Joint Submission to the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights for the consideration of the 3rd Universal Periodic Review of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization

The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) is an international, nonviolent and democratic membership organisation. Its Members are indigenous peoples, minorities, unrecognised States and occupied territories that have joined together to defend their political, social and cultural rights, to preserve their environments and to promote their right to self-determination.

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Ogaden People’s Rights Organisation

OPRO is an independent advocacy and research organisation and publisher that advocates for the rights of the Somali people under Ethiopian Rule, in particular the agropastoralists (nomads) whose habitat and way of life is in danger and are not adequately represented genuinely in the current political and social superstructures in Ogaden and Ethiopia. OPRO is committed to providing accurate and up to date information about the Ogaden and the Horn of Africa region for all interested parties. OPRO was formally founded on 18 June 2014.

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Keywords: Indigenous people, right to life, attacks on activists, right to health, right to self-determination, human rights, minority rights.

I. Introduction

1. This 3rd UPR report for the Federal Republic of Ethiopia (hereafter ‘Ethiopia’) is submitted by the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization and the Ogaden Peoples Rights Organisation at the event of the 3rd UN Human Rights Committee Session. It draws attention to violation of Human Rights norms both transcribed within the Ethiopian government and in international legislation on Human Rights, including those adopted, signed and ratified by Ethiopia.

2. Ethiopia is a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the Convention Against Torture (CAT). As such it is liable to scrutiny from the UNHRC Universal Periodic Review.

3. This report will mainly focus on the actions related towards ethnic minorities. It thus does not proclaim itself to be a comprehensive account of the Human Rights abuses perpetrated over the period.

II. Background

1. The Oromia region of Ethiopia is the largest populated region of the country and is home to an estimated 42 million people, mostly of the Oromo ‘nationality’ with pockets of Amharic speakers. Its regional capital is Addis Ababa, known as Finfinne in Oromia, which also serves as the federal capital. Oromia was a collection of autonomous communities before the invasion by the Highland, Amharic-speaking kingdoms in the late 19th century of the region.

2. The Somali Region is the South Eastern part of Ethiopia and is inhabited by 8.5 million people. It has an intrinsic historical cultural and linguistic link with neighbouring Somali peoples. Within it is a region historically known as Ogaden region, which sometimes is used to describe the entire province.

3. The Oromia region, as well as the Gambella and the South Western Peoples, are under the rule of the Ethiopian state in large part due to imperial conquest and colonisation process instigated from the northern Abyssinian (“Habesha”) kingdoms, namely but not limited to Tigray and Amharic-speaking elites in the Shoan region.

4. During the post-war decolonisation process, the returning Emperor Haile Selassie ensured that Ethiopia maintained its borders while advocating for the annexation of the Ogaden region, that was disputed with the fledgling Somali Federation in the East.

5. After two decades of further rule, the Emperor Selassie was overthrown by the self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninist “Derg” regime due to the
widespread famine and mismanagement developing outside of the Ethiopian capital. The Derg however, did nothing to stem the numerous crises the country was facing, and under General Mengistu led a “Red Terror” that led to the cracking down on thousands of activists.

6. In 1991, the fall of the Mengistu dictatorship to the armed forces of the Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front came with a transitional government composed of all the opposition parties. The TPLF, however, gradually started a process of monopolisation of federal institutional power, forming the EPRDF with 3 other parties they created from various ethnic constituencies. Under the premiership of Meles Zenawi, the EPRDF dominated Ethiopian politics until the fateful 2005 general election. After a relative opening of political space, the election delivered a closer result than expected. The response of the EPRDF to this challenge was to crack down on political opposition via internments without trial, forced exiles, monopolisation of political space including the media, and questionable electoral practices hereafter. Furthermore, any suggestion of self-determination of Ethiopian peoples as per Article 29 of the Ethiopian constitution was severely repressed.

7. Since the 2005 elections, the Ethiopian population have seen themselves become accustomed to numerous Human Rights abuses perpetrated either by the federal government, or extensions of this government in the peripheral regions. Some of the most serious violations took place in the Somali Region, where the Liyu Police have committed some of the gravest crimes. In Oromia and Addis Ababa many activists were also imprisoned.

III. Human Rights Issues

a. Right to Life and Extra-Judicial Killings

8. Article 14 of the Ethiopian constitution provides for the right to life, security of person and liberty of said person, with derogations to this relating to Ethiopia’s continued maintenance of the death penalty. This was already highlighted by several members of the UN General Assembly as a recommendation in the previous Universal Periodic Review. The focus of this section will thus mainly be on indiscriminate killings during the period of review, and two phenomena in particular: the crackdown of Oromo-based protests from December 2015 until the current period of writing, and the border violence between Oromo, Ogaden and state-sponsored militia in the period under review.

9. Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ratified in Ethiopia on 11 June 1993) forbids the executing of extrajudicial killings.

10. Indiscriminate state sponsored violence under the current UPR period can be traced back to December 2015, when Ethiopian Federal Police crackdown on the protestors of the “Addis Ababa Integrated Master Plan” that led to protestors being fired at by tear-gas and numerous

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arrests. This was soon followed by the death of four Oromo students after a rally at Haramaya University in Oromia. This then escalated over the month of December (62 separate incidents including indiscriminate killings)\(^2\). The cause of the Oromo protest satisfaction was said to be the lack of consultation over the expansion of the federal capital, leading to their farmlands being overrun by construction projects.

11. From the 16th to the 20th of January 2016, after the halting of the “Integrated Master Plan”, at least 12 Oromo protestors were killed during several demonstrations all over Oromia. This would be followed on the 27th of January by more reports of injured protestors and on the 29th of January by reports of torture inside the Kalitti prison in Addis Ababa of protestors\(^3\).

12. On the 26th of February 2016, the Ethiopian government declared a de facto martial law over the Oromia region by removing all civil administrators of Oromia in office and replacing them with federal intelligence and military offices.

13. On the 16th of June 2016, Human Rights Watch published a report on the killings and arrests perpetrated by the Ethiopian government in response to Oromo protests from November 2015 to May 2016. On the 6th and 7th of August 2016, around 100 Oromo and Amhara protestors demanding respect for dissent are reported to have been killed by Ethiopian security forces\(^4\).

14. On the 2nd of October 2016, government-sponsored “Agazi” militia conducts were massacre on the day of Oromo thanksgiving resulting in the death of almost 52 peaceful demonstrators and 600 injured\(^5\). This is followed by reports of armoured vehicles and combat helicopters being deployed by the Ethiopian government to contain the protests. This would then be followed by a 6-month state of emergency declared by the Ethiopian government.

15. On the 19th of January 2017, Human Rights Watch published a report detailing the killing of 400 Oromo protestors carried out by security forces and the regime in Addis Ababa\(^6\).

16. On the 30th of March 2017, the EPRDF-led government voted to extend the state of emergency for four months, which as per the above report extended the impunity of authorities in conducted crimes against Oromo protestors. This would later be lifted on the 4th of August 2017. On the

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\(^4\) Id.


26th of October 2017, 10 more people were killed by the Agazi militia in Ambo, Oromia⁷.

17. Following a series of widespread releases of Oromo activists and prominent political leaders, on the 26th February 2018, Oromo Federalist Congress members of the opposition, Bekele Gerba and Merera Gudina, were detained again in Western Ethiopia⁸.

18. In the Somali Region, the large part of government-sponsored or perpetrated violence has come at the border of the Somali Region-Oromia provinces. Its head was, until his resignation, Abdi Mohamoud Omar, also known as Abdi Illey, by opponents, who was an ex-security officer himself. There have been reports of Liyyu police perpetrating violence across the period of the UPR, including torture, rape and summary executions⁹.

19. The Liyu Police are a paramilitary force set up in 2017 by the regional President Abdi Mohamoud Omar, who was then head of security in the region, to tackle the Ogaden National Liberation Front as an organisation. It thus specifically engages in arbitrary killings against the ONLF, and collective punishment against suspected sympathisers on the grounds of a counter-insurgency to this day¹⁰.

20.In February 2016, Ethiopian forces were reported to have carried out a mass killing of 300 villagers in the Labarbar village, near Shilabo in the Ogaden region.¹¹ They were supported by the Liyyu Police.

21. On the 14th of December 2017, the Ethiopian government responded to these border clashes by shutting down internet services in Ethiopia and targeted cyberattacks in outside their jurisdiction.¹² The justification for these actions was to avoid the coordination of ethnically-motivated armed groups.

22.On the 10th of March 2018, nine civilians were reportedly shot to death and fifteen were wounded by the Ethiopian army in Moyale town¹³.

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¹⁰ ETHIOPIA: POLICE UNIT UNLAWFULLY KILLING PEOPLE MUST BE STOPPED | AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, supra note 9.
¹³ Ethiopian army targets civilians in Moyale killing nine, wounding above a dozen. Martial law command post calls it a mistake, residents dispute - Addis Standard, ADDIS STANDARD (2018),
23. On Sunday the 6th of May 2018, there were reports of violence due to what initially was report as an interethnic disagreement between Oromo and Garre ethnic groups. Oromo activists claim however that the responsible party was the Liyuu Police. The Ethiopian government claimed that this is part of efforts to control illegal movement of firearms, but Oromo activists claim this is a part of broader attacks on Oromo borderlands to undermine relations between the Oromo and their neighbours.

24. Since the most recent declared state of emergency, there has been an estimated 800,000 internally displaced peoples mainly originating from the Ogaden regions. This has created a massive humanitarian crisis in the region according to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre.

25. It was also reported by an Ogadeni that at least a dozen ethnic Somalis had been killed by Oromo militias in the town of Babil, Tulli Guled and Chinaksen, with Ethiopian army stationed in the region. As a result, the Ethiopian Federal Army could be considered negligent in wake of their mandate to secure the rule of law in the area.

26. On the 13th of August, Liyuu Police forces are said to have attacked three separate localities in Oromia’s East Harghe Zone. At the same time, reports were made that the Liyuu Police has also “aided” to “restore peace” to the Somali regional capital Jijiga by helping federal forces, thereby holding the federal government directly accountable for the Liyuu Police’s human rights abuses.

27. So far, the Ethiopian government has not laid out a plan amongst its reforms for countering the absence of rule of law in the Somali Region, as demonstrated by the actions of the Liyuu police.

b. Right to Freedom of Association and Assembly

28. Article 30 of the Ethiopian Constitution grants that “everyone has the right to assemble and to demonstrate together with others peacefully and unarmed, and to petition”. Article 31 also designates the right of Freedom of Association “for any cause or purpose”. Both articles, however, do derogate that any violation of other laws limits these rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, via Article 20, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, via Article 21, re-enforce this right.


29. Despite the constitutional protections against such abuses, the Ethiopian government continued to legislate against civil society actors in their right to freely pursue activities. NGOs continued to be banned by the Ethiopian government on little legal basis other than an arbitrary.

30. The Anti-Terrorism Proclamation of 2009 is still in effect, although the Ethiopian government has admitted this is currently under review. This law, according to Front Line Defenders, deliberately legislated in a broad scope to give the authorities arbitrary power over the arrest of political dissidents.¹⁹

31. Nevertheless, Human Rights experts maintain that this review is under the sole responsibility of the legislative chamber that is controlled by the government, and opposition groups remain side-lined from this process.²⁰

32. The 2009 Charities and Societies Proclamation Law places restrictions on the activities that domestic civil society organisations can engage in. This includes the mere activity of reporting and addressing human rights concerns. As of the period of writing this legislation has yet to be repealed by the new government, and in effect restricts the role of civil society in the country to assemble and campaign against Human Rights abuses.

33. Citizen Lab reports that, during the period under review, the Ethiopian government was responsible for several malware cyberattacks in over 20 countries, aiming to shut down the media of the opposition parties including the Oromia Media Network of the Oromo Liberation Front.²¹

34. In early March 2016, Facebook Messenger, Twitter, WhatsApp and other forms of social media and communication were made inaccessible. This was made possible by the government via Ethio Telecom, which is currently the only telecommunications provider in Ethiopia, giving the state a monopoly of speech in the public sphere and hindering the ability of actors to assemble.

35. On the 9th of March 2016, two foreign journalists and an interpreter were arbitrarily detained for 24 hours after reporting on the Oromo protests in the capital Addis Ababa.

36. On the 22nd of April 2016, 22 civil society activists and opposition politicians were arrested under the Anti-terrorism Proclamation. These activists have since been released. However, they were subject to conditions that violate their rights, including being held incommunicado without access to legal counsel, and under deplorable hygiene conditions for four days. One of the prisoners included the Oromo Federalist

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Congress’s First General Secretary, who was placed under solitary confinement.

37. On 8th of October 2016, the Ethiopian Government declared a state of emergency for a period of six months. Part of the measures restricting the right of assembly was the total media blackout of organisations regarded as “terrorist groups”, including the Ginbot 7, the Oromo Liberation Front and the Ogaden National Liberation Front. These organisations would later be removed from the terrorist list, but their media activities have been severely hamstrung by the measures taken during the so-called state of emergencies instated by the Ethiopian government.

38. On the 25th of April 2017, Dr. Merera Gudina was charged with alleged terrorism and other criminal offences based on a speech he gave at the European Parliament in Brussels. He was accused of trespassing the state of emergency by travelling to a foreign country. His preliminary objections, stating he was not aware of the restrictions and had talked to no opposition media, were later rejected by the Ethiopian Supreme Court.

39. On the 28th of November 2017, Oromo activist Yonatan Tesfaye’s sentence was reduced by three years, after initially being charged of terrorism for online activism on Facebook.

40. On the 14th of December 2017, the Ethiopian government took the measure of shutting down all social media channels across the county through what they called a proportionate response to the violent clashes in the Oromia-Somali Region border.

41. On the 16th of February 2018, just after the resignation of Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn, the Ethiopian government called a new 6-month nationwide state of emergency. This gave the government more leeway to suspend any freedom of assembly, including protest, and conduct internments without trial. This state of emergency would end 2 months early, following the induction of the new Prime Miniter, Abiy Ahmed.

c. Right to Self-Determination and Socio-Economic Development

42. The Ethiopian constitution maintains the right to self-determination as per Article 29. The African Charter for Human Rights, of which Ethiopia is a signatory party, maintains in Article 20 that self-determination shall also constitute a right to “freely determine their political status and shall pursue their economic and social development according to the policy they have freely chosen.”. The right to self-determination of peoples is also transcribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights under Chapter 1 Article 1 and in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, also in Article 1 of both treaties.

43. The initial Oromo protest were sparked by the Addis Ababa integrated Master Plan, which was enacted without consultation of local
communities outside the capital that rely on farming and artisanal work to subsist.\(^{22}\)

44. The Somali Region is said to have substantial natural gas reserves that would constitute as a significant resource for what is one of the poorest regions of the country. A strong proportion of the Ogaden-Somali population are agro-pastoralists who depend on thousands of square kilometres of vegetation where the natural gas reserves lie.\(^ {23}\)

45. Since the EPRDF regime has taken power, the government has conducted large scale business operations in the Ogaden region due to aforementioned oil and gas reserves. In doing so, they have awarded millions of hectares of land to foreign companies, resulting in the destruction of the Ogadeni livelihood, with the most striking example being that of the Chinese Poly group’s investment in the region. With the agricultural sector still a large part of the Ogadeni economy, selling off land to foreign corporations is seen as a burden on the Ogadeni Heartlands.

46. On 15th of March 2016, UNPO raised concerns over the Ethiopia-China gas deal considering the previous fault lines it had created in Ogaden society.\(^ {24}\) It called on the Ethiopian government to ensure local governments were involved in the decision-making process to extract natural gas from their livelihoods.

47. Bloomberg reported, as late as December 2017, that the gas extraction operations in the Ogaden region would be operational as of 2019 with no consultation of any local actors reported.

d. Mistreatment of Prisoners

48. Ethiopia is a signatory to the United Nations Convention Against Torture and ratified it in its own domestic legislation. As such it is liable to the Article 2 of the UNCAT treaty forbidding torture. 49. On July 4th 2018, Human Rights Watch reported on the case of a Jail in the Ogaden region (called “Jail Ogaden”), exposing numerous human rights abuses.\(^ {26}\)

50. The victims of the degrading treatment were said to be mainly ONLF members, as the prison is a personal project of the ex-Somali Region President, and was set up as part of his counter insurgency plan in the late 2000s. However, Oromo prisoners were also present.


51. In the above-mentioned Human Rights Watch report, a witness known as Abdusaleem M. reported that he was kept in solitary confinement in complete darkness for most of his three year stay in the prison. He also claims he was electrocuted, gagged and waterboarded in the report. Over 70 other interviewees also reported torture routines, and sexual violence against them.

52. There were also reports by a 40-year-old woman in the prison of widespread sexual abuse towards both male and female inmates by the prison guards, resulting in unwanted pregnancies.

53. New President of the Somali Region- Mustafa Omer shut down the prison in September 2018, while Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed had previously released many Ogadeni political prisoners from the ONLF. However, reports came out that rather than being freed some of these were transferred to labour camps with equally harsh conditions.

54. In addition to the Ogaden Jail, the Maekelawi Prison in Addis Ababa is also said to have housed thousands of Oromo political prisoners, mainly of OLF membership, before their release in 2018. Nevertheless, the conditions reported in the prison are said not to be up to the legal standards detailed above, with physical torture and solitary confinement said to have been a mainstay during the detention of the OLF members.

IV. Recommendations

Considering the observations made above, OPRO and UNPO call on the federal government of Ethiopia to:

1. Continue the progress made by the new Prime Minister in releasing political prisoners on a mass scale, and suggest the removal of sub-regional actors guilty of imprisoning political opposition, and potentially look towards trying them on the basis of the legislation provided by the Ethiopian constitution and its commitments to international law.

2. Review the legality of sub-national police forces’ actions in the Ogaden and Oromia regions, particularly the Liyu Police, and their immediate disbanding on the basis that they do not conform to standards set out in both the Ethiopian constitution and the Treaties to which Ethiopia is a signatory.

3. Close all prisons in violation of the UNCAT treaties Ethiopia has ratified, and hold accountable the people responsible for the abuses committed within them.

4. Honour its constitutional responsibility to protect the life of its citizens in light of ethnically motivated attacks in the Oromia-Moyale border regions, and draft a plan, similar to that of the one for the Oromo Liberation Front in Oromia, to restore peace in the Somali Region.

5. Have a streamlined, participatory revision or repeal of the so-called Anti-Terrorism Provision of 2009, and other pieces of legislation that serve to shut down civil society and political space. Such revision would ideally include civil society actors, previously marginalised from the political dialogue.
6. Make efforts to reform the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission so that they are able to act as an independent actor and hold the Ethiopian executive government to account on Human Rights abuses.

7. Enact less severe restrictions on external funding for International Non-Governmental Organisations as well as domestic civil society actors, which remain key actors in monitoring the Human Rights situation in Ethiopia.

8. Make efforts to ensure that Article 39 of the Ethiopian Constitution, regarding self-determination, is respected when oil and gas extraction contracts are concluded with international actors. These must be reviewed by the local communities concerned then approved via a democratic process on a regional level.