INVESTIGATIVE BRIEFING · JULY 2026

The Hidden Empire

TPLF's Properties in Addis Ababa & Ethiopia's Confiscation Campaign Against Tigray — an evidence-based inventory of what was built, what was seized, and what is now at stake for a starving region.

> *"They have buildings in 22 and Megenagna areas of Addis Ababa — and now they want to fight with the government."*
>
> *— PM ABIY AHMED, HOUSE OF PEOPLES' REPRESENTATIVES, 7 JULY 2026*

DOCUMENT
Investigative Property & Policy Brief

AUDIENCE
Tigrayan Diaspora · Media · Public

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

What Tigray Stands to Lose — Again

SUMMARY

For three decades, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) built one of Africa's largest party-affiliated business empires. The Endowment Fund for the Rehabilitation of Tigray (**EFFORT**) — founded in 1992 with $100 million — grew into a conglomerate of **66 companies** spanning construction, mining, pharmaceuticals, textiles, transport and finance, with an estimated peak value of **$1.5 billion**. Many of its subsidiaries maintained headquarters, office buildings and commercial premises in Addis Ababa, particularly in **Kirkos sub-city ("22")**, **Megenagna**, and **Bole**.

On **17 November 2020**, the federal Attorney General froze the assets of **34 TPLF-affiliated companies**. On **31 May 2021**, the Federal Peace and Security Joint Task Force froze the personal Addis Ababa properties of **19 senior officials and generals** — luxury homes generating up to **$9,000 a month** in rental income. Court documents from 2023 later revealed that income from these "frozen" assets was not properly accounted for.

On **7 July 2026**, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed stood in parliament and publicly named TPLF's buildings in Kirkos/22 and Megenagna — a signal that a new wave of confiscation is being prepared. This is happening while the people of Tigray face famine, a blockade on aid, fuel, banking and medicine, and the destruction of the very companies that once employed them.

This document gives Tigreans — and the world — the complete evidentiary picture: what was built, what was seized, where the money went, and why the next escalation must be stopped.

$1.5B	66	34	19
EFFORT peak value	Companies under EFFORT	Companies frozen Nov 2020	Leaders' assets frozen May 2021

INTRODUCTION

A Starving Region, A Confiscated Empire

While the people of Tigray endure famine, blockade and the collapse of basic services, the Ethiopian federal government is preparing a new wave of confiscation targeting TPLF-affiliated properties in Addis Ababa. This is not anti-corruption. It is one pillar of a multi-front economic strangulation of Tigray.

On **7 July 2026**, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed appeared before the House of Peoples' Representatives for the 30th regular sitting of the fifth year of its tenure. The session was convened to present the federal government's performance report for the 2018 Ethiopian Calendar year (2025/26 fiscal year). MPs directed a wide-ranging series of questions spanning economic performance, national security, governance reforms and development priorities. The security situation in northern Ethiopia was among the key issues raised.

During the session, the Prime Minister is reported to have specifically referenced **TPLF leaders' continued ownership of buildings and properties in Addis Ababa** — particularly in the Kirkos sub-city ("22") and Megenagna areas — while these same leaders were pursuing what he characterized as confrontational and destabilizing political agendas against the federal government. The PM's reported statement that TPLF leaders "have buildings in 22 and Megenagna areas of Addis Ababa and they now want to fight with the government" encapsulates the central tension this document examines.

The timing was not accidental. Just weeks earlier, in late April and May 2026, the TPLF had **forcibly reinstated the Tigray Government Assembly** and returned TPLF leader Debretsion Gebremichael to his role as regional president, directly contravening the federal government's extension of the Tigray Interim Administration. Professor Kjetil Tronvoll of Oslo New University College told Reuters that the TPLF's decision was "clearly a major escalation" and warned that "if mitigating efforts and a process of de-escalation are not introduced quickly, this may trigger the outbreak of new armed conflict."

Against this backdrop, the PM's July 7 statement is not a passing remark. It is a **political signal**. Naming specific buildings in parliament prepares public opinion — and legal ground — for a new confiscation campaign. This document exists to give Tigreans, journalists, policymakers and human rights bodies the complete evidentiary picture before that campaign accelerates: what TPLF built, what the federal government has already seized, what happened to the money, and what is now at stake for a region already brought to the edge of famine.

WHY THIS MATTERS NOW

The PM's July 7 statement was not anti-corruption rhetoric. It was the opening justification for the next escalation against TPLF's economic footprint — and, by extension, against Tigray's already-destroyed commercial base. Tigreans deserve to know what is at stake before the next freeze order lands.

CHAPTER 1

The EFFORT Empire: What TPLF Built

The TPLF's economic empire in Ethiopia was historically anchored in the **Endowment Fund for the Rehabilitation of Tigray (EFFORT)**. According to a financial and economic analyst quoted by The Reporter Ethiopia in November 2024, "EFFORT is an enormous conglomerate. [It is] probably the third largest in Ethiopia next to Ethiopian Investment Holdings and MIDROC." This places EFFORT among the absolute largest business groups in the country, with a portfolio spanning construction, mining, textiles, pharmaceuticals, agriculture, transportation and financial services.

EFFORT was initially formed as a PLC in **1992** with a reported capital of **USD 100 million** and was converted into an endowment fund three years later. According to a 2011 research paper by the Africa Power and Politics Programme (APPP), EFFORT was established using funds and capital accumulated by the TPLF during its armed struggle against the Dergue regime, combined with contributions from members and veterans. The Fund remained firmly under the control of the TPLF central committee since its inception and was never directly accountable to the public.

A 2017 paper by Techanie Befekadu stated the Fund's paid-up capital was **three billion birr**, with no fewer than **66 companies** under its wing. The conglomerate also held majority stakes in several other businesses, creating a complex web of cross-holdings that made it difficult for analysts and regulators to track its full scope. Academic research by Tefera Negash Gebregziabher contended that EFFORT built its wealth through the transfer of former federal state-owned enterprises, unserviced loans from state banks, channeling of foreign aid, fraud, tax evasion, collusion, insider networking and direct government procurement contracts.

$100M	3B Br	5/8B	80%
Founding capital (1992)	Paid-up capital (2017)	DBE loans to Tigray/EFFORT	Private sector dominated by EFFORT+MIDROC

The scale of EFFORT's borrowing from state banks was staggering. According to Gebregziabher's research, **five billion birr of the eight billion loaned out by the Development Bank of Ethiopia over nearly three decades went directly to the Tigray region and EFFORT**. Among the state-owned enterprises transferred to EFFORT were Kuraz, a renowned publishing house during the Derg era (which became Mega Printing), and the Ethiopian Domestic Distribution Corporation (EDDC) (which became Guna Trading House). These transfers effectively gave TPLF-affiliated entities control over strategic economic infrastructure that had been built with public resources.

A 2018 paper by Lie and Mesfin pointed out that "some **80 percent of the larger private business sector is dominated by two interlocking conglomerates [MIDROC and EFFORT]**, which enjoy preferential government treatment and have access to foreign currency." This level of market concentration meant that EFFORT-affiliated companies could outcompete independent private entrepreneurs, many of whom "had to close down because they could not compete for government support."

> *"EFFORT is an enormous conglomerate. It is probably the third largest in Ethiopia next to Ethiopian Investment Holdings and MIDROC."*
>
> — FINANCIAL ANALYST, QUOTED IN THE REPORTER ETHIOPIA, NOVEMBER 2024

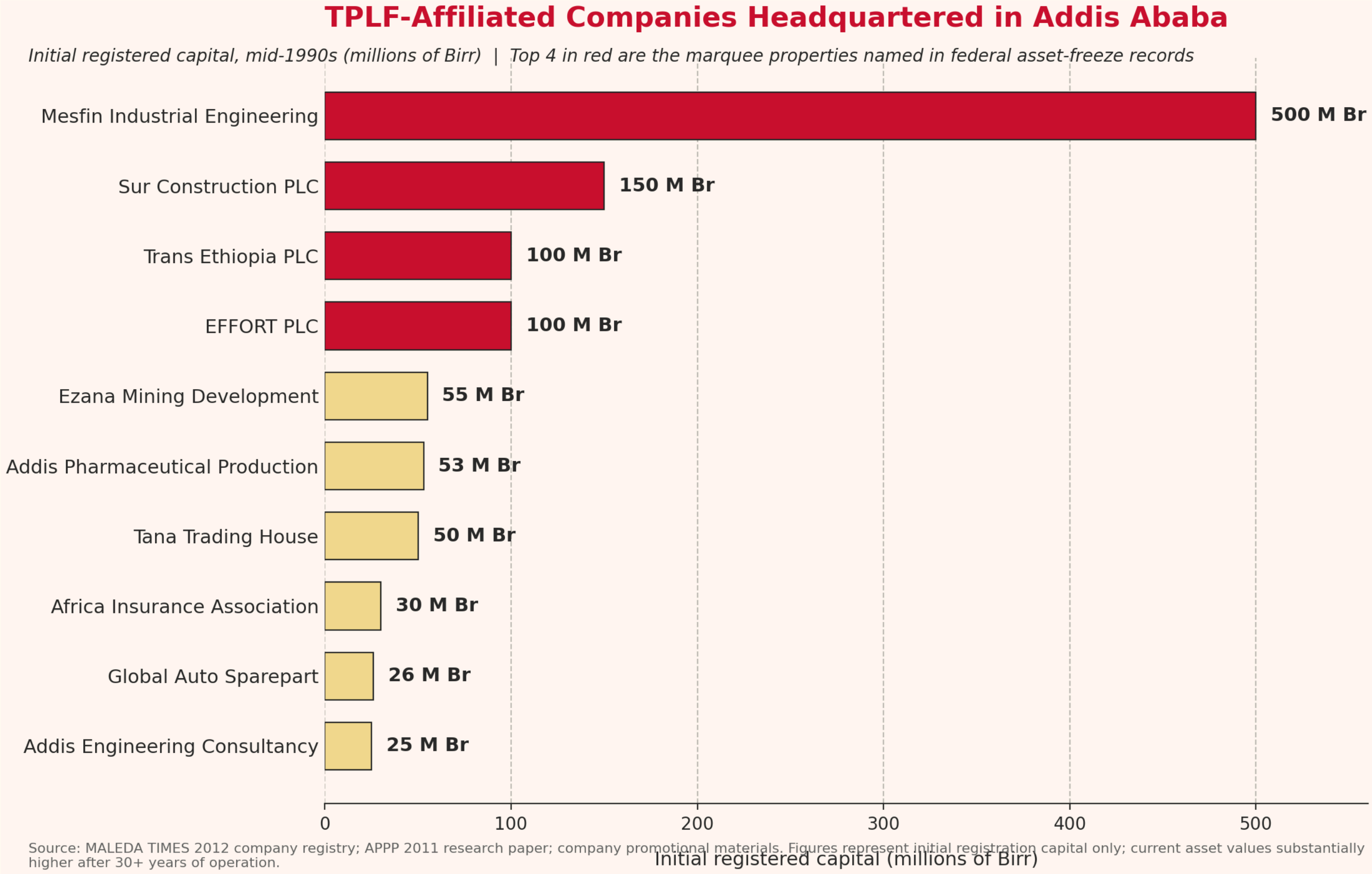


Figure 1 — Initial registered capital of TPLF-affiliated companies headquartered in Addis Ababa (mid-1990s registration, millions of Birr). The top four — Mesfin Industrial Engineering, Sur Construction, Trans Ethiopia and EFFORT PLC — represent the marquee properties named in federal asset-freeze records. Source: MALEDA TIMES 2012 company registry; APPP 2011.

The 34 Companies: Assets Frozen 17 Nov 2020

On **17 November 2020** — just 13 days after the outbreak of the Tigray war — the Federal Attorney General announced the freezing of assets belonging to **34 organizations** affiliated with the TPLF. The AG accused them of "forcefully undermining the constitution, carrying out ethnic-based killings and carrying out terrorist activities by providing finance and evading tax," and stated the organizations were "trying to transfer and hide the assets." An asset manager (Commercial Nominees) was appointed to oversee the frozen properties.

#	COMPANY	SECTOR	KNOWN ADDIS ABABA PRESENCE
1	Sur Construction PLC	Construction	**6-story head office building in Kirkos (Sub-city 22)**; sporting complex near Imperial Hotel
2	Guna Trading House PLC	Trading / Import-Export	Commercial operations; 18.7M Br uncollected revenues at handover
3	Trans Ethiopia PLC (TESCO)	Transportation	**G+7 building rented out during freeze** (income not accounted)
4	Mesfin Industrial Engineering PLC	Manufacturing / Engineering	HQ in Addis Ababa; 500M Br initial capital
5	Selam Public Transport S.C.	Transportation	Addis Ababa operations
6	Mega Printing PLC / Mega Net Corp.	Printing / Publishing	**Building in Bole sub-city; houses EFFORT Addis office** (built by Varnero)
7	EFFORT PLC	Conglomerate / Endowment	Office in Bole (via Mega Net building)
8	EFFORT Electrical Business PLC	Electrical Services	Addis Ababa operations
9	EFFORT Design & Construction PLC	Construction / Design	Addis Ababa operations
10	Ezana Mining Development PLC	Mining	**HQ in Addis Ababa**; 55M Br initial capital
11	Velocity Apparel Companies PLC	Textiles / Garments	Addis Ababa operations
12	Messebo Building Material Production PLC	Cement / Construction Materials	Commercial operations; 19.4M Br outstanding funds at handover
13	Saba Dimensional Stones PLC	Mining / Dimensional Stones	Addis Ababa operations
14	Mesfin Industrial Engineering	Manufacturing	Addis Ababa projects
15	Sheba Tannery PLC	Leather / Tannery	Addis Ababa operations
16	Addis Pharmaceutical Factory (APF)	Pharmaceuticals	**HQ in Addis Ababa**; 53M Br initial capital
17	Meganet Corporation	Printing / Publishing	Building in Bole sub-city
18	Express Transit Service	Logistics / Transport	Addis Ababa operations
19	Desalegn Catenary	Catering / Food Services	Addis Ababa operations
20	Sheba Tannery Factory Share	Leather / Tannery	Addis Ababa operations
21	Hiwot Agriculture Mechanization	Agriculture / Mechanization	Addis Ababa operations
22	Hiwot Agricultural Mechanization PLC	Agriculture / Mechanization	Addis Ababa operations
23	Almeda Garment Factory	Textiles / Garments	Addis Ababa operations
24	Mesobo Cement Factory	Cement	Commercial operations in Addis Ababa
25	Dedebit Savings & Credit Association	Financial Services	Addis Ababa operations
26	Addis Pharmaceutical Production	Pharmaceuticals	HQ in Addis Ababa
27	Tigray Development P.L. Association	Development	Addis Ababa operations
28	Star Pharmaceuticals Imports	Pharmaceuticals	Addis Ababa operations
29	Saba Marble Share Company	Mining / Marble	Addis Ababa operations
30	Adwa Flour Factory	Food Processing	Addis Ababa operations
31	Tikal Egri Mitkal Tigray	Agriculture	Addis Ababa operations
32	Biruh Tesfa Plastic PLC	Manufacturing / Plastics	Addis Ababa operations
33	Dessalegn Veterinary Medicine Import	Veterinary / Pharma	Addis Ababa operations
34	Maichew Particle Board Factory	Manufacturing	Addis Ababa operations

Source: Federal Attorney General announcement via Ethiopian News Agency (ENA), Ethiopian Monitor, and Fana Broadcasting Corporation, 17 November 2020. Addis Ababa presence details cross-referenced with APPP 2011 research paper, MALEDA TIMES 2012 company registry, SUR Construction promotional materials, and 2023 court documents on asset-freeze irregularities.

CHAPTER 3 · PERSONAL WEALTH

The 19 Leaders: Personal Assets Frozen 31 May 2021

Beyond corporate holdings, individual TPLF leaders and senior military officers accumulated significant **personal real estate in Addis Ababa** during their decades in power. On **31 May 2021**, the Federal Peace and Security Joint Task Force froze the personal assets of approximately **19 former senior officials and army generals**, described as having "luxury residential homes in the capital Addis Ababa" generating rental incomes of up to **$9,000 per month**. The Task Force accused them of having "amassed the nation's wealth" and coordinating "terror attacks."

#	NAME	RANK / POSITION	STATUS
1	Lt. General Tadesse Worede	Former Senior Military Commander (TDF)	Assets frozen
2	Lt. General Fisseha Kidanu	Former Senior Military Commander	Assets frozen
3	Major General Abebe Teklehaimanot	Former Senior Military Commander	Assets frozen
4	Major General Halefom Ejigu	Former Senior Military Commander	Assets frozen
5	Major General Tesfaye Gidey	Former Senior Military Commander	Assets frozen
6	Brig. General Haileselassie Girmay	Former Senior Military Commander	Assets frozen
7	Brig. General Migbe Haile	Former Senior Military Commander	Assets frozen
8	Brig. General Teklay Ashebir	Former Senior Military Commander	Assets frozen
9	Isayas Woldegiyorgis	Former Senior Official	Assets frozen
10	Hassen Shifa	Former Senior Official	Assets frozen
Plus 9 additional former senior officials and military officers whose names appear in ENA and Task Force statements			

$9,000 PER MONTH

The Task Force's own figure: these 19 individuals were collectively collecting up to **$9,000 every month** in rental income from their Addis Ababa properties — wealth the government says was "stolen from the nation through their families and agents."

Sibhat Nega: The Founder's Footprint

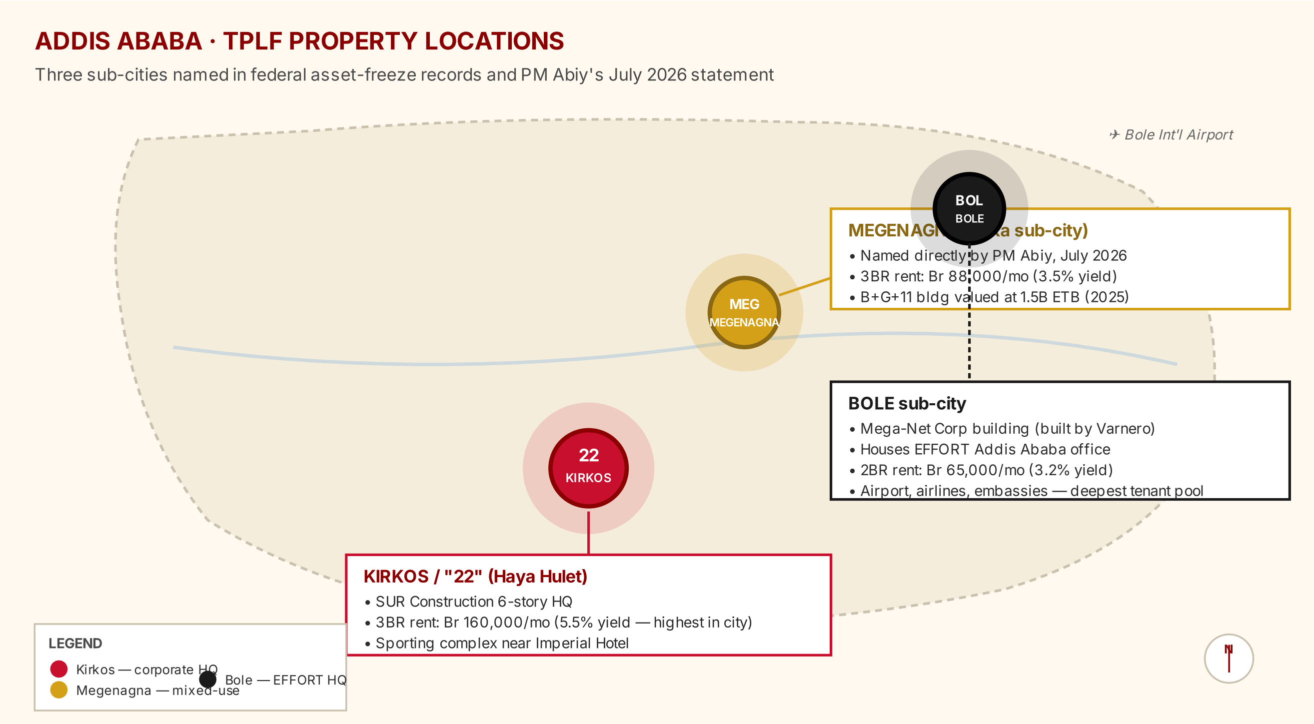
Sibhat Nega — TPLF founding member, longtime EFFORT chairman, and "a survivor from the TPLF's original leadership" (Africa Confidential) — represents the most direct link between TPLF political leadership and Addis Ababa commercial property. He served as board chairman of **Tana Trading House** (HQ in Addis Ababa, 50 million birr initial capital) and **Addis Consultancy House**. Sibhat was released from prison on 7 January 2022 (Ethiopian Christmas) in what PM Abiy described as a national reconciliation gesture. His career traces the entire arc of TPLF's economic entrenchment in the capital.

NOTE

These 19 individuals were collectively collecting up to $9,000 per month in rental income from their Addis Ababa properties. Sibhat Nega — a TPLF founder — served as board chairman of Tana Trading House, which had its headquarters in Addis Ababa with 50 million birr in initial capital.

TPLF Properties Across Addis Ababa

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's July 7, 2026 statement specifically named two areas — **Kirkos ("22")** and **Megenagna**. A third location, **Bole sub-city**, houses the EFFORT operational headquarters in the Mega-Net Corporation building. Together these three districts represent the strategic geography of TPLF's commercial footprint in the capital — and the likely targets of any new confiscation order.



Schematic map showing the three Addis Ababa sub-cities named in federal asset-freeze records and the PM's July 2026 parliamentary statement. Circle sizes approximate the relative concentration of documented TPLF-affiliated properties. Rental data: 2026 Addis Ababa rental market survey.

The geography is deliberate. **Kirkos** sits at the commercial heart of the capital — the highest-rent district surveyed in 2026, where a 3-bedroom property commands roughly **Br 160,000/month**, the highest figure among Addis Ababa neighborhoods. **Megenagna** is the city's busiest transit junction, connecting Addis to eastern Ethiopia. **Bole** is the diplomatic and aviation gateway, home to the airport, embassies and the deepest tenant pool in the city. The EFFORT office in Bole — housed in the Mega-Net building constructed by the established Italian-Ethiopian contractor Varnero — placed the conglomerate's operational nerve center in the most prestigious commercial district in the country.

Timeline: The Campaign Against TPLF's Assets

The confiscation of TPLF-affiliated property did not begin with the PM's July 2026 statement. It is a six-year campaign with clear phases — each one deepening the federal government's grip on TPLF's commercial footprint while the people of Tigray bore the humanitarian cost.

Sep 2020 — **Currency demonetization**
Federal government replaces the birr note. Abiy Ahmed says it is to "curb financing of illegal activities, corruption and contraband." Researchers note it "further choked the hoarded cash reserves held by the TPLF and its affiliated businesses."

4 Nov 2020 — **War erupts in Tigray**
Federal military operation begins against the TPLF. The 2020 budget grant to Tigray has already been withheld. EFFORT's accounts are being frozen, contracts canceled, and assets stripped in the run-up to conflict (Wedekind).

17 Nov 2020 — **34 companies' assets frozen**
Federal Attorney General freezes assets of 34 TPLF-affiliated organizations — Sur Construction (#1), Guna Trading (#2), Trans Ethiopia (#3), Mesfin Industrial (#4), Mega Printing (#6), EFFORT PLC (#7) and 28 others. Commercial Nominees appointed asset manager.

31 May 2021 — **19 leaders' personal assets frozen**
Federal Peace and Security Joint Task Force freezes personal Addis Ababa properties of 19 senior officials and generals — luxury homes generating up to $9,000/month in rentals. Treason charges and arrest warrants issued.

Nov 2022 — **Pretoria Peace Agreement**
Cessation of hostilities signed. Terms transfer control of EFFORT from the TPLF central committee to the head of the Tigray Interim Administration. Debretsion's faction loses control of the Fund as part of the deal.

2023 — **Court documents reveal irregularities**
Trans Ethiopia's G+7 building rented out during freeze — income not accounted. Guna Trading: 18.7M Br uncollected. Messebo Cement: 19.4M Br outstanding. Warehouses unexplainedly left vacant. EFFORT acknowledges "total damage" to Almeda Textile, Saba Marble, Sheba Leather, Hiwot, Addis Medicine.

Apr–May 2026 — **TPLF power grab in Tigray**
TPLF forcibly reinstates the Tigray Government Assembly and returns Debretsion Gebremichael to the regional presidency. Tronvoll (Oslo) warns of "major escalation" that may "trigger the outbreak of new armed conflict."

7 Jul 2026 — **PM names TPLF Addis properties in parliament**
Abiy Ahmed tells the House of Peoples' Representatives that TPLF leaders "have buildings in 22 and Megenagna areas of Addis Ababa and they now want to fight with the government." The statement is widely read as preparing public and legal ground for a new confiscation wave.

> **KEY POINT**
>
> The confiscation of TPLF property did not begin in July 2026. From November 2020 (34 companies) through May 2021 (19 leaders) to July 2026 (PM's parliamentary statement), it is a single, sustained campaign — each phase deepening the federal government's grip on TPLF's commercial footprint while the people of Tigray bore the humanitarian cost.

CHAPTER 6 · THE HUMANITARIAN COST

Starvation as Leverage

The confiscation of TPLF-affiliated property in Addis Ababa cannot be understood in isolation. It is one pillar of a multi-front campaign that has brought the people of Tigray to the edge of famine — through blockade, through the destruction of the region's commercial base, and through the systematic gutting of the very companies that once employed tens of thousands of Tigreans.

Since the outbreak of war in November 2020, Tigray has endured what international observers have described as a near-total **humanitarian blockade**. Aid convoys have been delayed or turned back. Fuel deliveries have been restricted to a trickle. Banking services were suspended for extended periods, cutting families off from their own savings. Cash circulation collapsed. Humanitarian organizations repeatedly warned of famine conditions; by 2022, the UN estimated that hundreds of thousands of people in Tigray were facing catastrophic food insecurity. The Pretoria Agreement of November 2022 was supposed to end this — but services have been only partially restored, and the political standoff of 2026 risks rolling back even those gains.

The connection to property confiscation is direct. EFFORT's companies were not abstract financial instruments — they were the largest employers in Tigray. **Almeda Textile** employed thousands of workers in Adwa. **Messebo Cement** was one of Ethiopia's largest cement producers, supplying construction across the north. **Addis Pharmaceutical Factory** produced essential medicines for the domestic market. **Sheba Tannery** and **Hiwot Agriculture** anchored entire local economies. When the federal government froze these companies' assets in November 2020 and then — per the 2023 court documents — allowed their income to go unaccounted and their warehouses to sit vacant, the jobs disappeared, the supply chains broke, and the people of Tigray were pushed deeper into aid dependency.

> *"Some of the EFFORT member companies have suffered total damage, while others have been significantly affected but may potentially be restored."*
>
> — EFFORT REPRESENTATIVE GOITOM, IN 2023 COURT DOCUMENTS

The five most heavily damaged companies — **Almeda Textile, Saba Marble, Sheba Leather, Hiwot, and Addis Medicine Factories** — represent the deliberate destruction of Tigray's productive base. This is not anti-corruption. Anti-corruption does not leave factories in ruins, warehouses empty, and workers unpaid. Anti-corruption does not withhold rental income from courts, nor does it leave cement warehouses unexplainedly vacant during a national construction boom. What the 2023 court documents describe is something else entirely: a campaign to permanently disable Tigray's commercial capacity, conducted under the legal cover of an asset freeze.

The PM's July 7, 2026 statement must be read against this backdrop. Naming specific TPLF buildings in Kirkos and Megenagna is not a fresh anti-corruption initiative — it is the next move in a campaign that began with currency demonetization in September 2020, escalated through two waves of asset freezes, survived the Pretoria Agreement, and now threatens to accelerate again. Every birr of additional confiscation is a birr removed from the reconstruction of a region where children are still starving. Every property seized in Addis Ababa is a property that will never generate jobs or tax revenue for Tigray's recovery.

THE FRAME

Tigray is not facing a property dispute. Tigray is facing a coordinated economic strangulation — blockade above, confiscation below, and famine in between. The international community must treat the PM's July 7 statement as the warning shot it is.

Key Numbers: The Scale of What Is at Stake

A single-page reference: the numbers that define the campaign — what was built, what was seized, what was lost, and what is now threatened. Every figure is sourced from federal government statements, court documents, academic research, or investigative journalism catalogued in the sources page.

$1.5B

EFFORT PEAK VALUE

Estimated total asset portfolio at peak, making it one of Africa's richest party-affiliated conglomerates.

66

COMPANIES UNDER EFFORT

Number of companies under EFFORT by 2017, per Techanie Befekadu's paper.

$100M

FOUNDING CAPITAL (1992)

Initial capital at formation as a PLC, from TPLF struggle funds and REST aid.

3B Br

PAID-UP CAPITAL (2017)

Paid-up capital by 2017, per Techanie Befekadu — a 30-fold increase from founding.

5/8B

DBE LOANS TO TIGRAY/EFFORT

5 of 8 billion birr loaned by Development Bank of Ethiopia over ~30 years went to Tigray/EFFORT.

80%

PRIVATE SECTOR DOMINANCE

Share of Ethiopia's larger private sector dominated by EFFORT + MIDROC combined (Lie & Mesfin, 2018).

34

COMPANIES FROZEN (NOV 2020)

TPLF-affiliated organizations whose assets were frozen by the Attorney General on 17 Nov 2020.

19

LEADERS' ASSETS FROZEN (MAY 2021)

Senior officials and generals whose personal Addis Ababa properties were frozen on 31 May 2021.

$9K

MONTHLY RENTAL INCOME

Up to $9,000/month collected by the 19 leaders from their luxury Addis properties (Task Force figure).

3

ADDIS SUB-CITIES NAMED

Kirkos/"22", Megenagna (Yeka), and Bole — the geographic core of TPLF's Addis footprint.

5

COMPANIES "TOTALLY DAMAGED"

Almeda Textile, Saba Marble, Sheba Leather, Hiwot, Addis Medicine — per 2023 court documents.

38.1M

BR UNCOLLECTED/OUTSTANDING

18.7M (Guna) + 19.4M (Messebo) = 38.1M birr unaccounted at handover to asset manager.

CONCLUSION

What This Means for Tigray

The evidence in this document supports three conclusions that Tigreans, the diaspora, and the international community must absorb before the next escalation.

1. The confiscation is not accountability — it is collective punishment.

Anti-corruption law targets individuals and follows due process. What the federal government has done since November 2020 is something different: it has frozen the assets of 34 companies employing thousands of Tigreans, allowed income from those "frozen" assets to go unaccounted, permitted factories to fall into "total damage," and left workers unpaid. The 19 leaders whose personal assets were frozen are entitled to due process — but the destruction of Almeda Textile, Sheba Tannery, Addis Medicine and the others is not justice against those leaders. It is punishment against the workers who depended on those factories, the families who depended on those wages, and the region that depended on those supply chains.

2. The PM's July 7 statement is a signal — not a passing remark.

When a head of government stands in parliament and names specific buildings by neighborhood, that is preparation. It prepares public opinion to accept a new confiscation order. It prepares legal ground for asset seizure. It signals to federal agencies that the political climate now permits escalation. The same pattern preceded the November 2020 freeze: political rhetoric about TPLF "hidden assets," followed within weeks by the Attorney General's order. Tigreans should treat the July 7 statement as the opening of a new phase, not the closing of an old one.

3. Tigreans deserve transparency, due process, and an end to the blockade.

The federal government owes the people of Tigray — and the Ethiopian public — a full accounting of what has been seized since November 2020, where the income went, why warehouses sat vacant, and why factories were allowed to be destroyed. The 19 leaders are entitled to due process: charge them or release the assets. The 34 companies are entitled to due process: restore them, compensate the workers, or formally nationalize them with transparent valuation. And above all, the people of Tigray are entitled to an end to the humanitarian blockade that has starved them while this property campaign played out in Addis Ababa's courtrooms.

CALL TO ACTION

To the diaspora: share this evidence with your MPs, your host-country foreign ministry, and the journalists who cover the Horn of Africa. Demand that any new confiscation order be matched with transparency requirements and humanitarian-conditionality on aid to the federal government.

To international media: the July 7 statement is a story. Report it in context — not as anti-corruption, but as the latest move in a six-year campaign that has already destroyed Tigray's commercial base.

To human rights bodies: document. The 2023 court documents are a roadmap of irregularities. The next freeze order must be monitored in real time.

SOURCES & EVIDENCE

Sources & Evidence

Every claim in this document is drawn from one of the following categories of source. Numbered citations correspond to the source list compiled in the original investigative report by Kimi (July 2026), which synthesized these materials.

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0. Federal Peace and Security Joint Task Force order freezing personal assets of 19 TPLF leaders and generals, 31 May 2021 — via ENA.
0. PM Abiy Ahmed address to House of Peoples' Representatives, 30th regular sitting, 5th year of tenure, 7 July 2026 — via Fana Media Corporation, ENA, Addis Standard.
0. 2023 Federal Court documents on asset-freeze irregularities (Trans Ethiopia G+7 building rental, Guna Trading 18.7M Br uncollected, Messebo Cement 19.4M Br outstanding, vacant warehouses).

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0. Toni Weis (World Bank, 2013) — research on EFFORT scale.
0. Lie & Mesfin (2018) — paper on 80% private sector dominance by MIDROC + EFFORT.
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0. Business directory listings confirming SUR Construction, Ezana Mining, Addis Pharmaceutical, Tana Trading House, Africa Insurance, Global Auto Sparepart, Addis Engineering Consultancy HQ in Addis Ababa.
0. EFFORT representative Goitom's court statement acknowledging "total damage" to five companies.
0. 2026 Addis Ababa rental market survey data (Kirkos Br 160k/3BR, Megenagna Br 88k/3BR, Bole Br 65k/2BR).

INTERNATIONAL & DIPLOMATIC

0. U.S. Embassy Addis Ababa — April 2026 travel to Mekelle and meetings with Debretsion Gebremichael, Fetlework Gebregziabhier, Addis Alem Balema regarding potential asset freezes.
0. Pretoria Peace Agreement (November 2022) — terms transferring EFFORT control to Tigray Interim Administration.

This document was compiled as an advocacy and evidentiary brief for the Tigrayan diaspora, international media, and the general public. It synthesizes publicly available sources; it does not claim independent verification of every figure. Where *government accusations are cited, they are attributed as accusations. Where academic research is cited, it is attributed to the named scholars. Readers are encouraged to consult the original sources for full context.*