

Tigray

The Panarchy of War

Book 2

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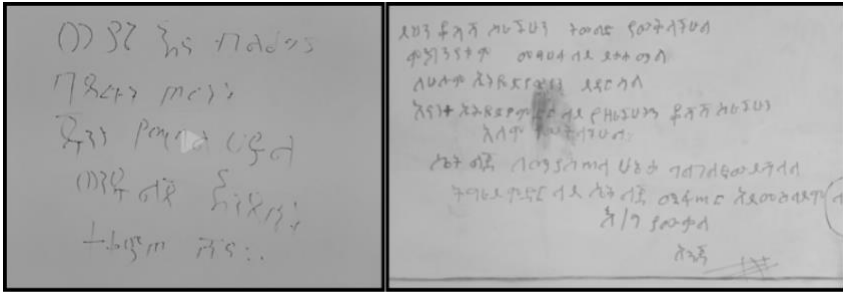


Figure 1.1. Graffiti Emperor Yohannes School. Explicit sexualised content 1 (Tesfa, Van Reisen and Medhanyie, 2024)

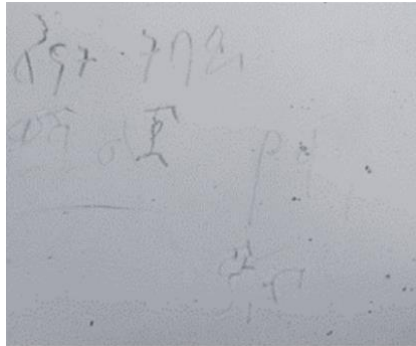


Figure 1.2. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: sexually explicit degrading texts
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

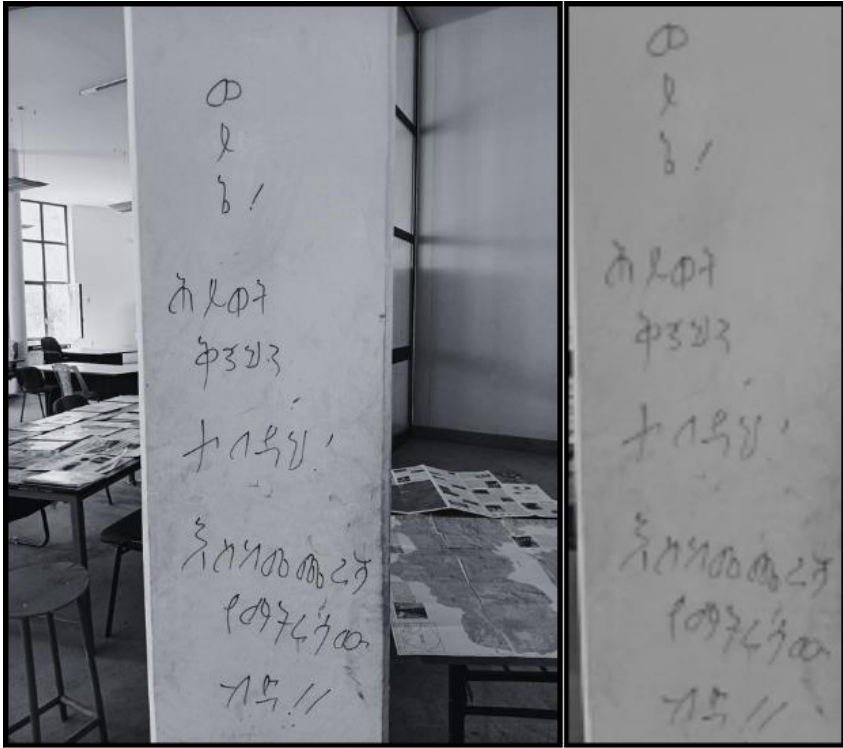




Figure 1.4. Women in military training, Eritrea

Source: Merih Media (2023)



Figure 1.5. Women in a military parade, Eritrea

Source: Merih Media (2023)

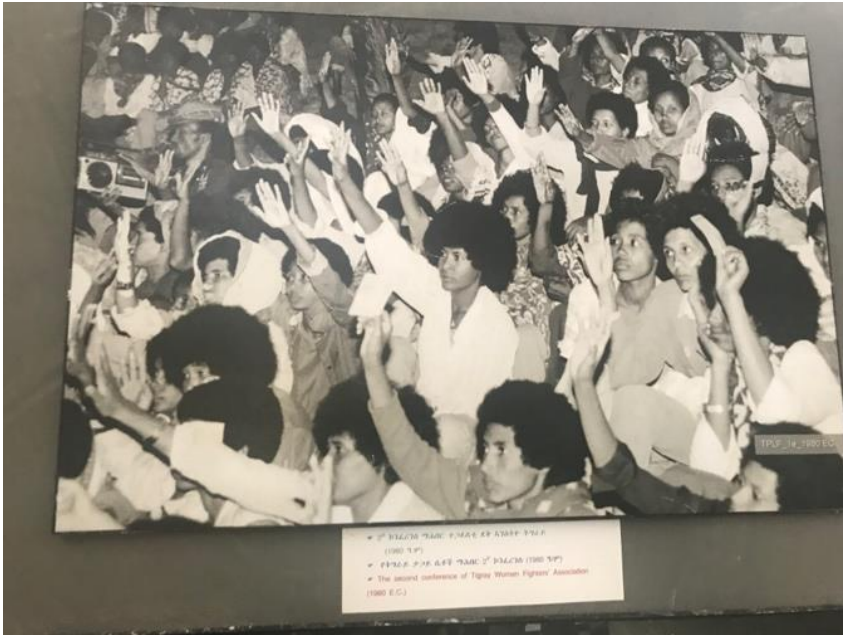


Figure 1.7. Photograph exposed in the Martyrs' Commemoration Museum, Mekelle, Tigray of the second Conference of Tigray Women Fighters Association (1980 EG)¹
 (Photograph by Van Reisen, 3 February 2020)

¹ "EG" likely stands for "Ethiopian Gregorian" calendar. Ethiopia uses its own calendar system called the Ethiopian calendar, which is about 7–8 years behind the Gregorian calendar commonly used worldwide. In this case, "(1980 EG)" could refer to the year 1980 in the Ethiopian Gregorian calendar, which corresponds to 1987/1988 in the Gregorian calendar.



Figure 1.8. Tattoos placed on young people in Tigray
 (Photographs collected by Gebru Kidanu, 8 May 2024)



Figure 2.1. Disinformation Kill Chain Model adopted from MITRE Corporation
 Source: Peter *et al.* (2019)

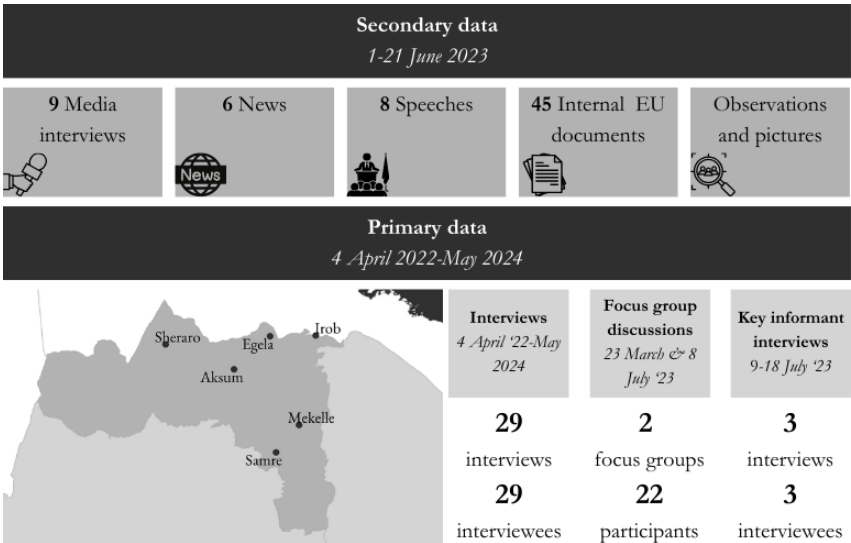


Figure 2.2. Data used and collected in the study

A defence cooperation agreement was signed in March 2019 during the French President's visit, providing a legal framework for sending French troops to Ethiopia and vice versa. Furthermore, France has undertaken to support the reconstruction of an Ethiopian navy.



Ministère de l'Europe et des Affaires étrangères

<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr> > ... > Ethiopia



France and Ethiopia - Ministry for Europe and Foreign Affairs

Figure 2.3. Screenshot Google Search (key words: 'France' 'support' 'ethiopia' 'navy' '2019' performed on 08 09 2024²

² url: <https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/ethiopia/france-and-ethiopia-65128/#:~:text=A%20defence%20cooperation%20agreement%20was,reconstruction%20of%20an%20Ethiopian%20navy>. On the search date the url was not or no longer available to open.

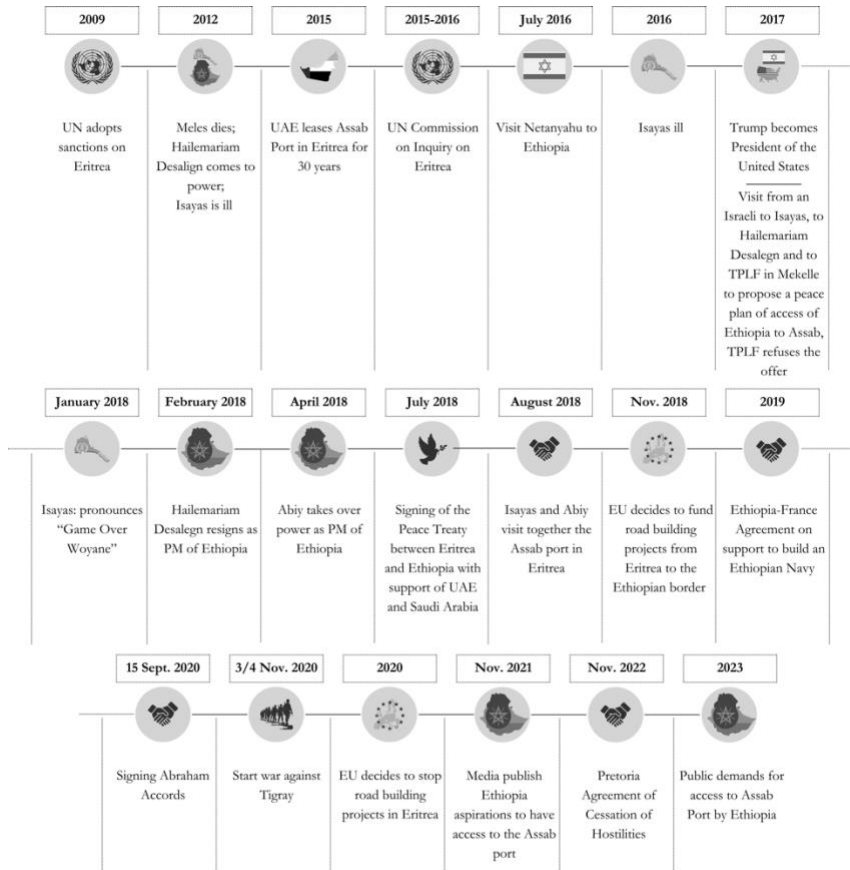


Figure 2.4. Eritrea-Ethiopia relations since 2009



Figure 2.5. Disinformation kill chain used to conceal the involvement of Eritrea in the Tigray war

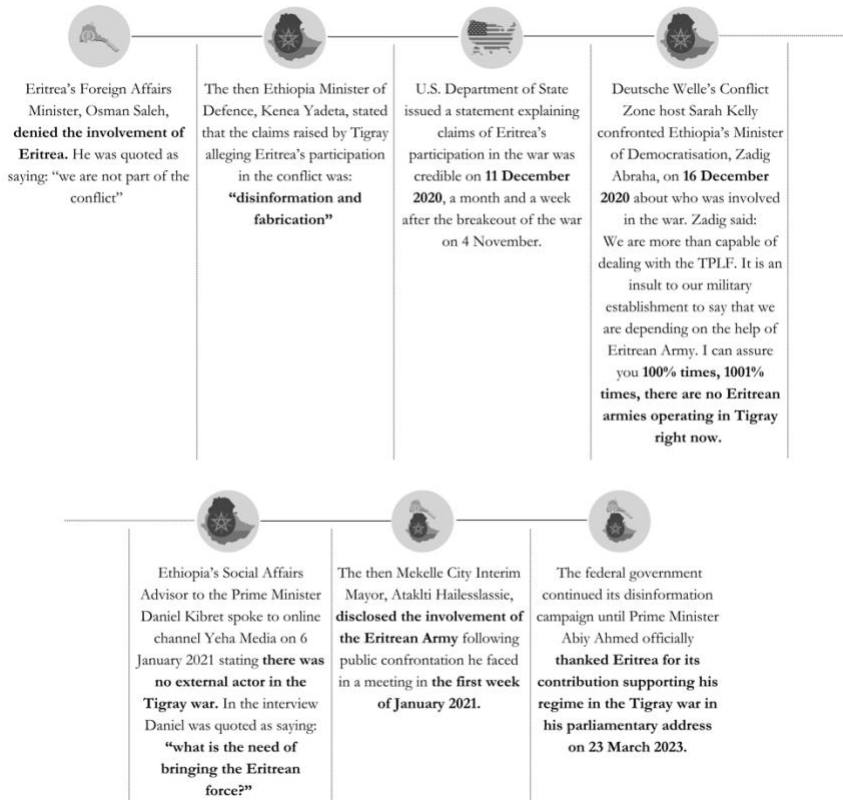


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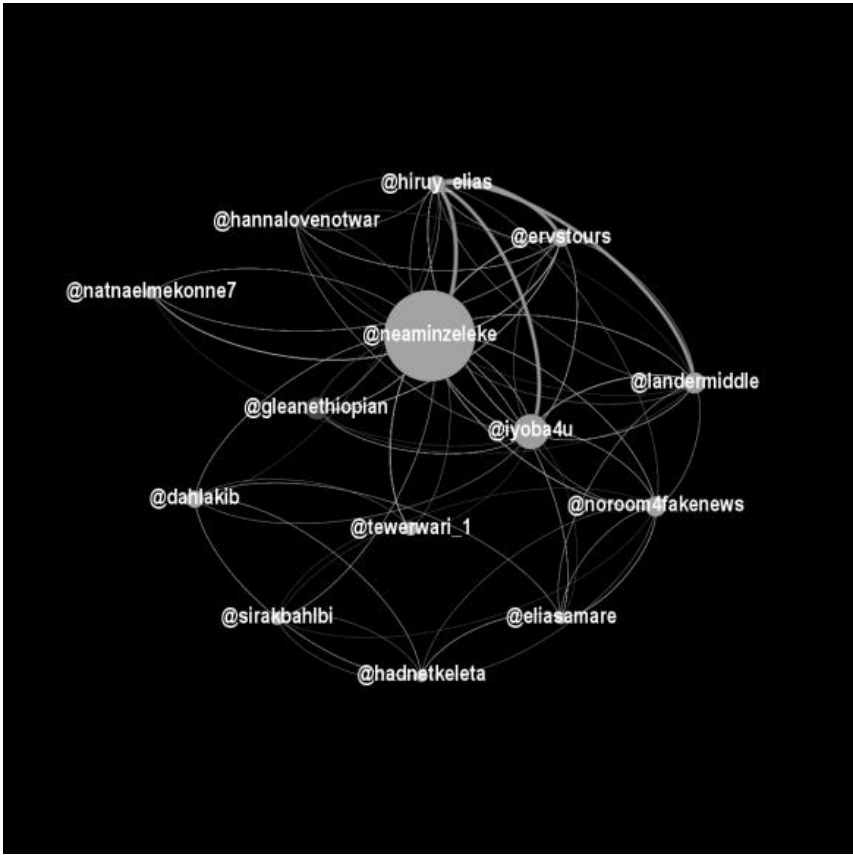


Figure 2.7. on influential Twitter accounts by Wilmot, C., Tveteraas, E., & Drew, A. (2021).

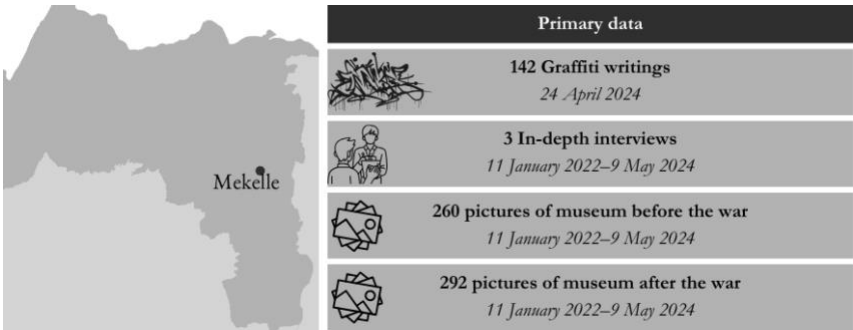


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Figure 3.2. Pictures of the exhibition in the Martyrs' Memorial Museum

(Photographs captured on 3 February 2020)



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(Photographs captured on 3 February 2020)

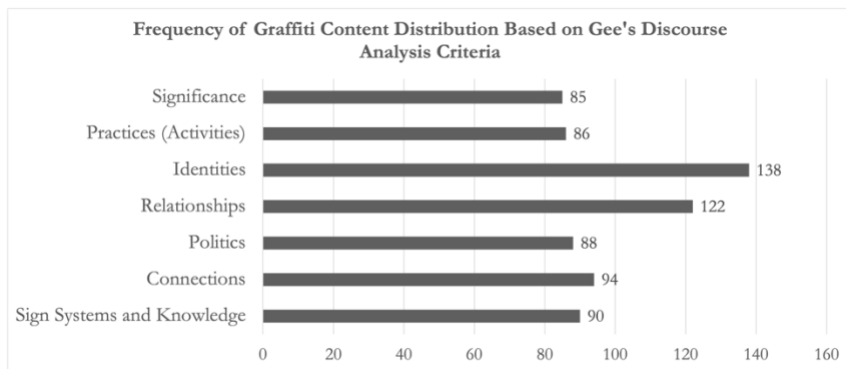


Figure 3.4. Building blocks of content analysis based on Gee's criteria for discourse analysis (frequency, multiple, **n=142)**

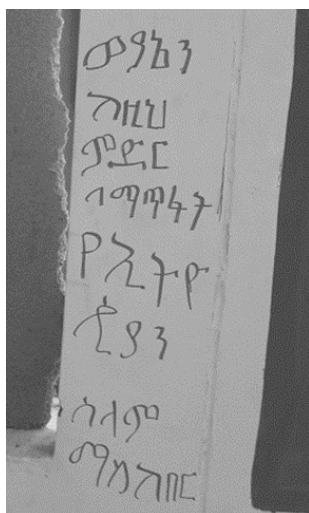


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(Captured on 24 April 2024)

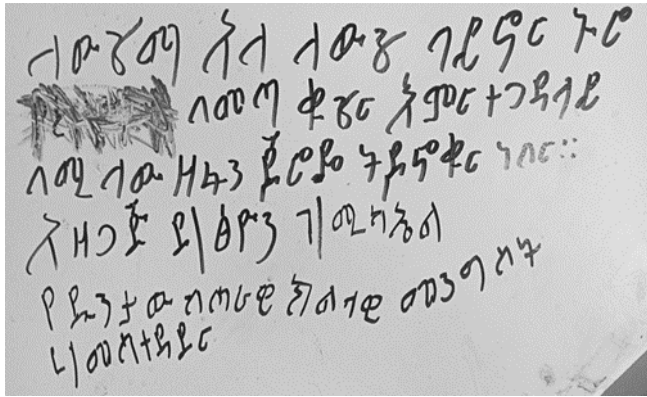


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(Captured on 24 April 2024)

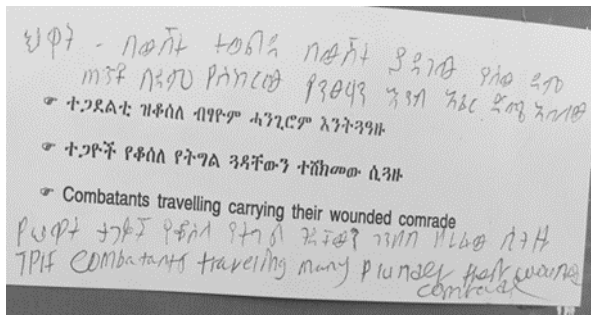


Figure 3.7. Graffiti from Martyrs’ Memorial Museum: ‘TPLF who was born in a lie and grew up in a lie, drank human blood and was drunk with blood. The tears of innocence made it get destroyed. TPLF fighters stealing money from their wounded comrade. TPLF combatants travelling many plunder their war comrade (underlined text is printed in English in original graffiti)’
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

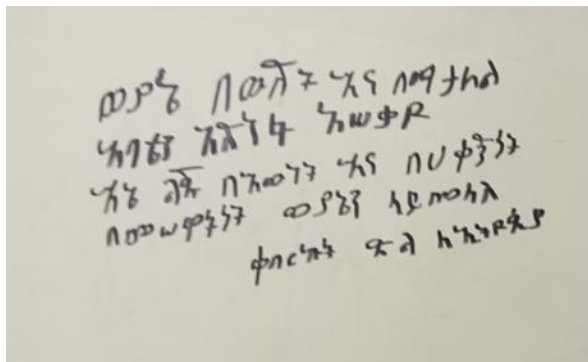


Figure 3.8. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: 'Woyane defeated my father with lies and deceptions. I, his son, destroyed Woyane once and for all with truthful and honest sacrifice. Victory for Ethiopia'

(Captured on 24 April 2024)



Figure 3.9. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: chairs and chains to carry out electric shocks in the detention area organised in the Martyrs' Memorial Museum

(Captured on 24 April 2024)

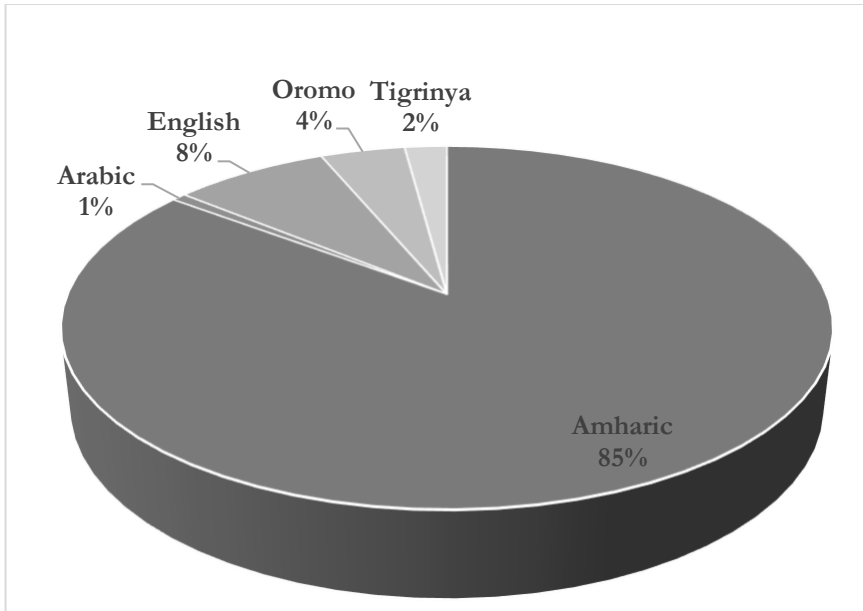




Figure 3.12. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: 'Captain 2, Battalion 2 Unit 4'
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

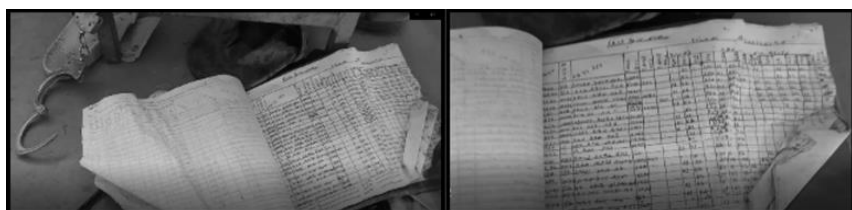
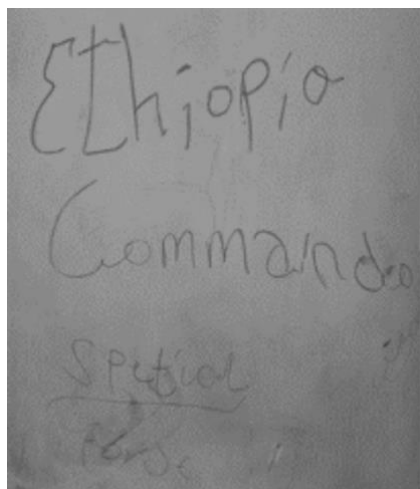
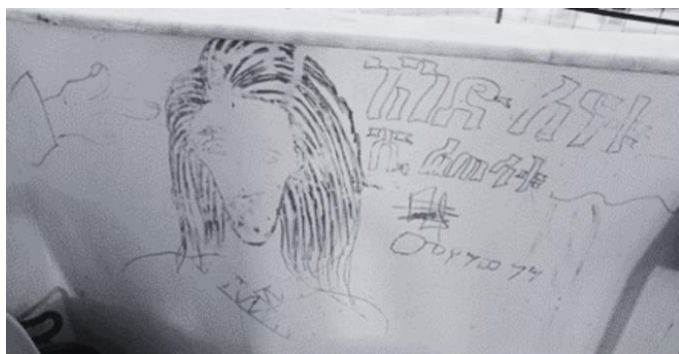


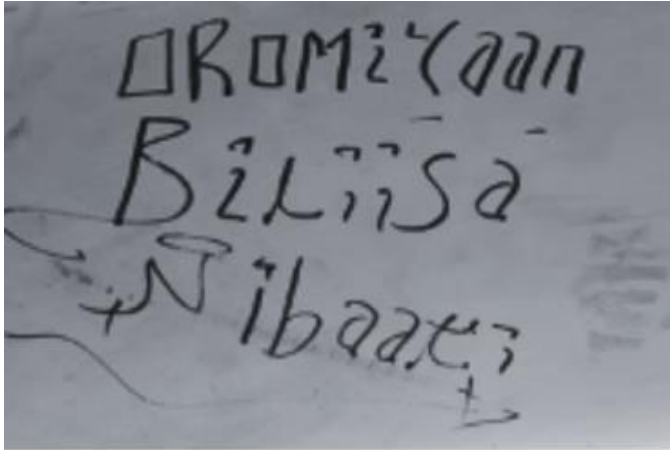
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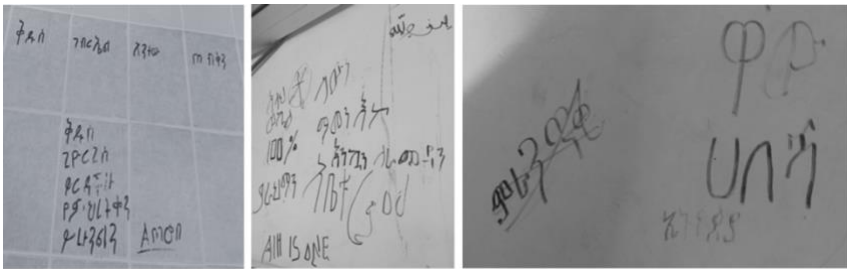
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(Captured on 24 April 2024)



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(Captured on 24 April 2024)

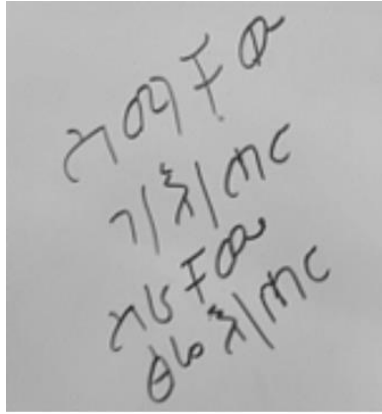
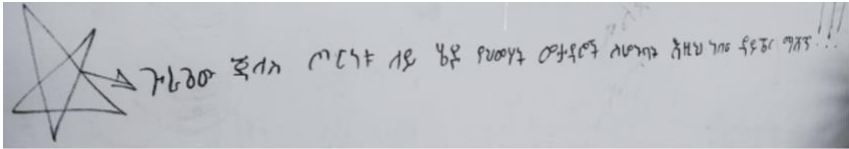


Figure 3.18. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum
 (Captured on 24 April 2024)



**Figure 3.19. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: belittling
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 (Captured on 24 April 2024)

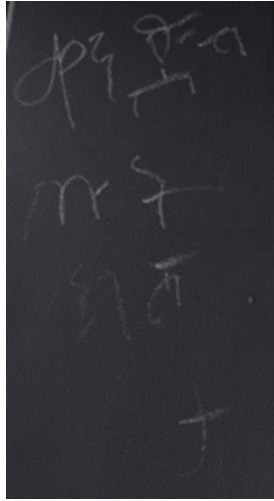


Figure 3.20. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: Daytime hyena, Junta renegades who bites [their mother's] breast
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

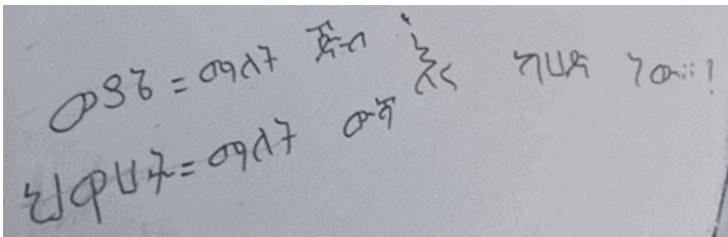


Figure 3.21. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: Woyane means hyena; TPLF means dogs and traitors
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

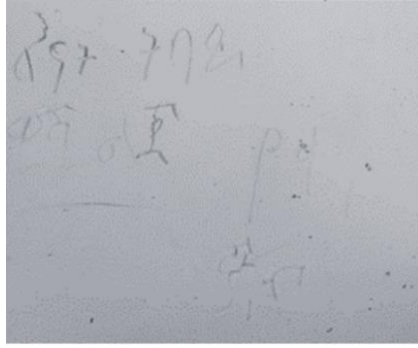


Figure 3.22. Graffiti from Martyrs’ Memorial Museum: sexually explicit degrading texts
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

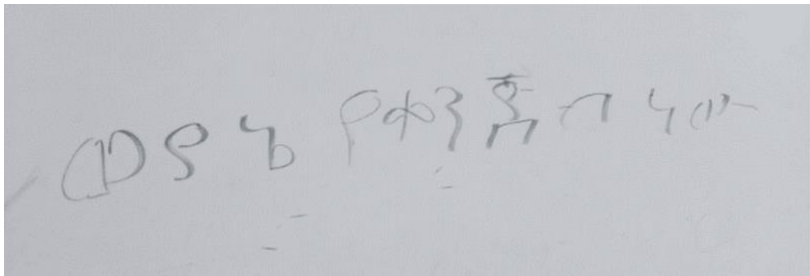


Figure 3.23. Graffiti from Martyrs’ Memorial Museum. Woyane is day-time hyena
(Captured on 24 April 2024)



Figure 3.24. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

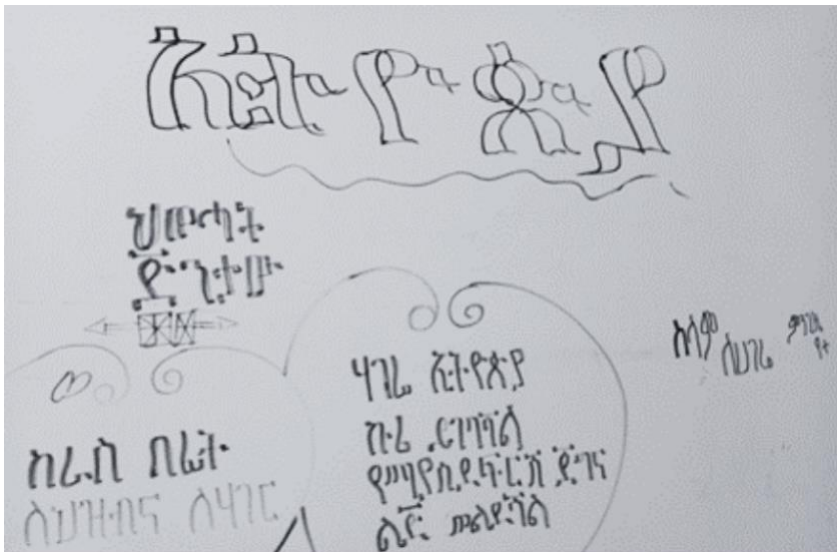


Figure 3.25. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: nationalistic themes
(Captured on 24 April 2024)



Figure 3.28. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum
(Captured on 24 April 2024, inscription is very vague)

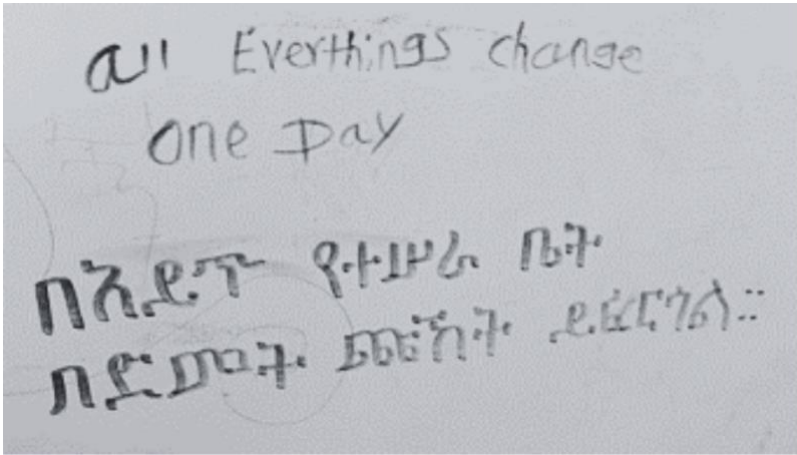


Figure 3.29. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

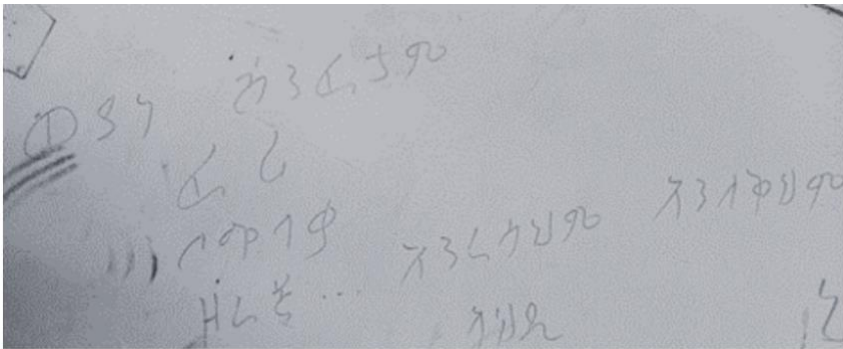


Figure 3.30. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

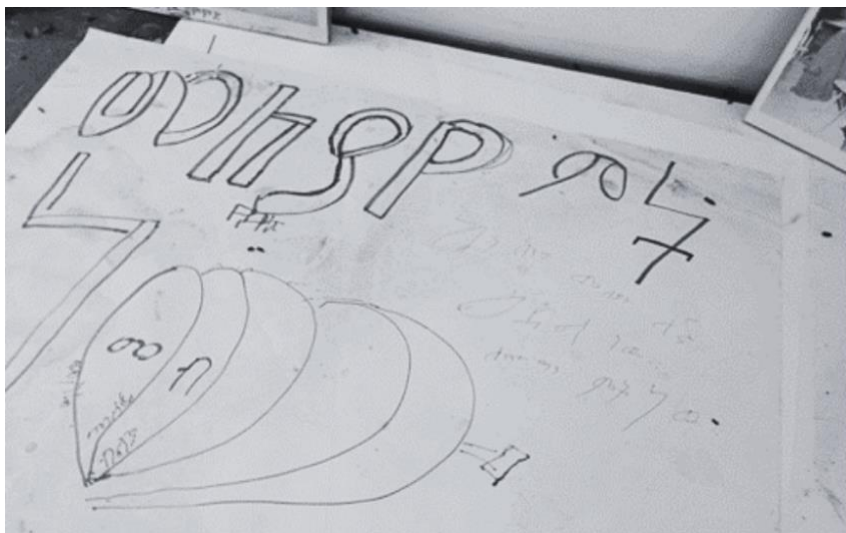


Figure 3.31. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

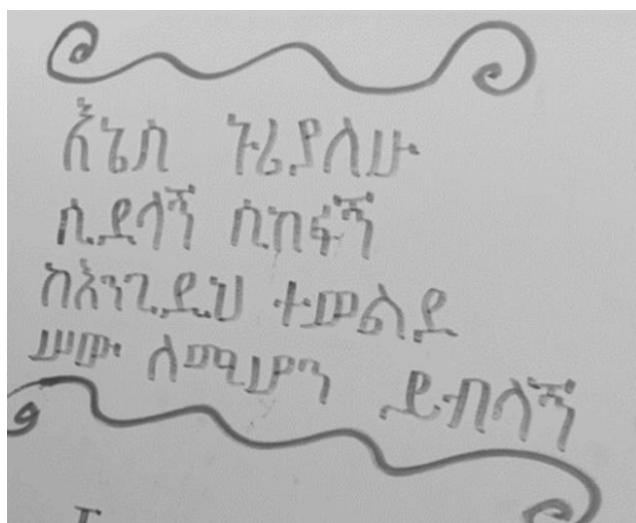


Figure 3.32. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum
(Captured on 24 April 2024)



Figure 3.33. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

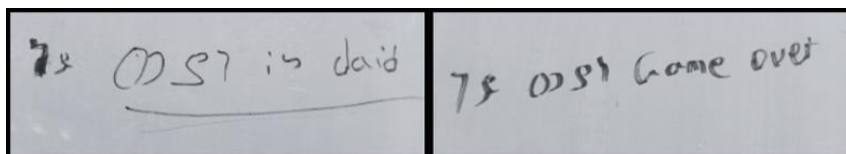


Figure 3.34. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: Woyane is dead. Woyane Game Over
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

Most dangerous speech

Powerful speaker
with high influence
over the audience

Audience with
grievances and/or
fears the speaker can
cultivate

Speech act
understood by the
audience as call to
violence

Social or historical context propitious for
violence, competition for resources,
unresolved cycles of violence and inflammatory
speech

Influential means of
dissemination that
serve as the primary
source of news

Figure 4.1. Most dangerous speech

(Adopted by author from Benesch, 2014, p. 8.)

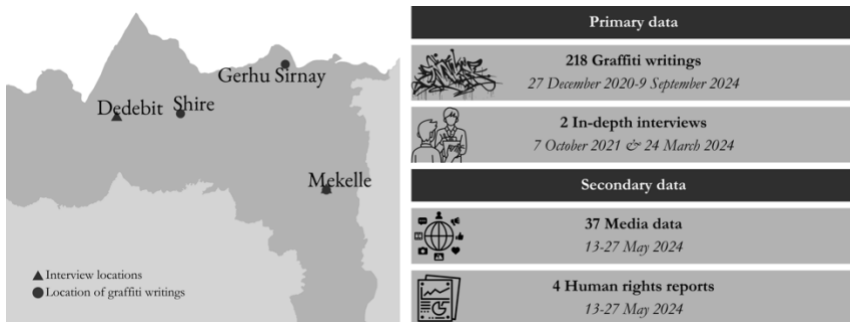


Figure 4.2. Overview of data collected and used in the study



Figure 4.3. Analysis of hate speech actors on ‘daytime hyena’
(Following Benesch, 2014)

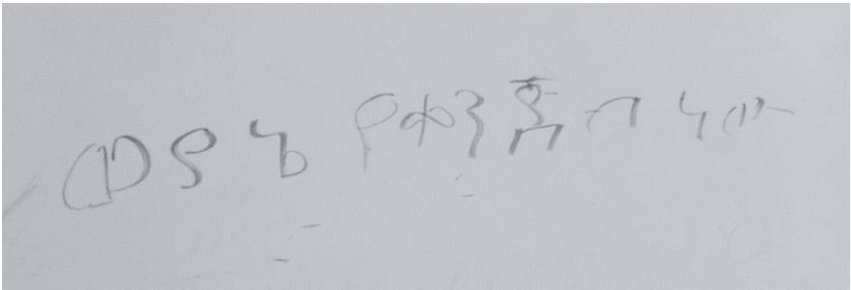


Figure 4.4. Graffiti from Martyrs’ Memorial Museum. Daytime hyena
(Captured on 24 April 2024)

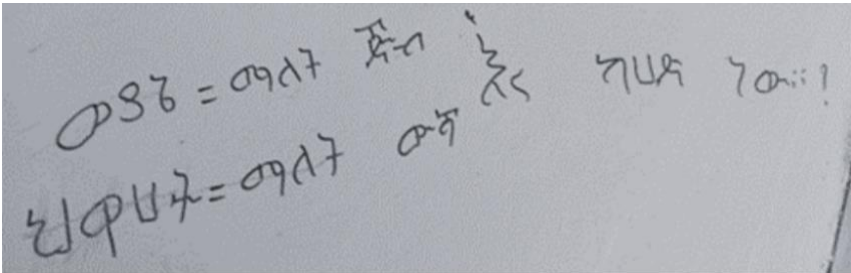


Figure 4.5. Graffiti from Martyrs’ Memorial Museum: Traitors
(captured on 24 April 2024)

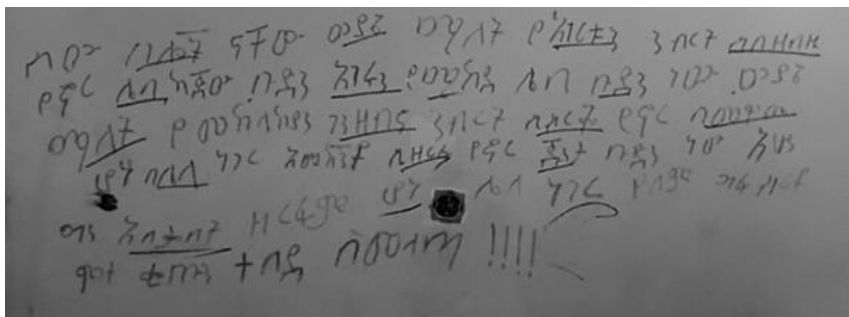


Figure 4.6. Tigrayans from Emperor Yohannes School: Cannibals

(Captured on 15 April 2021)

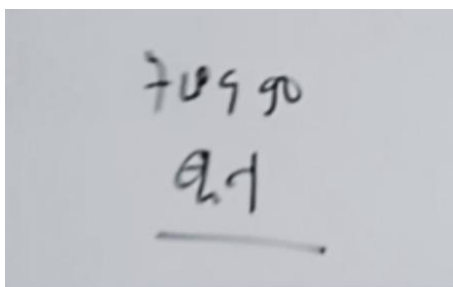


Figure 4.7. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Bedbug

(Captured on 28 December 2020)

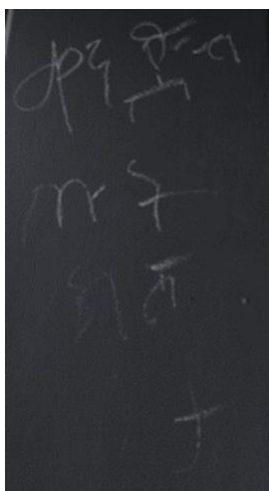


Figure 4.8. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: Renegades

(Captured on 24 April 2024)

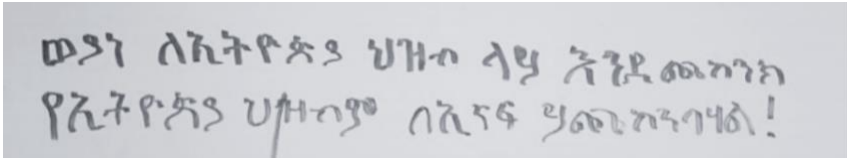


Figure 4.9. Graffiti from Emperor Yohanes School: on brutality
(Captured on 27 December 2020)

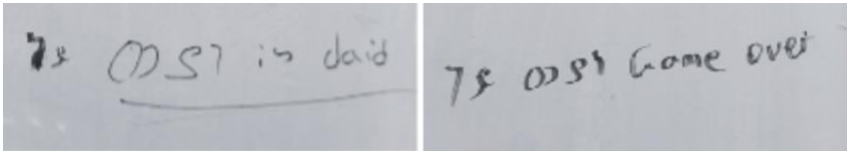


Figure 4.10. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: Game Over
(Captured on 24 April 2024)



**Figure 4.11. Graffiti on the wall of Gerhu Sirnay Hospital: Eritrea
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(Captured on 9 July 2023)

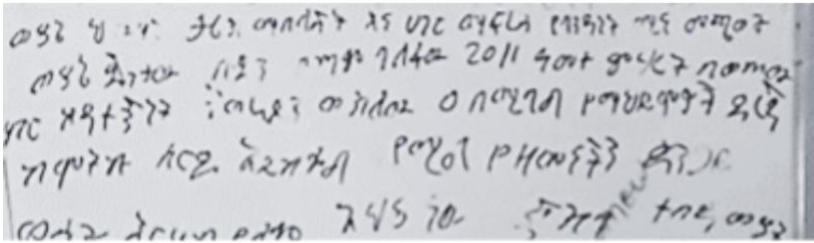


Figure 4.12. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Bandit
(Captured on 28 December 2020)

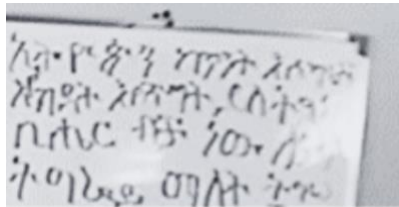


Figure 4.13. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Betrayers
(Captured on 27 December 2020)

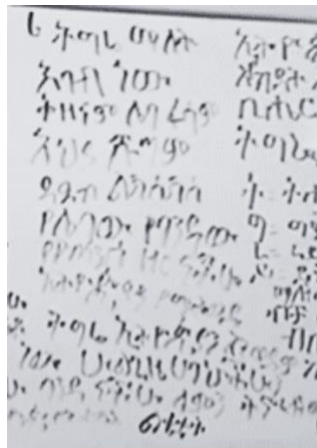


Figure 4.14. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Snakes
(Captured on 27 December 2020)

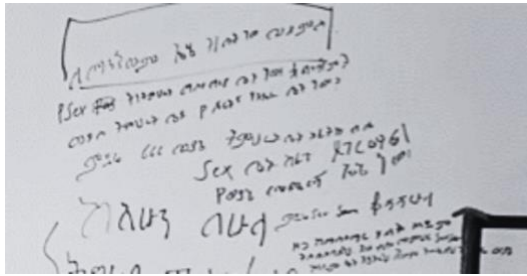


Figure 4.15. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Devils
(Captured on 17 April 2021)

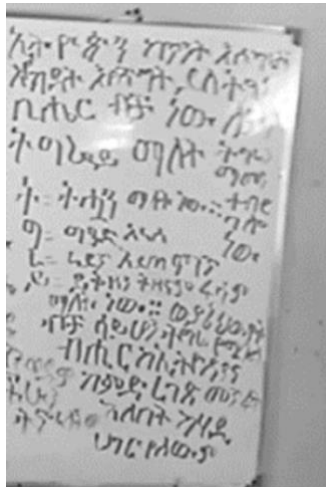


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(Captured on 28 December 2020)

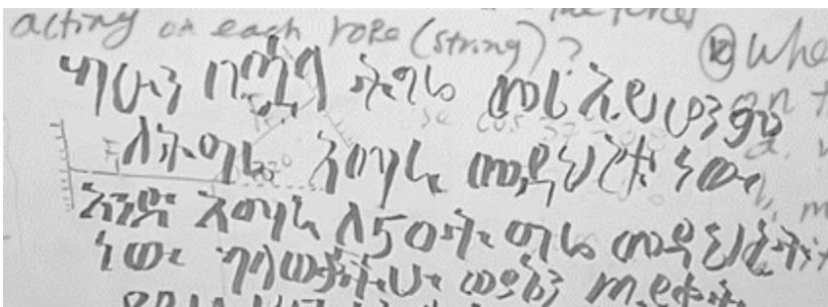
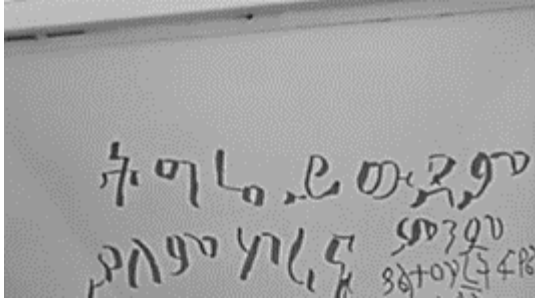


Figure 4.17. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Tigrayan
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(Captured on 27 December 2020)



**Figure 4.18. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Tigranayns as
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(Captured on 27 December 2020)



**Figure 4.19. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Eradicate
Tigrayans**
(Captured on 27 December 2020)

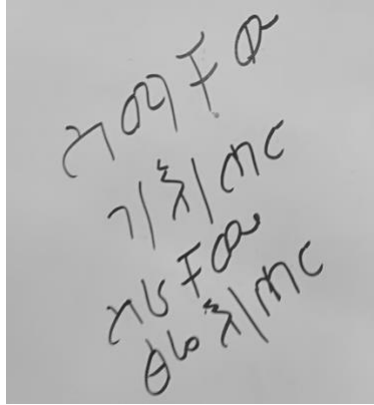


Figure 4.20. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: Tigrayans as anti-religion

(Captured on 24 April 2024)

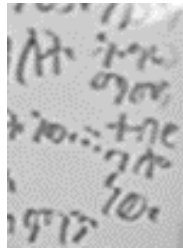


Figure 4.21. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: To trust Tigrayan is after you killed and buried them

(Captured on 17 April 2021)

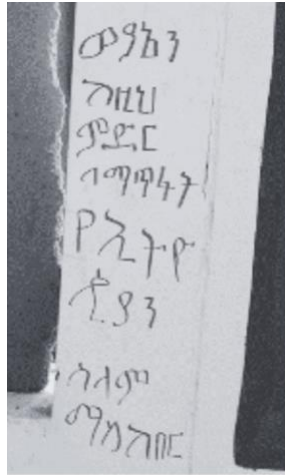


Figure 4.22. Graffiti from Martyrs' Memorial Museum: Eradicating Woyane from the Earth
(Captured on 15 April 2021)

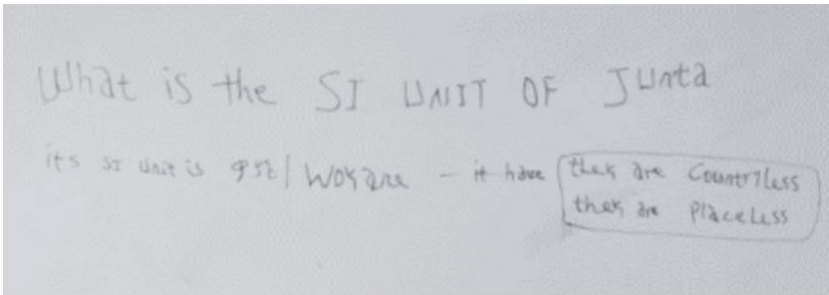


Figure 4.23. Graffiti from Emperor Yohannes School: Tigrayans as countryless
(Captured on 15 April 2021)

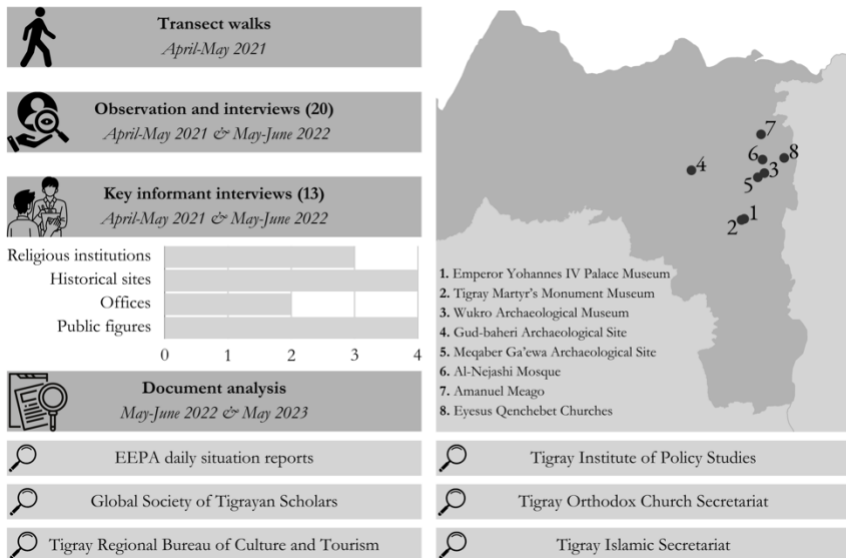


Figure 5.1. Overview of data used and collected for the study

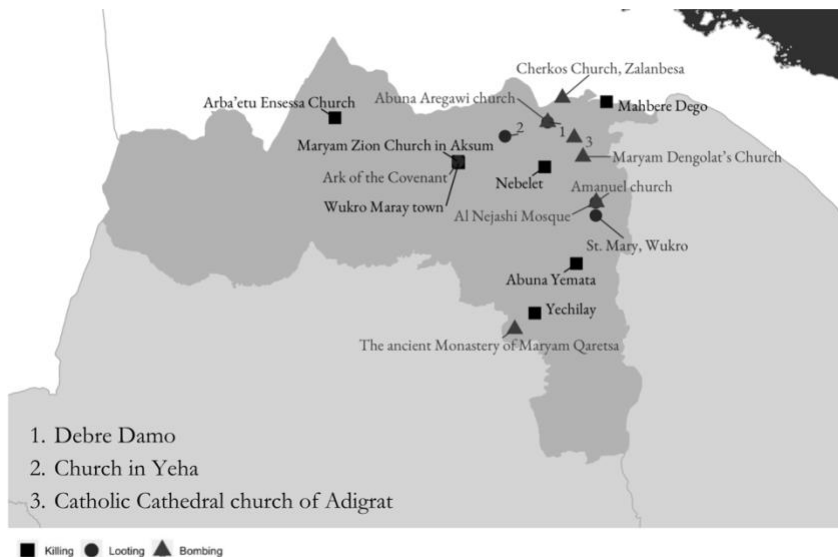


Figure 5.2. Map indicating where the destruction of cultural heritage took place

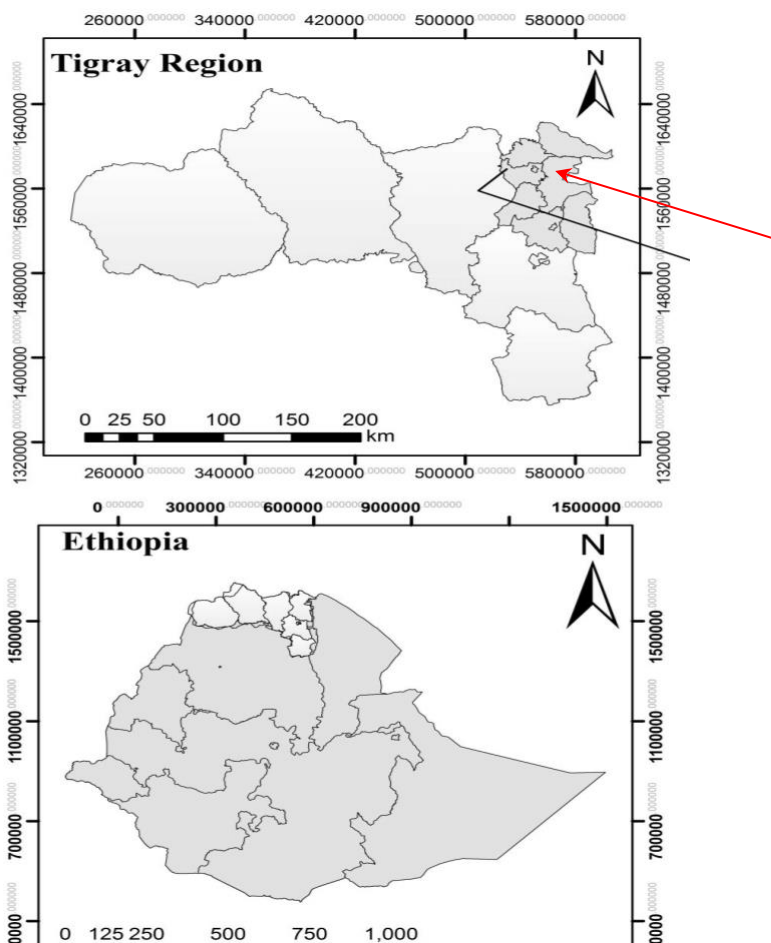


Figure 6.1. Map of the study area in its regional context

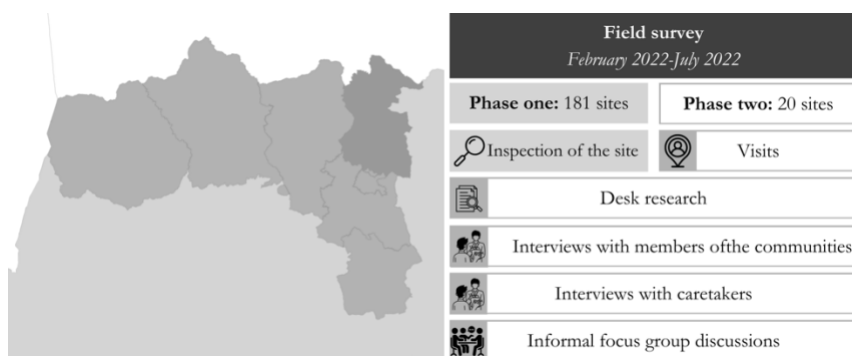


Figure 6.2. Overview of the study data and methodology



**Figure 6.3. Damage to St Mika'el's church building shelled by
Eritrean troops, and partially restored**
Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.4. Artefacts (pottery shards, stone rubble, and grinding stones) discovered at an archaeological site situated within St Mikael's churchyard

Source: Amanuel (2022)

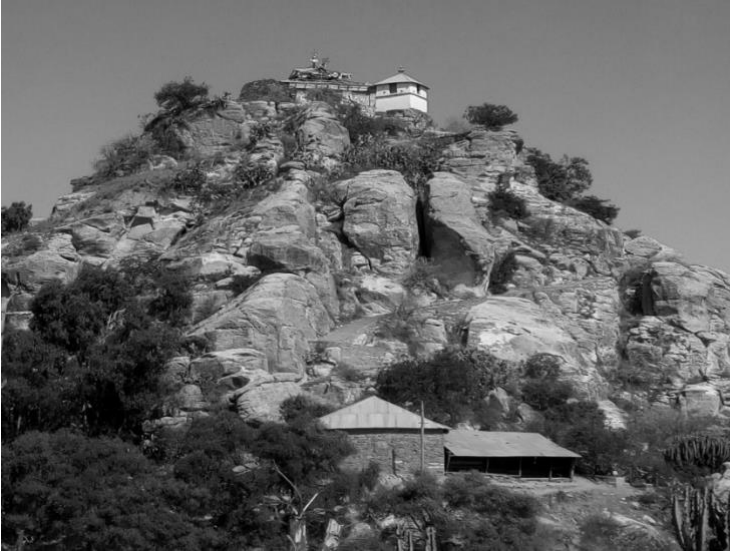


Figure 6.5. View of Ma'ago Amanuel Church from the Western direction

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.6. Damages to the Ma'ago Amanuel Church building and severely damaged ecclesiastical objects (broken hand crosses, and männärä tabot, and damaged paintings)

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.7. Engraved stones (possibly Aksumite period) within the churchyard and entrance of the church

Source: Hagos (2022)



Figure 6.8. Destructions of Qirqos Church building (upper left) (Source: social media), interim conservation works carried out by the local communities in the interior and exterior surfaces of the church building

Source: Hagos (2022)



Figure 6.9. Some of the burned and destroyed church treasures, ecclesiastical objects and manuscripts

Source: Hagos (2022)



Figure 6.10. The new (left) and old (right) church buildings of St Mariam Addi Tegna

Source: Hagos (2022)



Figure 6.11. Manuscript collections of Addi Teqena Mariam Church, which were found in poor preservation conditions

Source: Hagos (2022)



Figure 6.12. The new and old church buildings of Mariam Addi Teqena, were both shelled by Eritrean forces

Source: Hagos (2022)

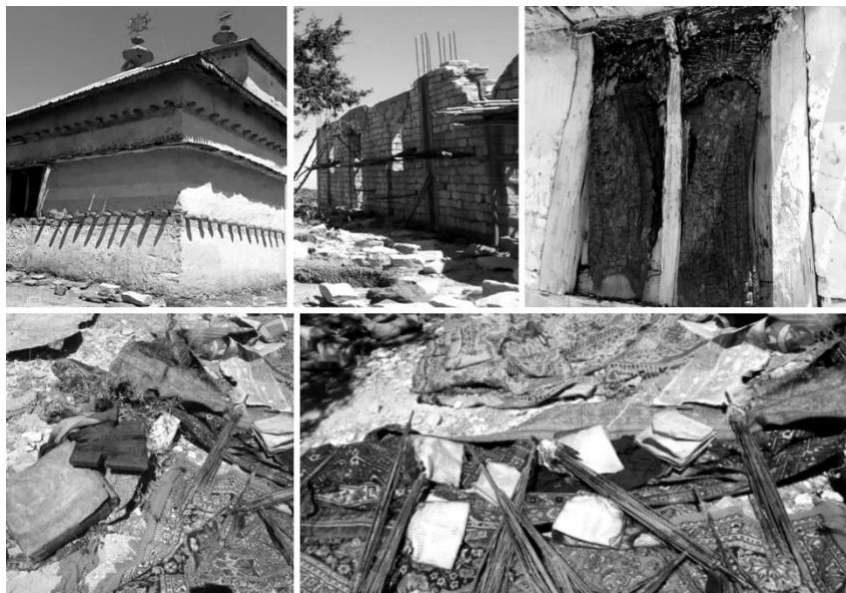


Figure 6.13. The old and new church buildings burned church door, manuscripts, church umbrellas and other ecclesiastical objects of the church

Source: Hagos (2022)



Figure 6.14. Burned manuscript and damaged processional silver cross of Mukyam Debresina Qeddest Mariam Church

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.15. General view of Ma’abino Mesqel Kirstos Church, damage on its buildings and its ecclesiastical materials, and its construction machinery and materials

Source: Hagos (2022)

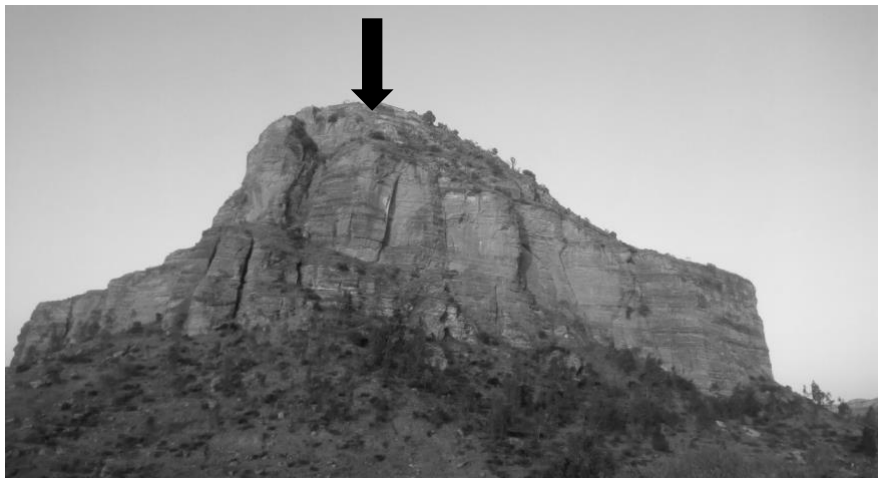


Figure 6.16. General View of the church, northern view

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.17. The façade of Abune Abraham Monastery and 14th /15th century AD paintings and carvings

Source: Amanuel (2022)

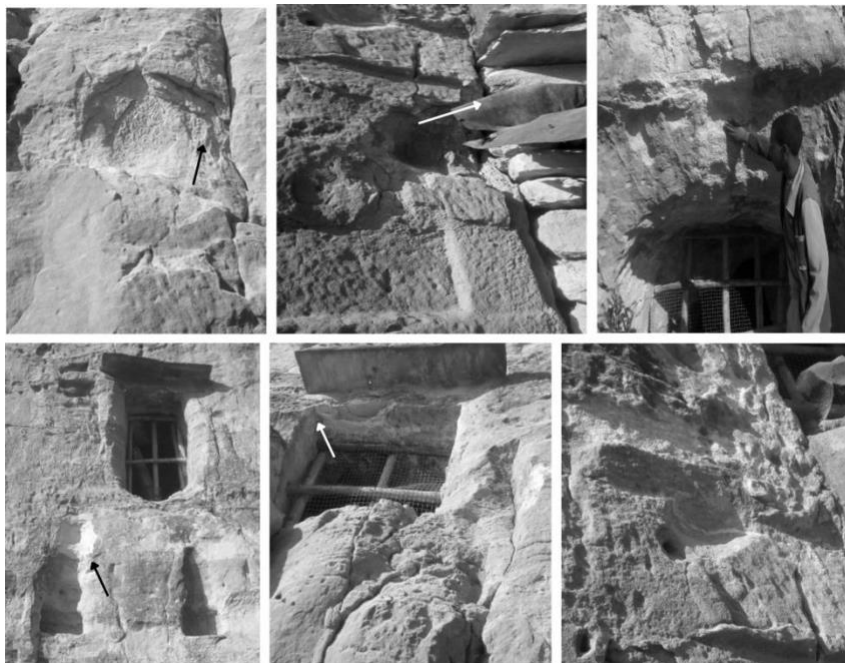


Figure 6.18. Damage to the Abune Abraham Monastery church building due to shelling
Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.19. Damaged *Bet Mahber*, burial place, and museum at Abune Abraham monastery

Source: Amanuel (2022)



**Figure 6.20. The rock-hewn church of Mariam Yerefeda, a view from
Abune Abraham Church**
Source: Amanuel (2022)



**Figure 6.21. The façade, roof and interior architectural elements of
Maryam Yerefeda's rock church**

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.22. Maryam Yerefeda's rock church

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.23. The exterior and interior surfaces of Al Nejash Mosque, minaret and the mosque's hall which are severely damaged by shelling

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.24. The archaeological site of Meqabir Ga'ewa, damaged cultural objects and collapsed architectural site

Source: Amanuel (2022)

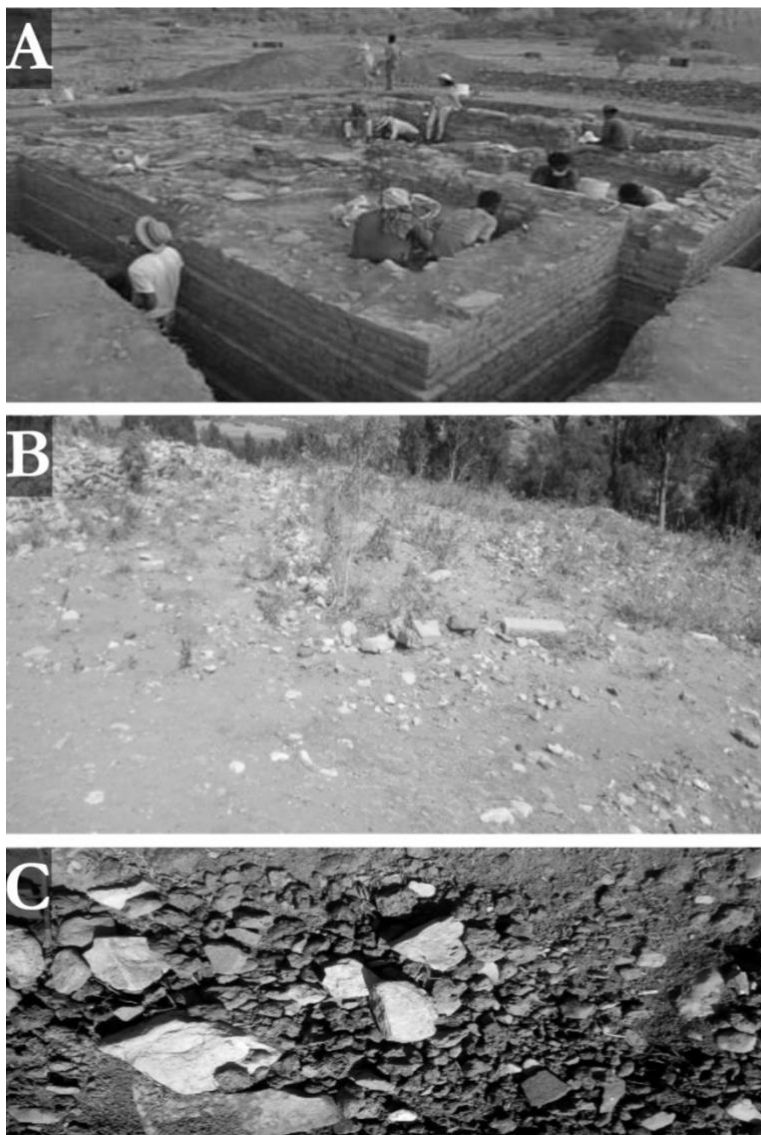


Figure 6.25. Gud Bahri archaeological site

Source: A Facebook; B&C Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.26. The archaeological museum of Wuqro with its rich artefact collections

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.27. Meqabir Ga'ewa artefacts

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 6.28. Menebeyti archaeological site

Source: Amanuel (2022)



Figure 7.1. Data used and collected in the study

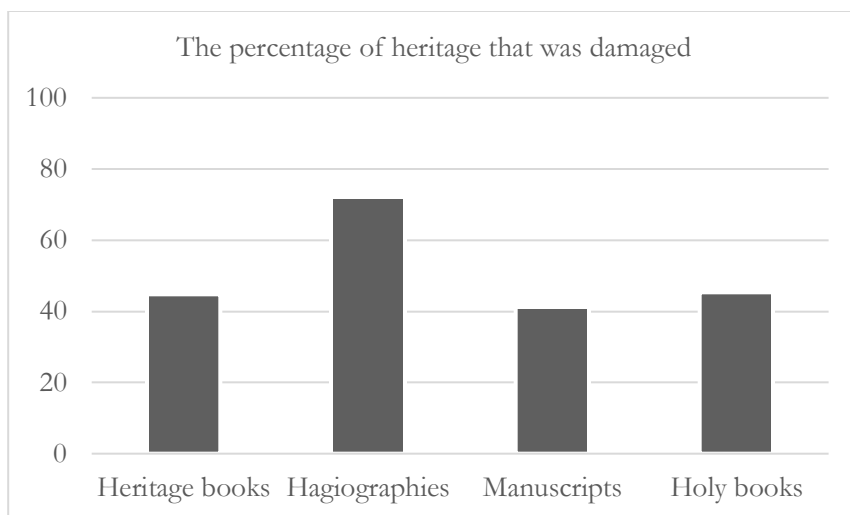


Figure 7.2. Percentage of cultural heritage damaged during the war

Source: Developed by the authors for this chapter

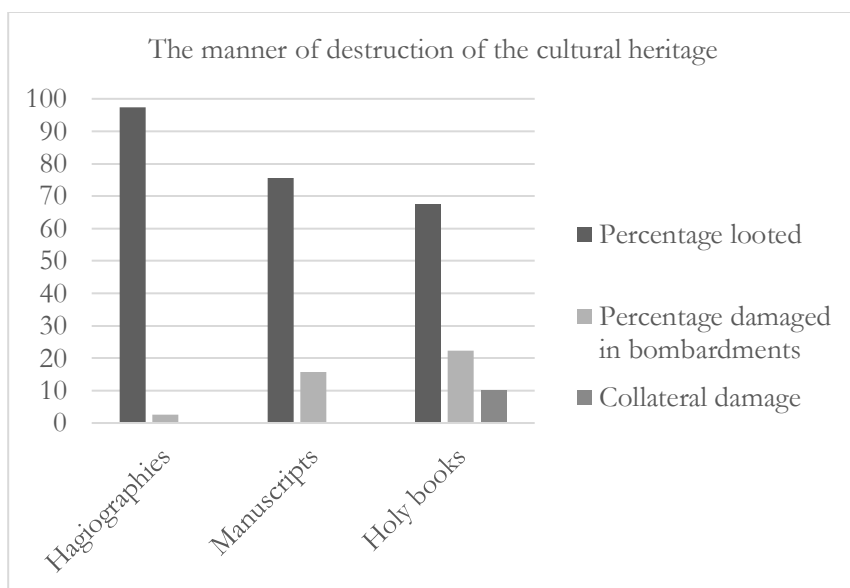


Figure 7.3. Manner in which cultural heritage was destroyed, i.e., by looting, bombardments, or collateral damage

Source: Developed by the authors for this chapter

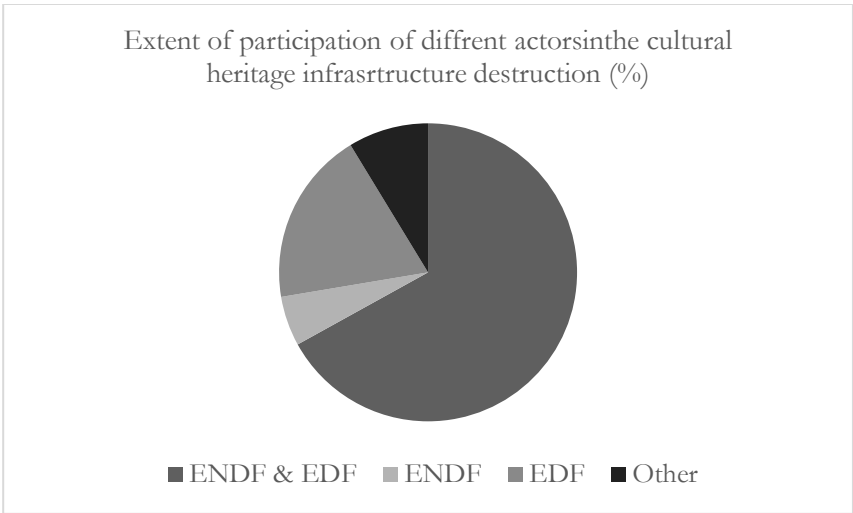


Figure 7.4. Percentage of destruction of cultural heritage infrastructure carried out by various perpetrators
 Source: Developed by the authors for this chapter

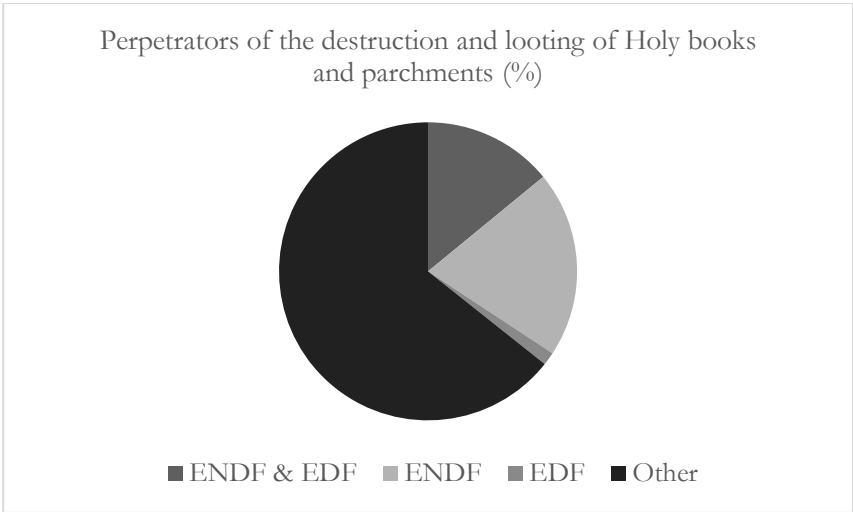


Figure 7.5. Percentage of looting, damage, and destruction of holy books and parchments carried out by various perpetrators
 Source: Developed by the authors for this chapter

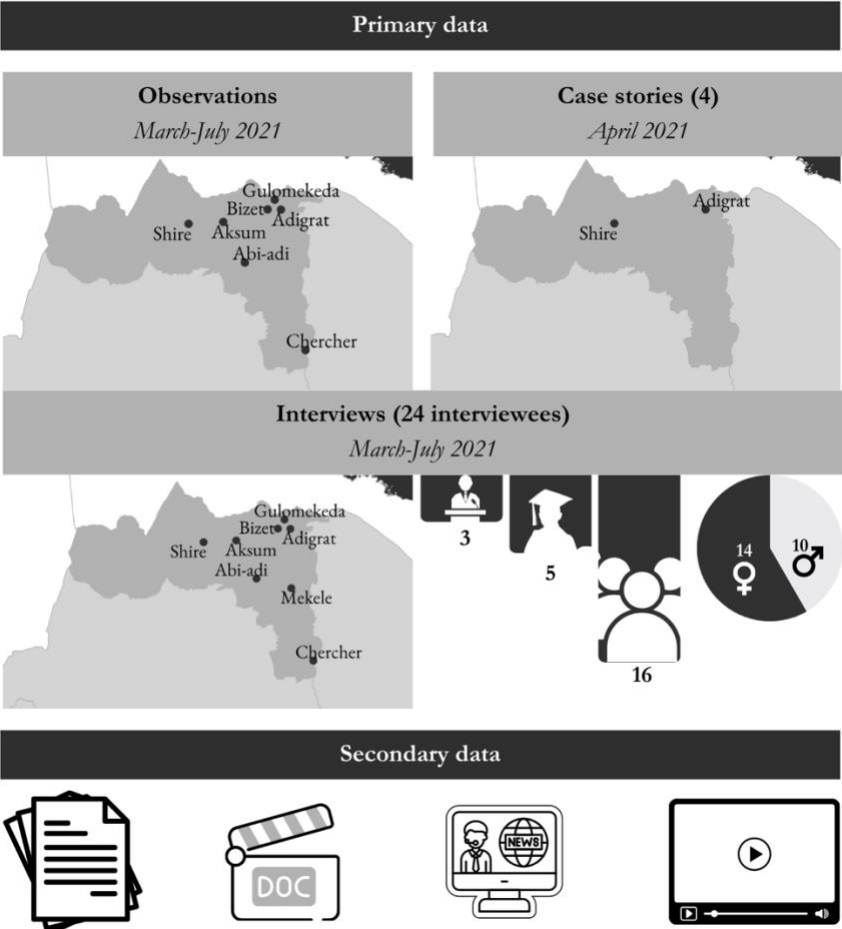


Figure 8.1. Overview of the data collected and used in the study

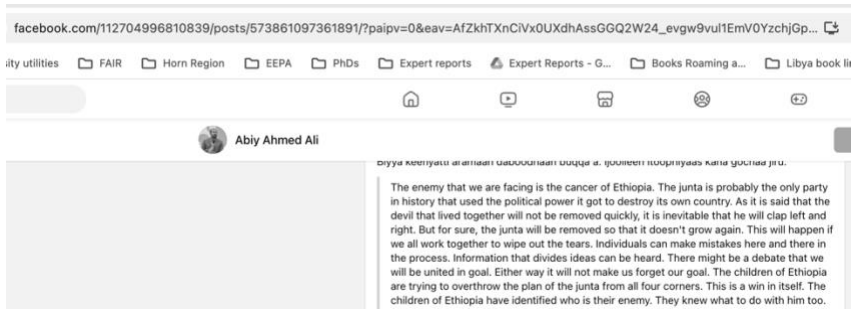
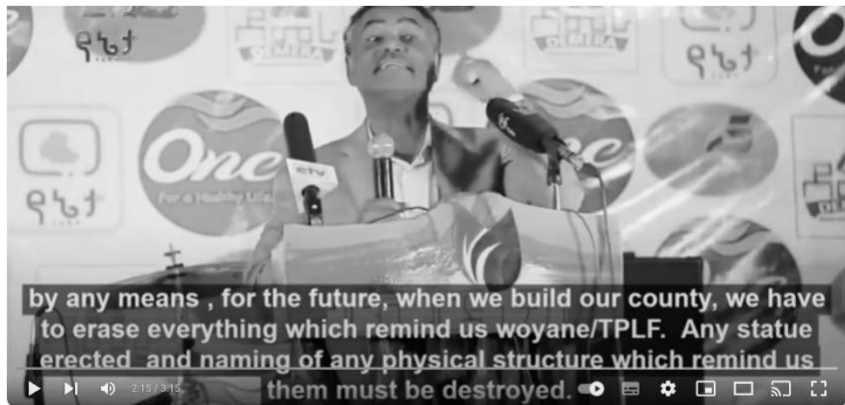


Figure 10.1. Screenshot posting by @PMAbiyAhmedAli on 18 July 2021, original in Amharic and Oromo (Translated by Google)



Daniel Kibret (AKA Satnael Kisret) public hate speech against Tigrayans with English subtitle.

Figure 10.2. YouTube verified on veracity³

³ link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YiNir2fRmk8&t=133s> (accessed 27 May 2024)