# April 9-12, 2010





**Official Report** 





# Honorable Judge Birtukan Mideksa

Honorary Chair of the Conference on Good Governance, Peace, Security, and Sustainable Development in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa







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### April 20, 2010

# The Conference on Good Governance, Peace, Security, and Sustainable Development in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa a Resounding Success!

### **Summary**

The three-day Conference on Good Governance, Peace, Security, Sustainable Development in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, held at the Double Tree Hotel in Arlington, Virginia from April 9 -11, 2010, was a resounding success. The conference, whose honorary chair was the unjustly imprisoned political leader Judge Birtukan Medeksa, offered an in-depth examination and discussion of the challenges facing Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, and the prospects and "best-bets" for peace and good governance in the region. The conference panels explored the prospects for advancing democracy, economic development, and security and discussed how to undertake advocacy for a people-oriented U.S. foreign policy towards Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. The underlying consensus and message of many of the participants was that there is a need to build partnerships and collaborations on what was common to all and not to focus on differences. The participants identified political leadership as a key missing factor for the absence of good governance, democratization and conflict prevention in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. The symposium was attended by close to a thousand people over the three days coming from various parts of the United States, Canada, Europe and Africa. There were close to 70 speakers and panelists. For the first time, Conference proceedings were streamed live on the internet for all to watch and at one point there were nearly 15,000 observers around the world watching the live transmissions. Furthermore, the audio of the proceedings was transmitted to various virtual facilities. Organizers noted that over 7,500 listeners were variously in the discussion facilities and there were 240,000 hits on the organizers' websites. Finally, Conference organizers are proud to note that not







only a wide spectrum of the Ethiopian Diaspora was represented at the conference reflecting the sentiments of Ethiopians, but participants from Eritrea, Somalia, and the Sudan also enriched the decisions.

### Salient points that emerged from the conference:

- Speakers noted that a change in strategy and approach on organizing the Ethiopian Diaspora is essential and acknowledged that Ethiopians abroad have the power to demand a more responsible engagement of the United States and the West with the Horn of Africa. They also noted that changes in American policies will not take place unless the Diaspora begins to work with and engage U.S. public officials such as representatives in Congress.
- Participants discussed concerns that U.S. unconditional assistance to non-democratic regimes such as Ethiopia's may lead to further instability of the Horn of Africa, which is ultimately detrimental to U.S. interests.
- Speakers posited that governance in Ethiopia suffers from deficits of democracy, repeated violations of human rights, and limitations on people's ability to choose their government.
- Reduction of conflict, instability due to political turmoil, ethnic violence, poverty, and bad governance continues to threaten human security in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.
- Many speakers agreed that advancing democracy, human rights and good governance are the sine qua non to prevent conflict in Ethiopia and the Horn and to promote long-term U.S. national interests.





- There was considerable discussion about the importance of advocacy in promoting democracy, human rights and regional stability.
- Nearly all speakers underlined the undemocratic and authoritarian nature of the current Ethiopian government of Prime Minister Meles Zenawi.
- Many highlighted the ever increasing unfair domination of the Ethiopian political scene by a mono-ethnic, self centered, brutal, and corrupt political elite headed by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi.
- Many speakers decried the increasing amalgamation of political power and business and financial favoritism, and the lack of transparency about the control of political party owned and operated businesses.
- Several speakers stressed the need for dialogue between the Ethiopian and Eritrean people, as people linked by culture, tradition, history, and economics. The status quo is wasteful and costly to both.
- While investment in agriculture is critical to agricultural and economic growth in any developing country, including Ethiopia, the current aggressive and non-transparent land grab by foreign investors in Ethiopia, facilitated by the Ethiopian government with little to no consultation with Ethiopian farmers, compromises Ethiopia's national security, age-old independence, and the livelihoods of small holder peasant farmers, and disturbs the land tenure systems of certain regions.





- Future conferences should attempt to address the lack of representation of women, youth, and other stakeholders in such discussions. Conference organizers were urged to increase their efforts to included women, Muslims, and the young.
- Many speakers protested the scheduling of sham elections when key former political contenders are illegally held in prison for crimes they did not commit.







# **Daily Catalogue of Events**





This summary of the conference proceedings presents only highlights of the multitude of presentations made in the course of the three days. It is intended to give readers a flavor of the series of insightful speeches made by a large number of scholars, analysts, policymakers, and activists.

### Friday April 9, 2010

### 10:00 - 12:00 A.M Opening & Plenary Session

After introductory remarks by Dr. Gezahegen Bekele, Executive Director of Advocacy for Ethiopia (AFE), and a welcoming speech made by Ambassador Imiru Zelleke, chairman of Ethiopian National Priorities Consultative Process, the first day opened with a session that included Gerald LeMelle, Executive Director of Africa Action, and Emira Woods, co-director of Foreign Policy in Focus, Institute for Policy Studies (IPS).



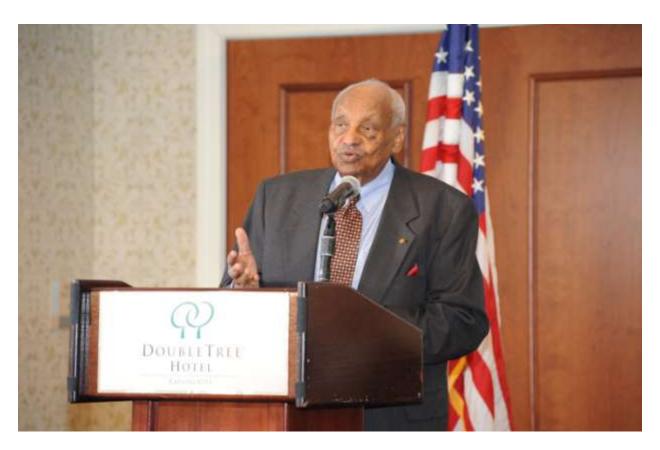




Dr. Gezahegen Bekele, AFE Executive Director







Ambassador Imiru Zelleke, chairman of Ethiopian National Priorities Consultative
Process

Session co-chairs: Dr. Getachew Metaferia & Ambassador Ayalew Mandefro

Mr. LeMelle and Ms. Woods explained to the conference audience that they were surprised when they were visited by officials from the Ethiopian embassy and were requested to refrain from speaking at or sponsoring the conference, labeling the organizers of the conference as "terrorists." While welcoming to hear from diverse stakeholders on an issue, both speakers strongly rejected an approach of attempting to silence a Diaspora which comes together to engage in civil discourse about the challenges facing Ethiopia and the Horn. Ms.







Woods stated that it was not too long ago that the United States removed Mandela from the list of "terrorists."



Gerald LeMelle, Executive Director of Africa Action

Ms. Woods and Mr. LeMelle spoke about the nature of a U.S. foreign policy which ignores the long term effects of providing support for authoritarian regimes and contributing to conditions in which regions like the Horn are awash with arms. She urged the audience to appeal for a more responsible foreign policy toward the Horn, by writing letters to and calling their political







representatives in the United States Congress and other government institutions.



Emira Woods, co-director of Foreign Policy in Focus, Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)

Furthermore, she said "Change does not happen without people pushing it forward and making it happen. We have power in this room and beyond this room. The U.S. cannot continue to spend dollars on weapons and must shift towards human needs such as job creation. This can happen if we are vigilant. Get ourselves elected. And it can and will be done."





### 1 - 3:30 P.M Plenary Session continued...

United States foreign policy toward Ethiopia and the Horn was front and centre in the next session. Participants of the Panel were Ambassador David Shinn, Professor Terrence Lyons of George Mason University, Professor Theodore Vestal of Oklahoma State University, and Professor George Ayittey of American University and Free Africa Foundation.



Ms. Wassy Tesfa, AFE

Ms. Wassy Tesfa of AFE who chaired the session in her welcoming speech stated that what brought people together to the conference was the hope of









starting a new discourse in the region. She also articulated her wish that the conference help shift people's approach from an exclusionary to an inclusionary approach, finding and building on what is common amongst them. Former Ambassador to Ethiopia David Shinn highlighted his strong support for term limits for the heads of government around the world, pointing out the absence of term limits for the most important political position in Ethiopia, that of the prime minister.



Ambassador David Shinn, Professor Terence Lyons of George Mason University, Professor Theodore Vestal of Oklahoma State University







Terrence Lyons, Professor at George Mason University, and election observer from the Carter Center, gave an overview of elections in Ethiopia, highlighting the increasing entrenchment of power of the EPRDF through uncompetitive elections with each successive election cycle.



Professor George Ayittey, The Free Africa Foundation

Theodore Vestal, Professor Emeritus at Oklahoma State University, a third member of this panel, provided an analysis of the modus operandi of the EPRDF. Professor George Ayittey of the Free Africa Foundation spoke about the importance of institutions such as an independent judiciary and a free press to







create a robust democracy. Reflecting on the problem of weak institutions in Africa, Dr. Ayittey likened African despots to "cockroaches" that continue to surface even after the one before them has been destroyed. He further stated that it is the system that has to change and not just the leader, likening an attempt to fix the problem of a defunct car by merely replacing the driver.

Dr. Berhanu Nega of Bucknell University and Mayor elect of Addis Ababa in the 2005 election, stated that the opposition party did not refuse to take over the reigns of power in Addis Ababa, instead the ruling party EPDRF was not prepared nor willing to hand over power even in areas where it was clearly losing the election. A discussion ensued about what one can do to change governments when the government itself does not respect and abide by its own constitution, as has been consistently the case in Ethiopia.







Dr. Berhanu Nega, Mayor elect of Addis Ababa in the 2005 election





### 4:00 - 6:30 P.M Advocacy for a People-Oriented U.S. Foreign Policy

The session was co-chaired by Dr. Msmaku Asrat and Dr. Kassa Ayalew. After opening remarks the meeting was turned over to the speakers.





Dr. Msmaku Asrat and Dr. Kassa Ayalew

Douglas Brooks, Vice President of Gong, Brooks and Associates, Inc., discussed on how best to work with U.S. law makers and influence U.S. policy towards Ethiopia through advocacy and how to create a strong political action committee. Mr. Brooks also discussed the importance of filling out the 2010 census survey, no least to be counted and become visible as Ethiopians and Ethiopian-Americans in the United States.







Douglas Brooks, Vice President of Gong, Brooks and Associates, Inc.





Following Mr. Brooks's presentation, Executive Director Aram Hamparian, Armenian National Committee of America, provided a view of effective organizing and lobbying of the United States congress and the administration, drawing on his rich experience as an activist on Armenian community concerns.



Mr Aram Hamparian, Executive Director for Armenian National Committee of America





Ms. Niemat Ahmadi, the Darfuri Liaison Officer with the Save Darfur Coalition, delivered a talk about cooperation between the diaspora from the Horn of Africa within the United States and abroad, focusing in particular on the role of Africans on advocacy to promote democracy and human rights in the Horn of Africa.



Ms. Niemat Ahmadi, The Darfuri Liaison Officer





### Saturday, April 10, 2010

### 9:30- 10:30 A.M Plenary Session:

### The Honorable Ana Gomez -European Parliament

Saturday morning was kicked off with Ms. Wassy Tesfa introducing the legendary European Parliamentarian Ana Gomes, whom she compared with the suffragettes Sylvia Pankhurst, a hero of the Ethiopian people during the Italian occupation. Mme. Gomes, who led the European delegation to observe the 2005 elections in Ethiopia; could not make the conference because she had to lead a delegation to Sudan at the last minute and therefore made herself available by phone.







Dr Berhanu Nega, Ms. Wassy Tesfa, EU Parliamentarian Ana Gomes on the Phone

In her very moving speech over the phone, Mme. Gomes expressed her gratitude for being invited to the conference and reminisced what a hopeful day Election Day was in Ethiopia, in 2005. At that time she said, "Ethiopians came out from early dawn to practice their rights and take part in the first democratic elections that ever took place in their country." She also stated the horror and disappointment she felt when she saw people being killed and harassed because they practiced their democratic rights. Mme Gomes expressed her disapproval at the continuous incarceration of Judge Birtukan Mideksa and other political prisoners. She expressed her alarm that Western







governments continued to mostly ignore the political atrocities that the Ethiopian government is committing and that they instead offer their complicit support of the regime.

### 11:00 A.M - 1:00 P.M Panel Discussion: Ideology and Political Governance

Participants of this panel were Drs. Msmaku Asrat, Aregawi Berehe, Berhanu Nega, Prof. Messay Kebede, Ato Jawar Siraj Mohammed. Papers were read from Dr. Negede Gobeze and Professor Mammo Muchie. The session was chaired by Professor Getachew Begashaw.



**Professor Getachew Begashaw** 







The panel discussed on the general topic of ideology and political governance in Ethiopia. It thoroughly deliberated on vast issues ranging from the process of the Ethiopian state formation to present day ethnic fragmentation, from the ancient traditional rules and values that governed and fomented harmonious living and administrative arrangements of the people to the present day radicalism and ethnic federation, and from the current fragmentation of politics in Ethiopia to the roadmap for peace and stability.



Prof. Messay Kebede, Dr. Berhanu Nega, Ato Jawar Siraj Mohammed and Dr. Aregawi Berehe







Many useful and actionable pointers as well as divergent ideas to solving the current political, economic, and social problems of Ethiopia, at the backdrop of the unbearable oppression by the ethno-dictatorial regime of Mr. Meles Zenawi, have been tabled by notable scholars like Dr. Mismaku Asrat, who presented a roadmap on Peace and Stability and voiced a strong opposition to ethnic division. He elaborated on the historical evolution of the geographical division of the country as being more topographical than ethnic and that people of different linguistic backgrounds lived in the same administrative areas. Dr. Aregawi Berhie, a student of ethnicity, said "we cannot discard ethnic divisions or ethnicity; we have to resolve ethnicity by confronting it." Moreover, he elaborated on the fact that Ethiopia had a "false start" because the state was not community based but crafted by the elite like many nations in Africa and that this has to change. Prof. Berhanu Nega, focused on the western myth of "development bringing about democracy ... so tolerate the dictators." He commented among other things on the pervasiveness of the demoralization of the educated class. He stated "dictators create hopelessness" by humiliating people and robbing them of their livelihoods. Furthermore, he discussed missed opportunities for democracy and reconciliation in Ethiopian history, including the 2005 elections. The brilliant and promising young activist Jawar Siraj Mohammed captured the participants' attention with his ideas. On discussing the polarized positions in the ethnic discourse, he said "Neither of them (extreme nationalists and ethno-centrists) can sustain themselves; they have to negotiate and reconcile. Ethnic nationalism is helping us; Ethiopian nationalism also helps us to preserve the national interest." Dr. Messay Kebede stated that it is the elite that make history in Ethiopia. Papers from Dr. Negede Gobeze and Professor Mamo Muchie focused on organization and unity formation, and Ethiopia's and Eritrea's unification, respectively.





## 2:00 - 4:30 P.M Eritrea & Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa

The session was co-chaired by Ato Kidane Alemayhu and Ato Jawar Siraj Mohammed.



Ato Kidane Alemayhu and Ato Jawar Siraj Mohammed





Participants of this session were: Professor Shumet Sishagne, Ato Amanuel Bedemariam, Prof. Getachew Begashaw, Prof. Berhane Habte Giorgis, Mr. Yssuf Kahlib, Ato Ephrem Madebo, Dr. Berhe Habte Giorgis, and Dr. Alem Hailu.



Ato Jawar Siraj Mohammed, Mr. Yssuf Kahlib, Professor Shumet Sishagne, Ato Ephrem Madebo, Ato Amanuel Bedemariam, Prof Berhe Habte Giorgis, and Dr. Alem Hailu

This session, which focused on seeking and finding new paradigms of relations and interactions among Ethiopians, Eritreans and all other peoples in the Horn, was indeed innovative and despite the difficulty and sensitive nature of the topic, panelists were able to break ground and have candid discussions.







The lively interactions and exchanges among the panelists underlined both similarity and unity in their thinking but were also honest in discussing their differences, as they relate to the problems and possible solutions of the region. The panelists from different countries of the Horn—Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia—and seemingly of different political philosophy and beliefs, were both very frank in pointing to important divergences in thought, but also very keen to understand each other and chart a new way of addressing the pressing issues of immediate concerns and long term bearings. They all agreed that all the current regional problems are the makings of the ruling groups and political elites in the region and the ordinary citizens of each country are the victims. They also agreed that each and all of the problems can only be solved through mutual understanding, respect, and collaboration.







Prof Shumet Sishagne, said that the Eritrean and Ethiopian people have always been together, the state has for the first time officially separated the people. He said "The two countries went to war because they could not be independent. Eritrea cannot afford to be independent; the same as with Ethiopia. They were like "Siamese twins." Ato Amanuel Beidemariam, who presented 'A View from Eritrea', said "we have love and affection, and we have always worked together. There is also hatred because millions have been displaced, opportunities squandered, energy and time waisted." Probably the most poignant moment was when Mr. Yussuf Kalib of the Horn of Africa peace and Development Center, had the participants all join in a moment of silence







and prayer for the millions of citizens in the Horn of Africa who died killing each other.



Mr. Yussuf Kalib of the Horn of Africa peace and Development Center





### 2:30 - 5:30 P.M Concurrent Session: Conflict Prevention and Resolution

The panel on Conflict Prevention and Resolution had six presenters. Ambassador Ayalew Mandefro, who elaborated on the need for the establishment of three centers, focusing on national security, inter-faith issues, and ethnic relationships.



**Ambassador Ayalew Mandefro** 

Professor Berhanu Mengistu's analysis identified difference as the main cause of conflict and that umbilical cord politics fragments and weakens





"Ethiopiawinet". He concluded that social bonding and promoting a community of interest can be an important remedy.



Ato Betru Gebrezigiabher, Dr. Solomon Getahun, Ato Mesfin Teferra, Professor Berhanu Mengistu

Dr. Solomon Getahun identified cultural intolerance and sense of entitlement as sources of conflict. Dr. Abigail Salisbury indicated lack of adequate content and material is causing deterioration in higher education standards, citing the Law School of Mekele University as example.









Dr. Abigail Salisbury and Eng. Gizaw Legesse

Eng. Gizaw Legesse emphasized that new and practical solutions based on individual liberty were needed to restore eroded nationalism. Ato Mesfin Teferra presented the paper prepared by Eng. Solomon Gebre Selassie addressing how best to heal past wounds caused by conflict through a process of recognizing crime, amnesty, reconciliation and reparation. Overall, the presentations identified important causes and effects of conflict and recommended creative and effective ways of prevention and resolution which are vital for peace, good governance and sustainable development in Ethiopia.







#### 5:00- 8:00 P.M Governance, Accountability and Civil Society

There were four papers presented in this session chaired by Professor Seid Hassan.



**Professor Seid Hassan** 

Ato Fekade Shewakena, the first presenter, dealt with the economic, social, environmental consequences of the land that is being leased to foreign investors. Ato Fekade's extensive presentation included the Ethiopian topography, geographic locations of the leases, the number of contract leases





signed, the dislocation of land owners, the decision making process and the secretive nature of the leases.



Ato Fekade Shewakena

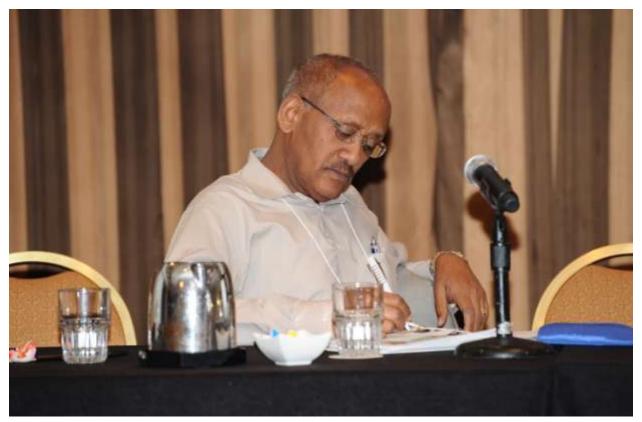
Dr. Fekadu Bekele's paper was titled, "Consciousness, Nation-State and the Problem of Economic Development." In this paper, the author attempted to connect the problem of consciousness with the issue of economic development and nation-state formation.







Dr. Aklog Birara's presentation dealt with the intricacies and problems of merging state, ethnicity and the economy. In addition to his presentation, Dr. Aklog Birara responded to numerous questions raised by the audience and made some valuable comments.



Dr. Aklog Birara







Professor Minga Negash's presentation dealt with party-owned companies and the agency and ownership problems associated with such a new phenomenon. Professor Minga compared party-owned companies in Ethiopia and elsewhere in the world and explored and raised many important policy related questions regarding TPLF/EPRDF owned companies.



**Professor Minga Negash** 







## 5:00 - 8:00 P.M Concurrent Session: On Civic Society

The session was chaired by Dr. Maigenet Shifferraw and consisted of six participants.



Dr. Maigenet Shifferraw

Dr. Teshome Tadesse read two papers, his own paper and Dr. Yirku Yimer's paper. The central points of the two papers revolve around the issues of forging the principles of traditional and newly-emerging civil society institutions in the democratization processes in Ethiopia.









Ms. Hanna Haile, Dr. Maigenet Shifferraw, Ms. Yalemzewde Bekele, Dr. Abeba Fekade, Ms. Agere Alehegn, Ato Obang Metho and Dr. Teshome Tadesse

The panelists discussed how civil society organizations, voluntary institutions outside the purview of the controlling state, can create awareness, mediate and make sustained efforts to combat undue curtailment of individual, social and political rights by interventionist states.

Ms. Yalemzewde Bekele discussed the impact of the Charities and Societies law in Ethiopia, which was enacted in 2008. She explained how the law has curtailed the works of civil society organizations. The law negatively affects most civil organizations, especially those who advocate for human rights and







women's and children's rights. She indicated that the role of civil society in the upcoming 2010 election would be limited due to the Charities and Societies Law.



Ms. Yalemzewde Bekele







Ms. Agere Alehegn presented on the role of civil society in promoting the participation of women in political organizations. She indicated that women's participation in decision-making positions and in political leadership is very low in Ethiopia. She discussed how civil society organizations, particularly women's organizations, can educate and encourage women to participate in political organizations.



Ms. Agere Alehegn









Dr. Abeba Fekade discussed the conditions of Ethiopian women in general, and those who are currently living in Middle Eastern countries in particular. She articulated the dire situation in which women and children are living in Ethiopia and in the Middle East and asked how these conditions can be improved.



Dr. Abeba Fekade







The session culminated with Ms. Hanna Haile, from Free Birtukan DC Metro chapter, reporting on the deteriorating health of Judge Birtukan Mideksa in prison and she made an emotional plea to all to work hard for Birtukan's unconditional release.



Ms. Hanna Haile, Representative for Free Birtukan DC Metro

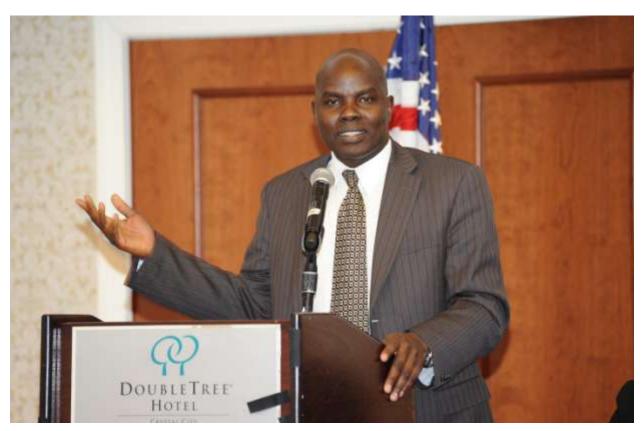
She made a vivid demonstration of the impact of being denied your freedom and explained how Birtukan Mideksa inspired so many young Ethiopian women, saying that she herself is one of those women who were inspired by Birtukan and has started participating in the Free Birtukan organization.







The last speaker was Mr. Obang Metho who discussed the violations of human rights in Ethiopia and the role of civil society in advocating for change. Mr. Metho reiterated his call for unity among Ethiopians regardless of their ethnic origin, language and religion for a better society in Ethiopia.



Ato Obang Metho, Human Rights Activist

Most of the questions from the audience at the end of the session, were focused on the low participation of women in political organizations. Panel participants explained the cause for the low participation and the role of civil society organizations, particularly women's organizations, in educating women about







their rights and responsibilities and encouraging them to participate in the social, political and economic development of their country. There was also a question about the appropriateness of civil society organizations' position to take a non-partisanship stand while the struggle for liberty and justice is very crucial in Ethiopia currently. Panelists clarified the difference between non-partisanship and neutrality. They explained that civil society organizations must be non-partisan but they are not neutral to human rights and civil liberty violations. The case of the Ethiopian Women for Peace and Development was discussed as a good example of not siding with political organizations, but taking bold stands against injustice and the curtailment of civil liberty in Ethiopia.







# Sunday, April 12, 2010

# 11:00 A.M -1:00 P.M Politics, Communication and Media

The session was co-chaired by Wro. Lemlem Tsegaw and Ato Mulugeta Lule.



**Ato Mulugeta Lule** 







Ms. Lemlem Tsegaw

The topic discussed by Dr. Mulugeta Seyoum centered on "lessons learned – United Front and coalition building" Ato Tekelemichael Sahlemariam spoke on TPLF/EPRDF's control of the local Media, the jamming of the Voice of America, and lack of freedom of the press in Ethiopia.









Dr. Mulugeta Seyoum

Ato Habtamu Girma had his presentation on Human Rights and International Terrorism. Ato Abebe Belew, a broadcast journalist in the DC Metro area, dwelled on the role of the Diaspora media, touching on his readiness to meet the challenges to reach the Ethiopian people through satellite TV.









Ato Abebe Belew, Addis Dimits Radio Host







Ato Habtamu Girma





Chris Flaherty, an independent film maker spoke with eloquence about the role of the media in grassroots advocacy. Mr. Flaherty stressed the importance of the Diaspora being the voice of the voiceless people of Ethiopia. He announced that he will go on hunger strike in the very near future to publicize Birtukan Mideksa's imprisonment. He invited the participants of the conference to join him in the hunger strike.



Chirs Flaherty of The Independent Media







Teklemikael Sahlemariam and Abebe Belew elaborated on the necessity of reaching the Ethiopian people at this juncture of its history through all sorts of communications media, including the internet.



Ato Teklemichael Shalemariam

They emphasized the current state of the media, especially jamming the Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, and the internet. This is on top of closing down the editorial offices of the independent print media. With new draconian laws in place, and harassment and imprisonment of journalists, there are no independent newspapers in circulation which can operate without fear of







drastic consequences, as related by Tamrat Negara, former editor of Addis Neger, the now defunct popular weekly.



Ato Tamerat Negara, former editor of Addis Neger

The editor, who fled his country following the illegal raid of his office, has joined the exiled journalists who number more than 120 throughout the Ethiopian diaspora.

# 2:00 - 3:30 P.M Advocacy and Building Linkages

Participants of this session were Col. Patrick Murray, Matthew Berry, Patrick Herrity—all three Republican congressional candidates from Virginia—Ken





Cummings, Senior Legislative assistant to Democratic Congressman Chris Van Hollen, Imani Countess, senior director for Public Affairs in Trans Africa, and Dr. Hashim El-Tinay, International Peace Quest Institute (from the Sudan). The session was chaired by Ms. Wassy Tesfa.



Col. Patrick Murray, Republican Candidate from Virginia

The speakers of this session connected the dots between the promotion of democracy in the homeland, and the exercise of democracy in the United States.









Matthew Berry, Republican Candidate from Virginia

The congressional candidates presented their thinking and values on foreign policy, and showed a keen awareness of the suppression of freedoms in Ethiopia and the challenges that the Ethiopian government's unwarranted verbal attacks at the U.S. may cause.







Patrick Herrity, Republican Candidate from Virginia

They condemned the Ethiopian government's jamming of Voice of America as an infringement on the democratic rights of the Ethiopian people. The audience was also given invaluable advise by congressional staffer Ken Cummings, the legislative assistant to democratic Congressman Chris Van Hollen, on how to effectively advocate Congress to pursue a more responsible foreign policy in Ethiopia and the Horn.









Ken Cummings, Senior Legislative Assistant to Democratic Congressman Chris Van Hollen







Also on the panel was Ms. Imani Countess of TransAfrica Forum. After categorically rejecting the EPRDF's campaign to keep her organization from sponsoring the conference, she talked about the similarities that Ethiopia has with issues in other parts of Africa.



Ms. Imani Countess, Trans Africa Forum

She encouraged the organizers to include participants from Nigeria, Rwanda and South Africa to discuss their challenges and gains in ethnic discourse. She also expressed the need to have more women participate in such venues

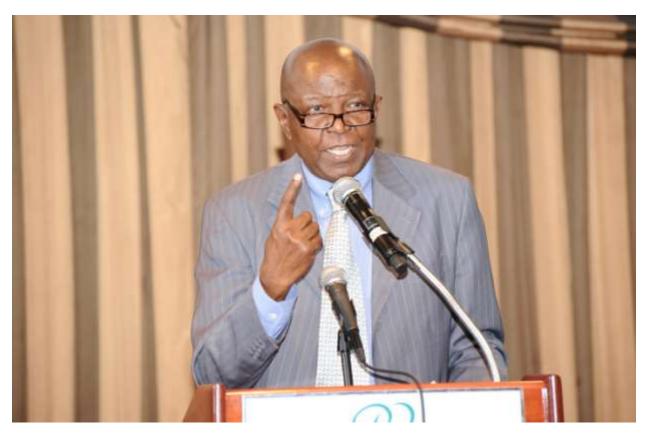






because no real societal transformation can take place without women, especially since women play a pivotal role in society.

Dr. Hashim discussed the similarities in the oppression in both the Sudan and Ethiopia. He discussed the upcoming elections in Sudan as already decided, with the incumbent regime winning. He talked about his plan to start a grassroots movement to run for the presidency of the Sudan in 2014.



Dr. Hashim El-Tinay, International Peace Quest Institute (from the Sudan)





## **Awards Ceremony**

The conference recognized and presented its highest awards to Judge Birtukan Mideksa and Ana Gomes. Awards were also given to Artist Tamagne Beyene, Professor Alemyahu G/Mariam, journalists Eskinder Nega, Serakalem Fasil, Sisay Agena, and activist Mr. Obang Metho for their outstanding contributions in promoting human rights, democracy, press freedom and peace in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.



Artist Tamagne Beyene







#### **Closing: Public Meeting**

The three hour public meeting on Sunday afternoon, April 12, 2010 can be considered as the climax of the three day conference in many respects. Ato Neamin Zeleke of (AFE) Conference coordinator made a brief remark about the conference and asked the audience to stand and observe a moment of silence in remembrance of all those who perished while promoting human rights, democracy, and the rule of law and to those unjustly incarcerated by the regime such as Judge Birtukan Mideksa, Tsegaye Debetraw, Ato Abera Yemaneab and thousands of political prisoners in Ethiopia.



Ato Neamin Zeleke, AFE







He then introduced Ato Betru Gebrezigiabher, the moderator for the public meeting and twelve civic and political leaders, scholars & activists representing a wide spectrum of the diaspora.



Ato Betru Gebrezigiabher

The twelve panelists at the public meeting—Ato Obang Metho, Ato Jawar Mohammed, Ms. Yalemzewd Bekele Mulat, Dr. Abeba Fekade, Ato Tamagne Beyene, Ato Teklemichael Shalemariam, Dr. Msmaku Asrat (ENPCP) and Dr. Gezahegn Bekele (AFE), Lt. Ayal-sew Dessye, Professor Berhanu Nega, Dr. Aregawi Berhe, and Professor Getachew Begashaw—constituted a high-power panelist group and responded to numerous questions and concerns raised from the floor.







Lt. Ayal-sew Dessye, Dr. Gezahegn Bekele (AFE), Ato Jawar Mohammed, Ato Obang Metho, Ms. Yalem Zewd Bekele Mulat, Dr. Abeba Fekade









Dr. Msmaku Asrat (ENPCP), Dr. Aregawi Berhe, Professor Getachew Begashaw, Professor Berhanu Nega, Ato Teklemichael Shalemariam & Ato Tamagne Beyene

Ato Betru, the moderator set up the discussion by highlighting the main features of the deliberations of the plenary and concurrent sessions of the three day conference.

Over all the dialogue was focused around chronic problems and challenges the Ethiopian people are facing, and on the need for:

 cooperation among democratic forces including political groups and civic organizations;







- empowering youth and women to play a more prominent role in the ongoing struggle for rule of law, peace and sustainable development in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa,
- encouraging the emergence of leaders whose loyalty and commitment extends beyond their party programs;
- an independent and non-partisan watch dog to monitor the activities of civic and political entities;
- strengthening the action-oriented advocacy efforts of the diaspora through grassroots mobilization focused on voter registration, fielding candidates and voting by hyphenated Ethiopians (Ethiopian-Americans, Ethiopian-Canadians, Ethiopian-Europeans etc.) to increase their influence on the policies of their respective governments towards Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa;
- promoting unity of purpose and a level of tolerance, building confidence, identifying common priorities and causes to rally around, capacity building, and encouraging the emergence of farsighted leadership with high integrity, capable of charting a road map with long term alternative strategies.

Finally, the declaration of the conference was presented by the reporters, (Professors Minga Negash, Professor Seid Hassen, and Dr. Aklog Birara). In addition to the reporters, the Programs and Declarations committee which was composed of Ato Neamin Zeleke, Ato Kindane Alemayehu, Ato Fekade Shewakena and Dr Lakew Alemu.

The conference was concluded with closing remarks of representatives of ENPCP and AFE (Amb. Imeru Zeleke & Ms. Wassy Tesfa) expressing appreciation to all who contributed towards the success of this historical conference and a call for continued collaboration. Over 14,500 people







participated at Sunday's public meeting, including over 800 in person, 13,000 through web stream, and several hundred in pal talks rooms.

On April 12, 2010 the conference was followed by a successful protest rally which was held across the street from the U.S. State Department. During the protest, Ethiopian Americans asked the U.S. government and Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton to demand the immediate release of Birtukan Mideksa, a key Ethiopian pro-democracy leader, and of thousands of prisoners of conscience. The demonstrators also requested the United States government to make fundamental changes in its relationship with Ethiopia in order to minimize the prospects of destabilization of the country and the Horn of Africa. At the end of the demonstration, a letter addressed to Secretary Clinton was presented to representatives of the State Department.







# **Declaration**





## Virginia Declaration of the Conference on Good Governance, Peace, Security and Sustainable Development in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa

A three day conference on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, which was organized by two civil society organizations- Advocacy for Ethiopia (AFE) and Ethiopian National Priorities Consultative Process (ENPCP), and sponsored by Trans Africa Forum and Africa Action, was successfully held in Crystal City, Virginia, from April 9 to 11, 2010. The participation of several hundreds of Ethiopians, experts, scholars from the United States and Europe, men and women of the Arts, former diplomats and leaders of civic organizations, with Honorable Ana Gomes of the European Parliament, speaking over the telephone from the Sudan, made the conference rich and unique. The conference addressed broad themes of good governance, conflict, civil society and development in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, and has adopted the following roadmap:

**ALARMED** by the escalation of ethnic and religious polarization, active and latent conflicts in Ethiopia and Somalia, further endangering the livelihood of millions of people and disturbing international peace, and the total absence of a freely elected and accountable governance system in the region;

**DEEPLY CONCERNED** by the political, economic and social policies implemented by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi in the last 19 years, which has failed to make maximum use of the catalytic roles of the donor community's commitment for good governance, building national consensus, and boosting productivity and alleviating endemic poverty;

**NOTING WITH DISAPPOINTMENT** that, despite the unabated generous aid flows estimated at \$25 billion to \$30 billion since 1991, almost all of the







credible international economic and governance indices rank Ethiopia at the tail end of world development, to the extent that the country, by the end of 2009, had an estimated 5 million orphans and 13-14 million or 16 percent of the country's population being identified as dependent on international food aid. Notwithstanding these, the government unashamedly claims double digit economic growth and success in the alleviation of poverty;

**RECONGNIZING** with dismay that Ethiopia will be entering the next election without adequate preparation, and more importantly, under a cloud of impunity, relentless human rights violations, vigilantism, and the incarceration of political leaders like Ms. Birtukan Mideksa and others, while at the same time the ruling party uses federal and foreign aid funds to recruit youth supporters, all these being done with the intent of building a single-party state.

**NOW THEREFORE**, We, the AFE and ENPCP, together with the broad cross-section of Ethiopian participants of the three days conference:

1. Strongly believe that Ato Meles Zenawi does not enjoy the popular support of the majority of the Ethiopian people and would lose a free and fair popular vote. We are concerned that Ato Meles Zenawi will use force to stay in power. We call on Meles Zenawi to peacefully adher to the will of the Ethiopian people. We call on the international community to stand in solidarity with the people of Ethiopia and their right to peacefully express their opposition. We also call on the United States as the main supplier of military equipment to the Ethiopian Government to condemn any use of violence against civilians and respond swiftly to protect the people of Ethiopia from any violent reprisals which may occur during the upcoming election.





- 1.1 Call upon all political parties, including the TPLF/EPRDF, to convene an all inclusive National Conference for Peace and Reconciliation, with a view to establishing a Transitional Government of National Unity that prepares the country for an unfettered free and fair election.
- 1.2 Call on the Ethiopian people to continue their valiant struggle for peace, democracy and respect for the rule of law. We urge all Ethiopians to continue to resist the divide and rule policies of the regime; we also admire the resistance of the Ethiopian people against religious extremism.
- 1.3 Call upon the Ethiopian people inside the country and in the Diaspora to support and stand with forces that celebrate our diversity while trying to cement the foundations of a united country. We specifically call on all Ethiopians who are being forcefully recruited by the ruling party to side with the people and refuse to engage in any action that may be harmful to their brothers and sisters.
- 1.4 Commend and applaud opposition parties, civic organizations and their leaders for the work they do under difficult circumstances, and call upon them to create unity, coordinate their efforts, form unbreakable coalitions, and prepare for pre and post election scenarios.
- 1.5 Call upon the Ethiopian Diaspora to rise to the challenges and provide material, moral and intellectual support to forces that are committed to advancing good governance and democracy in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.
- 1.6 Call for the convening of civil society organizations with a view to establishing strong rights advocacy networks that can better express the





voice of the voiceless, and the causes of the people of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.

- 1.7 Encourage all Ethiopians to vote for a party that stands for democracy, good governance, unity, and at the same time support democratic forces that stand to defend and protect their votes.
- 1.8 Call on Ethiopian Americans to use their voting rights to influence U.S. policies towards Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.
- 1.9 Call upon the citizens of Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa to respect and defend the rights of women and children.
- 1.10 Agreed to establish a working group and broaden the breadth and scope of this declaration so that other stakeholders could join the process in taking the roadmap into action.

#### 2.0 To the TPLF/EPRDF

- 2.1 Condemn the relentless human rights violations, extrajudicial killings, persecutions and crimes against humanity committed by the TPLF/EPRDF security forces in Addis Ababa, Arba Gugu, Bedeno, Gambella, Hadiya, Hawasa, Ogden, Oromia, and other parts of Ethiopia, and demand that those responsible be held accountable and brought to justice without delay.
- 2.2 Call for the abandonment of the use of the anti-terrorist and civil society laws as smokescreens to suppress dissent and deny Ethiopians their fundamental economic, social and political freedoms.





- 2.3 Join human rights organizations, parliamentarians, governments and the Ethiopian people in demanding for the immediate and unconditional release of Ms. Birtukan Mideksa and all other political prisoners.
- 2.4 Demand that the top brass as well as the rank and file of the Ethiopian military properly reflect the ethnic and religious diversity of the Ethiopian people, and the army's size, shape, capability and doctrine be improved.
- 2.5 Demand that the TPLF/EPRDF ceases its manipulation of the electoral process by using federal and donor funds, political party controlled funds, sheltered employment, land and fertilizer.
- 2.6 Call upon the TPLF/EPRDF and the House of Peoples Representatives to initiate a constitutional reform in accordance to the will of the people, and define a term limit for the office of the Prime Minister.
- 2.7 Urge the TPLF/EPRDF to desist from blocking the Ethiopian people from having access to information. We condemn the government's blocking of the Internet, the jamming of the Voice of America, and the muzzling of the local media.
- 2.8 Call upon the TPLF/EPRDF to revisit its opaque long-term farmland leases to foreign investors, which we know is dispossessing citizens from the lands and waters on which they depend to survive. We demand the setting-up of an independent expert group, with the full participation of local communities, in order to assess the costs and benefits and ecological as well as social risks of farmland leases to foreign investors. We believe that some of the land leases have the potential to change the geopolitical equation of the region. We also demand that the





TPLF/EPRDF discloses all the details of the contracts to the general public.

- 2.9 Demand that the government discloses the purpose and nature of the ongoing border negotiation with the Sudan, and that TPLF/EPRDF refrains from once again abrogating Ethiopia's sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- 2.10 Demand the immediate repeal of the charities and societies, media, and the anti terrorism proclamations.
- 2.11 Demand that political party owned and "endowed" companies be urgently reformed.

#### 3.0 To the people of the Horn of Africa

- 3.1 We believe that our similarities and connectedness far outweigh our differences. Let peace and stability and democracy shine in our region. Let's try our level best so that our wounds heal.
- 3.2 We encourage the continuation of the relationship that has recently been started by scholars from Eritrea and Ethiopia, and hope that such conversations would lead to new beginning which will be mutually beneficial to the brotherly peoples of Eritrea and Ethiopia. Everyone knows that Eritrea and Ethiopia are invariably linked by history, religion, culture, economy, and security. It is thus costly and wasteful for both to maintain the status quo.
- 3.3 We encourage free and fair elections in all of the countries of the Horn of Africa. We wish success to the people of the Sudan in the ongoing





election, and in the implementation of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

3.4 We encourage the international community and the people of Somalia to work together in finding solutions to the complex problems of the country.

## 4 To the Diplomatic and Donor Community

- 4.1 We urge all donor countries, particularly the Government of the United States, especially President Barak Obama to live up to the statements that he has made about Africa. We urge the U.S. not to use double standards. We believe the blind eye afforded to Prime Minster Meles Zenawi by the United States has resulted in strengthening repression in Ethiopia. We, therefore, demand a thorough review of the United States' policy towards Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa.
- 4.2 We call on the Government of China to desist from assisting the Ethiopian Government's anti democratic practices, particularly in providing technical support to block the Internet and the jamming of radio broadcasts. We also call upon the Government of China to make trade mutually beneficial.
- 4.3 We call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to attend to the call for the investigation of crimes against humanity in Ethiopia.
- 4.4 We call upon the United States, the United Kingdom and European Union to investigate whether tax payers' money collected during the





1984/85 famine in Ethiopia has indeed been used for strengthening the TPLF's Red Army.

4.5 Let it be known that we condemn and oppose, in the strongest possible terms, all forms of extremism and terrorism.

Crystal City Virginia, United States of America, April 11, 2010.

Website: www.advocacyforethiopia.org

