

AGAEZI NATIONAL UNION (ANU)

FORMAL REJECTION OF THE PROSPERITY PARTY GOVERNMENT'S CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION FOR TIGRAY

**NATIONAL UNITY CANNOT BE BUILT ON ETHNIC FRAGMENTATION,
POLITICAL IMPUNITY, OR ADMINISTRATIVE IMPOSITION**

ANU's position: A shared Ge'ez civilizational heritage. One common Ethiopian political community. Equal citizenship. Accountable government.

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PREAMBLE: ETHIOPIA NEEDS A NATIONAL TRANSFORMATION, NOT ANOTHER POLITICAL ARRANGEMENT

The Agaezi National Union (ANU) issues this critical rejection of the Prosperity Party Government's caretaker administration for Tigray because the establishment of a temporary administration does not, in itself, resolve Ethiopia's fundamental constitutional, political, and national crisis.

ANU recognizes the urgent need for peace, reconstruction, humanitarian assistance, the restoration of public services, the safe and voluntary return of internally displaced persons, and the protection of civilians in Tigray. These are fundamental public responsibilities, not political favours to be granted by any government or party.

However, **administrative intervention is not national reconciliation, the appointment of officials is not constitutional reform, and the declaration of unity is not proof that unity has been achieved.**

The central question is not simply who administers Tigray for six months. The deeper question is whether Ethiopia will continue to be governed through a constitutional and political structure that ANU believes entrenches ethnic division, or whether the country will pursue a shared

civic-national framework capable of protecting diversity while strengthening a common national identity.

ANU rejects the notion that Ethiopia can secure lasting unity by transferring administrative authority from one political structure to another while leaving the underlying constitutional crisis unresolved.

Our position is unequivocal: **Ethiopia requires a peaceful, democratic, and fundamental national transformation—not another temporary arrangement within a political order that continues to divide citizens along ethnic lines.**

1. A CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION IS NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

The Prosperity Party Government presents its caretaker administration as a means of restoring stability, rebuilding institutions, facilitating elections, and returning Tigray to regular participation in the federation.

These objectives may address immediate administrative needs. They do not, however, resolve the deeper questions of constitutional legitimacy, political accountability, national identity, and the future structure of the Ethiopian state.

A six-month administration cannot erase decades of political grievances, rebuild public trust by decree, or resolve competing constitutional visions without a credible and inclusive political process.

Nor can a government-appointed administration automatically claim to represent the freely expressed will of the population it governs.

ANU therefore demands clear answers:

- What independent safeguards will guarantee the administration's impartiality?
- How will the people of Tigray participate meaningfully in determining their political future?
- What mechanisms will protect civilians and prevent political retaliation?
- How will allegations of past abuses be investigated independently?
- What happens if the promised electoral timetable cannot be met?
- What constitutional changes, if any, will address the structural divisions that have weakened Ethiopia's common political identity?

Until these questions receive credible answers, the caretaker administration should not be presented as a comprehensive political solution.

Restoring administrative machinery without addressing the political foundations of the crisis is management of the problem, not resolution of the problem.

2. ANU REJECTS ETHNIC CONSTITUTIONALISM AS THE PERMANENT FOUNDATION OF ETHIOPIAN STATEHOOD

At the heart of ANU's position is a fundamental constitutional disagreement.

ANU advocates a shared Ge'ez civilizational and civic-national framework rooted in Ethiopia's interconnected historical heritage, continuous historical memory, common institutions, and shared political future.

This framework seeks to unite citizens through equal citizenship and common national institutions while safeguarding the languages, cultures, religions, and legitimate rights of every community.

ANU rejects a constitutional model that makes ethnic identity the principal organizing principle of territorial government and political sovereignty. In our assessment, such a model risks institutionalizing communal divisions, encouraging political organizations to claim exclusive representation of ethnic communities, intensifying territorial disputes, and weakening the institutions necessary for a cohesive state.

We reject the false choice between ethnic fragmentation and the suppression of cultural diversity.

A united Ethiopia does not require the disappearance of its communities. It requires that no community, political party, or ethnic elite monopolize the meaning, territory, or political future of the nation.

The rights of Tigrayans, Amharas, Oromos, Afars, Eritreans, and all other communities must not depend on their political usefulness to a governing party. Their dignity and cultural rights must be protected as fundamental rights, not treated as privileges granted by competing political authorities.

For ANU, the necessary transformation is from an ethnic-centred political order toward a shared civic-national framework in which citizenship, democratic accountability, and common national institutions form the foundation of the state.

The existing constitutional structure must therefore remain open to peaceful, democratic reconsideration. No constitutional arrangement should be treated as beyond public debate or legitimate reform.

3. FEDERAL CONTROL WITHOUT PUBLIC LEGITIMACY CANNOT GUARANTEE LASTING STABILITY

The caretaker administration is directed and overseen by the Federal Government. Its authority is also restricted regarding broader long-term strategic decisions.

This raises serious questions about political independence, democratic accountability, and the legitimacy of the transition.

ANU is concerned that a federally directed administration could become an instrument of political management rather than a genuine mechanism for rebuilding public trust, particularly if local participation and independent oversight are inadequate.

The government must explain the legal basis of the administration, publish the relevant implementing regulation, clarify the limits of its powers, and establish transparent procedures for public consultation and complaints.

The administration must also demonstrate that public appointments, security decisions, reconstruction resources, and preparations for elections will not be manipulated for partisan advantage.

The legitimacy of government cannot rest exclusively on the authority of the institution making the appointments. It must also rest on lawful procedures, transparent decisions, meaningful public participation, and the protection of fundamental rights.

ANU rejects administrative imposition as a substitute for democratic legitimacy.

4. PEACE MUST NOT MEAN THE DEFEAT OF ONE FACTION AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF ANOTHER

The government's announcement places substantial responsibility for the conflict on TPLF leadership. Such allegations must be assessed against credible evidence and the full record of the conflict.

ANU does not accept the proposition that the defeat, removal, or marginalization of a particular political organization automatically establishes peace.

Neither does ANU accept the conflation of an entire population with the political organization that claims to represent it. The people of Tigray are not synonymous with the TPLF, just as the people of Ethiopia are not synonymous with the Prosperity Party or any other political organization.

Political accountability must be individual and evidence-based. No party should be above scrutiny, and no population should be subjected to collective blame.

Sustainable peace requires civilian protection, credible investigations of alleged abuses by all responsible parties, the restoration of public services, reconstruction, the safe and voluntary return of displaced people, and political participation without intimidation.

It also requires addressing disputes over territory, property, security, and political representation through lawful and peaceful mechanisms.

ANU therefore rejects both ethnic-party domination and the replacement of one form of political domination with another.

Peace cannot be built on selective accountability. National unity cannot be achieved through collective punishment. Reconciliation cannot be credible while serious allegations remain unexamined.

5. ACCOUNTABILITY FOR ALLEGED ATROCITIES UNDER ABIY AHMED'S LEADERSHIP

ANU calls for independent and impartial accountability for grave violations reported during the Tigray war under Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's leadership.

International and Ethiopian human-rights investigations have documented serious violations during the conflict, including killings, rape and other sexual violence, attacks affecting civilians, and the denial or obstruction of essential services. International investigators have also raised grave concerns about possible war crimes and crimes against humanity.

These findings demand accountability, not political evasion.

ANU calls for thorough investigations into allegations of genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and conflict-related sexual violence, including gang rape. Investigators must examine the conduct of all relevant parties, the chain of command, the decisions of political and military leaders, and whether the legal elements of specific international crimes have been met.

The question of Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's individual responsibility must not be dismissed merely because he occupies the highest political office. Equally, any accusation of personal criminal responsibility must be established through credible evidence and the appropriate legal process.

No political office should place an individual beyond the reach of justice. No allegation of mass atrocity should be dismissed simply because investigating it is politically inconvenient.

ANU demands survivor-centred investigations, protection for witnesses, access to justice, independent scrutiny, and accountability for every individual whose responsibility is established by the evidence.

National sovereignty cannot be used as a shield against scrutiny of grave human-rights violations. Nor can the language of peace and development substitute for justice.

The question of electoral legitimacy in Tigray

ANU further distinguishes a national political mandate from a direct electoral mandate from the people of Tigray.

Ethiopia's June 2021 national election did not take place in Tigray, where constituencies were excluded from that round of voting. Consequently, that election cannot be represented as a direct electoral endorsement of Abiy Ahmed by Tigray's electorate.

The people of Tigray must have a genuine opportunity to express their political preferences freely and safely. Their political rights cannot be replaced by assumptions that a national election automatically confers direct electoral authorization in every region.

ANU maintains that national unity must be built through public legitimacy, accountable institutions, and equal citizenship—not through the unchecked authority of any leader or party.

6. THE FIVE CARETAKER APPOINTEES: TRANSPARENCY, POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS, AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The government has announced the following appointments to the caretaker administration:

1. **Asefa Abraha Hagos** — Chief Executive for Administration and Public Service.
2. **Dr. Tewodros Aregay W/Selassie** — Chief Executive for Economic Affairs and Reconstruction.
3. **Brigadier General Gebreegzabher Beyene Hailu** — Chief Executive for Security and Peace.
4. **Redai Halefom W/Selassie** — Chief Executive for Political Affairs and Public Organization.
5. **Dr. Shishay Amare** — Mayor of Mekelle City.



ANU raises serious questions about the political backgrounds, affiliations, and previous public responsibilities of these appointees, including alleged connections to the TPLF/EPRDF political establishment.

The public has a legitimate interest in knowing whether these appointments represent a genuine break from previous political practices or a continuation of established political networks under a new administrative arrangement.

ANU therefore demands transparent disclosure of the appointees' relevant political affiliations, previous government positions, professional records, and any substantiated allegations concerning their conduct in public office.

Where credible evidence implicates an appointee in war crimes, crimes against humanity, or other serious violations, an independent investigation must establish the facts and determine individual responsibility through due process.

Political affiliation alone does not establish criminal guilt. However, neither political connections nor an official appointment should shield anyone from legitimate scrutiny.

The same standard must apply to officials associated with the TPLF, the EPRDF, the Prosperity Party, or any other political organization.

ANU demands accountability without political favouritism, transparency without concealment, and justice without collective accusation.

The appointment of officials cannot, by itself, establish that the administration is impartial or that public confidence has been restored. That confidence must be earned through demonstrable independence, lawful conduct, transparent decision-making, and equal treatment of citizens.

7. A SHARED GE'EZ CIVILIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK: UNITY WITHOUT CULTURAL EXCLUSION

ANU's alternative is not the imposition of one ethnicity upon another, nor the denial of Ethiopia's cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity.

The shared Ge'ez civilizational framework is proposed as a common historical and cultural reference point for national continuity, collective memory, and a shared political future. It must not become a test of ancestry, religious affiliation, language, or political loyalty.

The Ethiopian state must serve all citizens equally, regardless of ethnic identity, language, religion, or region.

ANU therefore advocates a civic-national framework built on:

- Equal citizenship and equality before the law.
- Common national institutions accountable to the public.
- Protection of linguistic, cultural, and religious rights.
- Democratic elections and peaceful political competition.
- Meaningful local participation and appropriate local self-government.
- Independent courts and impartial administration of justice.
- Protection of minority rights and safeguards against discrimination.
- Fair access to public services, resources, and economic opportunities.
- Peaceful constitutional reform through inclusive and democratic procedures.

This is the distinction ANU seeks to establish: a common national identity need not erase diversity, and the protection of diversity need not require the permanent institutionalization of ethnic political division.

Our vision is not unity through coercion. It is unity through shared citizenship, historical continuity, democratic legitimacy, and a common commitment to Ethiopia's future.

8. ANU'S DEMANDS AND PROPOSED PATH FORWARD

ANU calls for the following measures:

- 1. Full legal transparency.** Publish the legal instruments establishing the caretaker administration, clarify its mandate, and explain the safeguards governing its powers.
- 2. Inclusive public consultation.** Ensure meaningful participation by Tigray's residents, civic organizations, political groups, displaced people, and other affected communities.

3. Credible and inclusive elections. Establish independent safeguards for free, fair, peaceful, and competitive elections, including meaningful participation by eligible displaced voters.

4. Independent investigations and accountability. Investigate alleged abuses by all parties and ensure that any criminal responsibility is determined through credible evidence and due process.

5. Humanitarian recovery and reconstruction. Restore essential services, support the safe and voluntary return of displaced people, rebuild damaged infrastructure, and resolve property and territorial disputes through lawful processes.

6. Transparency concerning the appointees. Disclose their relevant political and professional backgrounds and establish clear mechanisms for public accountability.

7. A national constitutional dialogue. Initiate a peaceful and inclusive process to reconsider the ethnic-centred constitutional structure and explore a shared civic-national framework that protects cultural diversity and equal citizenship.

8. A clear and accountable transition. Establish public reporting, independent oversight, realistic electoral preparations, and a credible process for transferring authority to a legitimately elected administration.

9. A rejection of collective blame. Protect the rights and dignity of the people of Tigray and all Ethiopian communities, regardless of the conduct or political affiliations of particular leaders.

10. A common national future. Place Ethiopia's long-term unity, constitutional legitimacy, and democratic development above the interests of any individual leader, political party, or ethnic political elite.

CONCLUSION: ETHIOPIA NEEDS A NEW NATIONAL FOUNDATION

The Prosperity Party Government's caretaker administration may undertake necessary administrative and humanitarian tasks. But these tasks alone cannot resolve Ethiopia's deeper constitutional crisis or establish a durable foundation for national unity.

ANU rejects the caretaker administration as a sufficient answer to that crisis because it leaves unresolved the fundamental question of how Ethiopia should be constituted, governed, and united.

Our position is that neither the indefinite preservation of ethnic-centred constitutionalism nor coercive centralization offers an adequate substitute for a legitimate, inclusive, and democratic national framework.

The people of Tigray deserve peace, dignity, security, reconstruction, justice, and genuine political choice. So do all the peoples of Ethiopia. These rights are complementary, not competing.

ANU calls for a peaceful national transformation that protects every community while building common institutions, equal citizenship, constitutional accountability, and a shared political future.

We reject the notion that national unity can be achieved through administrative appointments alone. We reject selective accountability. We reject the political exploitation of ethnic identity. And we reject any constitutional arrangement being treated as permanently immune from peaceful democratic reconsideration.

The future of Ethiopia must not be held hostage to the rivalries of political elites. It must be shaped through inclusive national dialogue, democratic participation, respect for human rights, and a constitutional framework that serves all citizens equally.

ANU's position is clear: Ethiopia needs constitutional transformation, accountable leadership, and a shared national vision—not merely another administrative rearrangement.

**A SHARED CIVILIZATION. EQUAL CITIZENSHIP. ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNMENT.
ONE COMMON ETHIOPIAN FUTURE.**



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