the occupation
- Ayenew
- Mekonnen
- Shibebe Asmare Worwariew, a former traffic police officer, who was suspected to be a Wolqayt Committee member before the war, was dismissed from the police and fled to Gonder. He came back during the fighting and is known to have dragged a man alive behind his vehicle. He spent the first months of the war in May Gaba before moving to May Kadra.
- Haderu, former militiamen under the TPLF regime.
- Moges Adane, former militiamen under the TPLF regime.

G. described that armed men started door-to-door searches after they left the church. They notably arrested Gebregiyorgis, a physician in May Gaba, together with his wife who first tried to hide him, his kid, his employee Meraat and her child.

86 people including 5 women were gathered by *fanno* and ASF and were brought to detention facilities. G. identifies one of the buildings where the men were taken as Enda Teklay Hotel. Enda Teklay is May Gaba's biggest hotel, with three floors, a total of 120 beds. I could check the coordinates with the former head of May Gaba's militia, who was jailed there between January and August 2021: 13°47'29.8"N 37°41'30.5"E. Enda Teklay was turned into a jail soon after Amhara forces entered the town in November 2020.

However, A. mentioned that he was taken in a warehouse from which Mikael church was closer, and he said it was "in the condominiums", which makes me suppose there were several places where people were taken that day. This might be the building at 13,7804598N, 37,6765870E – maybe not.

Then, the men were loaded on Eritrean pick-up cars in three rounds, starting from 3:30 p.m. The first time, two cars came but one was already full of people. They went away and came back around 4:30 p.m., this time with both cars empty. People were loaded and the cars departed again, to come back around 6 p.m. Once filled, they left around 6:40 p.m., with A. in one of the cars. People had been handcuffed with the *yiftign* method, high in the arms. A. remembers being bruised for weeks. Two persons were left in the warehouse, and A. says another one managed to escape from one of the convoys. People arrested were taken to a cave that is located on "Abba Yilma's land", out of May Gaba, on the road to Zarima Dam. A. mentions a nearby quarry.

The soldiers made people sit in rows. A. managed to escape, taking advantage of obscurity. He first slowly "slipped" between two cars and then ran once he was on the other side of the cars. He knew the area quite well, having spent years there, and hid in another cave he knew. He says, "*I heard them "one, two, three", and then they shot*". Then, he saw car lights in his direction, and thought the soldiers were looking for him, but eventually, he saw them leaving on the road. He took refuge at nearby peasants' who helped him to cut his handcuffs. If A.'s count is right, 82 people were killed, including 5 women.

After he escaped, he told all remaining local peasants to leave. He is well-known and trusted, having been the manager of the Peasants association for years: « After I told them, all people of Maycha [*qushet*, where he took refuge] left. 2500 people, they'll tell you if you go to Aba Guna [where most of them are now]". Other people mention that people from all surrounding *tabia* fled on that day, some where killed by *fanno* on roads, other drawn when trying to cross the Tekezé, and other killed by falling from cliffs in their escape.

He listed 32 of the victims, that I completed with other inhabitants met in Addi Mohamedey in March 2024 (they are marked with a point ·)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| - Negusse Gebrekidan | - Gidey Werede · |
| - Dessalegn Fisseha | - Gidey's Werede's child · |
| - Tekhlay Rama | - Gidey Werede's child · |
| - Abrha Yimam | - Gidey Werede's daughter · |
| - Abrha Yimam's son | - Gidey Werede's son in law (his |
| - Gebrewahd Adhane | daughter's husband) · |
| - Alem | - Woldegebrél [all the above mentioned |
| - Mekonnen Gebremedhin | are from Mehret <i>qushet</i>] |
| - Haftom Gebremedhin (not related) | - |

- Zewdé Gebrehiwot
- Zewdé Gebrehiwot's son (Russom ·)
- Andom Gebrehiwot ·
- Haleqa (diacon) Gebregiyorgis (Gebrehiwot·)
- Haleqa G/giyorgis' wife
- Haleqa G/Giyorgis son
- Gu'ush
- Berhane (Aregawi ·)
- Berhane's brother in law
- Qéshi Gebrekhidan
- Hadush Woldu
- Gidey Woldemehret
- "Wedi Raya"
- Berhane Haile ·
- Berihu
- "four girls who were doing tea and coffee in town"
- " "
- " "
- " , Aba Legesse's daughter.
- Hagos Gebrehiwot ·
- Berhe Mesfin ·
- Gerentchel Takele ·
- Haleqa Belay ·
- Tesfaye Gebremariam · (his son was shot but is stayed to have survived and fled to Shire)

G. remembers the massive pile of the inmates' shoes left next to Enda Teklay building. When the *fanno* burnt the shoes and clothes, remaining inhabitants were scared the whole city would catch fire, as there were dry sorghum sleeves and stacks spread around – this was harvesting time.

5. On October 29-30, 2021 (19-20 *Teqemt* 2014). Around a hundred people killed by *fanno* and ASF in Delesa Qoqah

B., the main administrator from Delesa Qoqah *tabia* for 10 years, told me the story in Addi Mohamedey, in presence of 5 inhabitants including a priest, who also gave details. On *Teqemt* 19, local *fanno* and administrators rounded up Tigrayans, from door to door, officially called for a meeting. People arrested were brought to a place known as Enda Nebri, on the Sugar Factory land, near a canal, and were shot on the spot.

The round up was supervised by "Memher" Tsedal, the main administrator of Delesa Qoqah at the time. He was assisted by "Memher" Abuhoy Teku'e, another new administrator. Both had spent year in the *tabia* before the war and were well known. Shibebeu the policeman was also mentioned in the recollections of the round up, seen "with papers" at hand. Such documents could be lists of Tigrayan inhabitants or possibly a written order from the *zone* or *wereda*, to give the killings a veneer of bureaucratic legality – something many local administrations have done concerning looting, for example by creating "committees for gathering assets without owners", and issuing letters for some stolen vehicles.

Interviewees mention that Eritrean soldiers who were involved in the roundups "saved many people", by forcing the *fanno* to drive them to the Tekkezé bridge rather than killing them. Under Eritrean pressure, Yohannes, main administrator from Bét Mulu *tabia* eventually gave the order to deport people and not to kill them. All took part in subsequent looting.

Interviewees mention that people who were taken to the Tekezé were told not to bring anything with them on the lorries. *Fanno* threatened to "slaughter" anybody who would

carry money of valuable items. On a checkpoint, a woman was found with some jewelry sewed in her dress. *Fanno* beheaded her on the spot.

Other interviewees mentioned that over 600 houses had been burnt over the same days, between *Teqemt* 14 and 19 (24 to 29 October 2021) in Delesa Qoqah and May Tete'i. Other interviewees mentioned similar roundups and burnings of villages in May Humer, during the same week. Currently online satellite imagery confirm such damages⁶.

B. has prepared a list of victims, precising that very few ones among them might have been killed in the days following the massacre.

May Woini qushet inhabitants (57 killed)

- Qeshi Berhe Abrha
- Qeshi Berhe Gebrewahid Gebremikaél
- Qeshi Tefera Gebreyesus Gebrezghér
- Qeshi Negassi Mekonnen Woldearegay
- Haleqa Abrha Gebrewahid Woldesamuel
- Haleqa Guush Assefa Gebregiorgis
- Haleqa Muruts Assefa Gebregiorgis
- Haleqa Tsehay Debesa Gebrewahid
- Haleqa Goytom Hayle Adal
- Haleqa Guush Beyene Gebremikaél
- Haleqa Workneh Kidane Mekonen
- Bahta Demelew
- Hagos Tekle Abrha
- Aba Kidanemariam Hadush Abrha
- Aba Hadush Abrha Sahle
- Hagos Welu Gebrewahid
- Ambassador Welu Gebrewahid
- Guush Gidey Bihon
- Gebrehiwot Gebremariam Gebrewahid
- L'ul Gebremariam Gebrewahid
- Berhe Alemayo Woldesamuel
- Gebrewahid Hagos Berhe
- Mamu Hagos Berhe
- Tsegaye Guush Hagos
- Legesse Berhane Bihon
- Ygzaw Berhane Bihon
- Gidey Negus Gebregzghér.
- Kahsay Kebede Gidey
- Abrha Berhane Berhe
- Feqadu Gebremesqel Gebremariam
- Gebrehiwot Mekonnen Gebreyesus
- Tekhlay Girmay Gebretensae

May Aye qushet inhabitants (26 killed)

- Weldeselassie Gebreyohannes
- Weliyohannes
- Fisseha Gebremedhin Abrha
- Guush Welu Gebru
- Berhanu Asefa Demoz Abrha
- Hailekiros Asefa Demoz Abrha
- Mebrahtu Hagos Gebrehiwot
- Fitawi Tsehay Tsegay
- Mehari Gebrezghér Gebremariam
- Meaza Gebrezghér Gebremariam
- Haregot Gebrezghér Woldehawariat
- Yeshu Gebremariam Kidane
- Mekonnen Tewelde Welanchél
- Hiluf Berhane Gebremariam
- Ashenafi Zenebe Haylu
- Gebremedhin Gebreyesus Kidane
- Negash Amare Belete
- Tekhlay Gebremedhin Gebrewahid
- Feqadu Gebrezghér Weldehawariat
- Negus Tuku'e Gerezghér
- Aba Desta Demoz Gebremikaél
- Haleqa Mebrahtu Desta Teklé
- Yifter Gidey Gebremariam
- Muruts' Gebrehiwot Kidane
- Hadush Hagos Tadele
- Gezu Wubyé Geregzhér
- Geré Wubyé Geregzhér

May Shetene qushet inhabitants (17 killed)

- Gebrehiwot Weldetensaé
- Azané Gebré Beyene
- Asmelash
- Wendemgétu Techanew

⁶ Among others, see for example :

13°40'45.5"N 37°46'13.7"E near Waldeba

13°46'44.7"N 37°40'42.8"E May Gaba's condominiums (Mezega town)

13°54'39.8"N 37°37'56.3"E May Humer health post.

13°53'29.3"N 37°36'25.4"E One of the sugar factory's camp.

13°44'31.2"N 37°47'37.4"E Camp at Zaréma dam.

Updated photographs from Delesa Qoqah itself would without doubt show similar destruction.

- Demoz Embaye Berhe
- Melese Shugut Mekonnen
- Alene Berhe Gebrewahid
- Tesfaye Embaye Berhe
- Wegeney Abadi Fisseha
- Mehari Yhdgo Gebru
- Tekhle Zeweli
- Berhane Tekhle Zeweli
- Nechey Tekhle Zeweli
- Reda'e Tesfaney Gebru
- Mebrahtu Tekhle Zeweli
- Belay Meselew Ayele
- Tekhle Berhane Feqadu
- Mulén Berhane Feqadu
- Shishay Hadush Tekhle
- Gebremedhin Gidey Tekhlu
- Guush Amare Gebremedhin
- Berhane Abera Belete
- Abadi Abera Belete
- Alemseged Berhe
- Kahsay Teku'e Gebrewahid
- Fitsum Gebrewahid Woldesamuel
- Mekway Gebreselassie Gebray
- Tewele Gebreselassie Gebray
- Amare Tadele Beyene
- Alemshet Gebru Gizay
- Hayle Reda
- Kalayu Amare
- Abrha Amare
- Haleqa Hafté Gebrezghér
- Berhanu Woldegiorgis
- Atalay Mebrat Mera
- Mamush Gebretensaé
- Mamay Gebremikaél
- Shegaw Gebreselassie
- Gebretensaé Kiflu Muruts
- Shewit Teqwaba Fantay
- Eshetu Negash Zegeye

6. On October 31, 2021 (*Tiqemt 21*, 2014). 22 inhabitants from May Cha'e killed by ASF and *fanno*.

This story was told in Addi Mohamedey by E., who lost her husband in the killing. People were called for a meeting, in the morning, by the *tabia* administration, *fanno*, and ASF, who went door to door in this landscape of scattered dwellings. Only Tigrayans were arrested.

People gathered and arrested were taken to a place called "Etanu", next to the Zaréma river, in the direction of Waldeba Monastery. This place is located on May Cha'e *tabia*. 22 people were arrested, and none seem to have survived.

E. could name 10 victims:

- Geréntché Berhé
- Teku' Adis
- Geréchirqos Kebedew
- Abrahalom Geréchirkos
- Qéshi Girma Geréslasé
- Gebreamlak Woldesellassie
- Gidey Negash
- Negussé Gebrehiwot
- Goytom Alemu
- Eyasu Kidanemariam

7. On November 6, 2021 (*Tiqemt 27*, 2014). Around 170 inhabitants from Addi Goshu and surrounding *qushets* killed by ASF and *fanno*.

Story mentioned in all accounts by people from Addi Goshu, May Woini (Giits), May Qeyh. A member of Sema'e'tat camp administration told me many details and insisted on introducing me to two survivors, one from Sheikh Menshel *qushet* and one from May Qeyh *qushet*. They seemed worried at first, so I took care not to ask their names. However, they

seemed willing to testify on the condition of anonymity and told me their stories extensively. One of them was hard to follow, as he would give many details without paying attention to chronology.

On that day people from four places were killed:

- Addi Goshu, around midday in town, (12:30) and at night at Giits/MayTselebado (around 9pm)
- Sheikh Menshel, late afternoon, 94 people were taken, 86 people were brought to the execution field, and only 2 survived (one whom I met).
- May Qeyh, at night around 9pm (one survivor whom I met).
- May Weyni (Giits), at night around 9pm.

There were three rounds of killings, with the same mode of operation: people were gathered by *fanno* and taken to May Tselabado, in Giits *qushet* (May Weyni), in a cattle farm north of the Humera <-> Tekkezé asphalt road. It is a massive farm (3800 cattle+1500 goats), with a large, corrugated iron roofed building. Potential coordinates: 14°06'02.0"N 37°13'13.5"E⁷. It is “in front of” Giits (May Woini) school, on Degwagom road. I have heard of this massacre as having taken place in Degwagom, it looks like May Tselabado is a more precise toponym.

At the first round of killings in Addi Goshu, 13 persons were killed. During the second round, 86 people from Sheikh Menshel were taken to the cattle farm and two escaped, 84 were killed. Other inhabitants gave me the list of these 84 victims from Sheikh Menshel, while the first witness who told me the story had already listed 43 victims.

A survivor from Sheikh Menshel says that *fanno* took 86 people from the *qushet* to the farm. Then, they took him with a group of 16 other people next to a trench they had dug, and shot them in their backs. Victims fell in the trench. The survivor took a bullet in the head but survived. He has a scar on the side it went out, just at the bottom of his ear. Him and another man who was shot in the leg but survived helped each other to get out, each one helping the other to untie their bonds. The other 15 people died.

At the third (9pm) round of killing, another survivor says following were shot:

- 17 from May Qeyh (he escaped)
- 38 from Addi Goshu
- “The rest” from Sheikh Menshel and Giits. The survivor says “Aleqa” (diacon) Mengisteab survived.

The survivor from May Qeyh recounts: “In May Qeyh, they came and started to look for people, door-to-door. They were *fanno*. I didn’t know them before, but I know the head of the area for the *fanno*, his name is Haile Tsegay, who comes from “Sola”, near Addi Remets. Around 8 p.m., Haile and his men took us to Giits”. There, they met people from Addi Goshu as well. The survivor recalls “They took a first group of 30 people that they brought closer to a kind of trench that they had dug. They made us stand in two rows. They told us “those who have guns and weapons, tell us, we won’t kill you”. I told them “I don’t have anything” and they said “shut up” and beat me. We had our arms tied behind our backs. They killed the first 30. I told my brother “let’s run” but he told me “no”, he was

⁷ Assumption on the basis of the witnesses’ descriptions, and a former employee from the zonal transport office who is formal about the location of the farm.

too scared. They took 17 people of May Qeyh apart, including me. I could feel that my bond in my back was not so tight, so little by little I managed to loosen it to the point I could take it off. I ran all of a sudden, towards the bush. They shot at me with all their weapons, I was already further when I was touched, one bullet on my left leg, above the knee. So, I took the piece of clothes that tied my arms, and I used it to put around my leg, on my wound. Then I walked days and nights in the bush until I crossed the Tekkezé and arrived in Addi Aser on Hidar 12.”

When asked how to identify the place on a map or satellite image: “There are places that they had dug with their bulldozer! And how many shoes, how many pieces of clothes left there?”

Inhabitants from the different *qushet* (Addi Goshu, May Qeyh, Sheikh Menshel and Giits/May Woini) communicated the following lists of victims. Administration of the Semae’tat camp was involved in the preparation.

Victims from **Sheikh Menshel qushet, 84:**

- Gebregziabher Negash Hagos
- Aregawi Welay Gebremariam
- Hayle Gebrehiwot Gebretsadiq
- Hadush Andualem
- Wolay Gebremesqel Adel
- Kinfe Gebrehiwot Gebreabezgi
- Fisseha Gebretch’el Wubiyé
- Tekhlay Kidane
- Shimende Tekhlay Gebremariam
- Mekonnen Hadego Yfter
- Fissehayé Gekristos Beyene
- Tsegaye Beyene
- Qésh Abrahaley Fisseha Kidanemariam
- Qésh Mebrahtom Nugus
- Aregawi Mezgebe
- Gebregiorgis Berhe Aradom
- Gu’ush Tekleyohannes Gebremariam
- Tekleeaburus Beyene Tekhle
- Aleqa Haftu Beyene Tekhle
- Melakehiwot Yemane Asfaha
- Endriyas Fisseha Wonday
- Gebretchél Aregay Fissehayé
- Birhane Gidey Semegne
- Shishay Gidey Tsehayé
- Gebrehiwot Teklebirhan
- Le’ake Tesgayé
- Nugus Asfaw Suyum
- Gebregiorgis Woldearegay Gebregzihiér
- Shishay Tsehayé Gebrewahid
- Kidane Gebrewahid Qernsta
- Gebrehiwot Gebresellassie

- Wetsaate [?] Fisehayé Desta

- Keflay Gaymo
- Tsegaye Birhane Demewoz
- Adisalem Gebrewahid Fissehayé
- Zuru’u Gebregiorgis Woldemariam
- Gebrehiwot Gebrekristos Abraha
- Tsegaye Hadush Abreha
- Shimendi Gu’ush Kidanemariam
- Lulus Asgehy Gebretsadiq.

Victims from **Giits (May Woini) qushet, 29:**

- Kahsay Reda
- Kiros Mawcha
- Woldearegay Haftu
- Tekhlehiwot Gidey
- Gebregzér Woldekidan
- Negasi Hatsera (?)
- Tekhlay Dagnaw
- Gebrehiwot
- Aleqa Teklemedhin Gebremariam
- Aleqa Gebregzér Gebremariam
- Nugus Abreha
- Muley Gebresellassie
- Zuru’u Abrha Tsena’at
- Ta’ame Abreha Gebretensaé
- Tesfaye Gebretch’él
- Dalalay Woneh (?)
- Wedi Delalay Woneh
- Aregawi Emaha
- Abadi Wedi Djewamar
- Wedi Legesse
- Qesh Woneh’s cattle keeper
- Mengistey’s cattle keeper
- Qesh Hadush Wolu
- Hadush, “Nega Tesfay’s peasant” (?)

- Aleqa Tesfaye Gebru
- Qesh Tesfamariam Gebretensaé
- Tesfaye Gebrewahid Gebresellassie
- La'ake Tekhlay
- Negasi Gebrezghér
- Abrahaley Asfaha Tekhle
- Tadele Gebretenchéel Tekhle
- Adela Fissehaye Kidane
- Eyasu Lulus Gebremedhin
- Aleqa Tuku'e Gebremedhin
- Woldemerhet Gebretche'el
- Shushay Gebretche'l Kahsay
- Sisay Aregay Birhane
- Yohanes Gebreadhane Gidey
- Goytom Gebrehiwot
- Aleqa Gebremariam Woldecellasie Teklehaymanot
- Gebrekidan Fissehaye Woldegabriel
- Gebreberhan Tekulu
- Shimendi Berhe
- Girmay Shaha [?]
- Halefom Hadego Oqubay
- Tekleberhan Amare Fissehaye
- Mebrahtom Berhe Gebremariam
- Gu'ush Assefa
- Araya Gebreamlak
- Gebrealifu haile
- Qesh Uqubay Gebregirgis
- Gu'ush Gebreyesus
- Mulu Assefa Gebremesqel
- Aleqa Tsegaye Gebremesqel Gebremariam
- Gebremedhin Abay
- Amenay Birhane
- Surafél Teklesellassie
- Legesse Fisseha Abrha
- Messele Tsegaye Embaye
- Adissalem Tesfa Gebrehiwot
- Araya Yihdego Wergis
- Shishay Asfaha Embaye
- Aleqa Yde (?) Hagos Gebretsadiq
- Muruts Gebremariam Gebretensaé
- Tekhlay Gebru Teklemariam
- Woldegebriél Sahale
- Tekhlay Kidane Woldetche'el
- Goytom Woldergis Teferi

- Angusom
- Grachew
- Goytom
- Binyam Wedi Faresmay
- "Berhane Addis's peasant"

Victims from **May Qeyh qushet (14):**

- Angesom Gebrewahid
- 'An'am Gebrewahid
- Demeke Gebrewahid
- Gebretsadiq Alemseged
- Fekadu Alemu
- Berhanu Beyene
- Gebrewahid Hadush
- Fitawi Gidey
- Gebremedhin Gebregziabhér
- Haleqa (diacon) Woldemikaél Kinfu
- Mekonnen Gebregzér
- Lu'ul Wedi Qeshi
- Gebregzhér Negusse Demoz
- Berhane Tesfay

Victims from **Addi Goshu qushet, (24):**

- Abraha Yohanus
- Tesfaye Beriha
- Mebrhatom Tekle
- Kahsay Chiber
- Kibrom Dessaley
- Mebrhatom Kiros
- Tsegazeab
- Melberhane Dishen
- Girmay Dedebe [?]
- Aderadjawi Lidjalem
- Hadush Sebhata
- Melberhane Abrha
- Abqader
- Hafti Abetawi
- Assefa Qichin
- Mehari Teklemariam
- Kibrom Mebrhatom
- Tensaé Wolay
- Qeshi Kiros Aleqaye
- Haftom Tsegaye
- Nani Abate
- Tekley Gebrezgi
- Terefu Gebrekristos
- Haleqa (deacon) Lu'ul Gebreziabhér

8. On November 29, 2021 (*Hidar* 20, 2014), May Woyni inhabitants killed at the Tekezé. Unknown number of victims, 39 identified.

The inhabitants of Same'tat camp and family of the victims were not able to tell me more about the circumstances of this massacre but insisted on giving me the list of victims. People were from May Weini's different *qushet*'s and had been arrested before being killed at the Tekezé (they gave me the list in two parts that I join here) 39 victims:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| - Gebretsadiq Gebremedhin | - Dejen Tesfaye |
| - Gebrezgér Gebreabezig (?) | - Tu'umay Assefa |
| - Qesh Emaha Gebresellasé | - Tu'umay Assefa's son |
| - Haleqa Gebreliban Geberhans | - Wendi Aferash |
| - Halefom Amare Abera | - Qeshi Mamo |
| - Negasi Gebrekidan | - Berhane Gebrekidan |
| - Mekonnen Yihdego | - Haylu Ye'ubayé |
| - Gebrewahid Gebretsadiq | - Hafté Gebregziabhér |
| Gebremedhin | - Hafté Gebregziabhér's son |
| - Haleqa Kwani Tekué Gebrekidan | - Gebrelibanos Gebremedhin |
| - Tirhas Araya Gebreamlak | - Tesfaye Kidane |
| - Gebretsadiq Weldegabrél | - Yebyen Tesfaye |
| - Tsegaye Wedadjé | - Tesfaye Aregawi |
| - Asgudom Mekonnen | - Hayelom Woldegebriel |
| - Fisseha Berhane Gebremedhin | - Hailesellasié Moges |
| - Haleqa Gebremedhin Gebrezgér | - Alemseged Gebreselassie |
| Aregay | - Awash Alemseged |
| - Kidanemariam Hayle Gebretch'él | - Haylay |
| - Gu'ley Gebrealifu | - Qesh Gebregzér |
| - Woldemehret Tesfaye | - Hafté Gebregziabhér's son (second) |
| - Tesfaye | |

9. On August 21-22, 2022 (*Nehasé* 15 and 16, 2014) and following days. Dozens abducted from Adebay

This round of arrests and killings took place as fighting was resuming everywhere in Tigray. Belay Ayanew (head of the Security for Humera/Qafta Humera) and *fanno* came with several cars to arrest Tigrayans in Adebay. They used "Chember's son", a 10 years-old, to identify who was Tigrayan, before eventually killed him. On this day, they killed five people and arrested at least 33 others, who were never seen again. The four people killed had been involved in the administration after the war, giving pieces of information, collaborating with the new *tabia* team. Several witnesses explain their killing by this former collaboration with the *fanno*, who eventually silenced them. In addition to Chember's son, the four people killed are:

- Maasho Berhe. He was first taken to Humera and killed there.
- Demoz's son, a young man who was working as a messenger for the new administration.
- Mebrahtom
- Beyene

People arrested on that day and whose whereabouts are not known (27 people):

- Berhane Bezabeh, investor
- Fisseha Gebrekidan, investor
- Fisseha Kidanu, investor
- Teklay Gebregiyorgis, peasant
- Aleqa Hailemikaël, diacon and investor. He was elected to be among Adebay's administrator under the new Amhara/PP administration, but eventually killed.
- Yemane Welay, investor and merchant from Adebay
- Fitawi Gebremedhin, peasant from Adebay
- Belayneh Assefa, peasant
- Tilahun Berhe, peasant
- Bahre Sebhat, peasant
- Gebrehiwot Ashbir, peasant.
- Qeshi Mekonen Haftu, priest from Abune Aregawi church
- Fisseha Alem, peasant
- Lu'ul Tafere, militiaman under the TPLF
- Kiday Gebrehiwot, young peasant who had a small hotel in Adebay
- Abay Ayalne
- Tilahun Gebreaneniya, peasant.
- Berhe Gebresellassie, peasant.
- Aleqa Gebrelibanos Wolay, diacon and investor, had a small hotel.
- Tesfamariam, peasant
- Embayie Gebré, young peasant.
- Abrha Arefayné, young peasant
- Tewelde Kahsay, disabled, one leg missing.
- Hayelom Hadush, young peasant.
- Teké Wondachew, young peasant.
- Mekonnen Gebré, peasant.
- Kesete Desta, peasant.

Some people were arrested and disappeared on other days (17 people):

- Tesfaye Remedon, civil servant, former land administration agent at Helet Koke *tabia*.
- Firdu Woldesamuel
- Abdenmour Yassin, investor, taken to Eritrea. Corpses are said to be buried on this agricultural camp.
- Chekole Abassa, civil servant, member of the Kunama administration
- Desta Gebregziabher
- Wolay Teklehaymanot, civil servant.
- Guush Teklebirhan, civil servant.
- Aleqa Fissehaye Alem, a diacon and merchant from Adebay
- Tekhlay Gebreyesus, also known under the name "Gofa"
- Belayneh Assefa Mesele, also has a small hotel and is a merchant.
- Mu'uz Kiday, employee from CBE in Adebay
- Semhal Abrha, Mu'uz wife
- Goitom Negasi, teacher in Humera supervisor of the zone high schools.
- Girmay, Qeshi Berhane's son. He had a hair salon in Adebay, also sells soft drinks.
- Teklay Desta, a merchant in Adebay
- Gebrehiwot Asheber, a merchant who also had a small cattle farm.
- Yirga Kiros, he was the manager of the "Me'bale" cooperative.

Witnesses from Adebay also mentioned Asmelash Gebrewahid, who was shot dead by *fanno* in front of his home on Hamlé 21, 2013 (22 July 2021).

Some accounts mention places where corpses were dropped and/or buried:

- Asmamaw Gebremedhin agricultural camp, north of Adebay, at Golel (57 corpses said to be buried there.)
- Enda Mariam, in the national park, near the Eritrean border, 43 skulls were found according to two accounts.

- Abdenour Yassin agricultural camp, around 20 people buried there.
- Enda Afterari, around 30 people.

10. On October 10, 2022 (Meskerem 30, 2015) Dozens of university graduates disappeared among Humera's prison (Bét Hintset) inmates.

I had multiple accounts of this story, although the lack of direct witness of the potential killing of these inmates prevents from concluding that a massacre happened. In early October 2021, a new wave of mass arrests and detentions started in Humera, May Kadra, and Adebay. Former inmates describe that more than 4000 people were jailed at Humera's prison (locally known as "prison", "*Bét Hintset*")⁸. To organize life in the prison, a group of men known as university graduates, including many teachers, helped to settle disputes, and tried to intervene in favor of the weakest, by talking to the *fanno* and prison guards.

One of the security agents in charge of the prison, Kassahun, had even started to negotiate the liberation of elders with the inmates represented by Kalayu, a teacher working in the Amhara region (Genda Wuha) and who was arrested when visiting his children in town. Although Kassahun had told older inmates they would be freed, *fanno* shot Kalayu in front of other inmates. After Kalayu's death, it became clear negotiations wouldn't lead anywhere. On Meskerem 30, 2015, a group of between 60 and 90 of the university graduates were taken away and nobody ever heard about them again. Rumors have spread that they had been taken to Adebay, all witnesses, inmates like people who were outside, think they were killed, as only two of them, who could prove they were Wolqayté, came back. A Tigray TV journalist I met in Mekelle told me that some had been taken to Awash 40 camp and were subsequently freed, after the Pretoria agreement.

Inmates separately gave me lists of abducted men, in addition to Kalayu who was killed earlier:

- | | |
|---|---|
| - Fitsum, the BGI manager in Humera. | - Teacher Beyene, from Humera. |
| - Teacher Haylegiorgis, Fitsum's brother. | - "Rasta", " <i>we know him under this name</i> ", working at the CBE in Humera. |
| - Tekhlebirhan, who was working at Adebay's Commercial Bank of Ethiopia. | - Teacher Abrar, from Idris, he's Muslim. |
| - Wolay, Tekhlebirhan's brother, working at the Nib Bank. | - Kahsay, a young man, he lives in Bereket but didn't have any job for now, he's in early twenties. |
| - Teacher Yemane Gebresellassie Woldu, who was teaching at Adebay's highschool. | - Kibrom Berhane, civil servant working in Humera, in the Trade and Industry bureau. |
| - Teacher Mulugeta, also from Adebay highschool. | - Zenebe, working at Dedebeit microfinance in Adebay. |
| - teacher Tewelde, also from Adebay. | - Haftom Gebretsadiq, manager of the Oromiyaa Bank in Humera, but living in Adebay. |
| - Shambel Gebreyohannes. He was living in Adebay after he completed his studies but had not yet found a position. | |

⁸ See "*We will erase you from this land...*" *op.cit.*, p. 171-176.

- Kalayu, manager of the peasants' cooperative in Humera.

Conclusion:

These accounts show how the successive massacres took place as part of a deliberate policy implemented by the *fanno*, ASF, and Wolqayt Committee – Prosperity party administration of the Wolqayt-Tegedé-Setit-Humera zone, the with the complicity of Eritrean troops and at least implicit backing of the ENDF.

Events 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 of this report show that the ethnic cleansing policy turned into the systematic killing of Tigrayans, at the time Tigray Defense Forces seemed to threaten the government. During these months, governmental media outlets were broadcasting hate speech towards Tigrayans, who faced waves of arrests in Addis-Abeba and other towns. This points at the responsibility of the federal government in the killings.

In March 2024, many Tigrayans are still trapped in occupied Western Tigray, with no options but to hide. More and more are calling ENDF soldiers, whose personal phone number circulate widely, to be evacuated. They are asked varying amounts of money to be freed, at least dozens of thousands birr.

The potential return of IDPs to Western Tigray shouldn't happen without strong guarantees for their safety. The presence of the ENDF, who has turned the rescue of Tigrayans into a business, is not enough. Many witnesses who fled recently mentioned how thousands of Amhara settlers have been brought to their *tabia*, and armed by the *wereda* only a few weeks after they settled. In Wolqayt *wereda*, settlers were told by the administration headed by Kibreab Simachew that they should “*protect the land against any return of the junta*”. In several other locations including Adebay, local *fanno* have threatened remaining Tigrayans that they had lists of the Tigrayans who were still living there. Any news of a potential return could spark other massacres.

Moreover, in Western Tigray as elsewhere, ethnic affiliation is not a given. People who could claim “Wolqayténess” for some time (like *Tselim bét*) are now forced to flee as well, accused of being agents of the TPLF and spying for the party. People who could remained there as “50/50” are now crossing the Tekkezé as well. And, of course, there remains many Tigrayans, most of them women, who are trapped and can't afford to cross the river. Their fate is highly dependent on political developments between Tigray and the federal government, and on public announcements.