



Ethiopia
Stakeholder Report for the United Nations Universal Periodic Review

Submitted by The Advocates for Human Rights,
a non-governmental organization in special consultative status
and
United Oromo Voices

for the 33rd Session of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review
May 2019
submitted October 2018

Founded in 1983, **The Advocates for Human Rights** (The Advocates) is a volunteer-based non-governmental organization committed to the impartial promotion and protection of international human rights standards and the rule of law. The Advocates conducts a range of programs to promote human rights in the United States and around the world, including monitoring and fact finding, direct legal representation, education and training, and publication. The Advocates is the primary provider of legal services to low-income asylum seekers in the Upper Midwest region of the United States. Since 2004, The Advocates has documented reports from members of the Oromo ethnic group living in diaspora in the United States of human rights abuses they and their friends and family experienced in Ethiopia. In addition, The Advocates monitors news and human rights reporting on events in Ethiopia.

United Oromo Voices (UOV) works to unify the collective voice of Oromos, other Ethiopians and allies who work to end the human rights violations in Ethiopia. Understanding and respecting all points of view, UOV creates a coalition of dedicated people to insist the United States withdraw foreign aid support from an Ethiopian government that detains, imprisons, tortures and inflicts other human right abuses on its citizens.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Since 2014, Ethiopia remains in a state of political instability due to two declared state of emergencies and a change in administration. The state of emergency facilitated arrests and detentions of many individuals, especially members of the Oromo and Ogadeni populations, without a court warrant, as well as restrictions on freedom of movement and freedom of speech.¹ From October 2016 to August 2017, in response to protests in the Oromia region, the Government of Ethiopia declared a state of emergency.² In February 2018, then-Prime Minister Hailemariam Desalegn's voluntarily resignation triggered another state of emergency in Ethiopia until June 2018.³ The election of Abiy Ahmed in April 2018 gave Ethiopia its first Oromo Prime Minister.⁴ Despite that election, ethnic clashes continue and, consequently, many people are still arbitrarily arrested, detained, and subjected to inhumane treatment by security forces.⁵
2. The Advocates has received direct information about the human rights violations detailed in this stakeholder report from clients in the Ethiopian diaspora who have fled Ethiopia to seek asylum in the United States, as well as from other individuals with first-hand knowledge of the human rights situation on the ground in Ethiopia over the last four years. This stakeholder report addresses Ethiopia's failure to comply with its international, human rights obligations and makes recommendations to address and improve the human rights situation in Ethiopia.

I. BACKGROUND AND FRAMEWORK

A. 2014 Universal Periodic Review

3. During the country's second Universal Periodic Review, the Ethiopian Government noted 53 recommendations and accepted 181 recommendations.⁶ Significantly, Ethiopia rejected 11 recommendations related to enforced disappearances, rights of women, as well as an impartial judiciary.⁷

1. *Eliminating inhumane treatment of detained individuals*

Status of Implementation: Accepted, Not Implemented

4. Ethiopia accepted several recommendations related to improving its human rights situation⁸ by preventing arbitrary detention⁹ and eliminate inhumane treatment and torture by security forces and law enforcement.¹⁰ Despite these assurances, Ethiopia has continued to detain individuals without cause and subject detainees to torture.¹¹

2. Combating ethnic discrimination and violence

Status of Implementation: Accepted, Partially Implemented

5. The Ethiopian Government accepted several recommendations to take measures to alleviate tensions between ethnic and religious groups through intercultural and interreligious dialogue.¹²
6. In early September 2018, Prime Minister Abiy removed the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) from a list of terror groups, causing approximately 1,500 OLF fighters to return from Eritrea.¹³
7. Although Abiy's stance on inter-ethnic conflict focuses on forgiveness and bridging differences, it is unclear whether he will hold human rights violators accountable for past actions.¹⁴

3. Promoting Freedom of Expression and Association

Status of Implementation: Accepted, Not Implemented

8. The Ethiopian Government accepted recommendations relating to freedom of expression, opinion, and association.¹⁵
9. The 2017 State of Emergency created a pretext for restrictions on freedom of speech as well as freedom of assembly and movement. Additionally, Ethiopia continues to invoke anti-terrorism legislation to arrest and detain political dissenters.¹⁶

4. Respecting human rights in the context of fighting terrorism

Status of Implementation: Partially Accepted, Not Implemented

10. The Ethiopian Government accepted some recommendations to ensure that legitimate acts of political dissent are not criminalized under the country's anti-terrorism laws,¹⁷ but noted recommendations to refrain from invoking its anti-terrorism laws "to stifle independent journalists" and to repeal provisions in the law to bring them into full compliance with international human rights standards.¹⁸
11. As described below, the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation remains in place and is often used as a pretext to stifle independent journalists and political dissidents.

5. Fostering a vibrant and independent civil society to promote human rights

Status of Implementation: Not Accepted, Not Implemented

12. The Ethiopian Government noted recommendations to "[e]liminate all obstacles to the development of NGOs, in particular the financial procedures for those financed with resources from abroad, and promote the participation of civil society in the activities of the State,"¹⁹ as well as similar recommendations to repeal or amend the Charities and Societies Proclamation.²⁰

13. The Charities and Societies Proclamation remains in place and continues to stifle the development of independent human rights organizations and to curtail the work of other non-governmental organizations in the field of human rights.

B. Domestic Legal Framework

14. Drafted in 1994, the Constitution of Ethiopia establishes a basis for human and democratic rights in Article 10. The Constitution recognizes the prohibition against inhumane treatment (Art. 18), the right to freedom of thought, opinion, and expression (Art. 29), the right of assembly, demonstration, and petition (Art. 30), freedom of association (Art. 31), right of access to justice (Art. 37), and the right to vote and be elected (Art. 38). Legal provisions for humane treatment and justice are also in place for those accused (Art. 20) or arrested (Art. 21). Furthermore, the rights of women (Art. 35) are guaranteed in the Constitution.²¹
15. In 2009, the Ethiopian Parliament passed the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, which uses vague language to define acts of terrorism. Reports indicate that the law is used to target government opponents by creating the legal grounds for detaining numerous journalists, opposition party members and political activists and charging them under a vague definition of terrorism.²² The Ethiopian Government has attempted to stifle dissent by targeting civil society organizations that are perceived not to support the ruling party.²³
16. The 2009 Charities and Societies Proclamation placed heavy restrictions on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) operating in Ethiopia. The law prevents foreign charities from working on human rights and adds a substantial fine for infractions committed by foreign NGOs.²⁴ Ethiopian organizations that deal with human rights cannot receive over 10 percent of their funding from foreign sources.

II. IMPLEMENTATION OF INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS

Right or area 5 Legal, institutional & political framework

17. The Charities and Societies Proclamation severely limits the operations of NGOs and has forced many of them to scale back on human rights work or eliminate that work altogether.²⁵ It also discourages NGOs based in Ethiopia from collaborating with international human rights organizations or diaspora organizations.

Right or area 12.5 Prohibition of torture and cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment

18. During the 2014 UPR reporting cycle, the Government of Ethiopia supported recommendations that included incorporating the crime of torture into the Penal Code²⁶ and ensuring that complaints concerning mistreatment by security and law enforcement authorities can go through a proper complaint mechanism.²⁷ Despite its stated support for these recommendations, the government continues to allow torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of people in Ethiopia.

19. Many clients of The Advocates for Human Rights report that government officials took them to detention centers without grounds for arrest or trial. At the detention centers individuals are held in dark rooms, either in solitude or in overcrowded conditions, and experience regular beatings from guards. Clients report not having adequate food, sleeping facilities, or bathroom facilities.²⁸

Right or area 13.3 Arbitrary arrest and detention

20. During the 2014 UPR, Ethiopia accepted recommendations to strengthen the criminal justice system to ensure easy and fair access to justice for all persons,²⁹ respect the right to a fair trial,³⁰ and respect the rights of all persons to due process of law, particularly the presumption of innocence.³¹ Yet people who have escaped the country confirm that there is no respect for the right to a fair trial or for the presumption of innocence.
21. Many of The Advocates' clients report being detained by the Ethiopian Government without formal charges and with little or no opportunity to contact their family. Instead of a fair trial, the individuals were detained, beaten, tortured, raped, and some were killed. Interrogations often involved an Ethiopian guard accusing the detained person of supporting an opposition party while subjecting the person to beatings or other forms of torture. As a condition of release, individuals were forced to sign confessions or agreements not to participate in certain political activities.³²
22. A client of The Advocates was a director of a program that provided legal aid to prisoners. Between 2013 and 2014, the Ethiopian government forced him to drop cases involving political prisoners. In May 2014, a federal security officer went to his office and detained him for a month. He was handcuffed, beaten, forced to kneel on gravel, and denied water. After his release, he fled Ethiopia.³³

Right or area 14.3 Freedom of opinion and expression

23. In the 2014 UPR, the Government of Ethiopia agreed to take steps to protect the political rights of its people, including freedom of opinion and expression.³⁴ Despite this stated support, clients of The Advocates who supported, or were accused of supporting, opposition political parties reported being taken from their homes, interrogated, and detained by government officials.
24. The Advocates' clients were often tortured, forced to sign false confessions, or required to report to a police station regularly³⁵ on account of their political associations. Clients also report government surveillance and harassment or threats based on individuals' online activity.³⁶
25. One client, after a five-month stay in the United States, was detained for allegedly campaigning against the government. Authorities used as evidence against her a photograph of her at the Oromia Media Network in Minnesota that her son had posted on Facebook, and authorities detained and interrogated her for five months.³⁷

Right or area 14.4 Right to peaceful assembly

26. Reports from clients of The Advocates show that the Ethiopian government subjects individuals to arbitrary detention and physical assault when they exercise their right to peaceful assembly. Clients involved—or accused of being involved—with student protests against the 2014 Master Plan to expand the territory of the capital city were arrested, detained, and subjected to torture during interrogations.³⁸
27. Several clients who participated in or aided in the student protests as student leaders were detained, tortured, and not given adequate food or water.³⁹ One client, a human rights lawyer, advised students about a protest but did not attend. He was detained, beaten, and denied adequate food and water during his month-long detention. After he fled Ethiopia, his wife was also detained and interrogated.⁴⁰
28. Another client of The Advocates observed the backlash against the 2016 protests in Oromia. As she was passing in a car she witnessed police beating and shooting at the students, who had been protesting peacefully prior to the police violence. She also witnessed police severely beating a girl, who she estimated to be about twelve years old.⁴¹

Right or area 14.5 Freedom of association

29. Clients have reported the detention and questioning of their family members due to their own alleged political associations. Members of the diaspora, especially activists and critics of the government, report telephone surveillance, physical harm, and threats against family members in Ethiopia if they protest against or criticize the Ethiopian Government abroad.⁴² Two members of the diaspora reported being beaten up by ardent supporters of Abdi Mohamoud Omar, former president of the Ethiopian Somali region, at demonstrations against him outside the Ethiopian Embassy in London.⁴³
30. A client of The Advocates reported that numerous members of his family, while still in Ethiopia, experienced reprisals in retaliation against the client's political activity in the United States. While the client was in Minnesota, his wife who was still in Ethiopia was harassed and followed and eventually was arrested and ordered to send a message to her husband to end his political work. His siblings were also targeted. They were accused of organizing protests in Oromia, because of their familial association with the client, and were subsequently arrested, detained, and tortured. The client reported that his parents were also targeted by federal security forces.⁴⁴

Right or area 15.1 Administration of justice & fair trial

31. In the 2014 UPR, Ethiopia accepted recommendations to strengthen the criminal justice system to ensure easy and fair accessibility to all citizens,⁴⁵ respect the right to a fair trial,⁴⁶ and respect the rights of all persons to due process of law, particularly the presumption of innocence.⁴⁷ However, the 2015 and 2016 states of emergency created a pretext for law enforcement to arrest and detain individuals without a court warrant, to restrict people's movement, and to curtail freedoms of speech.⁴⁸ Reports from clients of The Advocates demonstrate that Ethiopians, especially members of marginalized ethnic and political

groups, are arrested, interrogated, detained, and tortured without due process or a fair trial. There is no evidence in clients' stories that they were afforded the presumption of innocence.⁴⁹

32. One client of The Advocates went to government offices with two companions and asked officials about student arrests and killings. Security forces later searched his home and interrogated his wife about his whereabouts. The client's wife was forced to falsely confess to their support for the anti-government movement. Security forces returned a few days later and detained the client at the police station without a warrant, accusing him of supporting the Oromo Liberation Front, which at the time was labeled a terrorist organization. He was held without a court order and tortured in order to obtain a false confession.⁵⁰
33. One client reported that after she participated in a protest, police conducted an unauthorized search of her home without a court warrant. She and her sons were beaten and imprisoned without access to lawyers and were not brought before a judge. Upon her release, the guards made death threats against her family in order to discourage them from participating in further anti-government activity.⁵¹

Right or area 18 Right to participate in public affairs & right to vote

34. In 2014 Ethiopia accepted recommendations to guarantee the political rights of its people and to protect members of opposition groups and political activists from arbitrary detention.⁵² Reports from The Advocates' clients show that Ethiopians are still not able to freely engage in the political process as members of opposition groups or political activists without risking arrest, detention, and torture.⁵³ Clients report instances of arrests due to support for an opposition party or simply due to failure to support the ruling party, as well as physical abuse and food and water deprivation in detention.⁵⁴ In the 2015 general elections, the ruling party (EPRDF) won all parliamentary seats and opposition groups faced intimidation and threats from the government.⁵⁵

Right or area 20.1 Human rights & counter-terrorism

35. The Ethiopian Parliament passed the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation No. 652/2009 in 2009. The law is broad in application, as it uses vague language to define acts of terrorism. Reports indicate that the law has been used as a means to target government opposition.⁵⁶ According to Human Rights Watch, "Hundreds of individuals, including opposition politicians, protesters, journalists and artists, are presently on trial under the anti-terrorism law."⁵⁷ Members of the Oromo community have reported that due to the implementation and enforcement of this law, a great sense of fear exists within Ethiopia and freedom of expression has become extremely limited.⁵⁸
36. The Anti-Terrorism Proclamation is widely viewed as a pretext to suppress opposition in a way that may be more palatable to the outside world.⁵⁹ The Ethiopian Government has attempted to stifle dissent by targeting civil society organizations that are perceived not to support the ruling party. In many situations, Oromos are assumed to support the Oromo

Liberation Front (OLF-labeled a terrorist organization by the Ethiopian Government) unless they actively express support for the ruling party. Both individual Oromos and Oromo non-governmental organizations are subject to this pretextual targeting. For example, the Government shut down the Mecha Tulema Self-Help Association, an organization formed to promote Oromo culture, based on assertions that the organization was affiliated with the OLF. The Human Rights League, another Oromo human rights organization, faced similar treatment. One Oromo woman who runs a non-governmental organization reported to The Advocates that she has been subject to constant covert government monitoring and interference.

Right or area 23.1 Right to Work

37. Ethiopia continues to restrict employment among members of the Oromo community by terminating positions of individuals who support opposition political parties.⁶⁰ In particular, some Oromos report difficulties in obtaining the necessary documentation to gain employment.⁶¹
38. One client of The Advocates reported that his friend, who was employed as a professor, was fired in 2017 along with eight other professors (all but two of whom were Oromo) without any notice, pay, or references. When the client found new employment, the university contacted his new employer to tell them that he had not been officially dismissed from his previous job; therefore, the new employer could not hire him. Eventually the dean at the first educational institution intervened and all nine professors received three months' severance pay. To our client's knowledge his friend is still unemployed; neither the client nor anyone else has been able to contact the friend to check on his current situation.⁶²

Right or area 29.2 Gender-based violence

39. Statements from The Advocates' female clients include reports of rape by Ethiopian security forces in clients' homes following forcible entry, as well as in detention centers where women were also interrogated, beaten, and starved.
40. The rapes that these women endured were often carried out by more than one guard, with instances of women being held down and raped repeatedly. Often, the women who were raped continued to be watched or threatened by the Ethiopian police after their release from the detention centers.⁶³
41. One client of The Advocates was arrested by the Ethiopian police after her husband was tortured and killed in police custody in 2015. While being detained, she was beaten, questioned, and raped every night by guards. She was released after being detained for two months. She was detained again for another three months, enduring beatings and rapes, which were sometimes carried out by two men.⁶⁴

Right or area 32 Members of minority groups

42. The Government of Ethiopia continues to subject minority populations to violence and arbitrary arrests. In November 2015, large scale protests in Oromia began in opposition to

the Addis Ababa Master Plan, which intended to forcibly displace Oromos from their homes in favor of expansion of the territory of the capital city.⁶⁵ On the 2nd of October 2016, the Government of Ethiopia ordered or condoned the excessive use of force by security officials during the Oromo cultural-religious festival of Irreechaa. Various clients interviewed by The Advocates reported that many Oromo people were injured and killed during Irreechaa after security forces fired into crowds. Many of those who survived the massacre were taken into government custody.⁶⁶ One client had a daughter and a brother killed in this massacre.⁶⁷

43. Members of the Ogaden community are continually subjected to human rights violations from arbitrary confiscation of land and ethnic persecution since the beginning of Ethiopian rule over the Somali region in 1948.⁶⁸ A client interviewed by The Advocates reported that the government killed his father due to his Ogadeni identity and imprisoned the client thereafter. In April 2014, after a year and a half of detention, the client was released and fled the country.⁶⁹

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

44. This stakeholder report suggests the following recommendations for the Government of Ethiopia:

- Initiate dialogue with civil society within Ethiopia and in the diaspora with a view to establishing a transitional justice mechanism consistent with best practices and that will ensure accountability for perpetrators of gross human rights violations and crimes against humanity.
- Establish independent mechanisms for reporting and investigations of unlawful detention, torture, and inhumane treatment at the hands of police and security forces.
- Guarantee freedom of opinion and expression by ending surveillance, eliminating threats, and ending arbitrary arrests of political dissidents.
- Ensure freedom of association by eliminating threats and ending arbitrary arrests of individuals due to their association with or familial ties to political dissidents.
- End gender-based violence by establishing a mechanism to enforce women's rights as stated in the Ethiopian Constitution.
- Establish a mechanism to protect, in law and in practice, the rights of all ethnic groups from attacks and violations of human rights and freedoms.
- Repeal the Charities and Societies Proclamation.
- Repeal the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation.

¹ United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2017: Ethiopia*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (2017). Also available online at <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/277243.pdf>.

² William Davison, *State of Emergency Likely to Ramp Up Repression in Fractured Ethiopia*, The Guardian (October 20, 2016). Also available online at <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/oct/20/state-of-emergency-likely-ramp-up-repression-fractured-ethiopia>; Felix Horne, *State of Emergency Ends in Ethiopia*, Human

Rights Watch (August 7, 2017). Also available online at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/08/07/state-emergency-ends-ethiopia>.

³ Al Jazeera, *Ethiopia Lifts State of Emergency Imposed in February*, (June 5, 2018). Also available online at <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/06/ethiopia-lifts-state-emergency-imposed-february-180605081810759.html>.

⁴ Somini Sengupta, *Can Ethiopia's New Leader, a Political Insider, Change It From the Inside Out?*, The New York Times (September 17, 2018). Also available online at <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/17/world/africa/ethiopia-abiy-ahmed.html>.

⁵ Hadra Ahmed and Joseph Goldstein, *Thousands Are Arrested in Ethiopia After Ethnic Violence*, The New York Times (September 24, 2018). Also available online at <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/24/world/africa/ethiopia-ethnic-violence-arrests.html>.

⁶ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14. Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

⁷ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14. ¶ 157.1 Sign and ratify the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (Madagascar); ¶ 157.11 Amend the Criminal Code and the Federal Family Code in order to criminalize marital rape and FGM (Honduras); ¶ 157.13 Eliminate all obstacles to the development of NGOs, in particular the financial procedures for those financed with resources from abroad, and promote the participation of civil society in the activities of the State (Mexico). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

⁸ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14. ¶ 155.29 Continue to bring about the strengthening of the structures for human rights protection in accordance with international standards (Russian Federation); ¶ 155.112 Ensure that the right to participation of all persons promoting and protecting human rights is guaranteed (Switzerland). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

⁹ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.104 Take steps to guarantee the political rights of its people, freedom of expression, association and assembly, in particular (Japan); ¶ 155.106 Ensure that legitimate acts of political dissent are not criminalized and freedom of opinion, of the media and of assembly are fully respected when applying the Terrorist Act of 2009, in line with the NHRAP (Germany); ¶ 155.74 Enhance assistance, shelter and rehabilitation for victims of sexual and domestic violence (Liechtenstein); ¶ 156.5 Fully protect members of opposition groups, political activists and journalists who are exercising their rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly from arbitrary detention (Canada). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

¹⁰ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.68 Incorporate the crime of torture in the Penal Code, including a definition of torture with all the elements listed in article 1 of the Convention against Torture (Chile); ¶ 155.69 Introduce a definition of torture in its Penal Code that covers all of the elements contained in article 1 of the Convention against Torture (Kyrgyzstan); ¶ 155.70 Continue efforts to ensure that clear, independent and effective complaints mechanisms are in place for individuals' complaints concerning mistreatment by security and law enforcement authorities (Finland). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

¹¹ Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2018: Ethiopia Profile* (2018). Also available online at <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/ethiopia>; Felix Horne, "We are Like the Dead", Human Rights Watch (July 4, 2018). Also available online at <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/07/04/we-are-dead/torture-and-other-human-rights-abuses-jail-ogaden-somali-regional>.

¹² *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.102 Keep encouraging interreligious and inter-ethnic dialogue so that Ethiopia's pluralism of traditions and cultures remains an enriching and valued dimension of the country (Holy See); ¶ 155.103 Protect and promote the right of Ethiopians to practice their religious faith or beliefs, including by enhancing the dialogue between different faith communities to address interreligious tensions (Canada); ¶ 155.104 Take steps to guarantee the political rights of its people, freedom of expression, association and assembly, in particular (Japan). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

¹³ Elias Meseret, *Hundreds of thousands in Ethiopia welcome once-banned group*, The Washington Post (September 15, 2018). Also available online at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/africa/hundreds-of-thousands-in->

ethiopia-welcome-once-banned-group/2018/09/15/eb93d1b4-b8ca-11e8-ae4f-2c1439c96d79_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.3fa2c2d0bd79.

¹⁴ Maria Burnett, *Task of Ethiopia's New Leader: End Torture*, Human Rights Watch (July 30, 2018). Also available online at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/07/30/task-ethiopias-new-leader-end-torture>.

¹⁵ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.104 Take steps to guarantee the political rights of its people, freedom of expression, association and assembly, in particular (Japan); ¶ 155.106 Ensure that legitimate acts of political dissent are not criminalized and freedom of opinion, of the media and of assembly are fully respected when applying the Terrorist Act of 2009, in line with the NHRAP (Germany); ¶ 155.104 Take steps to guarantee the political rights of its people, freedom of expression, association and assembly, in particular (Japan); ¶ 155.106 Ensure that legitimate acts of political dissent are not criminalized and freedom of opinion, of the media and of assembly are fully respected when applying the Terrorist Act of 2009, in line with the NHRAP (Germany); ¶ 156.5 Fully protect members of opposition groups, political activists and journalists who are exercising their rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly from arbitrary detention (Canada). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

¹⁶ Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2018: Ethiopia Profile* (2018). Also available online at <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/ethiopia>

¹⁷ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.106 Ensure that legitimate acts of political dissent are not criminalized and freedom of opinion, of the media and of assembly are fully respected when applying the Terrorist Act of 2009, in line with the NHRAP (Germany); ¶ 157.18 Monitor the implementation of the anti-terrorism law in order to identify any act of repression which affects freedom of association and expression and possible cases of arbitrary detention. In addition, develop activities necessary to eliminate any excesses by the authorities in its application (Mexico).

¹⁸ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 158.34 Amend the Mass Media Proclamation so that the space for free media is widened, and refrain from invoking the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation to stifle independent journalists (Czechia); ¶ 158.35 Repeal the provisions of the media and anti-terrorism legislation that infringe on the protection accorded to freedom of expression by provisions in article 29 of its Constitution and on Ethiopia's human rights obligations (Slovenia); ¶ 158.44 Amend and clearly redefine provisions in the Charities and Societies Proclamation and the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation in order to lift restrictions on the rights to freedom of association and freedom of expression (Netherlands); ¶ 158.50 Narrow the definition of terrorist activity within international practice to exclude journalism (Australia); ¶ 158.51 Revise the 2009 Anti-Terrorism Proclamation and the 2008 Mass Media Proclamation, bringing them into line with international human rights standards (Austria); ¶ 158.52 Remove vague provisions in the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation that can be used to criminalize the exercise of the right to freedom of expression and association and ensure that criminal prosecutions do not limit the freedom of expression of civil society, opposition politicians and independent media (Sweden); ¶ 158.53 Conduct a full review of the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation, amending the law as necessary to ensure that it strengthens the rule of law and is applied apolitically and in full compliance with Ethiopia's international human rights obligations (United States).

¹⁹ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 157.13 Eliminate all obstacles to the development of NGOs, in particular the financial procedures for those financed with resources from abroad, and promote the participation of civil society in the activities of the State (Mexico).

²⁰ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 158.36 Take necessary measures to ensure respect for the right to freedom of association, including by repealing legislative and administrative restrictions on the activities of NGOs (Slovakia); ¶ 158.37 Contribute to reinforcing the role of civil society and suppress the administrative constraints and financial restrictions imposed by the 2009 law (France); ¶ 158.38 Allow civil society organizations to complement government programmes in preventing violence and harmful practices against women and girls and also amend the Charities and Societies Proclamation to ensure that restrictions on freedom of association are removed, including restrictions on potential sources of funding for civil society (Ireland); ¶ 158.39 Amend the Charities and Societies Proclamation so that all NGOs can operate freely without restrictions stemming from the structure of their funding (Czechia); ¶ 158.40 Repeal the Charities and Societies Proclamation in order to promote the development of an independent civil society able to operate freely (United States); ¶ 158.41 Amend the Charities and Societies Proclamation to facilitate the effective operation and financing of NGOs (Australia); ¶ 158.42 Ensure that the provisions of the 2009 Charities and Societies Proclamation are in compliance with international human rights standards, including the freedom of expression and assembly (Austria); ¶ 158.44 Amend and clearly redefine provisions in the Charities and Societies

Proclamation and the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation in order to lift restrictions on the rights to freedom of association and freedom of expression (Netherlands); ¶ 158.45 Amend the Charities and Societies Proclamation to allow civil society to work on human rights issues, including women's rights, without restrictions related to the origin of funding (Norway); ¶ 158.46 Take measures to ensure full rights of association, by reviewing the Charities and Societies Proclamation as regards funding restrictions imposed on civil society organizations working with human rights (Sweden); ¶ 158.47 Ensure a safe and enabling environment for human rights defenders, including by loosening restrictions for fundraising activities of NGOs (Germany); ¶ 158.49 Create a conducive environment for independent civil society to conduct civic and voter education, monitor elections and organize election debates, by lifting all undue restrictions on activities and funding of NGOs (Hungary); ¶ 158.52 Remove vague provisions in the Anti-Terrorism Proclamation that can be used to criminalize the exercise of the right to freedom of expression and association and ensure that criminal prosecutions do not limit the freedom of expression of civil society, opposition politicians and independent media (Sweden).

²¹ Constitution Project, *Ethiopia's Constitution of 1994* (1994). Also available online at https://constituteproject.org/constitution/Ethiopia_1994.pdf?lang=en.

²² Amnesty International, *Ethiopia: End use of counter-terrorism law to persecute dissenters and opposition members* (June 2, 2016). Also available online at <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2016/06/ethiopia-using-counter-terrorism-law-to-persecute-dissenters/>.

²³ UPR Info, *Ethiopia Mid-term Implementation Assessment: Ethiopia*, supra note 25, at 11.

²⁴ Amnesty International, *Ethiopia: The 2009 Charities and Societies Proclamation as a serious obstacle to the promotion and protection of human rights in Ethiopia* (June 11, 2012). Also available online at <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/16000/afr250072012en.pdf>.

²⁵ Maria Burnett, *Hope for Revision of Ethiopia's Draconian Laws?*, Human Rights Watch (August 27, 2018). Also available online at <https://www.hrw.org/news/2018/08/27/hope-revision-ethiopias-draconian-laws>.

²⁶ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.68 Incorporate the crime of torture in the Penal Code, including a definition of torture with all the elements listed in article 1 of the Convention against Torture (Chile). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

²⁷ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.70 Continue efforts to ensure that clear, independent and effective complaints mechanisms are in place for individuals' complaints concerning mistreatment by security and law enforcement authorities (Finland). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

²⁸ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).

²⁹ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.91 Strengthen the criminal justice system to ensure easy and fair accessibility to all citizens (Zimbabwe). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

³⁰ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.92 Respect the right to a fair trial, notably by ensuring that legal procedures are respected (Switzerland). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

³¹ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 156.3 Respect the rights of all persons to due process of law, particularly the presumption of innocence (Germany). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

³² Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).

³³ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018)

³⁴ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.104 Take steps to guarantee the political rights of its people, freedom of expression, association and assembly, in particular (Japan); ¶ 155.106 Ensure that legitimate acts of political dissent are not criminalized and freedom of opinion, of the media and of assembly are fully respected when applying the Terrorist Act of 2009, in line with the NHRAP (Germany); ¶ 156.5 Fully protect members of opposition groups, political activists and journalists who are exercising their rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly from arbitrary detention (Canada). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.

³⁵ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).

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- ³⁶ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ³⁷ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ³⁸ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ³⁹ Interview conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁴⁰ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁴¹ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁴² Interviews with the diaspora conducted between January and September 2018 in London and Minneapolis.
- ⁴³ Interviews with the diaspora conducted between January and September 2018 in London and Minneapolis.
- ⁴⁴ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁴⁵ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.91 Strengthen the criminal justice system to ensure easy and fair accessibility to all citizens (Zimbabwe). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.
- ⁴⁶ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.92 Respect the right to a fair trial, notably by ensuring that legal procedures are respected (Switzerland). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.
- ⁴⁷ *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 156.3 Respect the rights of all persons to due process of law, particularly the presumption of innocence (Germany). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.
- ⁴⁸ United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2017: Ethiopia, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor* (2017). Also available online at <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/277243.pdf>.
- ⁴⁹ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁵⁰ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁵¹ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁵² *Report of the Working Group on the Universal Periodic Review: Ethiopia*, (July 7, 2014), U.N. Doc. A/HRC/27/14 ¶ 155.104 Take steps to guarantee the political rights of its people, freedom of expression, association and assembly, in particular (Japan); ¶ 156.5 Fully protect members of opposition groups, political activists and journalists who are exercising their rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly from arbitrary detention (Canada); ¶ 155.114 Continue improving the outreach to all ethnic communities to actively participate in the political process so as to strengthen Ethiopia's democracy and prevent potential conflicts (Holy See); ¶ 155.115 Take necessary measures to enable all citizens to fully take part in the democratic process in advance of the 2015 elections, including allowing open and inclusive electoral debate, civic and voter education, election monitoring and the active engagement of civil society organizations and independent media (Canada). Also available online at <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/077/54/PDF/G1407754.pdf?OpenElement>.
- ⁵³ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁵⁴ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁵⁵ United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2017: Ethiopia, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor* (2017). Also available online at <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/277243.pdf>.
- ⁵⁶ Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2018: Ethiopia*.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ Interviews with Oromo diaspora members, 2013-2018.
- ⁵⁹ Aljazeera: The Oromo and the War on Terror in the Horn of Africa, July 16, 2013, <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/2013/07/20137143394329934.html>.
- ⁶⁰ United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2017: Ethiopia, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor* (2017). Also available online at <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/277243.pdf>.
- ⁶¹ United States Department of State, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2017: Ethiopia, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor* (2017). Also available online at <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/277243.pdf>.
- ⁶² Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).
- ⁶³ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).

⁶⁴ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).

⁶⁵ Amnesty International Report 2016/17, Amnesty International (2017). Also available online at <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/POL1048002017ENGLISH.PDF>; Jason Burke, *'It's Life and Death': How the Growth of Addis Ababa Has Sparked Ethnic Tensions*, the Guardian (March 13, 2017). Also available online at <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/mar/13/life-death-growth-addis-ababa-racial-tensions>.

⁶⁶ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).

⁶⁷ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).

⁶⁸ Felix Horne, *"We are Like the Dead"*, Human Rights Watch (July 4, 2018). Also available online at <https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/07/04/we-are-dead/torture-and-other-human-rights-abuses-jail-ogaden-somali-regional>.

⁶⁹ Interviews conducted by The Advocates (2014-2018).