

Eritrea Cases
Last Updated: 6 August 2017

torg	gname	onset	min	max
T161	ERITREAN LIBERATION FRONT		1960	1992
T1990	POPULAR DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ERITREA		1960	0
T844	ERITREAN ISLAMIC JIHAD MOVEMENT	30-Jun-97	1980	2011
T1987	ERITREAN LIBERATION FRONT - REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL		1982	0
T28	AL-QA`IDA		1989	2012
T1985	ERITREAN KUNAMAS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT		1991	2007
T1988	ERITREAN POPULAR CONGRESS		1995	0
T1982	ERITREAN DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT		1996	0
T1981	ALLIANCE FOR ERITREAN NATIONAL FORCE		1999	0
T2509	RED SEA AFAR DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION (RSADO)		2008	2010
T1704	ERITREAN SALVATION FRONT (ESF)		2011	2011

I. ERITREAN LIBERATION FRONT

Min. Group Date: 1960

Max. Group Date: 1992

Onset: NA

Aliases: Eritrean Liberation Front, Eritrean Liberation Front (Elf), Eritrean Liberation Movement (Elm)

Part 1. Bibliography

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- Richard Lobban. “Eritrean Liberation Front: A Close-Up View.” Munger Africana Library Notes. 1972. CalTech. 1972.
<http://digitalcommons.ric.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1333&context=facultypublications>
- Kristian Gleditsch, David Cunningham, and Idean Salehyan. “Non-State Actor Data.’ p. 199-207. http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~ksg/data/NSAEX_casedesc.pdf
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<http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=1897>

Part 2. Basic Coding

Note: this is not the EPLF

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1960

Group End: 1992 (repressed by EPLF)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

ELF was created in July 1960 by students and scholars in Egypt (MIPT 2008). The group formed because of mounting resentment towards Selassie’s government for ignoring Eritrean autonomy throughout the 1950s (Lobban 1972). Their first attacks began in 1961 (MIPT 2008; *ibid*). The organization aims to create an autonomous Eritrea free from Ethiopian control (*ibid*). ELF is mainly an ethno-nationalist group despite occasionally demonstrating traits of religious and Marxist movements (MIPT 2008).

Geography

ELF has a base of operations in Eritrea and Ethiopia (MIPT 2008). ELF was created in July 1960 by students and scholars in Egypt (MIPT 2008). It has also destroyed property in and near Djibouti and Addis Ababa (Lobban 1972; GTD 2016). Within Ethiopia the group has been active in Kerene, Asmara, Mekele, Massalva, Ghinda, and Bahar Dar

(GTD 2016). Since 1969, ELF participated in plane hijacking and bombings in Germany, Karachi, Khartoum, and Aden, as well as conducted an attack in Italy (Lobban 1972). In 1982, ELF was forced into Sudan (ibid). ELF is a transnational organization.

Organizational Structure

ELF is a group that was initially founded by students and scholars (MIPT 2008). Villages in ELF's area of control have elected representatives in the organization for civil-military decision-making, but no formal political wing existed (Lobban 1972). The group received military and financial support from Iraq and Syria (MIPT 2008).

Size estimates on the group vary as the Ethiopian government claimed the group began with 1,000 members and in 1969 had 8,000 members (Lobban 1972). However, another source says that in its peak the group had 12,500-15,000 members (Gleditsch, Cunningham, and Salehyan N.D. p.225).

No additional information could be found on specific ELF wings or leadership.

External Ties

ELF has received explicit military and financial support from Iraq and Syria (MIPT 2008). Isaias Afewerki, who eventually became president of Eritrea, was a member of ELF in 1966. He then went on to co-found the EPLF, an ELF splinter which eventually pushed the organization into Sudan in 1982 (ibid; Gleditsch, Cunningham, and Salehyan N.D. p.226).

Group Outcome

In 1968, dead ELF members were displayed in Eritrean cities by Ethiopian authorities (Lobban 1972). The Ethiopian army in Eritrea is composed of peasants, leading to unsophisticated and uncoordinated counter-insurgency actions against ELF. They employed indiscriminate violence (Lobban 1972). In 1970, the army shot 112 people in a mosque and their napalm killed 600 civilians (ibid).

In 1970, the EPLF emerged as a splinter of ELF because of ideological disagreements about the religious affiliation of the group (MIPT 2008). The group began fighting both this new rival group and the government (MIPT 2008). By 1982 ELF was pushed out of Eritrea into Sudan by the EPLF. Their last violent attack occurred in 1992 (GTD 2016).

- II. POPULAR DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF ERITREA
Min. Group Date: 1960
Max. Group Date: 0
Onset: NA

Aliases: None

Part 1. Bibliography

- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Eritrea: The Eritrean Liberation Front (Sagem), including when it was founded, the organizational structure, its leadership, its mandate and activities, its membership; the treatment of its members by the authorities; whether it issues membership cards and if so, a description of the card (1988-March 2000) , 21 March 2000, ERT33931.E, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad5a30.html>
- “Alliance of Eritrean National Force.” FAS. 1998. <https://fas.org/irp/world/para/aenf.htm>
- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Eritrea: Eritrean Liberation Front - Revolutionary Council (ELF-RC) and alliance with other opposition groups (1998 - September 1999), 22 September 1999, ERT32749.E, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad5b14.html>

Note: is this an alias for ELF at some point?

Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None; no information about this group as an alias for ELF was ever found.

Group Formation: 1999

Group End: 1999 (NA)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

No information could be found regarding the formation of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea. No information could be found on any violent attacks by the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea in Eritrea or Sudan. It seems to primarily function as a political opposition group in Eritrea (Canada IRB 1999). Its first recorded action was joining the Alliance of Eritrean National Forces in 1999 (ibid; FAS 1998). This Alliance seeks to overthrow President Afeworki's government (ibid). The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea has no specified ideology.

Geography

The group seems to operate and have a transnational political base in Sudan (Canada IRB 1999). No information could be found on any violent attacks by the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea in Eritrea or Sudan.

Organizational Structure

The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea exists mainly as a political opposition group in Eritrea (Canada IRB 1999). The leader of the Alliance of Eritrean National Force (AENF), which the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea joined in 1999, is Abdullah Idriss (FAS 1998). The AENF receives explicit but unspecified support from the Sudanese government (ibid). No further information could be found on group leadership, membership, funding, or wings.

External Ties

The Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea entered an alliance with the Eritrean Democratic Resistance Movement, Eritrean Initiative Group, Eritrean Islamic Salvation Movement, Eritrean Kunamas Democratic Movement, Eritrean Liberation Front, Eritrean Liberation Front National Congress, Eritrean Liberation Front - Revolutionary Council, Eritrean People's Congress, Eritrean Revolutionary Democratic Front, and Ato [Mr] Ali Muhammad Sayyid Berhatu (Canada IRB 1999; FAS 1998).

The leader of this alliance, named the Alliance of Eritrean National Force (AENF), is Abdullah Idriss (FAS 1998). The AENF receives explicit but unspecified support from the Sudanese government (ibid).

Group Outcome

The first and last action of the Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea occurred when it joined the AENF alliance in 1999 (Canada IRB 1999). No information could be found on the group after or any government action taken against the organization.

Notes for Iris:

-Eritrea deems you as a militant or insurgent threat if you're any type of opposition group because it has outlawed all opposition parties. As a result, some nonviolent groups are classified as militant threats.

III. ERITREAN ISLAMIC JIHAD MOVEMENT

Min. Group Date: 1980

Max. Group Date: 2011

Onset: 1997

Aliases: Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement (Eijm), Abu Sihel Movement, Eijm - As, Eritrean Islamic Jihad (Eij), Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement - Abu Suhail Faction, Eritrean Islamic Reform Movement, Eritrean Islamic Salvation Movement, Harakat Al

Jihad Al Islami - Abu Suhail Faction, Harakat Al Jihad Al Islami Al Eritrea, Harakat Al Khalas Al Islami, Islamic Salvation Movement

Part 1. Bibliography

- “EJIM.” Terrorist Organization Profile No. 4535, MIPT Knowledge Base, 2008, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, https://docs.google.com/document/d/1tAOx6mFYpH6YjHL4iX2jL1xthWn_5mPDiZkyOwOGNEA/edit
- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Eritrea: Whether an Eritrean Liberation Front-Revolutionary Council (ELF-RC) member, who was required to report to the police on a weekly basis would be given official permission to leave Eritrea and whether that person's children between the ages of 18 and 40 who had not completed national service would be allowed to leave with her, 1 May 1999, ERT31892.E, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ac8d4c.html>
- “Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement (EIJM).” BAAD Narratives. Project on Violent Conflict. 2015. <http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/eritrean-islamic-jihad-movement-eijm>
- “Islamic Salvation Movement/Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement/Harakat al Jihad al Islami.” FAS. 1999. <https://fas.org/irp/world/para/ism.htm>
- “Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement.” Eritrean Human Rights Electronic Archive. N.D. <http://www.ehrea.org/EJIM.pdf>
- “Sudan Detains Eritrean Opposition Members.” Sudan Tribune. 2013. <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article25679>

Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Abu Sihel Movement; Eritrean Islamic Reform Movement (EIRM); Harakat al Khalas al Islami

Group Formation: 1980

Group End: 2017 (Active)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

The Eritrean Islamic Jihad Movement began in 1975 as a splinter off of ELF (EHR N.D). It splintered due to ideological disagreements about how Islamist the Eritrean separatist movement should be. The EIJM's first violent attack occurred in 1975.

It renamed and partially reorganized itself in 1980 when the National Eritrean Islamic Liberation Front, the Islamic Vanguard, the Organization of Eritrean Pioneer Muslims, and the Islamic Awakening merged to create the official organization (BAAD 2015). The

date of the group's first violent attack could not be found. The group aims to eradicate the Eritrean government, create an Islamic state with Sharia law in Eritrea, and raise awareness of the discrimination against Muslims in Eritrea (ibid; MIPT 2008). The group had mixed goals when it operated in Ethiopia, but is primarily center-seeking in Eritrea because it wants to abolish the Eritrean government, replacing it with an Islamic caliphate (ibid). The EIJM is a Muslim fundamentalist organization (Canada IRB 1999).

Geography

The EIJM is mainly based in Khartoum, Sudan but also has bases in Eritrea and Ethiopia (MIPT 2008; Canada IRB 1999). It is active in the western Eritrean lowlands near its border with Sudan but does not seem to hold attacks in countries other than Eritrea (MIPT 2008). The EIJM is a transnational group.

Organizational Structure

The EIJM was led by Khalil Mohammed Amer in 2010 and then in 2013 led by his deputy Abu al-Bara' Hasan Salman (BAAD 2015; MIPT 2008). The militant faction of the EIJM which emerged in 1980 is led by Shaykh Abu Suhail aka Muhammad Ahmad, who previously fought in the Afghan jihad against Soviets (EHR N.D). No information could be found on group funding but Sudan has allegedly given the group weapons and training (MIPT 2008). In 1994-1995, the group had an estimated 500-700 members; later on their size remained somewhere in the hundreds (BAAD 2015). The group is comprised of former ELF members, Muslim youths, conservative Eritreans, and Eritrean refugees (EHR N.D; ibid).

External Ties

The group splintered from the ELF in 1975, but maintained no ties or connections to other Eritrean separatist movements. The Eritrean government claims Sudan gives financial support and sanctuary to the EIJM (BAAD 2015). In 1996 the group first established a relationship with Osama Bin Laden and Al-Qa'ida (ibid). Some sources say that only the most radical factions of the EIJM accept Al-Qa'ida's financial, weapons, and training support (MIPT 2008; ibid).

The Eritrean Islamic Reform Movement, the Abu Suhail organization, the Eritrean Islamic Salvation Movement, and the Eritrean Islamic Party for Justice and Development are all splinter groups and other names for the EIJM (EHR N.D; FAS 1999). The organization includes members of Eritrean Pioneer Muslim Organization, Eritrean National Islamic Liberation Front, Islamic Defense Committee, Movement of Oppressed Eritreans, and Islamic Uprising (MIPT 2008). The EIJM falls under the Eritrean Solidarity Front [ESF] umbrella organization (BAAD 2015).

Group Outcome

In the early 1990s the ruler of Sudan, Hasan al-Turabi, closed EJIM facilities in the country (EHR N.D). In 2013 the Sudan government arrested 8 EJIM members for unclear reasons (Sudan Tribune 2013). No further information could be found on any important counter-insurgency attempts against the EJIM by the Eritrean government, possibly because of the several names it operates with. The last notable series of attacks by the EJIM occurred in 2003 however the group never became officially inactive (MIPT 2008).

Notes for Iris:

-it is unclear why EJIM escalated in 1997. The Eritrean Constitution was created in 1997 and Ethiopian elections are held, but there is no notable conflict trigger. In 1996, bin Laden left Sudan.

-ESF is a general umbrella group that fights for Eritrean autonomy (Eritrean Solidarity Front) - similar to MEND?

-1998-2000 is start of border war with Ethiopia

IV. ERITREAN LIBERATION FRONT - REVOLUTION COUNCIL

Min. Group Date: 1982

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: None

Part 1. Bibliography

- Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Eritrea: Eritrean Liberation Front - Revolutionary Council (ELF-RC) and alliance with other opposition groups (1998 - September 1999), 22 September 1999, ERT32749.E, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6ad5b14.html>
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<http://www.ehrea.org/da.php>
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<http://www.ehrea.org/memberleader.php>

Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: none

Group Formation: 1980s

Group End: 2008 (NA)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

The ELF-RC, an ELF faction led by Ahmed Nasser, split from ELF in the 1980s because of disputes over an attack held in Rasai (EHREA 2011). More specific information on group formation could not be found. Since it splintered, the organization seems to politically oppose the PFDJ government and aim to overthrow Aferworki leadership (Malta Today 2004; Canada IRB 2000). No information could be found on any violent attacks carried out by the ELF-RC and the organizational structure was not conducive to carrying out violent attacks.

Geography

The ELF-RC has met with other organizations in Saudi Arabia and Sudan (Canada IRB 1999). No further information could be found on bases or areas of operation in Eritrea. No information could be found on any violent attacks carried out by the ELF-RC. It is unclear if this group is transnational.

Organizational Structure

The ELF-RC was formed by Ahmed Nasser, who led the ELF militant organization prior (Canada IRB 1996; EHREA 2011). By the time the group joined the AENF in 1999 Abdullah Idriss became the new leader (Malta Today 2004; Canada IRB 2000). Then in 2008 when the ELF-RC joined the Eritrean Democratic Alliance the group was led by Weldeyesus Ammar (EHREA 2008). A majority of the initial ELF-RC members were

former ELF militants (EHREA 2011). No further information could be found on the source of funding or any wings.

External Ties

In 1992 the ELF-RC joined the Eritrean National Pact Alliance (Canada IRB 1999). Then in 1999 the group joined the Alliance of Eritrean National Force and the ELF-RC leader, Abdullah Idriss, became the elected leader of the alliance (ibid). In 2008, the ELF-RC joined the Eritrean Democratic Alliance. Mr. Mengesteab Asmerom represented them as one of the alliance's secretariats (EHREA 2008). No further information could be found on alleged or explicit support for the ELF-RC.

Group Outcome

In 1994 several important ELF-RC leaders were detained (Canada IRB 1996). In 1995 the ELF-RC claimed that the Eritrean government actively uses violence against those that belong or support opposition parties like the ELF-RC (Canada IRB 1996). No information could be found on any violent activity conducted by the ELF-RC. The group last came to attention for joining the Eritrean Democratic Alliance in 2008 (EHREA 2008).

Notes for Iris:

- ELF-RC never has any violent attacks
- ELF and ELF-RC are always referred to as separate entities
- Idriss has ties to the group, but there's never any clear leadership over this splinter

- V. AL-QA`IDA
Min. Group Date: 1989
Max. Group Date: 2012
Onset: NA

Aliases: Al-Qa'ida, Al Qaeda, Al Qaida, Al-Qa`Ida, Al-Qaeda, Qaidat Al-Jihad, Qa'idat Al-Jihad, The Base

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- Ty McCormick. "Al Qaeda: A Short History." Foreign Policy. 2014. <http://foreignpolicy.com/2014/03/17/al-qaeda-core-a-short-history/>
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- "Al-Qa'ida." BAAD Database. Project on Violent Conflict. 2015. <http://www.start.umd.edu/baad/narratives/al-qaeda>

Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1988 (Mackenzie Institute 2016)

Group End (Outcome): 2016 (active) (Crenshaw 2015)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

Al-Qaida was founded by Osama Bin Laden in 1988 (Mackenzie Institute 2016). The group's initial goals were to completely remove Western influence/ideas and to abolish the United States and Israel (BAAD 2015). They conducted their first attacks against the US embassy in Africa in 1998 (BAAD 2015; Global Security N.D). Al-Qaida first came to global attention after 9/11 but was active prior to that in its region (FAS 2005). The group has a radical Sunni Muslim ideology (CFR 2012; Global Security N.D).

Geography

Al-Qaida operated mainly within Peshawar, Pakistan, and Afghanistan (CFR 2012; PBS N.D). The group hid within cities and hills with particularly mountainous terrain in the Tora Bora mountains of Afghanistan (as shepherds or farmers) (FAS 2005). The group's leader Bin Laden had a base of operations in Sudan from 1991-1998 (Mackenzie Institute 2016)

Organizational Structure

Al-Qaida was headed by Osama Bin Laden, who was their sole leader until his assassination in 2011 (although rumors exist that he died earlier or didn't die at all) (CFR 2012). He was from Saudi Arabia and had helped fight the Soviets in the Afghanistan war (Crenshaw 2015). Following his death in 2011, he was replaced by Ayman al-Zawhiri. (Crenshaw 2015; CFR 2012) The group used a complex system in which members reported to couriers who reported to other couriers eventually making their way up to the head who was initially Bin Laden (RAND 2008). This is what we call a decentralized or cell-based organizational structure. Funding for the organization came from many places, including donations (FTO 2005). The group had different councils to deal with different aspects. For example, they had a "military committee" to deal with "military" matters, and a "consultation council" to plan out terrorist attacks and deal with financial matters (PBS N.D). They have no formal political wing (BAAD 2015). Al-Qaida can be considered an umbrella group that consisted of many other terrorist groups within (ibid; Global Security N.D). The organization had an estimated 75 members when it was first formed and up to 18,000 at its peak in 2004 (Crenshaw 2015). Today, it is thought to have less than 1000 members, but these estimates vary (Crenshaw 2015; BAAD 2015).

External Ties

Saudi Arabia allegedly gave some funding to AQ through drug trafficking and diamonds, but these were never proven true (Crenshaw 2015). Iran also allegedly trained and supported AQ members in the early 1990s (ibid; BAAD 2015). Afghanistan and Pakistan allow Al-Qaeda to operate training camps within their borders (ibid). The group has ties to several other terrorist organizations including Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, Lashkar-e-Taiba and Jaish-e-Muhammad, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Armed Islamic Group in Algeria, the Abu Sayyaf Group, and Jemaah Islamiya (CFR 2012; PBS N.D).

Group Outcome

The US launched Operation Enduring Freedom in 2001 to find and destroy the Taliban and Al-Qaeda elements operating in Afghanistan (BAAD 2015). The group's first leader Osama bin Laden was killed during a raid in 2011 (CFR 2012; BAAD 2015). The group is still active today although it has lost much support to ISIS.

- VI. ERITREAN KUNAMAS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT
Min. Group Date: 1991
Max. Group Date: 2007
Onset: NA

Aliases: Democratic Movement For The Liberation Of The Eritrean Kunamas (Dmlek), Democratic Movement For The Liberation Of Eritrean Kunama (Dmlek), Eritrean Kunamas Democratic Movement, Eritrean Kunamas Democratic Movement (Dmlek)

Part 1. Bibliography

- Andrew McGregor. "Opposition Group Promises Attacks Following Sanctions on Eritrea for Support of Terrorism." Jamestown Foundation. Vol. 8. Issue 1. 2010.
<https://jamestown.org/program/opposition-group-promises-attacks-following-sanctions-on-eritrea-for-support-of-terrorism/>
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http://erit-alliance.com/erit/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=247:the-democratic
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<http://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?perpetrator=20140>
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- International Crisis Group (ICG), Eritrea: Scenarios for Future Transition, 28 March 2013, Africa Report N°200, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/516e8de94.html>

Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1995

Group End: last known major act is in 2009, but still active as of 2017 (Political Group)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

The Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Eritrean Kunama (DMLEK) was a political organization founded on April 1, 1995, by members of the Kunama ethnic group (USCIS 2014; DMLEK 2017). This occurred in response to government resettlement plans for the Kunama ethnic group (EPP 2009). Their first violent attack occurred in November 2007 when members attacked a military outpost (GTD 2016; McGregor 2010). It is likely they were violent earlier because political opposition groups to the PFDJ are banned from participating in politics. The group aims to overthrow the PFDJ controlled Eritrean government (WRITENET 2004 p.45; USCIS 2014). DMLEK has an ethno-nationalistic ideology (WRITENET 2004 p.45; McGregor 2010).

Geography

Members of the Kunama ethnic group live near the border between Eritrea and Ethiopia and close to the Gesh and Setit rivers (McGregor 2010). DMLEK has conducted attacks in the following Eritrean locations: Shambuko, Melezanai, Binbilina, and the southwest region of Gash-Barka (ibid; GTD 2016). This is not a transnational organization.

Organizational Structure

The leader of DMLEK is named Cornelius Osman (McGregor 2010). No information could be found on his prior occupation. A majority of the group's members are from the Kunama ethnic group (USCIS 2014; DMLEK 2017). The DMLEK claims that the EPRDF in Ethiopia provides support to the group but no specifics could be found (DMLEK 2017). The group exists mainly as a political organization (ibid; USCIS 2014). No further information could be found regarding wings, source of funding, or size.

External Ties

DMLEK joined an umbrella group based in Ethiopia called the Eritrean Democratic Alliance when it formed in 2005 (McGregor 2010; Erit-Alliance 2008). DMLEK also united with the Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization (RSADO) to create the Democratic Front of Eritrean Nationalities (ibid). It seems that early into its formation the Eritrean Democratic Resistance Movement splintered from DMLEK (EPP 2009). The group claims that the EPRDF in Ethiopia provides support to the group but no specifics could be found (DMLEK 2017). Ethiopia and Sudan allegedly support DMLEK, RSADO, and the ENSF (ICG 2013). No further information could be found regarding external support.

Group Outcome

No information could be found regarding any government response tailored to DMLEK. The group is still active as a political entity and their last recorded violent attack occurred in March 2009 (DMLEK 2017; McGregor 2010).

Notes for Iris: What differentiates DMLEK from EIJM?

- the group seems smaller and draws its support from a smaller population base while EIJM had 500-700 members at its peak in 1995
- this group has a political wing while EIJM doesn't
- EIJM gets external support from Al Qaeda while DMLEK is only allied to other groups within Eritrea

VII. ERITREAN POPULAR CONGRESS

Min. Group Date: 1995

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Eritrean People's Congress, Eritrean People's Congress (Epc), Eritrean Popular Congress, Eritrean Popular Congress (Epc)

Part 1. Bibliography

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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1998

Group End: 2008 (NA)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

The organization emerged in August 1993 when the militant wing of the EIJM started to split from the political wing (Canada IRB 2001). This group is the former military wing of the EIJM. The wing formally splintered away in 1998 when they renamed themselves the Eritrean People's Congress (ibid). The EIJM's goals were to eradicate the Eritrean government, create an Islamic state with Sharia law in Eritrea, and raise awareness of the discrimination against Muslims in Eritrea (MIPT 2008). It is unclear if the EPC has

the same religious ideology but they still oppose the Eritrean government (Sudan Tribune 2008). No information could be found on any violent attacks committed by the EPC.

Geography

The EPC announced its split from the EIJM from Saudi Arabia (Canada IRB 2001). No information could be found on any violent attacks committed by the EPC. It is unclear if the organization has a transnational base of operations.

Organizational Structure

The EPC was led by Taher Shengeb in 2008 (Tekle Sudan Tribune 2008; EHREA 2008). A majority of its members are former EIJM militants (Canada IRB 2001). No further information could be found on membership size, source of funding, or wings.

External Ties

The organization formed in 1998 when the militant wing of the EIJM split from the political wing (Canada IRB 2001). In 2008 the EPC joined the Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Eritrean, Eritrean Democratic Party, Eritrean Federal Democratic Movement, Eritrean Islamic Islah Movement, Eritrean Liberation Front, Eritrean Liberation Front–Revolutionary Council, Eritrean Nahda Party, Eritrean National Salvation Front, Eritrean Popular Democratic Front, and the Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization to form the Eritrean Democratic Alliance (EHREA 2008). No further information could be found on alleged or explicit support given to the group.

Group Outcome

No information could be found on government action taken against the EPC. It is unknown when the group's last violent attack occurred. The last recorded action of the EPC was joining the Eritrean Democratic Alliance in 2008 (EHREA 2008).

VIII. ERITREAN DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

Min. Group Date: 1996

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Eritrean Democratic Resistance Movement, Eritrean Democratic Resistance Movement (Gash-Setit), Gash-Setit, Gash-Setit Democratic Resistance Movement

Part 1. Bibliography

- “EPP/ Gash-Setit Democratic Resistance - Movement Sign Merger Agreement.” EPP Department for Information and Culture. 2009.
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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1994 (splinter)

Group End: 2009 (merger)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

There are conflicting narratives but it seems the Eritrean Democratic Resistance Movement splintered from the Kunama Movement for the Liberation of Eritrea in 1994 (EPP 2009; McGregor 2010). Some say the EPP splintered from the Kunama movement, but this pre-dates the Kunama movement. Also, the EDRM draws its membership from a non-Kunama ethnic group. The conflicting information is whether the group splinters from the Kunama movement or another organization.

This may be because even though the Kunama is a Nilotic ethnic group, many EDRM members are from a different Nilotic ethnic group called the Nara (McGregor 2010). The first recorded violent attack by the militant wing of the EDRM occurred on May 10, 1996 (EPP 2009). The group opposes both the PFDJ controlled Eritrean government and resettlement plans for the Gash-Setit area (EPP 2009; McGregor 2010). They want to overthrow the government and implement policy reforms to improve treatment of the Nara ethnic group. Overthrowing the government may be a prerequisite. The EDRM has an ethno-nationalistic ideology (McGregor 2010).

Geography

The organization has been active in southwestern Eritrea, specifically upper Gash near Oblet (IRIN 2000; EPP 2009). The EDRM is based in Gash-Setit near the border between Eritrea and Ethiopia (McGregor 2010). There is no evidence that this organization is transnational.

Organizational Structure

The group is led by Ismail Nada (EPP 2009). Most members are from the Nara and Kunama ethnic groups (ibid; McGregor 2010). The group has a political wing and armed units (EPP 2009; IRIN 1999). The EDRM draws unspecified support from the Kunama ethnic group (IRIN 2000; IRIN 1999).

External Ties

There are conflicting narratives but it seems the Eritrean Democratic Resistance Movement splintered from the Kunama Movement for the Liberation of Eritrea in 1994 (EPP 2009; McGregor 2010). In 1999 the ERDM joined the Alliance of the Eritrean National Forces which became named the Eritrean National Alliance in 2002 (IRIN 2000; EPP 2009). In May 2009 the organization merged with the Eritrean People's Party (EPP 2009). The EDRM draws explicit but unspecified support from the Kunama ethnic group (IRIN 2000; IRIN 1999).

Group Outcome

No information could be found on government action tailored to the EDRM. The last recorded violent action that could be found occurred in November 1996; however, sources say the group might have been violent as late as 1999 (EPP 2009; IRIN 1999). On May 24, 2009, the group merged with the Eritrean People's Party (ibid).

Note for Iris:

- what is the relationship between the Kunama and the Nara ethnic minorities? Are they related? Allied?
- in contrast to the EJIM, this group is super small which is why it merges with EPP even later on.
- the group does not carry out enough attacks to draw the attention of the government
- Eritrean government is super repressive. They have prevented some groups from escalating. Because the government has outlawed the groups regardless of if they use violent attacks, then they have no incentive to not rebel. [commitment problem → repression is non credible threat to deter rebellion independent of organization]

IX. ALLIANCE FOR ERITREAN NATIONAL FORCE Min. Group Date: 1999

Max. Group Date: 0

Onset: NA

Aliases: Alliance For Eritrean National Force, Alliance For Eritrean National Force Or Eritrean National Alliance, Alliance Of Eritrean National Force, Alliance Of Eritrean National Forces, Eritrean National Alliance

Part 1. Bibliography

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- Patrick Gilkes. "Free rein for Eritrean opposition." BBC. 2000. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/760503.stm>
- "Eritrea Political Parties." Global Security. N.d. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/eritrea/political-parties.htm>
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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: ENA (post-merger 2002), EDA (2005)

Group Formation: 1999

Group End: 2002 (merger)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

The AENF formed in March 1999 as an umbrella organization of ten Eritrean political opposition groups (FAS 1998; UCA N.D). The date of their first violent attack could not be found as the groups within the alliance operate individually. The Alliance aims to

overthrow the Aferworki government in Eritrea (FAS 1998; UCA N.D). No overarching ideology could be found.

Geography

The AENF states that it operates in rural areas and towns like Haicotta (BBC 2000). The group was founded in Khartoum, Sudan but it is unclear if the alliance is based there (Global Security N.D). During the Ethiopian-Eritrean border wars the AENF operated in the western provinces against the Eritrean government based in Asmara (Canada IRB 2001). No information could be found to suggest the alliance is transnational.

Organizational Structure

The Alliance comprises ten Eritrean opposition organizations and was initially led by ELF-RC leader Abdullah Idriss (FAS 1998; UCA N.D). By 2002 when the AENF merged with the Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization; the combined groups had 3,000 members (UCA N.D; Global Security N.D). Sudan allegedly supports the group in retaliation for Eritrean support for Sudanese opposition groups (FAS 1998). Ethiopia allegedly supports the AENF more passively by allowing the organization to operate in the western provinces during the Ethiopian-Eritrean border wars (Canada IRB 2001). No further information could be found on AENF funding, membership, or wings.

External Ties

The AENF comprises of the Eritrean Democratic Resistance Movement, Eritrean Initiative Group, Eritrean Islamic Salvation Movement, Eritrean Kunamas Democratic Movement, Eritrean Liberation Front, Eritrean Liberation Front National Congress, Eritrean Liberation Front - Revolution Council, Eritrean People's Congress, Eritrean Revolutionary Democratic Front, Popular Democratic Front for the Liberation of Eritrea, and Ato [Mr] Ali Muhammad Sayyid Berhatu (FAS 1998). In 2002 the AENF merged with the Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization to form the Eritrean National Alliance (UCA N.D; Global Security N.D).

Sudan allegedly supports the group in retaliation for Eritrean support for Sudanese opposition groups (FAS 1998). Ethiopia allegedly supports the AENF more passively by allowing the organization to operate in the western provinces during the Ethiopian-Eritrean border wars (Canada IRB 2001). No further information could be found regarding external support.

Group Outcome

In retaliation for Ethiopia allegedly supporting the AENF, Eritrea supported a group called the Ethiopian Democratic Forces by providing military training and equipment (Canada

IRB 2001). No further actions taken by the Eritrean government tailored to the AENF could be found. Since the AENF is an alliance of groups that operate individually no date of last violent attack could be found. In 2002 the AENF merged with the Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization to form the Eritrean National Alliance (UCA N.D; Global Security N.D).

- X. RED SEA AFAR DEMOCRATIC ORGANIZATION (RSADO)
Min. Group Date: 2008
Max. Group Date: 2010
Onset: NA

Aliases: None

Part 1. Bibliography

- Tesfa-Alem Tekle. "Eritrean rebels claim to have killed dozens of intelligence agents." Sudan Tribune. 2014. <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article50805>
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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: None

Group Formation: 1998

Group End: 2017 (active)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

The Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization was founded in 1998 in response to perceived discrimination by the Eritrean government towards members of the Afar ethnic group (UCA N.D.; Canada IRB 1999). The earliest recorded violent attack that could be found by RSADO occurred in 2006 (UCA N.D). The group aims to overthrow the Eritrean government and secure rights and autonomy for members of the Afar ethnic group in Eritrea (Sudan Tribune 2009; Sudan Tribune N.D). The group believes overthrowing the regime is a prerequisite to these policy reforms. The Red Sea Afar Democratic Organization has an ethnic-nationalistic ideology (Canada IRB 1999).

Geography

The RSADO has conducted attacks in the following locations throughout Eritrea: near Alhan, in northern Denkeyla, Afambo, Haleb, Morad, the Ara'ata sub-zone, Senafe, near Kokobay and Kermeti, and near Kelay (Sudan Tribune 2014; Sudan Tribune 2009; UCA N.D). The group has a transnational base of operations in Ethiopia (Sudan Tribune 2014; Sudan Tribune N.D).

Organizational Structure

The group's leader is named Ibrahim Haron and their spokesperson is named Yasmin Mohamed (Sudan Tribune N.D). No information could be found on either individual's prior occupation. RSADO has an Executive committee and a political wing (Sudan Tribune 2009). A majority of RSADO members come from the Afar ethnic group (Sudan Tribune N.D). Eritrea has accused Ethiopia of supporting RSADO and other Afar opposition groups (Sudan Tribune 2014; Sudan Tribune 2013). No further information could be found regarding membership or source of funding.

External Ties

In 2002, the Alliance for Eritrean National Forces joined forces with RSADO to create the Eritrean National Alliance, which evolved into the Eritrean Democratic Alliance (Global Security N.D; Sudan Tribune 2009). In 2013, the RSADO and the Saho People's Democratic Movement merged, but kept the RSADO name (Sudan Tribune 2013).

Eritrea has accused Ethiopia of supporting RSADO and other Afar opposition groups (Sudan Tribune 2014; Sudan Tribune 2013). Ethiopia and Sudan allegedly support DMLEK, RSADO, and the ENSF (ICG 2013). No further information could be found regarding other external support.

Group Outcome

No information could be found regarding counter-terrorism tactics tailored to RSADO. Their last recorded major attack occurred in April 2014 (Sudan Tribune 2014). The group has likely had additional attacks since 2014. RSADO seems to still be an active organization.

Notes for Iris:

- the AENF was originally a political alliance, but later becomes an umbrella organization for different militant groups
- the group allegedly has external support, but never proven
- unlike DMLEK and ERDM, the Afar ethnic group is super prevalent in Ethiopia and there is a large Afar diaspora there which can provide support for the group there
- RSADO seems like the strongest group in 2017 than the ENSF or DMLEK and ENSF is not part of the EDA alliance

- XI. ERITREAN SALVATION FRONT (ESF)
Min. Group Date: 2011
Max. Group Date: 2011
Onset: NA

Aliases: Eritrean Salvation Front (Esf), Eritrean Salvation Front

Part 1. Bibliography

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Part 2. Basic Coding

Aliases: Eritrean National Salvation Front

Group Formation: 2004

Group End: 2017 (still active)

Part 3. Narrative

Group Formation

The Eritrean National Salvation Front was formed in 2004 when the Eritrean People's Congress merged with two ELF splinters and two ethnic militant groups (Connell and Killion 2010 p.28). No further information could be found on group formation. ENSF's first recorded violent attack occurred in 2009 (UCA N.D). The group aims to overthrow the Eritrean government (Asmarino Independent 2011). The group has been classified as an ethnic-based group but sourcing does not specify what ethnic group the ENSF represents (ICG 2013).

Geography

The ENSF has conducted attacks in the following Eritrean Areas: Senafe, near Kokobay and Kermeti, near Kelay, in the Qohawta neighborhood, and Tserona (UCA N.D; Sudan Tribune 2015; GTD 2016). The group has a transnational base of operations in Ethiopia (ICG 2013).

Organizational Structure

Abdella Adem, the former leader of the Eritrean People's Movement, was chairman of the group in 2007 (Connell and Killion 2010 p.28). Ahmed Nasser, former ELF and ELF-RC leader, led the ENSF until his death in 2014. He was replaced by Dr. Habte Tesfamariam, who died in 2017 (Asmarino Independent 2011; Awate 2017). The group is allegedly supported by Sudan and Ethiopia but specifics regarding their support could not be found (ICG 2013). No further information could be found on ENSF wings, funding, or membership.

External Ties

The Eritrean National Salvation Front was formed in 2004 when the Eritrean People's movement merged with two ELF splinters and two ethnic militant groups (Connell and Killion 2010 p.28). The group has conducted several attacks alongside RSADO (UCA N.D). The group is allegedly supported by Sudan and Ethiopia but specifics regarding their support could not be found (ICG 2013). No further information could be found regarding external support.

Group Outcome

No information could be found on counter-terrorism activities tailored to the ENSF. Their last recorded attack occurred in 2015 (Sudan Tribune 2015). They likely have had more attacks since then. The ENSF is still an active organization (Awate 2017).

Notes for Iris:

- There was a shift in violent tactics around 2007 when there was a leadership change