Questions

1. Please provide information on the policies of the Kinijit (also known as the Coalition for Unity and Democracy or CUD) in relation to housing, youth, education, health and employment.
2. Please provide information on the current leadership group and/or high profile members of the Kinijit (or CUD).
3. Is there evidence of government instigated conflict between Tigrayans and other ethnic groups in Ethiopia?
4. What sort of activities did pro-CUD agitators engage in during the campaign or lead up to the April 2005 elections?
5. Are there reports of demonstrations being held in Addis Ababa in June 2005 and October 2005? If so, what types of people were arrested or held?
6. Please provide information on the Zeway Concentration Camp, including its location, its size/layout/divisions, any other identifying features, what it is used for, and whether demonstrators arrested in October 2005 were held there. Please provide photographs of the camp if available.
7. What is the location of the 4th Division Police Station in Addis Ababa? Does it have a jail on site or nearby?

RESPONSE

1. Please provide information on the policies of the Kinijit (also known as the Coalition for Unity and Democracy or CUD) in relation to housing, youth, education, health and employment.
2. Please provide information on the current leadership group and / or high profile members of the Kinijit (or CUD).

An RRT research response dated 20 November 2006 includes information on the formation and status of the CUD (RRT Research & Information 2006, Research Response ETH30982, 20 November (Question 1) – Attachment 1). The research response refers to an Amnesty International report dated 2 May 2006 which provides details on the arrest and putting on trial of CUD leaders following demonstrations in November 2005 in relation to the May 2005 elections in Ethiopia. According to the report:

The CUD leaders on trial are Hailu Shawel (CUD president and All Ethiopia Unity Party leader, civil engineer), Birtukan Mideksa (f) (CUD vice-president, Rainbow leader, lawyer), Berhanu Negga (CUD Mayor-elect of Addis Ababa, economics professor), Muluneh Eyuel (CUD secretary general, Ethiopian Democratic League leader, economist), Debebe Eshetu (CUD public relations officer, Rainbow member, theatre professional) and Hailu Araya (CUD and Ethiopian Democratic Unity Party leader, former academic and journalist), and others (Amnesty International 2006, Ethiopia: Prisoners of conscience on trial for treason: opposition party leaders, human rights defenders and journalists, 2 May, AFR 25/013/2006, p. 16 – Attachment 2).

An International Crisis Group report dated 17 June 2008 indicates that:

In July 2007, most major opposition political leaders arrested following the 2005 electoral crisis were pardoned after signing documents admitting responsibility for the violence. These releases created an opportunity to re-engage in electoral politics, but polarisation and distrust remain high. The released CUD leaders quickly left Ethiopia for an extended tour of North America and Europe to consult with the diaspora and raise money. That underlined the influence of the diaspora but alienated at least some domestic constituencies. The CUD that competed effectively in the 2005 elections was a quickly assembled, loose amalgam of parties united by opposition to the ruling party but lacking consensus on important leadership and policy issues.

The CUD failed to compete in the April 2008 local elections, due in large part to internal divisions, and those elections only proved the determination of the ruling circles to assert their authority. Almost all credible opposition was compelled to withdraw by intimidation and harassment. The EPRDF [Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front] fielded an extraordinary some 3.7 million of the 3.8 million registered candidates. The electoral board claimed 95 per cent of the eligible population voted, but the opposition, backed by the diplomatic community, said the true figure was much lower (International Crisis Group 2008, ‘Beyond the Fragile Peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea: Averting New War’, Africa Report N°141, ICG website, 17 June, p. 12 http://www.crisisgroup.org/library/documents/africa/horn_of_africa/nd_the_fragile_peace_between_ethiopia_and_eritrea_aving_new_war.pdf - Accessed 19 June 2008 – Attachment 3).

A BBC News article dated 23 July 2007 notes that several of the opposition leaders released in July 2007 “were successfully elected in 2005, either to parliament or to Addis Ababa city council.” The article indicates that:

They originally boycotted these institutions in protest against the conduct of the elections, but even if they are now willing to abandon the boycott they won’t just be able to walk straight back in and take their seats.
…Shortly before it went into recess, parliament passed a motion declaring unoccupied seats vacant.

But by-elections for those seats will be held early next year, so the MPs among the group will have the chance to compete again and win back their seats.

Similarly, since the Addis Ababa city councillors, and the man they chose as mayor, Berhanu Nega, refused to take up their posts, the government appointed an interim administration which has been running the capital for the past 18 months.

But again, when the council comes up for re-election - which should be next year - the ex-prisoners are free to compete (Blunt, Elizabeth 2007, ‘What next for Ethiopia’s freed leaders?’, BBC News, 23 July http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6911429.stm - Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 4).

An earlier US Department of State report on human rights practices in Ethiopia for 2006 indicates that:

As provided by law, the government required political parties to register with the National Election Board (NEB). In 2005 the NEB’s independence was called into question when it made a series of decisions limiting the political activity of opposition parties, including the rejection of the CUD merger and unwillingness to recognize the CUD coalition after the elections. However, during the year, the NEB permitted the registration of the Coalition for Unity and Democracy Party (CUDP), a party made up of former CUD members who joined parliament.

…The largest opposition party in the House of Peoples Representatives was the newly formed CUDP, composed of former CUD coalition members, which held 61 seats (US Department of State 2007, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Ethiopia, March, Sections 2(b) & 3 – Attachment 5).

A report dated August 2007 by Lahra Smith, an assistant professor at Georgetown University, refers to the situation for the political opposition in Ethiopia becoming “considerably more fragile since the 2005 elections.” According to the report:

The situation has become considerably more fragile since the 2005 elections. Throughout the summer and fall of 2005 CUD leaders debated participating in Parliament pending the outcome of electoral fraud investigations by NEBE and the courts. It was clear that the broad coalition of political parties under the CUD umbrella had divergent objectives and tactics in mind. The split in CUD led to the creation of the Coalition of Unity and Democracy Party (CUDP), whose members did take their seats when Parliament opened in September 2005. CUDP is now registered as a party with the NEBE. Other opposition parties also experienced leadership challenges and internal splits, although the ruling party was surprisingly able to contain any internal dissent. By mid-2006 those in the CUD who did not support the decision to work within Parliament formed a new coalition, the Alliance for Freedom and Democracy (AFD), with groups such as the OLF and the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF). This new coalition has been mostly inactive, and the basis for these groups to work together is extremely tenuous. Among other demands, the AFD has called for an all-inclusive national conference in Ethiopia (Smith, Lahra 2007, ‘Political Violence and Democratic Uncertainty in Ethiopia’, CIAO website, August, p. 8 http://www.ciao.net/wps/usip10669/usip10669.pdf - Accessed 14 April 2008 – Attachment 6).
The US Department of State report on human rights practices in Ethiopia for 2008 indicates that:

As provided by law, the government required political parties to register with the NEB, which continued to limit political activity by the CUDP. For example, on January 3, the NEB awarded the CUDP name to a renegade member and the CUDP party symbol to another breakaway group, the United Ethiopian Democratic Party (UEDP)-Medhin, forcing the bulk of the CUDP’s leaders to establish new parties (US Department of State 2009, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2008 – Ethiopia*, February, Section 2(b) – Attachment 7).

An RRT research response dated 21 January 2008 provides information on the situation of the CUD at that time (RRT Research & Information 2008, *Research Response ETH32748*, 21 January (Questions 1 & 4) – Attachment 8). The research response refers to a Reuters News article dated 16 January 2008 which indicates that the CUD’s leaders were “divided into several groups and accuse each other of violating party rules.” The article also refers to the National Ethiopian Election Board giving the CUD “title to a splinter group.” It is stated in the article that:

An Ethiopian opposition party, whose leaders had been charged with treason, has lost the right to use its name after the country’s election board decided on Wednesday to give the title to a splinter group.

“A political party led by Ayele Chameso is the sole owner of the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD),” the National Ethiopian Election Board said in a statement.

In July, 37 CUD leaders were pardoned by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi after spending almost two years in a maximum security prison during a treason trial that ended in a conviction.

They had been arrested on charges of inciting their followers to riot after disputed elections in 2005 sparked two bouts of unrest in which 199 people were killed, 800 wounded and 30,000 arrested.

They are now divided into several groups and accuse each other of violating party rules.

“The former opposition leaders came under the CUD umbrella to challenge the dominant ruling party in the 2005 election,” said one analyst who declined to be named.

“In the normal sense they are of different disciplines, ideas and programmes, they were never homogenous.”

Hailu Shawel, who was chairman of CUD, suspended five top party leaders accusing them of plotting his overthrow.

Ayele’s party is a splinter group of the former CUD but has no seat in parliament.

He asked 40 members of parliament who were elected under the CUD banner to join his group, but a spokesman for the group said they did not recognize Ayele’s faction and would go to court to regain their old name.

Political analysts say the splinter groups have no option but to revert to party names they used before joining the coalition (Tadesse, Tsegaye 2008, ‘Ethiopian CUD opposition party loses name’, *Reuters News*, 16 January – Attachment 9).
A *BBC News* article dated 3 March 2008 indicates that it appeared that none of the freed CUD party leadership would “be standing for election again, or trying to get their old seats back” in the by-elections for their old seats and elections for the Addis Ababa city council to be held in April 2008. According to the article:

The leader of the CUD parliamentary party, Temesgen Zewde, said they had told the Ethiopia National Electoral Board that they were ready and willing to take part in the April elections.

But, he said, the board had chosen to award their party name to a CUD breakaway group, and their party symbol - the “V” for Victory sign - to another party altogether.

“Even if they wanted to stand,” he said, “there is now no party name they can associate with, nor any election symbol”.

The CUD allege a conspiracy by the ruling party and the government, but their own party has been riven with internal feuds, making it possible for a CUD dissident, Ayele Chamiso, to make a successful bid for the party name.

Many of the most prominent members of the old CUD went abroad as soon as they were released rather than staying in Ethiopia and cultivating their constituencies.

The chairman, Hailu Shawal, and the man who was chosen as mayor of Addis Ababa in 2005, Berhanu Nega, are both still in the United States.

Even without the party name, some of the CUD leaders could have stood as independent candidates, but they have chosen not to do so (Blunt, Elizabeth 2008, ‘Key leaders absent in Ethiopia polls’, *BBC News*, 3 March [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7256370.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7256370.stm) - Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 10).

An article dated 28 July 2008 indicates that “[f]ormer chairman of the [opposition] Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) Hailu Shawl will be forced to adopt a new name and symbol for the party he leads as the Federal High Court has rejected his plea to retain the party name and its victory symbol.” It is stated in the article that:

Hailu Shawl, along with other party leaders, spent nearly two years of incarceration as riots gripped Addis Ababa in 2005 following the disputed election result.

After release from prison, the CUD leadership split and the faction led by the then vice-chairperson, Birtukan Mideksa, have formed a new party called Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ) while Hailu Shawl and his supporters tried to retain the party’s original name.

While Hailu Shawl and others were in prison, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) awarded the name CUD to the faction led by the previously little-known Ayele Chamiso.

Hailu Shawl took the electoral board to court on 16 April 2008 for “unjustly” awarding the party name to Ayele Chamiso, and has been engaged in court battle since then.

But to Hailu’s dismay, the Federal High Court decided on Wednesday [23 July] that he cannot use the name CUD and the victory sign.

…However, Hailu and the group he leads said in a press statement that even though the party’s name was taken away from them, it does not mean that their struggle will come to a
halt. The statement added that following the party’s first general assembly decision in late June, the executive committee will submit a new name and symbol to the electoral board in the future (‘Main Ethiopian opposition leader loses party name, symbol’ 2008, BBC Monitoring Africa, source: The Reporter, Addis Ababa, 28 July – Attachment 11).

An Amnesty International report dated 7 January 2009 refers to the arrest of Birtukan Mideksa, who “is the leader of the Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ) party, one of several parties that split off from the former Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD).” It is stated in the report that:

Birtukan Mideksa is the leader of the Unity for Democracy and Justice (UDJ) party, one of several parties that split off from the former Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD). CUD members won seats in parliament as well as other electoral positions in May 2005. However, the results of the election, in which the ruling party retained control, were disputed. Election monitors reported vote-rigging and the CUD reported harassment and intimidation of its members. Protesters demonstrating against the results were fired on by government forces and at least 187 people were killed. Thousands were then arrested, including scores of opposition parliamentarians, opposition party leaders, journalists and human rights defenders. Birtukan Mideksa was among those arrested and adopted by Amnesty International as a prisoner of conscience. In 2006 she was charged with treason, alongside other CUD leaders, parliamentarians, journalists and human rights defenders, tried and sentenced to life imprisonment. The majority of those found guilty were released after they negotiated an agreement with the government, signed letters of apology, and the government issued pardons in 2007. The exact terms of negotiations, led by local elders, and conditions of pardon remain unclear.

In November 2008, Burtukan Mideksa spoke at a public meeting in Sweden about the process leading to her release. Ethiopian government officials responded by accusing her of denying that she had asked for a pardon, and on 28 December she was rearrested. Shortly afterwards, the Ministry of Justice issued a statement revoking her pardon and reimposing her original life sentence.

…The government of Ethiopia is dominated by the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Party (EPRDF), led by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi. Adding to an increasingly repressive environment with diminishing space for human rights defenders, journalists and political opposition, the Ethiopian parliament passed the Charities and Societies Proclamation (known as the CSO law) on 6 January 2008, legalizing serious restrictions on the funding, operations and activities of Ethiopian and international NGOs that work for human rights in Ethiopia. Restrictions on press freedom and threats against the rights of former CUD detainees remain severe (Amnesty International 2009, Ethiopia: Amnesty International – Urgent Action: UA 2/09: Arbitrary Detention/Torture or other ill-treatment, 7 January, AFR 25/003/2009 – Attachment 12).

According to an article dated 23 February 2009, the Unity for Democracy and Justice was one of six political parties in a new opposition coalition called “the Forum for Democratic Dialogue in Ethiopia (FDDE or Medrek in the local Amharic language)” which “was unveiled in Addis Ababa (the Ethiopian capital) on 19 February, signalling the start of campaigning for the 2010 general election” (Selassie, Gus 2009, ‘Opposition Parties Form New Alliance in Ethiopia’, Global Insight Daily Analysis, 23 February – Attachment 13).

In relation to the policies of the CUD, there was limited information found in the sources consulted regarding the CUD’s policies for the May 2005 election.

The previously mentioned report dated August 2007 notes that the main political parties, including the CUD, “campaigned on specific promises and policy positions” in the May 2005 election in Ethiopia. According to the report:

The national election in May 2005 represented a substantial change. By fall 2004 opposition political parties had formed coalitions based on differing policy perspectives and nationalist visions. The main political parties—including the EPRDF, the United Ethiopian Democratic Forces (UEDF), and the Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD), as well as smaller parties such as the Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement (OFDM)—campaigned on specific promises and policy positions.

…For the first time public debates between high-profile candidates of the main political party coalitions provided a forum for discussion of some of the most controversial and important political issues, including land ownership, economic development, language and education policy, and ethnic self-determination. Particularly important were provisions of the Constitution, including Article 39, which grants “self-determination up to secession” for members of ethnic communities, and those relating to land, which has been collectively owned by the people of Ethiopia and managed by the state since the fall of the imperial government in 1974.

…The political platforms of key opposition political parties, most notably the CUD coalition, challenged several articles and provisions of the 1995 Constitution.

…Unresolved tensions were reflected in the CUD focus on port access, privatization of land, and other constitutional revisions that would eliminate, or at least undermine, important components of ethnic federalism as guaranteed in the present Constitution (Smith, Lahra 2007, ‘Political Violence and Democratic Uncertainty in Ethiopia’, CIAO website, August, pp. 3-5 http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/usip10669/usip10669.pdf - Accessed 14 April 2008 – Attachment 6).

An undated article on the Walta Information Centre website includes the following information on CUD policies in the 2005 election campaign:

From the beginning of the electoral campaign, it was likely that CUD policies would preclude any possibility of an outright victory. The CUD made it plain that it wanted to revoke Article 39 of the Constitution, which provided a very theoretical basis for regional claims for secession. It also made clear it wished to remove the ethnic basis of the killil, and return to smaller provinces. It was widely believed that by this the CUD had in mind a return to the old imperial provinces, though it never specified this; one presumed effect would be to break up the current Oromia state into at least three or four regions in which Oromo majorities could not be taken for granted. The third, particularly controversial, element of policy was the demand for the privatization of land. This has been widely supported by the international community, and by the World Bank, but it is much less popular in southern Ethiopia where it is seen as a device to allow former Amhara landlords, driven out under the land reform of
1975/76, to recover their previous estates. This may well not have been the intention of the CUD but again it was widely believed. In sum, none of these were policies that offered the chance of any real support from Oromos, the Southern regional nationalities, Somalis, Afar, or from any non-Amharas (Shaw, A. (undated), ‘Ethiopia in 2005: The Beginning of a Transition? – Some Comments’, Walta Information Centre website http://www.waltainfo.com/Analysis/2006/Mar/10654.htm - Accessed 2 June 2006 – Attachment 14).

An article dated 9 May 2005 indicates that CUD party chairman Hailu Shawel had “promised widespread economic and land reform” at a party “rally in Meskal Square in central Addis Ababa”. He said that job creation was needed “to bring about poverty alleviation, not dependency on foreign aid” (‘European Commission hails election process’ 2005, IRIN, 9 May – Attachment 15).

3. Is there evidence of government instigated conflict between Tigrayans and other ethnic groups in Ethiopia?

The US Department of State report on human rights practices in Ethiopia for 2008 indicates that:

There are more than 80 ethnic groups, of which the Oromo, at 40 percent of the population, was the largest. Although many groups influenced political and cultural life, Amharas and Tigrayans from the northern highlands played a dominant role. The federal system drew boundaries roughly along major ethnic group lines, and regional states had much greater control over their affairs than previously. Most political parties remained primarily ethnically based.

The military remained an ethnically diverse organization; however, Tigrayans increasingly dominated the senior officer corps both through preferential promotions and heightened attrition among non-Tigrayans (US Department of State 2009, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2008 – Ethiopia, February, Section 5 – Attachment 7).

The US Department of State report on human rights practices in Ethiopia for 2006 also indicates that:

The military remained an ethnically diverse organization; however, Tigrayans dominated the senior officer corps. During the May 2005 elections and subsequent demonstrations there were many reports of Tigrayan or Gambellan troops being used in Addis Ababa and other urban centers where the opposition was strong and where officials did not consider Amhara members of the armed forces sufficiently reliable (US Department of State 2007, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Ethiopia, March, Section 5 – Attachment 5).

According to a Freedom House report dated 2 July 2008 on Ethiopia, “[t]he government has tended to favor Tigrayan ethnic interests in economic and political matters. Politics within the EPRDF have been dominated by the Tigrayan People’s Democratic Front. Discrimination against and repression of other groups, especially the Oromo, have been widespread” (Freedom House 2008, ‘Freedom in the World 2008 – Ethiopia’, UNHCR Refworld website, 2 July http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,...ETH,,,487ca20982,0.html – Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 16).

A report dated June 2008 on Ethiopia by the Minority Rights Group International includes the following information on the state of minorities and indigenous peoples in Ethiopia:
Since a new constitution was drawn up in 1994 following the overthrow of the oppressive Derg regime, the country has followed a unique system of ethnically-based federalism. But whether this structure actually helps minorities realise their rights, or whether it has been subverted by the present government to consolidate its hold on power, is now of urgent concern to minority rights activists.

The crack-down against opponents of regime following the elections in 2005, the 2006 invasion of Somalia and its subsequent fall-out, as well as the 2007 heavy-handed security action in the Ogaden, have set the scene for an increasingly repressive and intolerant atmosphere.

Two major assessments of Ethiopian government’s recent record came in 2007 – one from the UN Committee which monitors the implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), and the other from the UN’s Independent Expert on Minority Issues.

ICERD’s report – issued without the co-operation of the Ethiopian government – gave an extremely critical assessment of the country’s record, noting that, among other things, it was ‘alarmed’ at information that military and police forces have been ‘systematically targeting’ certain ethnic groups, such as the Anuak and the Oromo.

It had – it said – received information about “summary executions, rape of women and girls, arbitrary detention, torture, humiliations and destruction of property and crops of members of those communities”

Other concerns expressed by ICERD, included the lack of information on minority representation in local and national government, in the judiciary and security services, and the establishment of national parks without the participation or informed consent of the indigenous peoples.

…In February 2007, the Independent Expert on Minority Issues, Gay McDougall, published her report on Ethiopia, following a country visit. Among her findings were that some smaller minority communities were considered to be on the verge of disappearing completely, due to “factors including resettlement, displacement, conflict, assimilation, cultural dilution, environmental factors and loss of land.” She noted that, “An unknown number of minority communities are believed to have already disappeared completely.”

While praising certain aspects of government policy – such as the re-establishment of local languages in schools and local administrations – she also found much of concern. She reported a perception that the political system was biased in favour of ethnic parties created by the ruling faction, rather than genuinely representative movements.

…Among her key recommendations were that the government take steps to depoliticize ethnicity, and promote the policy of inclusion, and those urgent steps be taken to protect the existence of some small minority groups. Moreover, she also called for an inclusive national conference to examine the federalism system.

The Independent Expert’s report was roundly rejected by the Ethiopian government in its response to the Human Rights Commission, which said it was ‘littered with information based on hearsay and unfounded allegations.” Meanwhile the unfolding crisis in the Southern Ogaden region left the impression that the IE’s recommendations for political inclusiveness had gone unheeded (Minority Rights Group International 2008, ‘World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Ethiopia: Overview’, UNHCR Refworld website, June
Copies of the concluding observations on Ethiopia of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination dated 20 June 2007, a 2008 States parties report by Ethiopia to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and a UN report dated 28 February 2007 on the mission of the independent expert on minority issues, Gay McDougall, to Ethiopia between 28 November and 12 December 2006, are attached.

The concluding observations on Ethiopia of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in a report dated 20 June 2007 notes positive aspects including “the adoption of the constitution in 1994, which includes provisions on fundamental rights and freedoms enshrining, inter alia, the principle of equality and non-discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, social origin, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, property, birth or other status.” However, the report also indicates that:

11. According to information before the Committee, both from within the UN system and Ethiopian civil society, as well as from international non-governmental organizations, very serious violations of human rights along ethnic and racial lines have recently occurred in the State party.

12. In the above context, the Committee is alarmed by well-documented reports of grave incidents of racial discrimination and is deeply concerned that inter-ethnic conflicts could escalate to a much larger scale in the near future, fuelled by political tensions and violations of basic economic, social and cultural rights, and exacerbated by competition over natural resources, provision of food, access to clean water and agricultural land, thereby putting many ethnic groups at serious risk in the State party.

…19. The Committee is alarmed at information according to which military and police forces have been systematically targeting certain ethnic groups, in particular the Anuak and the Oromo peoples, and reports of summary executions, rape of women and girls, arbitrary detention, torture, humiliations and destruction of property and crops of members of those communities (articles 5 (b), (d), (e) and (f) and 6 of the Convention) (UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 2007, ‘Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under Article 9 of the Convention – Concluding Observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination: Ethiopia’, UNHCR Refworld website, CERD/C/ETH/CO/15, 20 June, Paragraphs 7, 11-12 & 19 http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,,,ETH,,467bcd292,0.html – Accessed 7 April 2009 – Attachment 18).

A subsequent 2008 States parties report by Ethiopia responds to issues raised by the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. According to the States parties report:

35. The federal system has inbuilt structures shielding minorities from discrimination and prejudice. All nations, nationalities and peoples in Ethiopia now fully enjoy the right to self-determinations. They are free to develop their culture and heritage, and continue to benefit from fiscal federalism which grants them greater autonomy to benefit from and exploit their own resources. Continued reform programs on decentralisation encourages self-government and good governance at the district level (UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 2008, ‘Reports submitted by States parties under Article 9 of the Convention – Information provided by the Government of Ethiopia on the implementation of the concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination’,
The UN report dated 28 February 2007 on the mission of the independent expert on minority issues, Gay McDougall, to Ethiopia between 28 November and 12 December 2006 indicates that:

The vast majority of civil society actors interviewed spoke of being excluded from genuine political participation, or representation by authentic community leaders. This perceived exclusion, however, is relatively invisible, since representatives of diverse ethnic groups do hold office, often at a senior level, within federal and state administrations. There is a broadly held view that independent, ethnically-based political parties have been excluded in favour of others created by the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) and subordinate to it. The view is that ethnic political figure-heads have emerged and that senior officials, or advisors who hold the real power, are drawn from only one politically dominant ethnic group and party (UN Human Rights Council 2007, ‘Report of the independent expert on minority issues, Gay McDougall – Addendum: Mission to Ethiopia (28 November-12 December 2006), United Nations General Assembly, A/HRC/4/9/Add.3, 28 February, Paragraph 74 http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,,ETH,,461f9ea82,0.html – Accessed 7 April 2009 – Attachment 20).

A report dated April 2005 on a fact-finding mission to Ethiopia by the Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders refers to “the EPRDF government - dominated by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi’s Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF)” taking advantage of the ethnic federalism system in Ethiopia “to perpetuate its position as a dominant party by dividing other ethnic groups.” It is stated in the report that:

Moreover, while the delegation could observe that the country remains under tight federal government control, several civil society representatives underlined the core political dimension of ethnic federalism, mainly set forth by the EPRDF government - dominated by Prime Minister Meles Zenawi’s Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front (TPLF) -, which obviously takes advantage of this system to perpetuate its position as a dominant party by dividing other ethnic groups. Indeed, all nine Ethiopian States are ruled by EPRDF member or affiliate parties 11, and regional political life seems to be highly manipulated by the federal government through the “ethnic argument” which prevents viable trans-ethnic parties from emerging. Although the TPLF only represents a minority of the Ethiopian population, it is predominant in governmental bodies. The Minister of Information, while meeting with the Observatory’s delegation, formally denied that ethnic groups are not equally considered and represented, and argued that Tigrayans are a minority out of the 548 seats in the Parliament. However, diplomatic missions confirmed that there is supremacy of Trigrayans in official organs.

Ethnic hatreds spawned by this scheme are the source of most human rights abuses in Ethiopia, and defenders reported grave violations - including alleged ethnic cleansing in some States - as a result of the government’s ethnic policy12. Marginalized and non-indigenous groups, who face an increased xenophobia in certain regions, remain largely excluded from regional civil and political life, which sometimes leads to the rise of resistance movements: it is notably the case of Mena, Menja and Gafat communities in the SNNPRS and of Falasha or Bete-Israel groups in the Amhara region (The Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders 2005, ‘Report: International Fact-Finding Mission – Ethiopia: Human rights defenders under pressure’, FIDH website, April, pp. 10-11 http://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/et_obs2005a.pdf - Accessed 18 April 2005 – Attachment 21).
4. What sort of activities did pro-CUD agitators engage in during the campaign or lead up to the April 2005 elections?

An Amnesty International report dated 29 April 2005 includes information on the situation in Ethiopia prior to the May 2005 elections. According to the report:

Several opposition parties, such as the UEDF and CUD coalitions, the Southern Ethiopia Peoples’ Democratic Coalition (SEPDCC), the All Ethiopia Unity Party (AEUP) and the Oromo National Congress (ONC), have reported that they have encountered politically motivated restrictions on their activities in recent months. They say that candidates and members have been intimidated or suffered human rights violations on account of their peaceful and lawful political activities, and that civil servants have been dismissed from their jobs or threatened with dismissal on account of opposition party membership.

…On 26 January 2005 two men reportedly led by a police officer in plainclothes went to the home of Tesfaye Tereku, 26, an AEUP official in East Gojjam and prospective CUD candidate, and beat him. His brother prevented them from shooting him but the gang threw stones at Tesfaye Tereku, wounding him, and he lost consciousness. He was allegedly refused medical treatment for his injuries at both Dejen town hospital and Debre Markos district hospital, but was treated when he went to Addis Ababa. He claimed the Dejen police refused to investigate his complaint. Two weeks after the attack, he was served notice of pending trial for allegedly illegally holding a party meeting in January 2004, when he had been arrested, taken to court and then released on a bond of 500 birr (c.US$60).

…In Ofa district in Wolaita zone, a total of 38 CUD members were arrested between 11 and 17 February and held for seven days, accused of holding an illegal campaigning meeting without giving police 48 hours notice. They claimed they had complied with this rule. They were all released without charge, except for a CUD official, who was charged with an unrelated criminal offence of trespass on private property, which he denied.

In Humbo district, a music band due to perform at CUD rallies was briefly detained on 20 February and prevented from performing. Two CUD members were briefly detained while campaigning in Damot Wayde district the following week. Some UEDF members were among 200 people reportedly detained under vagrancy laws in Sodo town on 22 February.

…The government has persistently refused any dialogue with the EHRCO [Ethiopian Human Rights Council] and has not responded to its reports, of which there have been more than 100 since its formation in 1991. (30) Its former chair, retired Professor Mesfin Woldemariam, Ethiopia’s best-known human rights defender, is awaiting trial, together with a co-defendant, Dr Berhanu Negga, former chair of the Ethiopian Economic Association, an NGO. They were arrested in May 2001 for allegedly inciting students to violence, which they denied, in connection with demonstrations the previous month by students of Addis Ababa University, which were followed by rioting in the city. They were released on bail after four weeks in custody. Dr Berhanu Negga is currently a CUD parliamentary candidate in Addis Ababa, while Professor Mesfin Woldemariam, although not an election candidate, is a CUD official. Amnesty International is concerned that, if convicted and imprisoned, they would be prisoners of conscience, possibly for several years. The organization is calling for the withdrawal of the charges against them (Amnesty International 2005, Ethiopia: The 15 May 2005 elections and human rights - recommendations to the government, election observers and political parties, 29 April, AFR 25/002/2005, pp. 5-7 & 10 – Attachment 22).

The RRT research response dated 20 November 2006 provides information on the treatment of CUD members around the time of the 2005 elections in Ethiopia (RRT Research &
The previously mentioned report dated August 2007 indicates that in relation to the May 2005 election:

The relative success of opposition political parties after a short organizing period indicates openness in the political process that was unprecedented in the country’s modern history, as well as deep resentment toward the EPRDF that had been building for some time. The ruling party and opposition reached an agreement on a formula to allocate access to important state-controlled media sources, including TV and print media. International aid supported civic education. In the days before the election large political rallies were well attended and peaceful.

The ruling party blocked the opposition’s attempted alterations of the electoral law, including a change from plurality voting to proportional representation. However, the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia (NEBE) did establish important joint political-party forums at all levels to resolve disputes, and these were most effective in the pre-election period. Despite the high-profile expulsion of several international-observer missions and personalities, the presence of the African Union, the European Union, and the Carter Center observer missions, complemented by local observers, added some legitimacy to the exercise. Televised debates, also broadcast on the radio and reported in the state-owned and private press, offered refreshing new sources of information for voters (Smith, Lahra 2007, ‘Political Violence and Democratic Uncertainty in Ethiopia’, CIAO website, August, pp. 3-4 http://www.ciaonet.org/wps/usip10669/usip10669.pdf - Accessed 14 April 2008 – Attachment 6).

A report dated 25 September 2007 by Freedom House refers to the run-up to the May 2005 elections being “fraught with tensions, despite the fact that the political system was much more open than at any other time in the country’s history.” It is stated in the report that:

The run-up to the elections was fraught with tensions, despite the fact that the political system was much more open than at any other time in the country’s history. For example, opposition parties and candidates had relatively open access to the state media, and the candidates took part in live, televised debates. Both the opposition and the EPRDF held peaceful mass rallies. All of this led to a huge voter turnout, which the Carter Center estimated as high as ninety percent of the country’s twenty-six million registered voters.5

Even as it was opening up the political system, credible reports indicated that the EPRDF regime was engaging in activities to intimidate, silence, or eliminate some elements in the opposition, particularly in the countryside.6 Amnesty International reported that the government had subjected opposition party members to beatings, detention on trumped-up charges, harassment, and disappearances.7 Opposition supporters in Eastern Gojjam and other locations were allegedly shot dead by government forces. Additionally, there were claims that prospective opposition voters were illegally dropped from the voting rolls, while EPRDF supporters were given multiple voter registration cards in different locations. In some cases, voter registration cards were even given to children. This pattern continued up to the actual elections in May 2005. While putting on a democratic face for the international community, the EPRDF operated behind the scenes in an unaccountable manner, structuring the elections in its own favor (Freedom House 2007, ‘Countries at the Crossroads 2007 – Ethiopia’, UNHCR Refworld website, 25 September, p. 3 http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country...,ETH,.,4738692464,0.html – Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 23).
5. Are there reports of demonstrations being held in Addis Ababa in June 2005 and October 2005? If so, what types of people were arrested or held?

The RRT research response dated 20 November 2006 includes information on demonstrations held in Addis Ababa in June and early November 2005, and those arrested as a result of the demonstrations (RRT Research & Information 2006, Research Response ETH30982, 20 November (Question 2) – Attachment 1). The research response refers to the previously mentioned Amnesty International report dated 2 May 2006 which provides information on the demonstrations and the arrests. The report also provides details regarding the trial of 76 individuals who “had been arrested in November 2005, with bail denied, in connection with opposition demonstrations against the government. 25 other defendants are being tried in their absence. Four political parties and six newspaper publishing companies are also on trial, making a total of 111 defendants – 131 were originally charged but 20 were discharged. The trial is likely to last several months. The European Union had called for the release of the defendants and is concerned about the fairness of trial, for which it has appointed an international trial observer.” According to the report:

The defendants, who include leaders of the opposition Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD) party, 14 journalists from independent newspapers and three civil society activists, are charged in different groups with treason, “outrages against the Constitution”, armed conspiracy or “genocide”, all of which can carry the death penalty in serious cases. All defendants except the civil society activists are refusing to participate in the trial or present a defence, on the grounds that they do not expect to receive a fair trial.


An earlier Amnesty International report dated 23 June 2005 indicates that “36 people were shot and killed by police during the protests in Addis Ababa on 8 June, and over 100 were wounded.” Several thousand people were “reportedly detained, mostly in undesignated prisons.” Those arrested included “2,000 Addis Ababa University students who were arrested on 6-7 June”, members and supporters of the CUD, and six human rights defenders, being “three investigators and three regional managers of the Ethiopian Human Rights Council (EHRCO)” (Amnesty International 2005, Ethiopia: Further information on: Fear of torture / Prisoners of conscience, 23 June, AFR 25/004/2005 http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR25/004/2005/en/d7da6711-d4d5-11dd-8a23-d58a49c0d652/af250042005en.html - Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 24).

According to a further Amnesty International report dated 6 July 2005, thousands of people were “arrested in the capital, Addis Ababa, during and after demonstrations that began on 6 June and continued for several days. Demonstrators and the opposition parties alleged widespread fraud in the 15 May general elections, which the ruling Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) claimed to have won. Some 4,000 of those arrested have now been released, and there have been similar large releases of people arrested in other towns at the same time” (Amnesty International 2005, Further information on: Ethiopia: Fear of torture / Prisoners of conscience, 6 July, AFR 25/010/2005 http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR25/010/2005/en/54a84c54-d4ce-11dd-8a23-d58a49c0d652/af250102005en.html - Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 25).
The US Department of State report on human rights practices in Ethiopia for 2006 indicates that:

Beginning on November 1, 2005, violent antigovernment protests allegedly organized by the opposition occurred in Addis Ababa, and the government arrested several dozen opposition leaders, as well as members of the independent media and civil society groups, for alleged participation in unlawful activities. Security forces also detained between 30,000 and 50,000 demonstrators without charge. Military intervention led to widespread abuses such as arbitrary detention and killings. Security forces arrested at least 12 of the 20 CUD party executive committee members, including party president Hailu Shawel, vice chairman Bertukan Mideksa, secretary-general Muluneh Eyoel, and Addis Ababa mayor-elect Dr. Berhanu Nega, on charges of treason and genocide, among others (US Department of State 2007, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Ethiopia, March, Section 3 – Attachment 5).


An Amnesty International report dated 28 October 2005 indicates that there had been demonstrations planned for 2 October 2005 “in protest at alleged fraud in the parliamentary elections held on 15 May” in Ethiopia, but the demonstrations had been cancelled. According to the report, “[h]undreds of members and supporters of the CUD and the UEDF had been detained in order to stop them attending nationwide demonstrations which had been planned for 2 October, though the demonstrations were then cancelled” (Amnesty International 2005, Ethiopia: Further information on possible prisoners of conscience / Fear of torture or ill-treatment, 28 October, AFR 25/014/2005 http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR25/014/2005/en/7efba73e-d497-11dd-8a23-d58a49c0d652/afr250142005en.html - Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 27).

6. Please provide information on the Zeway Concentration Camp, including its location, its size/layout/divisions, any other identifying features, what it is used for, and whether demonstrators arrested in October 2005 were held there. Please provide photographs of the camp if available.

A report dated February 2005 by the Center for International Legal Cooperation indicates that:

Federal Prisons are located at Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa. The Federal Prisons have branches in Zeway, Robbit and Kaliti (Addis Ababa). The number of prisoners in Federal Prisons is estimated at 6,600. Almost 600 of those prisoners are members of the former Derg regime. Women prisoners (170 women) are detained in separate units.

In relation to the estimated population in the Federal prison at Zeway, the report indicates that “[t]he formal capacity is 3372; the actual population is 647” (Center for International Legal Cooperation 2005, ‘Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Comprehensive Justice System Reform Program Baseline Study Report’, February, p. 113 – Attachment 28).
A report dated 29 March 2004 by the African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights Special Rapporteur on Prisons and Conditions of Detention in Africa refers to the Special Rapporteur visiting a number of prisons in Ethiopia, including the Ziway prison in the Addis Ababa region. It is stated in the report that:

**c) Ziway Prison**

The Ziway Prison is another federal prison in the Addis Ababa region situated about 150 kilometres from the capital, Addis Ababa. It is made up of about 635 inmates – all male. The prison has about eleven large cells of different sizes. Some hold 35 inmates, some 104 inmates.

There is a small clinic and a poorly equipped laboratory. It also has a school and a media center where information and news is broadcasted to all the prisoners.

d) Ziway Prison Farm

The Ziway Federal Prison Farm is located a few meters away from the Ziway Prison and covers almost 90 hectares of land. Irrigation water is derived from the Ziway lake. The farm produces cash crops such as banana, pawpaw, pepper, orange, guava, mangoes and also rears cattle. It also produces food crops such as maize, Onion, tomatoes and cabbage.

The cultivation is done by the prisoners and this is done as part of the reformation and reintegration policy of the prison. Farming is not done as part of punishment. The prisoners are trained from soil preparation in the nursery to crop transplant in the main farm.

The prisoners are paid for the work they do in the farms and depending on the nature and duration of the work, they may be given 0.75 Birr, or 1 Birr or 1.5 Birr ($ 1 = 8 Birr). They are paid a fraction of this money each month and the rest is kept by the administration and given to them when they are released.

The report includes a photograph of the Special Rapporteur at the Ziway Prison Farm. The report notes that “[p]risoners in the Ziway prison complain that the pay they receive is not commensurate to the work they do.” The report also indicates that “[a]ll the detention centres visited, except Ziway Prison and the Awasa Woreda I Police Station, have female inmates.”


Sources indicate that a number of the protesters arrested following demonstrations held in June and November 2005 in relation to the May 2005 elections in Ethiopia, were taken to Ziway prison, Ziway detention camp, or Ziway military camp. The Amnesty International report dated 23 June 2005 refers to 3,130 detainees being “held at Ziway military camp, 225km south of Addis Ababa.” According to the report:

The Police Commissioner stated that 3,130 detainees are held at Ziway military camp, 225km south of Addis Ababa. He said that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the Ethiopian Red Cross and family members would be immediately allowed access to these
detainees. Conditions at Ziwai army camp, which is not an officially-designated place of custody, are known to be harsh, with overcrowding, poor hygiene, a high risk of malaria and very poor medical facilities. Police have said the Ziwai detainees are being “screened” (interrogated), and those found to have been involved in violence would be prosecuted. On 22 June foreign diplomats were allowed to visit Ziwai army camp and expressed concern over the lack of transparency in “screening” prisoners (Amnesty International 2005, Ethiopia: Further information on: Fear of torture / Prisoners of conscience, 23 June, AFR 25/004/2005 http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR25/004/2005/en/d7da6711-d4d5-11dd-8a23-d58a49c0d652/afr250042005en.html - Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 24).

The Amnesty International report dated 6 July 2005 indicates that thousands of people were “arrested in the capital, Addis Ababa, during and after demonstrations that began on 6 June and continued for several days… Some 4,000 of those arrested have now been released, and there have been similar large releases of people arrested in other towns at the same time.” According to the report, some 4,500 of those arrested in Addis Ababa were sent “to Ziwai federal prison, some 200km south of Addis Ababa”. Conditions were reported to be “poor in Ziwai prison,” and most detainees in the “prison were held in congested and hot zinc-iron buildings, and many were reportedly beaten.” The report notes that “[i]n late June the authorities finally allowed foreign diplomats, the International Committee of the Red Cross and families access to the prison.” The report also indicates that “[s]everal thousand people, some of whom may be prisoners of conscience, may still be held in official prisons such as Ziwai prison (where over 500 are still held) or in army or police centres (such as Sendafa police college) which are not officially designated prisons” (Amnesty International 2005, Further information on: Ethiopia: Fear of torture / Prisoners of conscience, 6 July, AFR 25/010/2005 http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/AFR25/010/2005/en/54a84c54-d4ce-11dd-8a23-d58a49c0d652/afr250102005en.html - Accessed 6 April 2009 – Attachment 25).

In relation to the November 2005 demonstrations, an article dated 11 November 2005 refers to Ethiopian police saying “they had released 2,417 people who were seized during violent protests in Addis Ababa last week”. Some of the “prisoners were released from Ziway detention camp, 150 km south of the capital” (‘Police release detained protestors’ 2005, IRIN, 11 November – Attachment 30).

The US Department of State report on human rights practices in Ethiopia for 2006 refers to “[m]ore than 650 prisoners related to the protests… still being held at the Ziway detention camp in January”. It is stated in the report that:

In January international media reported that more than 11,000 persons detained in November 2005 following large-scale antigovernment demonstrations had been released. However, the commission of inquiry into post-election political violence found that over 30,000 individuals had been detained, while other reports placed the number at over 50,000. More than 2,200 of the prisoners were released without charge. An additional 734 persons detained during violence in Addis Ababa were released on January 6. More than 650 prisoners related to the protests were still being held at the Ziway detention camp in January, and the exact number of persons who remained in custody at year’s end was not known (US Department of State 2007, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Ethiopia, March, Section 1(d) – Attachment 5).
7. What is the location of the 4th Division Police Station in Addis Ababa? Does it have a jail on site or nearby?

Although dated, a 1993 country study on Ethiopia by the Federal Research Division of the US Library of Congress indicates that “[r]eportedly, the government had jailed political dissidents at numerous other prisons in Addis Ababa, including Fourth Division headquarters; the Third Police Station, which also served as national police headquarters and an interrogation center; and the Grand (Menelik’s) Palace. Asmera, another center for political prisoners, had penal facilities at three locations. Most police stations and army garrisons also had jails” (‘Prisons’ in Ofcansky, T. & Berry, L. (eds) 1993, ‘A Country Study: Ethiopia’, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress website http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/ettoc.html - Accessed 9 April 2009 – Attachment 31).


The Office of the Co-ordinator of the Police and Prisons Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Ethiopia, commenting on the fifth report of the Ethiopian Human Rights Council, states that:

Contrary to EHRCO’s report that many people have been thrown into jail without court warrants:-

…À À The Council has misinformed the public in reporting that twenty three people were imprisoned in the former Fourth Military Division Headquarters. First of all, the Fourth Division Headquarters is not a prison. While the Wereda 20 Police Station is under construction, some space in the Headquarters has been loaned to the police station to temporarily house people in custody. Secondly, the EHRCO’s report that 23 people have been imprisoned there for “unknown reasons” is inaccurate. They have been detained for non-political reasons pending their removal to Wereda 20 Police Station or their release, depending on the decision of the courts. “There are 63 men and 3 women currently detained at the Headquarters awaiting trial.” The Council’s report that prisoners have been jailed for “unknown reasons” misrepresents the situation. The EHRCO was in a position to make enquiries and ascertain that the prisoners have been detained for non political reasons and failed to do so (Office of the Co-ordinator of the Police and Prisons Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs 1993, ‘Comment on 5th report of EHRCO (From the Office of the Co-ordinator of the Police and Prisons Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs), (Published in The Ethiopian Herald on July 18, 1993)’, MediaEthiopia.com website, 18 July http://www.ethiopians.com/rep05.html - Accessed 9 April 2009 – Attachment 34).

A list of Ethiopian police stations from the Yellow Pages Ethiopian Business Directory website does not refer to a 4th Division Police Station in Addis Ababa (‘Police Stations’ (undated), Yellow Pages Ethiopian Business Directory website
List of Sources Consulted

Internet Sources:
Kinijitethiopia.org website http://www.kinijitethiopia.org/
Kinijit.com website http://www.kinijit.com/

Government Information & Reports
Immigration & Refugee Board of Canada http://www.irb-cisr.gc.ca/
UK Home Office http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/
US Department of State http://www.state.gov/

United Nations (UN)
UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Refworld http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain

Non-Government Organisations
Human Rights Watch http://www.hrw.org/
Amnesty International http://www.amnesty.org

International News & Politics
BBC News http://news.bbc.co.uk

Region Specific Links
African Commission on Human and Peoples’ Rights http://www.achpr.org/
Yellow Pages Ethiopian Business Directory website http://www.theethiopiandirectory.com/

Search Engines
Copernic http://www.copernic.com/

Databases:
FACTIVA (news database)
BACIS (DIAC Country Information database)
REFINFO (IRBDC (Canada) Country Information database)
ISYS (RRT Research & Information database, including Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, US Department of State Reports)

List of Attachments


19. UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 2008, ‘Reports submitted by States parties under Article 9 of the Convention – Information provided by the Government of Ethiopia on the implementation of the concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination’, UNHCR Refworld website,


27. Amnesty International 2005, Ethiopia: Further information on possible prisoners of conscience / Fear of torture or ill-treatment, 28 October, AFR 25/014/2005


