

# TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNET BLACKOUT IN ETHIOPIA'S TIGRAY REGION

FEBRUARY 2022



OMNA  
TIGRAY

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

- 3** EXECUTIVE SUMMARY
- 4** INTRODUCTION
- 4** ABIY AHMED ADMINISTRATION'S HISTORY OF INTERNET AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS BLACKOUT
- 5** A COMPLETE TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNET BLACKOUT OF ETHIOPIA'S TIGRAY REGION
- 7** A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE GENOCIDAL WAR ON TIGRAY
- 8** TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNET BLACKOUT IN TIGRAY AS A TOOL OF GENOCIDE
- 10** CALL TO ACTION
- 11** SOURCES



On November 4, 2020, the Ethiopian government and its allies declared a genocidal war on Ethiopia's northernmost region, Tigray. As military forces encircled Tigray and brutally invaded the region, the Ethiopian government promptly shut down telecommunication and internet services. Since then, connectivity in Tigray has been sporadic and intermittent at best and nonexistent at worst, most rural areas having remained silenced for over a year.

The impact of the telecommunications and internet blackout has been catastrophic. Tigrayans in the diaspora have not been able to talk to their families in months. The Ethiopian government has "switched off" an entire region to hide the atrocities that their forces and allies are committing in Tigray. At the outset the Ethiopian government was successful in controlling the narrative, however, the nature of war became clear as refugees who poured out of Tigray into Sudan shared their stories of extrajudicial killings, massacres, and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). Their stories were eventually corroborated by reports that trickled out of the region. There is now undeniable evidence of looting, wholesale destruction, agricultural destruction, extrajudicial killings, massacres, weaponized SGBV, mass arrests and detention in concentration camps where Tigrayans are tortured and executed.

The international community has a record of these atrocities despite the extremely limited access to the region and the deliberate and persistent telecommunication blackout mainly because of brave reporters and humanitarian workers who have for the most part been barred from Tigray and have worked under difficult circumstances to shed light on the suffering of the Tigray people. Despite all that is known, there is much left unknown. The telecommunications and internet blackout have made it incredibly difficult for journalists, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and humanitarian organizations to confirm human rights violations and conduct methodologically sound investigations into the atrocities. Lack of connectivity has also hindered the humanitarian response heavily dependent on communication. Despite calls for peace by the Tigray government in December 2021 and a consistent appeal from the international community to reconnect Tigray, there are no signs of restored connectivity. The Ethiopian government has only made the situation worse by bombing power stations, making access to electricity even more limited.

---

It has been over 15 months that Tigray has been in the dark; yet, despite the evidence that has emerged, the Ethiopian government achieved its objective in cutting off the region: the international community has not acted to stop the genocide in any meaningful way. Therefore, we call on the international community to facilitate the immediate restoration of full internet access and communication services in Tigray.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The United Nations (UN) recognizes access to the internet as a human right enabling freedom of expression and allowing access to information. Because of the reach the internet has throughout populations, it can be used as a censorship tool by governments seeking to control information. As per the United Nations, “blanket Internet shutdowns and generic blocking and filtering of services are considered by United Nations human rights mechanisms to be in violation of international human rights law” [1]. Such restrictions as described by the UN have been a relatively common occurrence globally and are only becoming more so. The Ethiopian government employed this strategy of control as early as 2015 and whenever civil unrest, demonstrations, violent clashes or human rights violations have taken place [2]. The disruption of telecommunication and internet services in Ethiopia, however, has become far more drastic at the hands of Ethiopia’s Abiy Ahmed administration and has been a key tool in the government’s genocidal war on its northern Tigray region [3].

## **ABIY AHMED ADMINISTRATION’S HISTORY OF INTERNET AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS BLACKOUT**

The Ethiopian government has complete control of Ethiopia’s telecommunication infrastructure through Ethio telecom. As such, the Abiy administration has imposed telecommunication and internet blackouts at will since becoming a transitional Prime Minister in April 2018. The first telecommunications and internet blackout under the new transitional Abiy government was in August 2018 when fixed-line and mobile internet services were shut down in eastern Somali region for most of the month. This restriction was justified by the Ethiopian government as necessary to maintain public security as violent confrontations between local authorities and federal troops took place [4]. The Internet was also shut down for three days in Ethiopia’s capital Addis Ababa in September 2018 when ethnic violence cost the lives of more than 50 people [5].

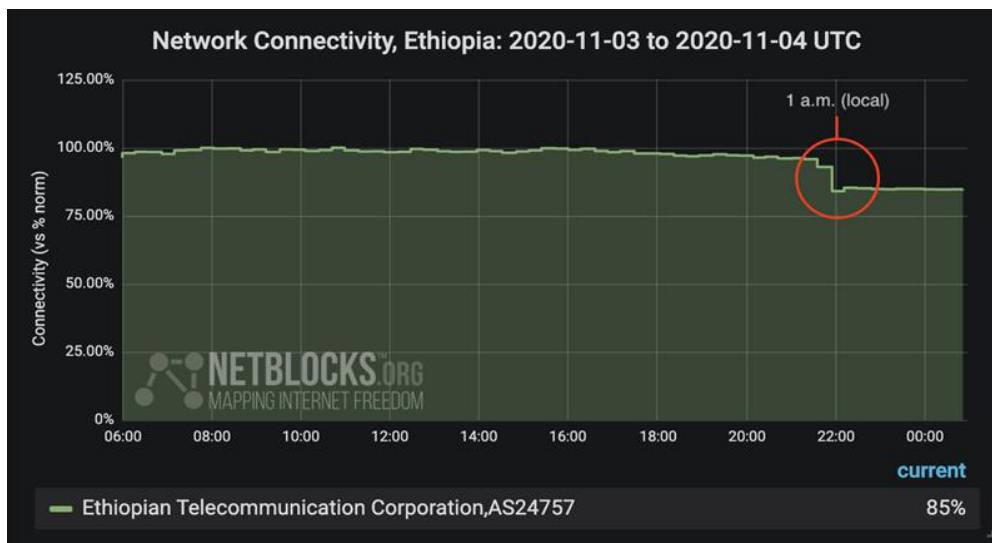
---

The pattern of telecommunication restrictions continued through 2019 and 2020. In February 2019, Abiy made it clear that the internet is “neither water nor air,” and that “as long as it is deemed necessary to save lives and prevent property damages, the internet would be closed permanently, let alone for a week” [6]. Keeping his word, Abiy continued to impose internet blackouts. Among them a 10 day nationwide internet shutdown in June 2019 after the assassination of government and military officials in Ethiopia’s Amhara region and Addis Ababa [7]; disconnection of mobile, landline, and internet services from January to April 2020 in parts of Oromia as federal government forces fought against a newly formed Oromo Liberation Army (OLA) [8]; and over a month of internet shutdown starting June 30, 2020 after the assassination of renowned Oromo singer and activist Hachalu Hundessa led to violent ethnic clashes [9].

## **A COMPLETE TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNET BLACKOUT OF ETHIOPIA'S TIGRAY REGION**

On November 3, 2020, the Ethiopian government took its commitment to telecommunications and internet blackout a step further. A complete internet and telecommunications blackout was imposed on Tigray prior to announcing a “law enforcement operation” in Tigray on November 4, 2020 [10]. This operation was to remove the leaders of Tigray’s elected government – Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) – whom the Abiy administration deemed traitors against Ethiopian unity [11]. In an effort to control the information and reports coming out of Tigray, the Ethiopian government shut off the region. Over these 14 months, the Ethiopian government has imposed a telecommunications and internet blackout [12] that has meant connectivity in Tigray has been sporadic and intermittent at best and nonexistent at worst, rural areas having remained silenced for over a year. In December 2020, Ethio telecom blamed the blackout on the “law enforcement operation” and released closed-circuit television (CCTV) footage of armed individuals forcefully shutting down the power distribution source in Mekelle [13]. In March 2021, Abiy accused the TPLF of damaging fiber-optic cables in Tigray [14].

---



Despite Abiy's attempt to blame the TPLF for the telecommunications and internet blackout, among every other ill Ethiopia faces, the evidence indisputably indicates that the Ethiopian government has imposed this blackout [15]. In fact, at the end of June 2021, when Tigray Defense Forces (TDF) pushed the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) out of Tigray's capital Mekelle, and most of Tigray, Ethiopian government and its forces disconnected and damaged Tigray's telecommunication and electricity infrastructure [2]. Ethiopian forces also confiscated UN agencies' telecommunication and internet equipment [16]. Since then, the Ethiopian government has made the situation worse by bombing power stations [17-19], making access to electricity even more limited. Without electricity, even if there were brief moments of connectivity, reaching people is impossible since most have not been able to charge their phones. This government-imposed telecommunications and internet blackout has had catastrophic consequences.



The ENDF bombed the Mekelle City power substation in December 2021, effectively plunging the city into darkness for days

On November 4, 2020, the Ethiopian government declared war on the people of Tigray under the guise of a “law enforcement operation” with the goal of removing Tigray’s elected government – the TPLF [11]. What has ensued is over a year of an internationalized genocidal war against the people of Tigray. The primary perpetrators have been Ethiopian, Eritrean, and Amhara regional forces. Other foreign actors are implicated in crimes against the people of Tigray, including Somali soldiers, the United Arab Emirates, Turkey, and Iran [20-24]. Atrocities committed in Tigray amount to war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and acts of genocide [25-28]. A declaration as such by the international community has yet to be made, as the international community waits for a diplomatic solution and the Ethiopian government continues to block independent investigations into the atrocities committed in Tigray [29,30].

While the world watches, Tigrayans have been subjected to extrajudicial killings, massacres [28], weaponized sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) [27], mass arrests, internment, torture, and execution [31]. They have had their property looted and destroyed. Public infrastructure has been targeted for destruction. Schools, universities, power hubs, and health facilities have been decimated [17-19,32-37]. Tigray’s once exemplary health infrastructure and system has now completely collapsed [34-37], as the Ethiopian government has imposed a siege on Tigray since July 2021 [38]. This siege has entailed a humanitarian blockade in which an insignificant amount of food and no medicine and medical supplies have been allowed to enter the region.

The Ethiopian government and its allies’ actions have led to the world’s most acute humanitarian and hunger crisis. The war has led to over 2.2 million internally displaced Tigrayans [39], 70,000 Tigrayan refugees in Sudan [40], at least 70,000 civilians killed [41], more than 25,000 survivors of SGBV [42], 5.2 million in need of humanitarian aid [43], 900,000+ facing a man-made famine [44], and hundreds dying from airstrikes and/or access to medical supplies and treatment [45].

Despite the telecommunications and internet blackout in Tigray, journalists and international organizations have documented the aforementioned atrocities. However, so much more remains unknown with access to and connectivity in Tigray extremely restricted.

---

In times of crisis, exemplified by the horrendous humanitarian crisis in Tigray, access to telecommunication and internet services is essential. These services allow vital communication for humanitarian agencies; documentation of conflicts by international governing bodies, human rights organizations, and journalists; and, most importantly, accountability for crimes committed. As the genocide continues, Tigray remains in the dark.

## **TELECOMMUNICATIONS AND INTERNET BLACKOUT IN TIGRAY AS A TOOL OF GENOCIDE**

In declaring a genocidal war on Tigray, the Abiy administration counted on their control of Ethiopia's telecommunication infrastructure to control the war narrative and ensure the cover-up of the atrocities committed in Tigray. If the Ethiopian government had nothing to hide, they would allow communication and internet services to be restored in Tigray and allow independent investigations into the atrocities committed in Ethiopia. Yet, Tigray remains cut off from the rest of the world. The stated intent of the Ethiopian government's telecommunications and internet blackout as a means to control information is substantiated by the government's attack on freedom of press and journalists [2, 46-48].

Local journalists have been under attack from the beginning of the genocidal war. They have been intimidated, harassed, forced to leave the country, detained, tortured, and killed in broad daylight [47-48]. While local journalists have had the ill-fate of being detained and killed, international journalists have been expelled from the country for exposing the true nature of the war [49]. For example, early in the war, the Crisis Group's Senior Analyst William Davidson was forced to leave the country after reporting on the Ethiopian and Eritrean government's military preparations for the war on Tigray before November 4, 2020 [50].



Fitsume Berhane (left) and Tamirat Yemane (right), two journalists arbitrarily arrested in Mekelle for "broadcasting false propaganda"

---



The Abiy administration's attack on the press and journalists reached new heights at the end of November 2021, issuing a mandate prohibiting reporting on the war or sharing any information regarding the war [51]. Despite these extremely difficult conditions in which journalists have had to operate, they have risked their lives to do their job and cover the atrocities committed in Tigray. Not only is their personnel safety at risk as *persona non-grata*, a main consequence of the internet and telecommunications blackout is that it is incredibly difficult for journalists to corroborate reports and allegations of human rights violations and atrocities [52-55]. International organizations, among them human rights organizations, also face this obstacle in officially investigating reported atrocities.

Another tragic consequence of the telecommunications and internet blackout is the impact on the humanitarian response to the rapidly deteriorating humanitarian crisis. With heavily restricted access to Tigray throughout the genocidal war, lack of communication has greatly inhibited humanitarian operations to millions in dire need of aid in Tigray. A statement made by the Spokesperson for the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Stéphane Dujarric, illustrates these challenges: "Our humanitarian colleagues informed us that a blackout occurred in communication and internet services in Tigray on Tuesday [June 29, 2021]. As a result, the process of humanitarian operations remains undetermined at this time" [56]. Inhibition of humanitarian assistance has been a main goal of the Abiy administration, and the telecommunication and internet blackout has aided in achieving this goal. ENDF's confiscation of UN agencies' telecommunications/internet equipment in Mekelle, Dansha, and Abdurafi in June 2021 exemplifies the lengths the Ethiopian government will go to inhibit communication and curtail the humanitarian response [16]. Furthermore, according to the World Peace Foundation, Alex de Waal, having access to telecommunication and internet services prevents atrocities. de Waal recounts: "there is a story, attested to by several sources, of how a phone call reporting that dozens of young men had been rounded up by the army alerted international aid workers, who were able to drive to the location, and stop what looked like becoming a massacre" [57].

To add to these calamitous consequences of the telecommunications and internet blackout, families of Tigrayans in the diaspora living outside of Ethiopia have not been able to contact their family members in months and for many for more than a year. They do not know if their family members are dead or alive.

---

Since November 3, 2020, Tigray has been under an Ethiopian government-imposed telecommunication and internet blackout with catastrophic implications for a worsening humanitarian crisis. The Ethiopian government is violating domestic and international laws in its genocidal war on Tigray, among them restricting access to phone and internet services. The Ethiopian government has ratified international and regional frameworks to assure freedom of opinion and expression both offline and online. These frameworks include the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights [15]. A 2016 African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) Resolution condemns "emerging practice of State Parties interrupting or limiting access to telecommunication services such as the internet, social media, and messaging services" [58].

Despite the Ethiopian government's legal obligations domestically, regionally, and internationally, it continues to commit human rights violations, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. We, therefore, call on the international community to facilitate:

- **The immediate restoration of full internet access and digital communication services in Tigray;**
  - **For the Ethiopian government to stop arbitrarily shutting down access** to the internet and telephone communication;
  - **The provision of necessary support to humanitarian organizations** aiming to provide life-saving assistance to civilians;
  - **Order of the dominant internet service provider, Ethio telecom, to inform internet users of any potential shutdowns** and to take all reasonable steps to fix any disruptions to service;
  - **The immediate release of jailed journalists** and guarantee that they are free to work without fear of reprisals; and
  - **Accountability and justice for the journalists whose lives have been taken.**
-

1. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. (2015, May 4). *Joint Declaration on Freedom of Expression and Responses to Conflict Situations*. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. <https://www.osce.org/fom/154846>.
2. Freedom House. (accessed 2022, Jan 22). *Freedom on the net 2021: Ethiopia*. Freedom House. <https://freedomhouse.org/country/ethiopia/freedom-net/2021>.
3. Lorenzo Vertemati. (2021, April 16). *Ethiopia's Internet Shutdowns: Contributing To Humanitarian Catastrophe In The Tigray*. Security Distillery. <https://thesecuritydistillery.org/all-articles/ethiopias-internet-shutdowns-contributing-to-humanitarian-catastrophe-in-the-tigray>.
4. Abdi Latif Dahir. (2018, August 8). *Ethiopia has resorted to its old habit of blocking the internet to quell internal unrest*. Quartz. <https://qz.com/africa/1351277/ethiopia-internet-shutdown-in-eastern-somali-region/>
5. Amnesty International. (2018, September 18). *Ethiopia: Investigate police conduct after deaths of five people protesting ethnic clashes*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2018/09/ethiopia-investigate-police-conduct-after-deaths-of-five-people-protesting-ethnic-clashes/>.
6. Africa News. (2019, August 2). *Ethiopia will cut internet as and when, 'it's neither water nor air' - PM Abiy*. Africa News. <https://www.africanews.com/2019/08/02/ethiopia-will-cut-internet-as-and-when-it-s-neither-water-nor-air-pm-abiy/>.
7. Reuters. (2019, June 24). *General Accused in Ethiopian Coup Attempt Is Reported Killed*. New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/24/world/africa/ethiopia-coup-amhara.html>.
8. Human Rights Watch. (2020, March 19). *Ethiopia: Communications Shutdown Takes Heavy Toll*. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/03/09/ethiopia-communications-shutdown-takes-heavy-toll>.
9. Netblocks. (2020, June 30). *Internet cut in Ethiopia amid unrest following killing of singer*. Netblocks. <https://netblocks.org/reports/internet-cut-in-ethiopia-amid-unrest-following-killing-of-singer-pA25Z28b>.
10. Netblocks. (2020, November 4). *Internet disrupted in Ethiopia as conflict breaks out in Tigray region*. Netblocks. <https://netblocks.org/reports/internet-disrupted-in-ethiopia-as-conflict-breaks-out-in-tigray-region-eBOQYV8Z>.
11. Abiy Ahmed Ali [@AbiyAhmedAli] (2020, November 3) ሕወሐት በትግራይ በሚገኘው የመከላከያ ካምፕ ላይ ጥቃት አድርጓል። ሰሜን ዕዝንም ለመዝረፍ ሙከራ አድርጓል። ይህ ሠራዊት ከሃያ ዓመታት በላይ የትግራይን ሕዝብ ሲጠብቅ የቆየ ሠራዊት ነው። በቦታው የሚገኘውም የትግራይን ሕዝብ ከጥቃት ለመከላከል ነው። [Tweet]. <https://twitter.com/AbiyAhmedAli/status/1323766125893738496>
12. Peter Apps. (2022, January 12). *COLUMN-From Kazakhstan to Ethiopia, the growing internet shutdown*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/apps-internet-column/column-from-kazakhstan-to-ethiopia-the-growing-internet-shutdown-idUSL1N2TS1NX>
13. Fortune News. (2020, December 12). *Ethio Telecom Claims Regional Operations in Meqelle Tampered With*. Fortune. <https://addisfortune.news/news-alert/ethio-telecom-claims-regional-operations-in-meqelle-tampered-with/>.
14. Office of the Prime Minister - Ethiopia [@PMEthiopia] (2021, March 3) Statement on the Tigray Region Rule of Law Operations (March 3, 2021). [Tweet]. <https://twitter.com/PMEthiopia/status/1367136074938597381>.
15. Access Now. (2021, July 29). *#KeepItOn in Tigray: Ethiopia must lift the blackout from the conflict zone*. Access Now. [https://www.accessnow.org/cms/assets/uploads/2021/07/Tigray\\_Ethiopia\\_KeepItOn\\_Statement.pdf](https://www.accessnow.org/cms/assets/uploads/2021/07/Tigray_Ethiopia_KeepItOn_Statement.pdf).
16. UN OCHA. (2021, July 1). *Ethiopia - Tigray Region Humanitarian Update - Flash Update (1 July 2021)*. UN OCHA. <https://reliefweb.int/report/ethiopia/ethiopia-tigray-region-humanitarian-update-flash-update-1-july-2021>.
17. Tigray External Affairs Office [@TigrayEAO] (2021, December 30) Briefing from Tigray External Affairs Office; covering notable diplomatic developments, persistent assaults on civilians & dire humanitarian situation in #Tigray. December 30, 2021. [Tweet]. <https://twitter.com/TigrayEAO/status/1476861533787463719?s=20>.
18. Tigray External Affairs Office [@TigrayEAO] (2021, December 3) Weekly Briefing from #Tigray External Affairs Office covering the humanitarian catastrophe, escalation of drone strikes on civilian targets, the bombing of Tekeze Hydroelectric Dam and British Ambassador's visit to Mekelle. 1/2 December 3, 2021. [Tweet]. <https://twitter.com/TigrayEAO/status/1466853082113916932?s=20>.
19. Staff Reporter. (2021, December 2). *Ethiopian Air Force destroys Tekeze hydroelectric dam in Tigray*. Garowe Online. <https://www.garoweonline.com/en/world/africa/ethiopian-air-force-destroys-tekeze-hydroelectric-dam-in-tigray>.

20. Declan Walsh. (2021, December 20). *Foreign Drones Tip the Balance in Ethiopia's Civil War*. New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/12/20/world/africa/drones-ethiopia-war-turkey-emirates.html>.
21. Lucy Kassa. (2022, January 20). *Somali troops committed atrocities in Tigray as new alliance emerged, survivors say*. Hiiraan Online. [https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/jan/185114/somali\\_troops\\_committed\\_atrocities\\_in\\_tigray\\_as\\_new\\_alliance\\_emerged\\_survivors\\_say.aspx](https://www.hiiraan.com/news4/2022/jan/185114/somali_troops_committed_atrocities_in_tigray_as_new_alliance_emerged_survivors_say.aspx).
22. Al Jazeera. (2021, November 25). *UAE air bridge provides military support to Ethiopia gov't*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/11/25/uae-air-bridge-provides-military-support-to-ethiopia-govt>.
23. Oryx. (2021, December 28). *Iran Is Still Resupplying The Ethiopian Military*. Oryx. <https://www.oryxspioenkop.com/2021/12/iran-is-still-resupplying-ethiopian.html>.
24. Oryx. (2022, January 3). *UAE Implicated In Lethal Drone Strikes In Tigray*. Oryx. <https://www.oryxspioenkop.com/2022/01/uae-implicated-in-lethal-drone-strikes.html>.
25. House Foreign Affairs Committee. (2021, June 30). McCaul: "War Crimes, Crimes Against Humanity, and Acts of Genocide" In Tigray [Press Release]. <https://gop-foreignaffairs.house.gov/press-release/mccaul-war-crimes-crimes-against-humanity-and-acts-of-genocide-in-tigray/>.
26. Bryant Harris. (2021, September 23). *Bill in US Congress could lead to Tigray genocide designation*. The National News. <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/us-news/2021/09/24/bill-in-us-congress-could-lead-to-tigray-genocide-designation/>.
27. Amnesty International. (2021, August 11). *Ethiopia: "I don't know if they realized I was a person": Rape and sexual violence in the conflict in Tigray, Ethiopia*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr25/4569/2021/en/>.
28. Sofie Annys. (2021, December 27). *Tigray: Atlas of the humanitarian situation*. Ghent University. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/349824181\\_Tigray\\_Atlas\\_of\\_the\\_humanitarian\\_situation](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/349824181_Tigray_Atlas_of_the_humanitarian_situation).
29. Bryant Harris. (2021, December 1). *US halts decision on genocide designation to pursue diplomacy in Ethiopia*. The National News. <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/us-news/2021/12/01/us-halts-tigray-genocide-determination-to-pursue-ethiopia-diplomacy/>.
30. Al Jazeera. (2020, December 9). *Ethiopia rejects independent probes into Tigray conflict*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/12/9/ethiopia-rejects-independent-probes-into-tigray-conflict>.
31. Human Rights Watch. (2021, August 18). *Ethiopia: Ethnic Tigrayans Forcibly Disappeared*. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/08/18/ethiopia-ethnic-tigrayans-forcibly-disappeared#>.
32. World Peace Foundation. (2021, April 6). *Starving Tigray*. World Peace Foundation. <https://sites.tufts.edu/wpf/files/2021/04/Starving-Tigray-report-final.pdf>.
33. Human Rights Watch. (2021, May 28). *Ethiopia: Tigray Schools Occupied, Looted*. Human Rights Watch. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/05/28/ethiopia-tigray-schools-occupied-looted>.
34. United Nations Population Fund. (2021, July 7). *Tigray conflict decimates maternal health services, overwhelms health workers*. United Nations Population Fund. <https://www.unfpa.org/news/tigray-conflict-decimates-maternal-health-services-overwhelms-health-workers>.
35. Berhe W. Sahle and Mulu A Woldegiorgis. (2021, November 3). *Decades of Progress Gone in a Year: Tigray's Health Care System Has Been Destroyed*. Global Citizen. <https://www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/tigray-civil-war-health-care-systems-destroyed/>.
36. Médecins Sans Frontières. (2021, March 15). *Widespread destruction of health facilities in Ethiopia's Tigray region*. Médecins Sans Frontières. <https://www.doctorswithoutborders.org/what-we-do/news-stories/news/widespread-destruction-health-facilities-ethiopias-tigray-region>.
37. Sharmila Devi. (2021, April 10). *Tigray atrocities compounded by lack of health care*. The Lancet. [https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(21\)00825-4/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(21)00825-4/fulltext).
38. United States Mission to the United States. (2021, July 2). *Remarks by Ambassador Linda Thomas-Greenfield at a UN Security Council Briefing on Ethiopia and the Situation in Tigray*. <https://usun.usmission.gov/remarks-by-ambassador-linda-thomas-greenfield-at-a-un-security-council-briefing-on-ethiopia-and-the-situation-in-tigray/>.
39. Reuters Staff. (2021, January 6). *Over 2 million people displaced by conflict in Ethiopia's Tigray region - local official*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/article/uk-ethiopia-conflict/over-2-million-people-displaced-by-conflict-in-ethiopias-tigray-region-local-official-idUSKBN29B1N7>.

40. Max Bearak. (2021, March 26). *In Sudan's sweltering camps, refugees from Tigray dream of independence from Ethiopia*. The Washington Post. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/03/26/ethiopia-sudan-tigray-refugees/>.
41. Cara Anna. (2021, February 2). *More than 50,000 Ethiopia civilians have been killed, Tigray opposition says*. Los Angeles Times. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2021-02-02/tigray-opposition-parties-assert-50-000-plus-civilian-deaths>.
42. United Nations Population Fund. (2021). *Preparedness and Response Plan for the Tigray Crisis*. United Nations Population Fund. [https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/addendum\\_unfpa\\_april\\_2021.pdf](https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/addendum_unfpa_april_2021.pdf)
43. UN OCHA. (2022, January 20). *ETHIOPIA - NORTHERN ETHIOPIA HUMANITARIAN UPDATE*. UN OCHA. <https://reports.unocha.org/en/country/ethiopia>.
44. Associated Press. (2021, June 26). *Up to 900,000 in Ethiopia's Tigray face famine, US says*. Associated Press News. <https://apnews.com/article/ethiopia-africa-famine-262c0faa72a9eb20fd0151c5ba7a7e91>.
45. Al Jazeera. (2022, January 8). *Dozens killed in Ethiopian air strike on IDP camp in Tigray*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/1/8/dozens-killed-in-ethiopian-air-strike-on-idp-camp-in-tigray>.
46. Muthoki Mumo. (2021, December 8). *Ethiopia's civil war dashes once-high hopes of press freedom*. Committee to Protect Journalists. <https://cpj.org/2021/12/ethiopia-civil-war-hopes-press-freedom/>.
47. Salem Solomon. (2021, February 12). *Ethiopian Journalist Attacked in Her Home, Questioned on Tigray Connections*. Voice of America. [https://www.voanews.com/a/press-freedom\\_ethiopian-journalist-attacked-her-home-questioned-tigray-connections/6201958.html](https://www.voanews.com/a/press-freedom_ethiopian-journalist-attacked-her-home-questioned-tigray-connections/6201958.html).
48. Agence France Presse. (2021, January 2021). *Journalist Shot Dead In Ethiopia's Tigray Region, Relative Says*. Barron's. <https://www.barrons.com/news/journalist-shot-dead-in-ethiopia-s-tigray-region-relative-says-01611246906>.
49. David M. Herszenhorn. (2021, May 21). *Ethiopia expels journalist who reported on atrocities in Tigray*. Politico. <https://www.politico.eu/article/ethiopia-expels-journalist-who-reported-on-atrocities-in-tigray/>.
50. Crisis Group. (2020, November 22). *Ethiopia Expels Crisis Group Senior Analyst*. Crisis Group. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/ethiopia/ethiopia-expels-crisis-group-senior-analyst>.
51. Reuters. (2021, November 26). *Ethiopia restricts information sharing about war*. Reuters. <https://www.reuters.com/business/media-telecom/ethiopia-restricts-information-sharing-about-war-2021-11-26/>.
52. CPJ Africa and Asia Program Staff. (2021, May 3). *Journalists struggle to work amid extended internet shutdowns in Myanmar, Ethiopia, Kashmir*. Committee to Protect Journalists. <https://cpj.org/2021/05/journalists-shutdowns-myanmar-ethiopia-kashmir/>.
53. Salem Solomon. (2021, December 1). *Journalists Struggle Through Information Blackout in Ethiopia*. Voice of America. [https://www.voanews.com/a/press-freedom\\_journalists-struggle-through-information-blackout-ethiopia/6199045.html](https://www.voanews.com/a/press-freedom_journalists-struggle-through-information-blackout-ethiopia/6199045.html).
54. Aggrey Mutambo. (2020, November 9). *Ethiopia: Jakenn Publishing says current internet shutdown threatens access to information on ongoing conflict in Tigray region*. Business and Human Rights Center. <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/latest-news/ethiopia-jakenn-publishing-urges-govt-says-current-internet-shutdown-threats-access-to-information-on-ongoing-conflict-in-tigray-region/>.
55. Simon Allison. (2020, November 16). *Blackout makes it hard to report on Ethiopia's civil war*. Mail & Guardian. <https://mg.co.za/africa/2020-11-16-blackout-makes-it-hard-to-report-on-ethiopias-civil-war/>.
56. Morning Express. (2021, June 29). *UN: cut off communication and Internet services in Tigray*. Morning Express. <https://morningexpress.in/un-cut-off-communication-and-internet-services-in-tigray/>.
57. Alex de Waal. (2021, April 21). *Switch Tigray's Internet Back On*. World Peace Foundation. <https://sites.tufts.edu/reinventingpeace/2021/04/21/switch-tigrays-internet-back-on/>.
58. Amnesty International. (2021, January 13). *Uganda: Authorities must lift social media block amid crackdown ahead of election*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/01/uganda-authorities-must-lift-social-media-block-amid-crackdown-ahead-of-election/>.

- Albert L. (2020, November 4). *Communications Blackout in Ethiopia's Tigray State As Fighting Breaks Out. Overt Defense*. <https://www.overtdefense.com/2020/11/04/communications-blackout-in-ethiopias-tigray-state-as-fighting-breaks-out/>.
- France 24. (2020, December 14). *Civilians in Ethiopia's Tigray speak of horror as blackout lifts*. France 24. <https://www.france24.com/en/live-news/20201214-civilians-in-ethiopia-s-tigray-speak-of-horror-as-blackout-lifts>.
- Joshua Keating. (2021, March 9). *The Information Age Retreats From the Battlefield*. Slate. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2021/03/ethiopia-tigray-violence-media-blackout.html>.
- Nikolaj Nielsen. (2020, December 14). *Cyberattack behind Tigray blackout, says Ethiopia*. EU Observer. <https://euobserver.com/foreign/150369>.
- AP News Wire. (2021, July 2). *Ethiopia denies it's trying to 'suffocate' Tigray region*. Independent. <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/ethiopia-denies-its-trying-to-suffocate-tigray-region-ethiopia-nairobi-united-nations-world-food-program-kenya-b1876951.html>.
- Reuters. (2021, November 8). *Social Media Access Disrupted in Ethiopia, Netblocks Says*. US News. <https://www.usnews.com/news/technology/articles/2021-11-08/social-media-access-disrupted-in-ethiopia-netblocks-says>.
- Amnesty International. (2021, June 29). *Ethiopia: As Mekelle changes hands, civilians remain in urgent need of protection*. Amnesty International. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/06/ethiopia-as-mekelle-changes-hands-civilians-remain-in-urgent-need-of-protection/>.
- United Nations. (2021, July 1). *Internet shutdowns now 'entrenched' in certain regions, rights council hears*. UN News. <https://news.un.org/en/story/2021/07/1095142>.
- Netblocks. (2021, November 8). *Facebook, WhatsApp and other services restricted in Ethiopia after exam paper leak*. Netblocks. <https://netblocks.org/reports/facebook-whatsapp-and-other-services-restricted-in-ethiopia-after-exam-paper-leak-pA24lJyb>.
- Access Now. (2021, September 13). *Voices from Tigray: ongoing internet shutdown tearing families, communities, businesses apart*. Access Now. <https://www.accessnow.org/voices-from-tigray-ongoing-internet-shutdown-tearing-families-communities-businesses-apart/>.
- The Associated Press. (2021, February 11). *From Myanmar to Ethiopia, internet shutdowns become favoured tool of regimes*. CBC News. <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/internet-shutdowns-regimes-myanmar-uganda-ethiopia-1.5910443>.
- Witney Schneidman. (2021, June 15). *Ethiopia, human rights, and the internet*. Brookings Institute. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2021/06/15/ethiopia-human-rights-and-the-internet/>.
- Joe Tidy and Becky Dale. (2020, February 2020). *What happens when the internet vanishes?* BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/technology-51620158>.
- James Jeffrey. (2021, February 16). *Ethiopia's Tigray conflict and the battle to control information*. Al Jazeera. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/2/16/ethiopias-tigray-conflict-and-the-battle-to-control-information>.