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Human Rights Abuses in Ethiopia
Reports from refugees in Kenya, September 2010

This report consists of accounts given by refugees in Kenya, during 58 structured interviews carried out by OSG in September 2010. First-hand accounts of human rights abuses in Ethiopia given by 53 interviewees are included.

Interviewees were not selected because of the severity of abuses which they experienced in Ethiopia, but were chosen as a representative cross section of refugees in terms of age, gender, origin and time in Kenya.

The accounts are presented in roughly chronological order in the first and largest section of the report, beginning with the year of the transitional government, 1991-2, before the OLF was outlawed. Because persecution of individuals and their families often continues for a decade or more, it was impossible to report all abuses in strict chronological order without fragmenting individual accounts.

Nonetheless, the sequence of accounts gives a history of persecution and abuse with which the current administration in Ethiopia has been associated in its almost 20 years in power.

The first section includes individuals' histories in Kenya as well as Ethiopia. Other human rights violations in Ethiopia which were reported during the field study are included in the following section. Other problems faced in Kenya are then briefly recorded. Thereafter there are sections on refoulement, refusal and resettlement and, finally, an appendix which lists killings and attacks in Kenya which have previously been reported to OSG.

The fact-finding mission to Kenya was conducted on behalf of the Oromo Relief Association and was financed by the Big Lottery Fund.

The Oromia Support Group is a non-political organisation which attempts to raise awareness of human rights violations in Ethiopia. OSG has now reported 4,279 extra-judicial killings and 987 disappearances of civilians in Ethiopia. Hundreds of thousands have been placed in illegal detention, where torture and rape are commonplace.

REPORT 46 December 2010

Numerical summary of abuses in Ethiopia, reported in interviews and group meetings.

Individual interviews

Out of 58 interviewees:

Killings and disappearances

32 (55%) reported friends and relatives killed
14 (24%) reported first degree relatives (parents, children, brothers, sisters) killed
15 (26%) reported first degree relatives disappeared

Torture

27 (47%) were tortured
27 (66%) of 41 former detainees were tortured
20 (74%) out of 27 male interviewees were tortured
20 (80%) out of 25 male former detainees were tortured

Rape

At least 10 out of 31 female interviewees were raped by government forces
9 (56%) of 16 female former detainees were raped
1 was raped by a soldier in her home

Group meetings

Kakuma

Out of a group of 26 refugees:

26 (100%) had been detained
21- two or more times, 6-three or more times
21 (81%) were tortured
18 (69%) reported friends or relatives raped
16 (62%) had relatives killed (9 first degree relatives)
15 (58%) had relatives disappeared
5 knew of whole villages razed to the ground

Githurai, Nairobi

Out of a group of 19 refugees:

19 (100%) had been detained
19 (100%) had relatives killed (11 first degree relatives)
11 (58%) had relatives disappeared (9 first degree relatives)

Accounts of abuses beginning 1991-1993

Adus Tahir Omar, 67, Aweday, near Harar, E. Harage.

Adus made financial contributions to the OLF when they were part of the transitional government from 1991-2. Near the end of 1991, before the OLF was made illegal, he was severely beaten by government soldiers at Aweday. He received a deep bayonet wound to his left buttock and was struck on his head with an iron bar. He bears a large C-shaped scar over his right tempo-parietal region. His skull was fractured in two places. He was taken under guard to Haromaya hospital, where he remained for six months. He was unable to speak for three months. In the run-up to the election in mid-1992, there was widespread fighting and protests all over Eastern Hararge. One of the two police guards at the hospital was shot dead and the other ran away. An Oromo nurse advised him to run to save his life.

Two of his uncle's sons, **Bashir Osman Omar**, ca50, and **Baker Abrahim Omar**, ca30, both traders and growers of coffee and khat, were **shot to death** in Aweday by soldiers using pistols, because they had supported the OLF. So Adus burned his OLF membership card. This was in mid-1992 while the OLF were encamped away from towns in preparation for the elections, in an agreement with the TPLF, which was brokered by US diplomats.

Two of Adus' sons were detained in August 1992. Soldiers said 'We will take them to university'. **Mohammed Adus**, ca32, **and Fozi Adus**, ca27, **have not been found** since, despite attempts to locate them using ICRC.

Fighting continued and the mass arrests of Oromo began. 20,000 to 45,000 were detained in late 1992 and in 1993.[1] On leaving hospital, Adus walked to a maize farm in the Sherif Kalid area, where he was advised by his brother to flee. He went to Jijiga and thence to Puntland (see p. 46).

Mohammed Said Ibrahim, 65, Kamise, Wollo.

Driver and owner of a clothes shop before 1991.

An OLF member in 1991-2, Mohammed chaired the elders committee which coordinated the Oromo parties' representation in the transitional government. He opened an Oromo language school in Kamise. He was detained in Kamise military barracks in June 1992, when 'the EPRDF detained and killed many key figures'. He was kept for four months. He was beaten, whipped with electric cable and beaten

[1] Amnesty International, in *Ethiopia: Accountability, past and present, human rights in transition.* London. April 1995, stated 20,000 were detained; Clandestine human rights groups in Ethiopia claimed 45,000 were detained, in communications to the Oromia Support Group in 1994/5.

with an iron bar. He still has scars from being beaten in this period. He was forced to walk on his knees on gravel and to carry a 70 kg boulder up and down a slope 'continuously for two months until my body was exhausted'. He had 'wounds everywhere' and paid 500,000 Birr to be allowed to attend hospital. He escaped from hospital and fled the country in May 1993. His account of deaths and refoulement of refugees in Djibouti is given on p. 46. He came to Nairobi in 2004.

In Kenya

'I now have mandate status in Kenya as well as Djibouti. I have received many threats and have reported them to embassies and to *VOA* [*Voice of America* radio]. I received a threatening text message on 15 February this year and showed it to Pangani police station: 'You have been talking about those people who surrendered themselves to Ethiopia and about the OLF remnants in Kenya. You will see what will happen to you.'

'On 2 June this year, four people came up to me in daylight, holding a knife and telling me I will be killed. I got hold of two of them. A lot of people helped and we chased them off. Three of them were Borana that I knew. Kituo cha Sheria [a legal organisation which engages in advocacy work for refugees in their dealings with police and NGOs] phoned them and they said they would continue to fulfil their threat. I reported it to the police.'

'There is no day without threats. Whenever I walk about I see them. They say they will hire thugs to kill me. Even yesterday, I was told that I need to take care because people are vowing to kill me. There are four people who recruit for the Ethiopian government here. They speak Oromo and pretend to be Oromo refugees. They belong to IFLO [Islamic Front for the Liberation of Oromia]. I know them. The hostility of the IFLO [to the OLF] is being exploited by the Ethiopian government. They come to Ethiopian community meetings.'

N.xiii. Name redacted, 42, Bale.

Primary school teacher before joining the OLF in 1991.

He was the OLF representative in one of its Eastern Oromia Region offices from 1991-2. When offices were attacked and the encamped troops were overran in June 1992, to avoid being killed or imprisoned, 'the cadres and members were forced to join the fighters'. He was shot in the right forearm and hip in 1994 and received treatment in the field and clandestinely from doctors. He was training cadres in the southern front when he had to disperse them because of the break-up of this command in 2000. Some were taken by government forces and revealed his identity under torture. He was the head of political intelligence training and when he was targeted by name, it became difficult for him to survive. He fled via Moyale and arrived in Nairobi in 2000.

In Kenya

His planned resettlement was interrupted by the 2000 corruption scandal at UNHCR. He applied again for resettlement after 2004 but was refused: 'The countries are not taking your case at the moment.' (See Refusal of resettlement by USA and UK, p. 47.)

He has had no treatment for his psychological problems or his wounds. He feels insecure because of his OLF profile and has been denounced by defectors to the Ethiopian government.

In June 2009, he was detained in Pangani police station because of a false allegation that he had threatened to rob someone at knife point. He believes this was engineered by the Ethiopian government and reported that robbery with violence carries the death penalty in Kenya.

Hassen Sheikh Bashir Dade, 55, Arsi Negele.

Farmer and owner of a shop and restaurant, a known elder serving the community in his area.

Hassen was first detained in late 1992, six months after the OLF were forced out of the transitional government. He was held and tortured for four months in Negele military barracks.

In 1993, eight months after his release, he was detained again in the same place and tortured for five months.

His torture consisted of immersion of his head in water and having a one litre bottle of water suspended from his testicles, in addition to being beaten with wooden staves.

His mouth was gagged with cloth, tied in place with electric cable, and he was questioned and immersed every few minutes until he fainted. As soon as he regained consciousness, his head was forced under the water again.

This was carried out twice each week throughout both episodes of detention and each session continued for two hours. During each two hour session, the bottle of water was hung from his genitalia until he was returned to his cell. He was forced to stand and sit repeatedly to feel the weight.

Elders came to the camp and promised government officials that Hassen would have nothing to do with the OLF. On his release, he signed an agreement that he would forfeit his life if he was found to be involved with the OLF or if there was any OLF activity in the area. He signed that he would be restricted to his immediate surroundings, would report and sign on every month and would inform and get permission from the authorities to attend weddings and funerals up to 25 km away, but no further. He was forbidden to attend meetings. If he attended weddings, someone was sent to listen to what he said and report on who he spoke to.

In Kenya

He delayed fleeing to Nairobi until 2000 because of concerns leaving his large family. He finally left, fearing repercussions from the killing of eight soldiers by the OLF nearby.

Hassen was awarded mandate status in 2001, but has been asked twice to complete another application form since then.

'We came here with fear for our life. We live under the same fear here. My problem is one that all Oromo have. We fear the police and Mungiki [see footnote, p. 15], because they kill even children. We fear many agents of the Ethiopian government, people who come and go. I know at least five who are coming here.'

'Especially those who work with the Oromo community are listed. We receive threatening phone calls. I checked with Safaricom and they are calls from Mandera [a border town with Ethiopia]. I received four such calls in the last year. When we complain to the Kenyan government, they say they are told by the Ethiopian government that we are the trouble makers.'

Abdusalam Mohammed Waliyi, 60, Robe, Bale.

Wealthy businessman and merchant, with large shops (clothes, general goods) and a bakery.

Abdusalem was a representative of Oromo elders in Dire Dawa, E. Hararge, an important supporter of the Oromo Relief Association [2] (ORA) and a member of the OLF when it legally represented the Oromo in the transitional government from 1991-2. He was arrested in Dire Dawa in 1992 and detained for two months in underground cells in Harar military camp. He was held incommunicado when he was detained for a second time, from 1993 to 1995 in Dire Dawa. ICRC visited him once but were not allowed follow-up visits. He paid 20,000 Birr to a Tigrean, Towalde, to get released.

He was at liberty for only 20 days before being re-arrested and held for 33 days at Deder military camp, E. Hararge. He was released from there with standard warnings about meeting people and having any contact with OLF supporters.

He fled to Addis Ababa but was detained in the palace prison one month after his release from Deder, still in 1995, a few days after returning from a visit to Bale. He was held there for 16 months. He was taken from his cell at night and tortured. He was subjected to 'bastinado' or 'falaka', in which the soles of his feet were beaten raw while he was suspended upside down with his limbs tied around a pole. He still has pain from this and from the beatings he received to his back. He was also whipped with electric cable and left lying on the floor for long periods with his hands tied behind his back. He was tortured every night for several weeks and then twice per week.

Throughout this detention he was held in solitary confinement and shackled at the wrists, with one hand being freed for toilet visits but not for eating. 'I became confused and mad' he said.

On his release in 1997 he received 'strong warnings' about restricting his contacts, not attending social gatherings, staying in Addis Ababa and having to report to the security forces and sign on three times per week.

On 11.9.00, two visitors came, a neighbour and an OLF supporter. As they left, he heard gunshots and he ran to Mercato. **One of his visitors was killed**. The other man and Abdusalam's wife were arrested. He fled the country.

In Kenya

He lived in Kariobangi, Nairobi, after arriving in November 2000, but moved after seeing a TPLF army commander there, known to him as 'Belay'. In May 2002, many Oromo were arrested in Eastleigh and taken to Kasarani police station. Marad Musa, from the Ethiopian embassy, was calling out names of detainees to identify themselves, ostensibly so they could be released. Friends of Abdusalam reported that his name had been called, indicating that the embassy knew of his presence in Nairobi and that they sought him. He complains of mental stress and depression and has had counselling for feelings of being followed. 'I stay at home and don't involve myself as an elder should', he said.

[2] ORA ran relief and development projects in Oromia Region which were helping 300,000 people when its offices in Dire Dawa and Addis Ababa were closed in 1995. Its assetts were seized by the government. Offices in Sudan and Djibouti provided support to Oromo refugees until they were closed at the insistence of the Ethiopian government in 1995/6.

Najash Hussein, 28, Tokkuma Magarssa, W. Hararge.

Trader of coffee and commodities (clothes, shoes etc.).

'In 1992, they came to my home. They **killed my father** (**Hussein Ahmed**) and shot me in the legs.' He had bullet wounds in his left shin and right thigh. Although he was only ten years old at the time, he was detained with most of the remainder of his family at Hurso military camp for two years.

He was again detained at Hurso military camp from 1999 to 2003 and accused of supplying the OLF with shoes and clothing. He was beaten, especially on his back, and received stab wounds to his back and waist. For the first three weeks, three times each day, his torturers grabbed his testicles with a gloved hand and pulled hard, threatening to pull them off, for 15 minutes at a time. He was gagged and his upper torso immersed in water so that he could not breathe, every night for almost one year. 'Tell the truth' he was told.

6,000 Birr was taken from him. He was released after signing an agreement to report every month and that he would provide information about the OLF. About one month after his release, there was fighting with the OLF at Massalla. Others were detained and killed because of this. Unable or unwilling to provide any information about OLF movements, he decided to flee to Kenya.

In the refuge camp, 'It is a harsh life, a bad, harsh life.' Despite arriving and being interviewed by UNHCR in 2003, he still has not received mandate refugee status.

Shuke Halaki, 37, Yabelo, Borana.

Businesswoman, a trader and shop-owner, together with her wealthy husband.

In late 1992, her husband was accused of supporting the OLF and detained for one year. He was detained again, with 45 others, in 1996 and held at a military camp at Hage Mariam (Guji, Borana), from where he was released after paying some money. He was thereafter restricted to Yabelo town and not allowed to trade.

In 1998, when harassment increased as Oromo were accused of being unsupportive in the war with Eritrea, Shuke's husband was abducted one night at 10 p.m. and **has not been seen since**.

After his arrest, she was visited three times by security men and taken out of town to 'a wild area'. She was threatened with rape and with being killed, with a gun pointing to her face and inserted into her mouth. She had a small baby with her and was beaten but not raped. She was told to produce (nonexistent) OLF documents belonging to her husband.

In Kenya

Shuke's 14 year old daughter was abducted in 2001 from Kakuma camp. She believes her daughter was taken by her husband's family, to be married. Her 7 year old daughter died of cerebral malaria in 2006. Shuke has married again in the camp and because of this her husband's family took her eldest son in 2009. She fears that other children may be at risk of abduction. She complains of 'stress and poor sleep' but has 'hope still, and awaits God's help'.

Abdulahi Omar Tesso, 46, Liban, Negele, Borana.

Abdulahi was a trader and was detained three times.

From October 1993 to August 1994, he was first held for 20 days in Negele, Borana, and then transferred to Awassa (SNNPR). He was accused of supporting the OLF, beaten and had his property confiscated. Chilli powder was put in his eyes and he was beaten about his head with metal bars. Cold water was put in his cell, covering the floor up to a depth of several inches, preventing sleep. Every week he was ordered to mop out the water and more water would then be put in. Eight people were in this cell.

During this first detention, for the first three months he was taken every week to the forest at night. A rope was tied around his waist and he was lowered head first into a deep hole containing water until he nearly drowned. This was done four times each visit. Two victims were treated like this at a time, in hourly shifts. Eventually at the insistence of ICRC, he appeared in court in Negele and was released on condition that he report every two weeks and restrict himself to his local area.

In the second detention, for six months at the '43' military camp, near Negele, he was badly beaten 'day and night' every 5-6 days for the first two months and every two weeks or so thereafter. Three men were doing the beating each time. He was threatened with a pistol put into his mouth. The pistol was then held alongside his temple and fired. He was presented with lists of prominent people and asked if they helped the OLF. 'Tell us and we'll let you go' he was told. Some prisoners did so. He was released when an uncle paid 7,000 Birr, on condition that he had no contact with other people, did not travel outside his immediate area, did not listen to the radio and did not read non-government newspapers.

In 1999, he obtained permission to take his mother to Mada Walabu for one month. On return, he was accused of attending an OLF congress in Mogadishu. All his belongings were confiscated, including a generator used for irrigating his plot, a truck (co-owned with two other men), a motorbike and 17,000 Birr. 'It all belongs to the OLF' he was told. He was taken to Ganale military camp and held for three months. He was beaten and accused of preventing young men from fighting in the war with Eritrea. He was not tortured during this detention. He signed a warning on his release that he would be killed if the OLF came to the area again.

On 15 September 2000, there was fighting between the OLF and the government at Malka Bulbul, Borana. Arrests of local people began, including in Negele. He was warned that he should leave as he was on the wanted list.

In Kenya

Four months after arrival in Nairobi he obtained refugee status and lived for a year in Eastleigh. His older brother, an OLF member, was abducted from Mogadishu, Somalia, by Ethiopian

government forces in 2002. Abdulahi saw the security chief from Negele, Kedir Ababunda, in Eastleigh and sent someone to talk to him. The security man claimed to be Sudanese and showed a refugee mandate for a Sudanese national. Abdulahi found out that Kedir Ababunda was reported to be travelling back and forth to Ethiopia. The abduction of his brother from Mogadishu and the presence of this security man in Eastleigh persuaded him to leave. One month later, in May 2002, as soon as he could arrange it, Abdulahi and his wife were transferred to Kakuma.

He described Kakuma as 'not very safe'. While they were in Kakuma Two and Three, there were many thefts and robberies. One night, when he went to investigate a disturbance, he got caught up in a fight and was stabbed in his left thigh. The security situation is now improving, however.

Accounts of abuses beginning in 1994-1996

Abdulwasid Ahmed Mohammed, 34, Dire Dawa.

Abdulwasid was a driver. In 1994, he was accused of hiding OLF property and weapons in his garage and detained for two years in 'Kotoni', an old cotton factory in Dire Dawa which was commonly used as an unofficial detention centre. Initially, he was held in a dark cell with his elder brother, **Yusuf**, who was later taken elsewhere and **disappeared**. Abdulwasid was then held on his own.

In 1996, when he was being taken by Land Rover to court, he escaped by jumping from the vehicle. He remained in hiding in Chalanko until 1999, when he was told that he was being sought by the authorities. He found out that his family compound in Dire Dawa was deserted and fled to Nairobi.

In Kenya

He approached UNHCR in October 1999, was registered and seen yearly until being sent to Kakuma in 2004. He had his RSD (Refugee Status Determination) interview in 2004 and received his rejection, along with many others, in 2006. He appealed straight away and was, unlike others, again rejected within 1-2 months. He has had no news about his wife and three children.

He usually sleeps outside, but is sometimes sheltered by friends. He relies on friends for food. He appeared tearful and depressed. 'There is a lot of stress and depression' he says. 'There are about ten people in my situation.'

Ragatu Harun, 34, Obora, near Deder, E. Hararge.

Ragatu was a saleswoman in her father's shop.

When aged 18 in 1994, she was detained at Harawajat military camp at the same time as her father because they were accused of supplying goods from the shop to the OLF. Her father became partially sighted because of the torture he underwent.

Ragatu was whipped with electric cable and thorny branches. Some spines are still inside her body. She was beaten like this during interrogation every

night for about six months. She was told 'We know your father was transporting weapons for the OLF. Why don't you give us information?' Both of them were kept in detention for one year. She signed a declaration on release that she would restrict her movements, would report every two weeks and would be held responsible 'if'anything happens in the town'.

In 2000, her father disappeared after going on a business trip to Dire Dawa. The authorities accused him of going to Dire Dawa to obtain weapons for the OLF but she doesn't know if he ran away or was killed or detained. She was detained at Harawajat military camp again in July 2000. She was held for one month and repeatedly told to produce her father. For the first 15 nights she was blindfolded and **raped many times**. She does not know how many people raped her but she was raped at least five times each night 'until I fainted'.

She was released after promising to produce her father and then fled to Kenya, taking her one year old child with her.

In Kenya

'But my problems were not over' she said. In Nairobi, she worked as a maid in a house, but it was difficult with her child and her employers were getting angry. She married a man she met at UNHCR but he was resettled a few months later, in 2005. She now has a four year old child from him, but he has stopped contact with her because of unfounded rumours of infidelity.

In March 2008, at 6.00 a.m., at Mulango Kupa in Eastleigh, on her way to UNHCR (early because of the queues), she was grabbed by an Amhara-speaking Ethiopian and a Kenyan. She was taken to a small room in a garage warehouse where they **both raped her**. She believes they had been watching her and knew that she lived alone with her children. She now shares a room with other single women. She reported being followed and harassed still.

Ragatu survives by selling tea and is forced to walk around alone, despite being frequently propositioned for sex. 'There is no time that I am safe' she said. 'My great worry is for my 11 year old child.' She attended school but stopped in 2008, at grade 5, because she could not afford to continue.

'In June 2010, a man knocked on my door asking for sex. I refused. Later that morning, he attacked me and broke my Thermos flask. I reported it to the police and to Kituo cha Sheria. I left my young child with a neighbour so that I could go to sell tea. He fell and cut his head. It is difficult to work and look after children. I am very worried about my 11 year old.'

Tahir Dahor Challa, 45, Jeldu, Showa.

Tahir was a trader in perfumes, soaps and toiletries.

He was arrested in early 1994 and detained for two years and eight months. For the first two months he was held in Jeldu, where he was accused of supporting the OLF, beaten and interrogated. He was given a list of names and ordered to pick out those who supported the OLF. He was taken out at night and threatened with a pistol inserted up his nose. 'This is your last chance', he was told. When there were gunshots, he was told that another prisoner had been killed and reminded again that this was his 'last chance'. This happened once or twice each week for the two months he was at Jeldu.

'Some were taken at night and **did not return**' he reported. Three of these were known to him by name:
Misgana Diinsa, late 20s, teacher, Jeldu
Erko Bulti, 40s, shop owner, Jeldu
Dejene, 30s, farmer, from a rural area near Jeldu

After two months in Jeldu, he was transferred to Hurso military camp, where he was held with over 3000 others in a place separate to the area where visiting ambassadors were intended to go. However, a doctor informed the ambassadors about those being held at another site, where they were seen, standing naked, in conditions so cramped that there was no room to sit or lie on the floor. Tahir believes he would not have been released if the ambassadors had not seen them.

He was released at the end of 1996, on condition that he signed on at the village administrative office every week and obtained permission if he left the village. He was refused a National ID card but was urged to join the OPDO (the government Oromo party, the Oromo People's Democratic Organisation), which he refused to do. Because of this, he experienced hostility at every kebele meeting. He had to attend or be branded a supporter of the OLF.

'There was some assistance from the Red Cross, but only to OPDO members - cattle, fertiliser, seeds, farm implements and cash.'

In the second half of 2003, there was student unrest locally and he was detained again in Jeldu. He was not tortured, but merely beaten and kicked. He was held in a large old wooden building, formerly used for administrative purposes by the Derg. After 12 days, there was heavy rain during one night and the building collapsed, killing about seven prisoners. Some escaped straight away. He assisted injured prisoners and in the confusion was able to walk out, unchallenged by the single guard.

In Kenya

Tahir fled initially to Mogadishu and thence to Dadaab camp in early 2007, escaping from the fighting and abuses associated with the invasion of Somalia by Ethiopian troops. He described difficulties faced by Oromo refugees in Dadaab, due to hostility from Somalis because of the atrocities committed by Ethiopian soldiers against civilians in Somalia following the December 2006 invasion, and during the 1977 war between Ethiopia and Somalia. Some of the problems are described on p. 40 and more details have been reported separately.[3]

N.ix. Name redacted, 56, Moyale.

She and her husband were farmers and market traders.

Her husband was repeatedly harassed, detained and tortured after 1992. 'The government took our property and cattle to feed their army.' Her husband was **killed at Hidi Lola**, between Moyale and Mega, in 2001.

She was detained six times beginning in 1995: at Moyale military camp (No. '44'), other military camps near Moyale and

[3] Ethiopia exports more than coffee: Oromo refugees, fear and distitution in Kenya. Published by ORA UK and OSG. December 2010. See www.oromo.org

between Moyale and Mega, Yabelo prison and Yabelo police station. She was held for periods of 20 months, 8 months, one year, 2 months (at Yabelo police station), 3 months and one year (at a military camp 'without anyone seeing me').

'**I was raped** at every place of detention, as well as at my own home.' She became pregnant from rape and miscarried after being severely beaten by the man who got her pregnant, the security chief at the military camp.

Her elbows were tied tightly behind her back for 5 hours or more. She does not know for how long, because she lost consciousness. She was stabbed in her right knee.

'I was forced to dig a hole and told "We will kill you here". They put me inside and pointed a gun at me. Then they fired it over my head.'

N.iv. Name redacted, 34, Ambo.

She was a musician in the Gadaa band. In September 1995, as a grade 10 high school student, she demonstrated about the relocation of a bullet factory to Ambo and its taking up the local iron ore deposits. Her brother, **Tesfaye**, 13, was **shot dead** during the demonstration and she was shot in the right thigh and detained for three years at Senkele police training camp. She was beaten, intimidated and forced to cook for the camp. She was not raped. A colleague who was detained with her was disabled because of the beating and has a paralysed leg and walks with crutches.

On release in 1998, she signed a document renouncing her right to claim her high school certificate, declared she would not take part in any demonstration again or have any association with the OLF, would restrict herself to Ambo and would attend no meetings with students or teachers. She was not made to sign on regularly at the police station or kebele office. She disobeyed these restrictions, went to Addis Ababa and attended another high school. She married and both she and her husband joined the Gadaa band. The band performed in Addis Ababa in support of the campaign to put out the widespread forest fires in 2000.[4] She and her husband were sought for arrest and fled to Kenya in 2001.

Accounts of abuses beginning 1996-1998

Elema Jarso, 34, Mega, Borana.

Pastoralist family. Her husband moved around with the animals. She stayed at home.

Her husband's brother joined the OLF in 1991. Her husband and his father were arrested for sending him to fight and for supporting him in the bush. Between 1997 and 1999, her husband was detained twice in the '147' military camp, about one hour's walk from Mega. He was detained for one year and again for 18 months, the episodes being separated by about three months of freedom. Elema was herself detained in Mega for one month at the time of his first arrest. Shortly after his first release, her husband was told at a public meeting to produce his brother within two months.

[4] Extensive fires burned from February to April 2000, affecting over 100,000 hectares of forest in at least 200 sites in Oromia Region. Local informants claim they were started by government officials. At least seven students were killed and several hundred were detained during widespread demonstrations because of government delays in fighting the fires. OSG Press Release 31, July 2000, pp. 2-11.

He was unable to do this. At the time of his second arrest, another, younger, brother of his was also detained when taking provisions by donkey to family members with the herd. He was accused of supplying food and goods to the OLF and the provisions were confiscated.

They fled after her husband's second release, when his younger brother was arrested again.

In Kenya

Elema and her husband initially lived in Nairobi but settled in Kakuma in 2001. They divorced and were therefore rejected for resettlement. She now lives as a single mother with her children.

She supported her family by doing laundry. She was **raped** in the camp and was referred to the gender unit. She was being considered for resettlement again, but a pregnancy intervened. She was tearful and remorseful, complaining of being stigmatised, harassed and discriminated against because of her being an unmarried mother. She expressed concern 'Who will marry my youngest, illegitimate, daughter?' She was anxious about retaining custody of her children.

'There is no durable solution and inadequate access to medical treatment. There are bandit attacks and several rapes of other women. A local armed Turkana man raped a Somali lady in March or April this year, in front of her husband and children.' She was frightened that her 14 year old daughter will be raped.

Awel Mohammed Hussein, 38, Bale.

Awel openly supported the OLF in 1991-2. He was repeatedly questioned and harassed and then detained twice, for 16 months in 1996-7 in Goba, Bale, and from April to October 1999 in Ginir, Bale. His wrists and ankles were shackled. He still bore visible scars from this and from being tortured by having hot, molten plastic dripped onto his lower legs. He has kidney problems following the severe beatings he had and has had asthma since these detentions. Awel was subject to refoulement from Dadaab camp in 2001 (see p. 43). His present location in Kenya is secret.

xii. Name redacted, 36, Yabelo, Borana.

He was a cattle farmer whose brother left home to join the OLF in 1997/8 after friends were killed by government soldiers. The leader of the local community, **Jimo Dida Gandile** and his whole family, **seven** in all, were **killed** at their home in Dilo, Homo area.

He was harassed and then detained at '147' military camp, Boku Loboma, for one year from late 2001. Every 3-4 days early in his detention, he was taken out of the camp at night and beaten. He was made to lie in a hole in the ground, sometimes with his hands and legs tied together behind him, and threatened at rifle point to reveal the whereabouts of his brother. They shot over his head while he lay in the hole, in a variant of commonly practised mock execution. **Some** who were arrested with him were taken out at night and **did not return**.

A wealthy brother, who owned a hotel, paid for his release, and he signed that he would never provide support for the OLF. In early 2004, there was fighting between the OLF and government troops near a watering place in the Harka area. He was with the family herd for the summer, at Boru Fora village, Kacharo. Government soldiers were searching villages and his mother went to warn him. They were approaching home when soldiers began shooting at them. He fled alone, not knowing if his mother was killed or not.

He went on foot to the border at Ori. He hid briefly in the house of another Oromo but was told to leave or the police would be called, as they thought he belonged to the OLF.

In Kenya

At UNHCR, his translator was poor and the interview was two days after his wife had given birth. He was rejected refugee status in December 2005. He appealed and was interviewed one year later, in December 2006.

'I was only asked three questions:

Are you a member or a supporter of the OLF?
Are you a shifta?
Did you have money with you when you left the cattle?'

He received his final rejection on 16 December 2006. Since then his ration card has been deactivated, even for his wife and children of 1 and 5 years. He tried to have his case re-opened in Nairobi but was unsuccessful.

'I am in a bigger problem here than at home. You cannot grow crops or herd cattle here.'

G.vii. Name redacted, 37, a small town between Mega and Yabelo, Borana.

This farmer was interviewed briefly. He reported being detained four times and being deaf in his right ear from being beaten about the head with a wooden baton. In 1997, he was thrown in a pit where dead cows and donkeys were disposed of and he was forced to remain there all day in the sun. As he was thrown in, a piece of metal pierced his right thigh and this was left in place for five days. **In Kenya** he has had ten appointments for interview with UNHCR since his arrival in February 2009. Each has been postponed.

Rowda Aba-Fita, 34, Yebu, Jimma.

Housewife. Husband was a coffee farmer and trader.

Her husband was arrested in January 1998 and detained for the whole year. She was harassed by security men who came repeatedly to the home, questioning her about her husband's activities and acquaintances. She was unable to provide the information they wanted and was detained herself at Mirab Iz (Western Command) camp, in Jimma, from April to October 1998.

'I was subject to intense interrogation and beaten with iron bars. I was **raped three times** by different people, at gunpoint [Kalashnikov]. There were six women in my cell. All were raped.' She was asked if it was fair to say that 50% of female detainees were raped. She answered '50% is not fair. Almost all female detainees are raped.'

Rowda was released after signing that she would report to the kebele office every week, would stay within a 30 km radius of her home and would report on whatever was happening in her area and the activities of her husband.

In January 1999, three weeks after his release, her husband decided to flee. When he failed to report to the kebele office, eight days after he left, she was arrested again and held for four months, again at Mirab Iz camp, until released on 25 April.

'I was treated worse this time, because I had not informed about my husband. Every week or two, they took me out at night to a dark place, in a small hut away from the others in the camp so that

no-one would hear. I was beaten. They put a gun to my forehead and inside my mouth, saying 'Nobody will ask us about this if we kill you.'

Rowda was not raped during this detention. She was released after signing that she would bring her husband. She was admitted to Jimma hospital for three days to recover from her injuries. While she was there, her husband's mother visited and warned her that photographs of her and her husband were being circulated following the killing of three government soldiers. She would be killed if she returned home. She left hospital that day, contacted her husband and fled with him to Kenya.

In Kenya

Her husband began beating her frequently. When he threatened to kill her with a knife, she went to Fida, a Kenyan women's organisation. In June 2004, he took away their two children, then aged 4 and 7. Elders visited him frequently for one month and instructed him to return the children, but he disappeared with them.

'We don't have mental rest. I need to work. My ex-husband's friends disturb me. They blame me for his disappearance. . . . The Oromo community disapproves of domestic violence but they are powerless to stop it.'

In 2007, Rowda opened a tea room with some friends with a small amount of money they were given. They worked in shifts and she was working at night, up to about 4.00 a.m. 'In June 2007, there was a blackout during the "night of the Mungiki",[5] when they were chasing people with machetes. Three men stopped in a car outside the tea room. They came in and ordered the customers to lie on the floor. They took me to Adams [a district in Nairobi] and put me in a house and **raped me turn by turn** the whole night. They were Kenyan Borana, not Mungiki. I never went to the tea shop again.'

She has remarried but her second husband is unemployed. They have to ask others for money.

Amina Mohammed, 29, Mada Walabu, Bale.

Amina is the wife of Abdulahi Omar Tesso (see p.8).

Amina reported that her brother, **Ali Mohammed**, in his 40s, had been detained in Goba prison for several months in 1998 and **tortured**. He was **blind** as a result of this torture. Her father, Mohammed Bule, was detained for five months in 2000.

Rukia Abdusalem Mohammed, 28, Moyale, Borana.

Rukia was a Grade 5 school student when she fled to Nairobi in 2001.

Her **father** was **killed** in 1998. Her mother, brother (ca26) and sister (ca24) were arrested just before she fled in 2001. She has had no news of her family since then.

In Kenya

[5] The Mungiki are a Kikuyu gang or sect consisting mostly of unemployed men who go on a rampage at night from time to time. They are rumoured to have up to one million members and are subject to government crackdowns. They were particularly strong in 2007 and 2008. The blackout may have been caused by them or may have been deliberately organised by the government, to slow down their activities. On 'Mungiki nights' they are said to slaughter people with machetes.

In Kakuma camp 'Security is bad. People are killed, especially those in business in the Somali area. I know of ten inter-clan killings, mainly between 2003 and 2008. At night, people carrying torches can be shot dead, because of the fear of theft. They break in to houses, through the roof. One man, a very good man named Hawale, a Somali hotel owner, was shot dead by a man - the family say a Turkana - who broke in through the roof and tried to rape his daughter. He was shot defending her and then they ran. They would have stolen things if they could.'

'I know of one woman, a divorced single mother, living alone, earning money by looking after other children. The food is not enough. There are no spices or meat. She was forced to sell sex. Now she is pregnant.'

Garbole Golicha, 50, Yabelo, Borana.

Garbole was a pastoralist and cattle merchant.

In 1998, he was detained in Yabelo military camp for two years and six months, accused of feeding, financing and guiding OLF fighters. He was released after paying 5000 Birr, on the usual conditions of signing on every week, remaining under supervision and not working.

Two months later, in 2001, after trying to run his business again, he was detained with his 17 year old brother and kept for one year at Boku Loboma military base. He was accused of grooming his young brother to join the OLF.

Three months into this detention, he was taken with seven others at night and ordered to bury **three prisoners who had been killed. One of the dead men was his young brother**, of whose death he was unaware until that moment. Garbole was severely beaten and stabbed around the head. He was warned that he would be killed like his brother if he attempted to run.

Fellow villagers eventually secured his release by presenting five bulls to the local security chief. Unable to make a living because of harassment, he travelled to Kenya in 2002.

In Kenya

He lived in Kidiji in Nairobi but fled when many were killed and many houses burnt down in the violence after the 2007 election. He acted as spokesman for the 62 Oromo refugee families who were gathered by the police in Jamhuri Park and taken by UNHCR to Kakuma in February 2008.

He was reluctant to move from Nairobi but was reassured by UNHCR that his resettlement case would continue to be considered from Kakuma. He reported that there has been no progress in the resettlement of the 62 families. Some have not yet had Refugee Status Determination interviews.

Accounts of abuses beginning 1999-2002

Asha Jara Gutu, 33, Mada Walabu, Bale.

Asha and her husband were detained in Bidre, Bale, in 1999. Her husband was held for one month and she was held for one week. She was **gang raped** by three members of the security forces on one occasion during her detention. Another woman in her cell (the singer Elfnesh Qanno) was also raped and had her head shaved with a piece of broken glass.

In Kenya

She came to Nairobi in November 2000, with her husband, their six children, younger siblings of her husband and two of her sister's children - 14 children in all. After registering with UNHCR they were quickly awarded mandate status but four of her husband's siblings disappeared in Nairobi at the end of 2000 - three young girls, Zeinaba, 14; Darartu, 15; and Deko,16, and a boy, Surur, 17. Asha does not know if they were abducted, killed or ran away.

In Kakuma camp, she now cares for four teenage girls, two of her own and two her sister's, aged 13, 15, 16 and 17. Twelve of them (ten children) sleep in one room.

'Every time they go to school, the girls are sexually harassed. One had her shoulder dislocated when she was grabbed by a young Sudanese man. There are also problems inside the school. The young men send love letters and money in envelopes to the girls. Many of the girls in school become pregnant and drop out of school. Daughters are reluctant to go to school. They are disturbed. The Sudanese young men are big. Even the teacher fears them.'

Kasahun Tekalign, 28, Hidi Lola, Borana.

Secondary school teacher, Moyale.

He was first detained as a secondary school student in Yabelo in 1999. He was beaten and held for 21 days. Kasahun was forced to dig a trench but not threatened with being killed and thrown into it. He was shown a list of OLF supporters at this school, which included his name.

He graduated at Adama Teachers' Training Institute in 2002. At his first teaching post at Arero, he refused to join the OPDO and to attend their meetings on Saturdays. He was therefore accused of 'being OLF.' He was accused of engineering student demonstrations in 2002 and held in Arero prison for 11 days, where he was fed on bread and water and ordered again to dig trenches. On release, he was given a 'last warning' - to cease contact with his friends, to restrict his movements and to acknowledge that his life would be forfeit if there was any local activity by the OLF. He was made to report to the local security office three times each week. He complained about these restrictions and was transferred to Moyale by the Education Office in Yabelo.

The widespread student demonstrations in 2004[6] were about to reach Moyale in March. Police and security agents took him from his school one afternoon and forced him to let them search his

[6] After the arrest on 18 January of 8 students for protesting about a government-sponsored cultural event, about 500 students demonstrated at Addis Ababa university. They were taken to Kolfe Military Camp, where they were forced to walk barefoot and kneel on gravel. Over 300 were suspended from the university. This precipitated widespread student protest across Oromia Region from January to May, with 7,000 arrests and the killing of at least 12 students. OSG Press Release 40, July 2004, pp 2-18.

house, despite his protests and demands to see a warrant. After searching his house for two hours they instructed him to report to them three times each day - morning, noon and evening.

Two days later, the secondary school students began protesting. Their hostels in Moyale had been commandeered by soldiers. Kasahum was detained next morning for 'organising the students for the OLF.' He was held for eight days at Moyale military camp, during which he received only seven or eight small pieces of very salty bread. He was taken from his cell, beaten and kicked by two or three different interrogators each night. They threatened to kill him while repeatedly questioning him about students and OLF support.

The students refused to return to school until he was released. Again, he was ordered to report three times each day. Three weeks later, many students crossed the border, including those who were taught by him. A friend in the police force advised him to flee, which he did on 24 April 2004.

About 600 students and 10 teachers were camped in Kenya and many farmers and traders had also fled across the border. Kasahun's name was broadcast as a 'recruiter for the OLF'. UNHCR recognised the persecution of the students, most of whom had gathered at Oda, and offered to screen them for refugee status. However, the students refused because they claimed that any who were rejected by UNHCR would be persecuted more severely on return to Ethiopia. They were forced to return to Ethiopia, where at least 25 were arrested. UNHCR took ten teachers, including Kasahun, to the police station on the Kenya side of Moyale and from there to Dadaab. In all, 42 were taken to Dadaab.

Kasahun's sister was detained for six days when she tried to retrieve some of his belongings from his room.

In Kenya

Refugee status was initially denied to 35 of the 42 who came to Dadaab. Most were successful on appeal but 6 or 7, including some students and some civilians, were refused even after a second appeal.

Later arrivals (2007 or later) have been given mandate status within a year, but Kasahun still has no mandate. He has been told his files are lost. He still has a ration card.

Dirirsa Nagara Kejela, 26, Addis Ababa.

Dirirsa was a student when he was first detained in 1999. He was suspected of supporting the OLF because his father had been a member during the 1991-2 year of the OLF's involvement in the transitional government. His father was detained for six years.

He has been detained eight times. The first three episodes were:
Ambo, December 1999, eight months;
Gedo, W. Showa, November 2000, 10 days;
and again at Gedo, W. Showa, December 2001, 18 days.

He studied law at Mekele university, Tigray Region, and graduated in 2006, but was among 19 students who were denied their degrees. Dirirsa had repeatedly challenged his persecution and had

complained in writing to the government that his detentions were unconstitutional. He led student demonstrations in Mekele. He was detained three times in Tigray:
Mosobo military camp, Mekele, December 2003, eight weeks;
Mekele police station, December 2004, four months;
and Adigrat military camp, May 2006, four weeks.

It was feared that he had been killed when he was held in Maikelawi Central Investigation Department, Addis Ababa, for three days in December 2006.[7]

His last detention, in a military camp at Negele, Borana, from February 2007 to July 2009, was the worst, he reported. He was held for the first three months in solitary confinement and did not know where he was. He was severely beaten and shot through his left buttock and testicle. He has medical problems as a result and walks with a limp.

In Kenya

Two incidents have worried Dirirsa since his arrival in Nairobi in January 2010. On 15 April, he was approached by four men, at least one of whom was an Amharic speaker. They asked him to go with them and when he refused they tried to strangle him with a rope. His companions raised the alarm and the assailants fled. He was left with an injured, but not broken, jaw.

The second incident occurred on 10 September, eight days before the interview. He helped a man install a computer after being called upon at his home. He thought that his mobile phone had been stolen by the man, who had rented a house in the same compound. When he confronted this man, he was threatened with 'Not only your phone, your life will be taken.'

Mengistu Chimdeessa Aga, 25, Lalissa Biya village, Nekempte, Wallega.

Secondary school teacher at Moyale.

Mengistu was detained twice as a student at Hareto secondary school near Nekempte and held at Hareto military camp. In 2000, the authorities were recruiting at the school for soldiers in the war with Eritrea. They brought a woman's dress with them and threatened to put it on any young man who refused to join the war effort. Mengistu and nine others were detained because they opposed conscription, saying 'We are students. We want peace and we don't want to be soldiers.' They were accused of supporting the OLF, beaten with their hands tied behind their backs and made to lie on a bare concrete floor. Mengistu was released after ten days on the usual conditions and made to sign at the kebele office every week.

In 2001, there was OLF activity in the area and Mengistu and his two flat mates were taken from their room near the school and held for 15 days. They were again beaten and subsisted on meagre rations of bread. Mengistu's father begged for his release and both he and Mengistu signed a document acknowledging that their lives would be forfeit - that they 'would be responsible for their own lives' - if they were suspected of having any association with the OLF.

[7] Maikelawi CID is notorious for the torture of political prisoners according to Amnesty International (Urgent Action, 21 May 2004). Dirirsa's disappearance was reported by the Human Rights League of the Horn of Africa and OSG (Report 44, August 2008, p.18).

When studying at Gonder University, Amhara Region, he was accused of being a 'narrow nationalist' by university and higher authorities in Addis Ababa after complaining about discimination by Amhara staff members. After graduatiung in 2003, he taught at Moyale secondary school. The security chief in Moyale accosted him on the street and took him to his office, where he was questioned and accused of coming to Moyale on a mission for the OLF. The security chief threatened him with a pistol and ordered him to report to the office every week, saying 'Take care who you are with and who you talk to. If not, you will take responsibility.'

In April 2004, he crossed the border with the large number of students, teachers and others following the demonstrations and protests. (See footnote, p. 17.)

In Kenya

'In Dadaab, the Oromo live on poor terms with the Somalis because of their negative history in 1977 and 2006. We are unable to go to school because of this. I have reported it to SCF, UNHCR, CARE [who run the schools] and to the police. But the school supervisor, headmaster and deputy head are all Somalis.

Women are restricted to their homes and are called 'gaal' in the market, at food distribution points, at water taps and when they visit NGOs. Some women don't even know where the market is. There are Somali health workers in the hospitals. Oromo women, children and men are treated badly. . . . Delivering women are first asked their nationality and religion. They are discriminated against in terms of the attention given to them.'

There is a backlog of RSD decisions since 2004. Many who were rejected in 2004 were told their files were lost two or three years later. Those who were re-interviewed obtained status later. He went for verification in 2010 and was told he was an asylum-seeker, not a refugee, because his file was lost. 'People have been here since 2004 without a result.'

N.xv. Name redacted, 30, Moyale.

He was a farmer of crops and animals and was detained 13 times between 2000 and 2005, mostly in military camps, notably Moyale Showa Ber. He was detained from 2000 to 2003 and most of the other episodes were for several months. The longest time he was out of detention was four months. He was once seen by ICRC in Moyale police station (June 2003) but was returned to Yabelo prison following that.

During detention he received many injuries, including three broken ribs. 'The beatings were almost continuous.' His arms and legs were tied behind him and he was beaten on his feet and hands with sticks. On more than 30 occasions, he was placed in a hole in the ground, with his limbs tied around a stick behind him. A rifle was put in his mouth and 'they held a spade to fill in the hole.' The rifle was fired over his head.

In November 2005, after paying a 3000 Birr bribe to get released and while receiving treatment for his injuries, 'They **killed my brother, [name redacted]**, 33, and took all our animals - camels, cows, sheep - for the army to eat, and they burnt all the crops that were gathered in.'

In Kenya

He arrived in Nairobi in December 2005 and lives with two brothers. Although registered early on, his RSD interview is not until October 2010. 'They kept telling me to go to Kakuma but I'm not healthy enough for that hot place after all my beatings.'

'Even the police here tear up the document we show them.'

As well as bearing obvious psychological scars he has weakness and wasting of his legs and bony swelling of his knees and ankles.

xix(i). Name redacted, 37, Arsi Negele.

He was detained for nine months in Shashemane military camp in early 2001. He was accused of mobilising farmers and students against the government and ordered to identify OLF members and supporters. He was tortured for two or three nights each week. His hands were tied behind his legs and he was made to run barefoot on gravel. He was gagged and his head forced down into a barrel of cold water. He was forced to sniff hot green pepper powder.

He escaped when fellow detainees, former Derg soldiers who were attending a toilet block with him, overcame their guard. He arrived at the border two days later and travelled by lorry to Nairobi in October 2001. He registered with UNHCR straight away and obtained refugee status in 2003.

In Kenya

In Eastleigh, he was detained by Kenyan police 20-30 times and released with the help of UNHCR and the Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK). Eventually he refused to return to Eastleigh and slept at UNHCR until transferred to Kakuma camp.

Dechassa Amuma, 37, Malkabelo, nr Deder, E. Hararge.

Although the dates of his episodes of detention and of the following incident were not recorded by the interviewer, Dechassa reported that he had been arrested and released with warnings that he'd be killed if he associated with the OLF again.

Soldiers came to his village after military action nearby. He and the leader of the village, **Abdulahi Ibro**, a farmer in his fifties, were returning to the village when they saw soldiers sitting with their backs to a fence. They ran but **Abdulahi was shot dead** and Dechassa was shot in the right hand and arm. There is considerable bony and soft tissue deformity of the limb, with significant loss of function and power.

Darmi Dida, 38, Hidi Lola, Borana.

Darmi and her husband were pastoralists. Her husband was detained at Boku Loboma military camp in March 2001. All their camels, goats and cows were confiscated, except for one camel. She went to fetch water for the remaining camel when she was shot, removing part of her right ear, because she was thought to be fetching water for the OLF. She fled to Nairobi where she had to spend some nights in a mosque before getting her mandate and reaching Kakuma in May 2001 - two months after fleeing Ethiopia. Her husband escaped from detention and joined her in 2005.

In Kenya

Darmi is the leader of the family now, as her husband earns nothing. She has a travel document which allows her to travel to and from Nairobi three or four times per year to obtain goods to sell; incense, clothes etc. UNHCR knows the family. Darmi's foster daughter travelled to the USA for two weeks to represent the Kakuma community there.

She has lost contact with two of her daughters, who now live in Nairobi. Regarding health in Kakuma, 'all of us have our own problems', she said. She had difficulty getting spectacles, needing a referral by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) to Nairobi.

'Education is poor. Teachers are sometimes absent. Some of the houses are falling down. The community would help those who are vulnerable, for example those with HIV/AIDS, but needs finances to do this.'

Zeituna Hussein, 57, Mada Walabu, Bale.

Zeituna and her husband were farmers.

In 2001, her husband was accused of being a member of the OLF and detained with Zeituna's two foster sons and their daughter in a military camp at Negele Borana, Dibe Xayara (Air Strip). They were still in detention in 2004 but she doesn't know where they are now.

Every two or three months, security forces came to her home asking where her husband was, despite him being in detention.[8] When she told them that he was in their custody, in 2004, she was herself detained for three months. When she was released, she was told she would be killed if she did not produce her husband. All her property and belongings were gone.

She gathered her eight children from relatives and paid all she had to go to Moyale in a grain lorry. She then got a lift in a cattle truck to Nairobi. 'My children were crying for food.'

In Kenya

She could not afford rent in Eastleigh and lived in a mosque for four years, not knowing about UNHCR. In October 2008, she was taken by an Oromo to UNHCR and was sent to Kakuma in November. She got her mandate status two weeks before being interviewed.

She has difficulty feeding and clothing her eight children and sells part of their ration to buy clothes, pens and books for school. She works as a traditional health worker but is not officially employed.

'I see people with many diseases. Women commonly have infections - offensive discharges and bladder infections. Female circumcision often causes problems with delivery of babies.'

Her health work is not legally sanctioned. 'I was even arrested for setting someone's broken arm.'

[8] This practice of questioning wives, daughters and sisters about the location of men who have been killed or disappeared in custody has been reported several times to OSG. Six of the 31 women interviewed in this study were ordered to locate or produce their fathers (three), husbands (two) or brothers (one). In some cases, the men had disappeared and were assumed to have been killed but two fathers and one husband were known to have been in detention when they disappeared or died.

Kababe Jirma, 26, Negele, Borana.

Kababe was married to a businessman, **Adem Dhisa**, who was accused of supporting the OLF and frequently detained.

When he was 30 years old, in mid-2002, he was taken from their compound after midnight and **shot dead** outside. Kababe was pregnant and ran in panic to her neighbours, leaving her one year old child in the house with her husband's younger brother, in his twenties. When she returned to the house, they were not there.

She ran to Liban next morning, where she stayed for two years, delivering her baby there. Her hosts were not relatives, although members of her clan. They became worried about her continued presence and asked her to leave. She went to Moyale in 2005. There, she was beaten on the street and her baby was thrown to the ground, injuring his head.

In Kenya

She was helped at the mosque on the Kenyan side of Moyale in order to travel to Nairobi, where she immediately contacted UNHCR. She got married in Kakuma, because she needed protection. Her child is now eight years old and unable to speak or move, due to his head injury. The clinic in Kakuma told her that nothing could be done to help him. She had another baby by Caesarean Section last year but the baby died. She feels imprisoned at home because her 8 year old is not safe to leave.

'Many are suffering. People talk to themselves. The worst health issue is the mental health issue.'

'We had problems at home. Now we have problems here.'

xix(ii). Name redacted, 37, Arsi Negele.

As a student and committed member of Mekane Yesus Evangelical Church, he was detained for one year from May 2002, being held in Arsi Negele before being transferred to Gimbi, Wallega, where he was held with about 700 others in a former soap factory. A paid government agent was arrested with them and identified nationalists among the detainees for the guards. He was accused of being 'part of the OLF remnant in the country' and was whipped with rope on his back, buttocks and head. He was beaten so that several teeth were broken. The Mekane Yesus Church paid over 1000 Birr to secure his release. He travelled back to Arsi Negele and then went on to continue his education in Addis Ababa.

He was again taken in December 2009, when travelling to Arsi Negele from Addis Ababa. He was badly beaten during six months' detention at Arsi Negele military camp.

In Kenya

Immediately after release he escaped via Moyale to Nairobi, where he registered with UNHCR in July 2010. He awaits status determination in Kakuma. He fears fellow refugees there, believing he has recognised ten registered refugees who are agents of the Ethiopian government and are pursuing him. He appeared paranoid and in need of counselling.

Accounts of abuses beginning 2003-2004

iii. Name redacted, 40, Boku Loboma, Borana.

She and her husband were farmers and pastoralists. Her husband was taken by uniformed soldiers in March 2003 to the military camp at Boku Loboma where he was falsely accused of OLF support. Later, soldiers came to the house with her husband. They cut into the roof 'looking for guns' and slashed sacks of maize 'looking for bullets', while holding her husband outside. She was kicked and threatened with being shot.

Her husband's mood had changed when he was released five days later. He used to be happy and outgoing but became silent and would not say what had happened. She was crying when she said this. He was made to report every seven days but disappeared after setting off to trade in Mega a few days after release. She believes he was killed.

Soldiers called a meeting every month. The community tried to avoid them 'because someone would die'. Instead they locked their homes and fled. Soldiers told them 'We know you are evil and support the OLF. We know those who support us.'

The OLF attacked a nearby military camp. She and her village were accused of feeding them. When questioned at gunpoint, she said her husband had disappeared. She was slapped and taken to a big hall at Boku Loboma military camp where she was held for four months.

She was kept naked apart from a shawl and described being dragged across the floor by her hair. With her wrists tied behind her back she was taken at night by two armed men (one in front and one behind) and an interpreter to a hole where they dump dead bodies. She was told 'You will be one of them and no-one will find you, if you don't say what you have been doing.' She heard a pistol being cocked behind her and the soldier in front said 'Don't shoot.' She was pushed to the edge of the hole and dragged back three times. She fainted and regained consciousness inside the hall again.

She experienced this four times during the first month of her detention. She was beaten every day for the first week and with decreasing frequency thereafter. When she was released four months later she was warned 'Never do what your husband did. Never reveal what happened to you in the camp. You must come to meetings if called. Do not discuss things in groups. Sit alone in your house. If you have any visitors, you will be held responsible. You cannot go to the market and you must report to the office every month.'

Following military engagements by the OLF in her area, there were widespread arrests, 'all Oromo were in danger' in April 2006. She was taken to a military camp at Mora Mora, near Hidi Lola and held for six months. She said she 'nearly died'. She was taken by a different route to the same 'death hole' about ten times, with the usual accusations and threats. She was severely beaten with gun butts, especially during the first three months. **One of the two other women in her cell** began bleeding from her nose and ears after such a beating and **died [from a fractured skull]**.

She was so badly beaten that she could not stand even to go to the toilet. She was fed mostly on left over scraps. Three days before being released she was beaten and interrogated and when she

fell to the floor after being kicked and hit with a gun butt, she severed tendons in her right hand on a piece of glass. She cannot now flex her 3rd - 5th fingers.

On release, she was given 15 days to provide a list of the men who had worked with her husband, and the villages in which they lived. She put her fingerprint to a document acknowledging that she and her children would be killed if she did not provide this information.

As soon as she reached home, she fled with two of her three children. On the pretence of attending hospital because of her hand, she went to Moyale and thence to Marsabit in Kenya. People worried about supporting her there because of her lack of Kenyan ID, so she took a cattle truck to Nairobi.

In Kenya

She was unaware of UNHCR and worked washing clothes in Kariobangi until she had saved enough to travel to Kakuma in March 2010. She has now applied for mandate status and awaits a decision.

She is 'just surviving in Nairobi and Kakuma'. She coughs blood off and on but has been told she does not have TB from tests that have been done. She says she has stomach ulcers and occasionally vomits spots of blood. She feels ill because of her injuries from beatings and describes symptoms of hyperventilation. She lives with her daughters, now 5 and 19. She's had no news of her 20 year old son.

Timira Awal Kamal, 37, Adama.

Timira's father died when she was very young and her mother became the second wife of her father's brother. Her step-father and uncle, **Awal Kamal Aliyi**, was a religious elder, an Imam who led prayers at his mosque. He had supported the OLF in 1991 but was not a member. He was taken away by government security forces at 1.00 a.m. one night in July 2003 and not seen again. He was not found in any prison and, later, another detainee told Timira that he had been **killed in detention**.

One week after her uncle's disappearance, soldiers visited her (she was now regarded as head of the family) and accused her and her family of supporting the OLF. They said she must have known about this and asked where her uncle was. (See footnote, p. 22.)

Sometime later, when she heard from a neighbour that security forces were again seeking her out, she fled, leaving her children with her mother.

In Kenya

Timira crossed the border on foot and paid an agent who arranged for her to be taken in a cattle lorry to Marsabit. Here, she was arrested at a police check point, handcuffed and locked in prison. Still wearing handcuffs, she managed to escape. She was given money by people in a nearby hotel and this was used to pay off the police. Another truck took her to Nairobi.

After staying at a mosque for two or three nights, she was given work as a cook in a hotel. She worked at night and slept in the day. When she developed pneumonia, she went to a hospital but

could not afford the treatment. The hotel owner took her to UNHCR who recommended that she went to Kakuma. She agreed and arrived in April 2009.

In May 2009, while she was living in Kakuma Three, her home was robbed while she was at a food distribution point. A thief took all her possessions, including the iron roofing sheet. She ran to Kakuma One and stayed with relatives but was told to get her own shelter. She stayed with a family friend but was again thrown out because of the illegitimacy of her child, which she had while in Kakuma. She had been sleeping outdoors and had lived at a mosque throughout the recent Ramadan.

She was in tears and distraught. 'Even here, I'm living a hard life. I left my children there [in Ethiopia]. I am stressed, like never before.'

Faiza [Father's name redacted], 23, Chalanko, E. Hararge.

Faiza was 16 years old when she arrived in Dadaab camp.

Her father and three elder brothers were repeatedly detained because they were suspected of supporting the OLF. **Iskender** (would now be 32) **and Shamsudin** (30) **disappeared** before 2003. Nazradin (34), a civil servant, fled in 1998-9.

In 2003, when many Oromo were deported from Djibouti, security forces came to her house looking for her brothers. Faiza, her sister Zeituna (now 26), and their parents were detained at Chalanko military camp. Faiza was beaten but not raped. **Zeituna was raped**. One week after being detained, the sisters were thrown on the street from a vehicle. Zeituna was bleeding following the rape. She subsequently developed a fistula and has urinary incontinence, despite never having borne children. The sisters do not know if their parents are alive. They went to stay with an uncle in Nazret, but he had been detained also. So they went with their younger brother to stay with an aunt's sister in Moyale and thence to Nairobi.

In Kenya

In Nairobi, Faiza worked as a maid but could not support her siblings so they moved to Dadaab in October 2003. Here, her younger brother, Ramadan, who would now be 20 or 21, used to help clean the mosque. But he became insane. 'He was taken to hospital where they gave him treatment used for mad people. He became confused and his speech was affected. He went more mad. Somalis were tormenting him. He disappeared in July 2007.'

She reported hostility and discimination in the camps at Dadaab. (This is reported more fully elsewhere - see footnote, p. 11.) 'UNHCR drivers collect Somali cleaners but sometimes refuse to take me. I have had to walk from Dadaab to Ifo [about 5km] before now.'

'I tried to sell tea in the market in Dagahaley but they have beaten me twice and broken my Thermos flask.'

'I tried to find my brother when I heard rumours that he had been arrested but UNHCR won't help.' 'The UN brought us here and said we'll protect you. I've reported several times about my brother but they have not helped.'

UNHCR social services helped set up men and women's volley ball clubs, providing equipment and prizes for tournaments. She was captain of a ladies' team which won a contest and was awarded t-shirts and a Thermos flask as prizes. On their way home, they were beaten by Somalis, saying 'You think you can beat us. We will beat you now.' The prizes were stolen or destroyed. A Somali escort was provided by social services but they beat him too and he ran away, without reporting the incident to UNHCR. The volleyball stopped.

A member of the volleyball team, in her twenties, was raped at her home while her husband was at work, at the end of 2006. She reported it to UNHCR. The incident led to marital disharmony and she left the area two or three months later. Her present location is not known.

'People have told me they are sponsoring me [for resettlement] but when I go to the office they say it is not traceable. It is difficult to get and pay for transport to the offices. This has happened twice and I think Somali clerks are responsible.'

N.v. Name redacted, 32, Dodola, Bale.

She helped her parents in their clothes shop and on their cattle farm.

Her father was detained frequently after 1991-2 and his movements were restricted. Her brother was detained in April 2003 and her father went to look for him in Dodola prison. He was told that he was himself wanted. Two days later, on 14 April, 'soldiers broke down the house door at night, when we refused to open it. Four of them walked in and others stayed outside. They ordered us to lie down on the floor and **shot my father dead** as they said this. My brother, aged 31, **disappeared** in detention.'

In 2005, immediately after the election when the government was cracking down on opposition supporters, the rest of her family were detained in Dodola prison, while she was at her aunt's house. Her mother and her other three brothers were detained. She fled to Nairobi and doesn't know what happened to them.

In Kenya

She fears publicising her story because 'many Oromo speakers have infiltrated the refugee community and report back to the embassy'. 'All of us are suffering. For example me, [my family used to be wealthy, but] now I am working as a maid for a rich family.'

'I have received threatening phone calls from undisclosed numbers, twice in 2008 and 2009. Initially, they call as friends or relatives asking to meet me. When I refuse, they say "We will kill you".'

'In July 2009, when I was out shopping at 6.00 p.m., I was held from behind by three men and was beaten and kicked in the kidney area of my back. They said "We got you" in the Oromo language. Others came and chased them away. I reported to the police and attended the hospital. I believe it was an enemy who I had escaped from. Now, I'm hiding myself extremely. UNHCR tells us to go to the camps for security.'

Abiba Ali, 27, Wachile, Harero, Borana.

Abiba was a housewife and street vendor (clothes, matches, sugar, small items). Her husband was a supporter of the OLF but not a member. He was arrested in 2004 and taken to Harero and then **disappeared**. She has looked for him 'in every jail'.

Seven days after his arrest, eight uniformed soldiers came to her house demanding to see OLF documents. They took her to the bush with her one year old twin boys. From 8.00 p.m. to 12.00 midnight, the **eight soldiers raped her** in front of her sons and left her there. She was unable to walk and was found by neighbours 9.00 a.m. next morning. Since that time she has frequency of urination - about every 10 minutes.

Back at her village, soldiers told village elders that she should not leave her compound or speak to anyone. Soldiers took all of her possessions and the money that they could find, three days later. She had hidden some money and took this, travelling with cattle traders and their herd on a four day walk to Moyale. She slept in a mosque and was there given money to pay an agent to take her over the border (2000/-). She then got a lift in a truck with goats and cattle to Nairobi.

In Kenya

She lived in Kariobangi for two years, working as a cook in a hotel, and registered with UNHCR. In the post-2007 election violence, some were killed in Kariobangi, and she was taken by UNHCR to Kakuma in February 2008. She has not been called for status determination interview.

'Life is a bit easier here. The main problem now is loss of hope. I'm a single mother without refugee status. People consider you a prostitute, as a single mother. I don't want to think of my present or past life. I get flashbacks. I have to keep busy.'

xxx. Name redacted, 18, from a village near Moyale, Borana.

She was a school student when she fled to Kenya.Her **father disappeared** in detention when she was very young. **Two brothers** who were grade 12 students, Liban (22) and Boru (20) were **shot dead** when running across the border (a dry wadi in Moyale) in April 2004 at the time of the large student protests (see footnote, p. 17). Soldiers surrounded their bodies and denied access to the mother and other family members. Her mother 'went mad and now sits at home all day, not normal.' Another brother, aged 18, was shot in the student demonstrations and lost an eye.

When she was a grade 9 student, from September 2008 to May 2009, she was harassed every day on her way home from school by a Tigrean soldier, who said he wanted to marry her. She was unable to consult with her sick mother and her older brothers were dead or not at home. The soldier finally accosted her and threatened her with his pistol, saying he would kill her if she did not agree. 'Marry me or I will take the last measure' he said. She persuaded him to wait until the following day and fled that night, leaving her young brother to inform her mother. She joined a group of women walking back to Kenya after shopping on the Ethiopian side of the border and got a lift to Dadaab via Wajir in a lorry, arriving in May 2009 after two days travelling.

In Kenya

She describes being no longer scared but upset with the hostility of Somalis in Dadaab and complains of abuse from them. Among the Oromo community she is one of only two continuing secondary education in her camp. 'They don't use my name. They just say "Where is that gaal?" The teachers are Somalis and they are OK.'

One night, about one month before interview, she was told that al Shabaab were coming to the camp to 'kill all the gaal'. 'Nobody slept the whole night' she said.

vi. Name redacted, 41, . . . , Borana.

She is a mother of five children. Her husband was a primary school teacher.

'My husband was accused of teaching politics to the students. One night in late 2004, they came and broke down our door when we had refused to open it. They took him to Moyale military camp. One week later, they came in the middle of the night and took me and my two year old child. My **husband** was taken from the camp at 2.00 a.m. the following night and **has not been seen since**. Rumours come and go about whether he is in Kaliti prison or not. Sometimes they say he is there. Sometimes they say he is not there.'

She was taken from the camp to a private house, where she was tortured by being burnt with a branding iron many times on her torso, arms and legs, while they asked her to report on her husband's activities.

She was raped every night except one or two in the eight months of her detention. Everyone who brought food or water to her, sometimes one person, sometimes two, would rape her. She was still breast feeding her child. She was released in mid-2005, after signing that she would not reveal what had happened to her, on pain of death.

Her children spoke about her detention. Five days after her release, the kebele administrator, [name redacted], told her she was to be killed because she had spoken about her detention. She sent two of her younger children to stay with relatives and left her two eldest children to look after their cattle. She took her three year old with her to Nairobi.

In Kenya

She complained about her difficulty getting refugee status. She had her RSD interview at the end of 2005 but on repeated visits since then she has been told that her file was lost and mixed up with another woman of the same name. Her file was finally located in April 2010 but she has made repeated visits since then without yet getting mandate status.

'I am getting older and my children are dispersed. They have no father and no money. Without a refugee mandate, I cannot tell them to come here. If the little one gets sick, I can't take her for treatment without a mandate. I am told to go to the City Council hospital which charges very little, just 20-30 shillings, but they prescribe medicines which I cannot afford. My child has a swollen, sore throat, and can only drink water, but is just sleeping in the house because I can't afford the prescribed medicine. I have had to use traditional herbal medicine.'

N.viii. Name redacted, 41, . . . , W. Hararge.

Her second husband was a coffee trader who was detained twice. They had five children, aged 16-20, who remained at home when they fled in March 2006.

Her husband was held in Galamso prison for one year from 2004 to 2005 and within a month of release was taken there again. He was badly beaten when he was first taken from the home during the night and was bleeding. She was beaten with a rifle butt to her face and chest and had her index finger broken when trying to defend herself. She was forced to give up the keys to their money box and the soldiers took all their money and the coffee trading licenses. One year later, prison guards told village elders that her husband needed money. She obtained some money and handed it over, whereupon her husband was released.

Her husband was detained again when two soldiers were killed in a hotel facing her husband's coffee store. The EPRDF said her husband must have allowed OLF fighters to use his store to mount the attack. He was again severely beaten and, in March 2006, was taken to the forest in a truck containing detainees, including many students. When he saw that the detainees were being executed, he and three others ran off. He told her that **all the other prisoners had been shot dead**.

In Kenya

She joined him that night and they fled to Nairobi next day, arriving five days later. After six weeks, UNHCR advised them to go to Kakuma. Her husband refused and then left Nairobi, abandoning her.

She moves around from place to place, washing clothes and selling tea to make ends meet. Her RSD appointment in January 2010 was postponed to July and then November.

Accounts of abuses beginning 2005-2006

Tayiba Boru, 26, Assass, nr Shashemane, Arsi.

Tayiba was a young housewife whose husband fled about ten years ago, when she was 16 years old. He was accused of supporting the OLF and had been arrested many times.

'They came every two or three days asking for him' she said.

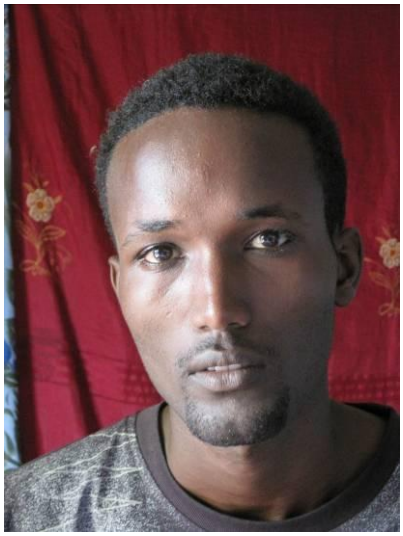
After several visits by security forces, she was taken to Assass military camp in 2005 and held for one month. She was held with male OLF suspects and was **raped** by more than three men during her detention. She developed a venereal disease for which she later received treatment in Nairobi. She still has gynaecological problems due to this.

Two months after her release, she was taken to Malka Wakana military camp, where she was held for ten weeks. She was beaten but not raped during this detention. Neighbours looked after her two young children during both episodes of detention.

Within a few days of her release in May 2006, she was again sought by security forces. She left her children with her mother and fled. In Kenya, she was re-united with her husband and they both now have mandate status.

She had a boy by Caesarean Section two and a half years ago. He is severely disabled. 'There is difficulty getting treatment for him' she reported.

Saar Godana, 24, Kebele 03, Negele, Borana.



Saar had completed grade 10 at Negele secondary school and was about to begin grade 11 when he was arrested in 2005.

His older brother resigned as local kebele administrator and decided to return to cattle farming around Hadeessa, 40 km from Negele. He was therefore suspected of involvement with the OLF. Harassment forced him to run away in 2005. Security forces came looking for him in October 2005 and when they found he was absent they arrested Saar instead.

He was kept for six weeks in a shower room, the floor of which was flooded with cold water. He was beaten every day and forced to maintain a stress position for one or two hours each day. He was tied in a squatting position with his head between his legs while holding his hands up beside his ears. This was carried out in the mid-day sun. While in this position, he was kicked over and fractured his right elbow. He was bayoneted in the right shin and beaten unconscious. He has experienced back pain and stiffness and left leg pain ever since.

On release he was ordered to bring his brother and was refused permission to attend school for two years. In February 2010, a farmer and his wife who lived near to Negele were shot and injured for no apparent reason. Saar joined in the protest about this to local government officials. The names of complainants were taken down and an official said that he would bring the soldiers who shot the couple to court. A few days later, the police came looking for those on the list of complainants. Advised by friends, Saar fled, one week after the shooting.

Fayissa Faromsa, 30, Ambo, W. Showa.

A trained nurse, Fayissa graduated in public health at Haromaya University in 2003 and was assigned as Public Health Officer to Dolo Odo, Somalia Region, near the border with Kenya and Somalia.

He was detained in March 2005 at Dolo Odo military camp and held in solitary confinement in a small cell for six months on suspicion of links with the OLF. In the first two weeks, he was taken out at night to the bush four times, interrogated and accused of helping OLF supporters to cross to Kenya. A rifle was held to his temple each time.

On his release, he signed a warning that 'immediate measures would be taken if I was found with strangers or met with other people'. His salary was stopped, he was restricted to his immediate area and had to report every week. After supporting his wife and two children on contributions from friends for two months, he got a job with an Italian NGO (CCM) but this NGO was expelled from the region eight months later, on the pretext of it having links with the ONLF. (Many other NGOs were expelled from the Somali Region at this time.)

Fayissa was again detained and held for eight months from January 2006, in underground cells near to, but not inside, Harar military camp. Many Oromo were there. He was held with 70-80

other Oromo (OLF suspects and OFDM party supporters) in a concrete-lined room about 4 metres by 6 metres. He was tortured with falaka/bastinado (beating of the soles of his feet), once a week for two months, with his elbows tied behind and suspended on a bar with feet uppermost. He became ill with typhoid but was denied transfer to hospital until near death five months later. From hospital he was transferred to Goba central prison, Bale, where ICRC visited him, After that visit, he was treated better and allowed to mix with other prisoners. He appeared in court three times but was not convicted. After 15 months he was released on bail on 13.8.08. Delay in the court proceedings was due to visiting prosecutors coming from Addis Ababa only once every six months, he said. On release he signed a document agreeing to be limited to Ambo, despite his wife and children being still in Somali Region.

In Ambo, he was harassed and accused of being 'anti-government' and after one month he fled to stay with a family member in S. Showa. He was asked to leave there after two months because of fear of government reprisals and went to Kenya in January 2009. Has had no news of his wife and children.

In Kenya

He spoke of killings and robberies in Kakuma and reported 'People go mad because of the loss of hope.'

Wondimu Fekadu, 25, Dembi Dollo, Wallega.

Wondimu was a 2nd year psychology and sociology student at Jimma University. He was detained for one month in Jimma prison for joining a demonstration in January 2005.

When on vacation in Dembi Dollo in August 2006, he was held for a month in the prison there, accused of spreading OLF propaganda and inciting students in Jimma and Dembi Dollo. During both episodes of detention, he was repeatedly questioned about his contacts ('Who is behind you') and beaten. He complains that his sight has been damaged from being forced to look at the midday sun.

His release was conditional on him signing that he would be accountable if any other demonstration took place. In January 2007, there was a demonstration at Jimma University, associated with some violence. All of his dormitory friends were detained in either Kaliti prison or Zeway, so he fled, crossing the border at Moyale on 3 February.

Alemnesh Dufera Aga, 40s, Nekemte, Wallega.

Alemnesh was director of a kindergarten and wife of Workneh Dinsa (see p. 37). Her husband was detained at least 16 times. Six months after he began his longest period of detention (1995-2001), in November 1995, she was taken into custody with their two month old child.

She was beaten about her face but not raped. She and the child were forced to sleep on the floor and when the child became ill after five days, she was released on bail.

When her husband was briefly detained with their eldest daughter, then 17, after the elections in 2005, Almnesh was accused of reporting their detention to *Voice Of America* radio, which reported it and questioned the government about it. One year later, in June 2006, she was held at Nekemte police station for six weeks and accused of contacting the media.

Her final detention was in January 2007. Following another court appearance of her husband and daughter in Nekemte, she was unable to find them, as they had slipped away unnoticed, and she assumed they had been detained again. When she asked about them at the police station, she was herself detained and held for one month. She preferred not to comment about her treatment at the police station during this episode of detention.

Her daughter was at this time in hiding in Addis Ababa. Alemnesh was released after she agreed to produce her daughter within three days. Her husband was again in detention at the time. She fled to Nairobi, arriving in March 2007.

In Kenya

'There are lots of problems here. Conditions are difficult. There is no work and we are supported by friends.'

Alemnesh is concerned about abductions and killings in Nairobi. She reported having no problems herself because she hides away at home, but said she had been arrested three times by police and had paid bribes of 1500 Shillings twice and 2000 Shillings once.

Her daughter got married in 2008, when she was 17 years and 8 months old. 'This is before she should have married but it was necessary for security. . . . Our daughter fears Ethiopian spies. She is always in fear when she is out of doors.'

Hamdi Ali, 18, Dubluk, Borana.

Hamdi was 14 years old when she went to Dadaab. She described her wealthy family as having been 'destroyed'.

Her mother died when she was young. Her **father** was wealthy, a driver with his own lorry and a large family. He was accused of supplying food to the OLF. All his property was taken by government officials and he **disappeared** in detention in early 2006.

Hamdi's four brothers were repeatedly interrogated and detained. **Mahdi Ali**, ca22, and **Kadir Ali**, ca21, were **shot dead** on their way home from school after their last release from detention in 2006. Her other two brothers aged 25 and 28, also released that year, ran away and have not been seen since. Hamdi went to Dadaab with her aunt in late 2006.

In Kenya

In Dadaab, she enjoyed Islamic Religious Education but attended only 2½ terms because of ridicule and abuse by the teacher, who called her 'gaal'. Hamdi's aunt is married to a Somali. 'Her husband used to abuse me and beat me. I don't even go to their block now. They beat me and throw stones at me. My aunt's husband's tribe wanted me to marry one of their men so I came to the Oromo block. Sometimes my aunt visits me here.'

She worries about her children. She always keeps them close and they are locked in their compound. 'If they are out, they will be abused and beaten.'

Hamdia Mohammed, 23, Harar.

She was a grade 9 school student and was helping to run the family shop when she was detained in 2006.

Her father, **Mohammed Abdulahi**, ca60, was a driver who co-owned a vehicle. He supported the OLF in 1991-2, was arrested many times and detained mostly in Gara Mulata. He **disappeared** there in 2004. Her elder brother, **Afandi Mohammed**, 26-7, worked as a chauffeur and still attended school, from where he was taken and held in Zeway. He was then held in Dire Dawa and **disappeared** in October 2005.

Her mother tried to trace Afandi and lost interest in the shop. She became disturbed and had a stroke. The driving business had gone to her father's partner. Hamdia and her 25 year old brother, Ramadan, ran the shop.

Security men kept coming to the shop, harassing her and asking 'Where is you father? Where is your brother?' She kept telling them 'You are the ones who took them.' (See footnote, p. 22.)

At 8.00 p.m. one night in October 2006, two soldiers came through the back door of the shop. They tore open 50 kg bags of rice and sugar, ostensibly looking for weapons. They accused her mother of 'being the wife of OLF'. The men took Hamdia and Ramadan to Misrak Iz (Eastern Command) military camp in Harar.

Hamdia was beaten with wooden staves and her head was forced into a barrel of water containing chemicals which burnt her eyes and face so that she was temporarily blinded. She was repeatedly asked 'Where is your father? Where have you hidden his documents?'

She said 'I was a girl when I was detained, but **they raped me**, two or three of them mostly, every night for the first week and then every week or two. Three women were kept in my small cell. **All of them were raped**. I heard others crying out but I don't know the numbers.'

The other women noticed she was pregnant because she was vomiting. She was given an injection and tablets in the camp clinic and had a miscarriage. The rape stopped for two months and then resumed 'one or two people every week'. Once when she resisted, she was beaten and exposed to the midday sun for an hour or so as punishment.

Interrogation continued. She was told 'Your brother has told us everything'. She was told that her brother, **Ramadan**, had **died in prison**. The beatings continued and she was eventually told 'We will release you if you work for the government'. She agreed to do so, 'because all of my family had been killed anyway'. She was released in April 2007 and fled via Moyale to Nairobi, from where UNHCR took her to Dadaab.

In Kenya

She got married in Ifo camp. She complains of insecurity. 'The Somalis say we are pagans. Even at the water tap. After us, they insist on washing the tap, saying pagans have used it. They say we

are animals. There is no Oromo only block. Oromo Muslims and Christians live together OK, but they don't consider us as human beings.'

'There is a risk but not much. But if you buy something, they tell you to put the money down on the table. They do not take it from your hand. Then they throw the change at you.'

'We are unable to dress culturally. We can't express our culture. If we celebrate, they are more hostile.'

Huka Dida, 32, Tuka, Borana.

Huka was an animal and cereal trader. In April 2006, he was detained on suspicion of using his business as a cover for taking supplies to the OLF, which he still denies. He was held until May 2008.

After his release, there were skirmishes with the OLF near to his village. He was on his way to market when he was shot on the orders of the local administrator. He was loaded into the back of a Nissan Patrol and taken to Moyale military camp. He received no treatment for his wounds.

One bullet had entered his left shoulder and exited through the right side of his neck (see photograph), damaging the spinal cord and/or nerve roots in its passage. Another bullet went into his right thigh. He has weakness and wasting of the muscles of his hands and loss of flexion of his fingers (see photograph) and left elbow due to nerve damage. He also has weakness of his right leg.

Despite his injuries, he was beaten severely and dragged along the ground. He was told he would not receive any treatment unless he informed on the OLF, but he was unable to give any information. No treatment was given.

He was released after two years on signing that he would report every day to the authorities, would not exchange ideas with other people and that he would not move from the village without seeking permission. All his property had been looted or destroyed.

Huka attempted to conduct his business despite sometimes being denied permission to travel or being delayed from doing so. He got married, but could not sustain himself with the restrictions under which he was made to work. 'It was a terrible life' he said.

Huka arrived at Dadaab two weeks before the interview and was registered with UNHCR on 2.9.10.

He was still frightened that Ethiopian government agents will come to Dadaab for him. 'I have heard rumours that Ethiopian troops passed near here' he said. He is also fearful of rumours that al Shabaab agents and agents of the Ethiopian government are coming in and out of the camps.

Accounts including abuses since 2007

N.xi. Name redacted.

This young lady is a well known figure in Ethiopia who lives in great fear in Kenya and whose history would make her easily identifiable. In the last three years, she received death threats, was detained incommunicado in police stations in central Oromia, was held blindfolded in the Oromia Police Commission building in Kasa Inchis, Addis Ababa, and was imprisoned in Maikelawi CID.

'Everybody knows about that notorious place. I was interrogated and they touched my body, two or three at a time, turn by turn. **I was raped so many times.** I can't remember how many times. It was not every day. Sometimes the interrogators were kind. It was worse in the first one or two weeks, after that it was about two days per week.'

In Kenya

She stayed at first with a married man and his wife and son, but she was repeatedly raped by him. She is extremely frightened of being sent back to Ethiopia. Many of her family have been killed or detained. One of her close friends has been subjected to refoulement to Ethiopia.

'Going to UNHCR is like inviting the enemy to see you. All postponements on the same day will be reviewed on the same day. So enemies who see you one day will know when to see you again.'

'Many Oromos suffer with UNHCR. A lot of Oromo women suffer. People visit here and write something about the women. But nothing has come out in support of us. I could have got educated. What is our hope? Especially nowadays we are in great fear, talking about our problem.'

Girma Challa Desis, former MP for Meta Robi District, W. Showa.

Girma was elected Oromo National Congress (now renamed Oromo People's Congress) party MP for this 100,000 constituency in 2005.

He was arrested in April 2008, shortly after two bombs exploded in Addis Ababa on 13 April. Girma was detained initially at Awassa Immigration Office and for the remainder of his eight month detention was held in Maikelawi CID in Addis Ababa. He was denied access to family and legal representative throughout his detention and was not taken to court. He fled immediately on release in December 2008. He was 'mistreated' in detention but circumstances did not allow him to provide details of this mistreatment.

Dida Godana, 30, Mega, Borana.

He was a cattle trader who had been detained three times.

During a brief interview, he described being arrested in April 2008 after being shot in the chest. He was detained in Boku Loboma and tied together with another prisoner. The other man was **shot dead** shortly after they were tied together. He remained tied to the corpse for three days. Dida was told that if he told anyone about it, he would be killed. He was then made to bury the dead man.

Abdulkadir Mame, 33, Shashemane, Arsi.

Abdulkadir was a primary school teacher, and then school director before holding administrative positions in the OPDO, culminating in his being Government Jobs Performance Monitoring and Evaluation Officer, W. Arsi Zone.

He was detained for four months at Malka Wakana military camp in 1998, where he was beaten, whipped with electric cable and suspended by his tied hands. In 2008, he was detained incommunicado at Zeway military camp for four months, shackled throughout and intimidated at gun point. At one point he was denied food for three days. Finally, he was held in the Third Police Station, Addis Ababa, Maikelawi CID (see footnote, p. 19), from 1 January to 3 March 2010.[9]

This last detention was the worst. Every day he was flogged, with sticks and electric cable. He was held incommunicado in solitary confinement in a dark underground cell, with only the clothes he was wearing when arrested. He lost a tooth from being beaten. He was starved for four days. After 45 days he was moved to a cell where he was kept with 'people with unsound minds'.

He was eventually released by court order after signing a document stating that he would never question the government, that he accepted the blame for his arrest, that the government was not at fault, and that he would report daily to Shashemane police station.

Security forces objected to his release and he was ordered to work for the EPRDF in the run-up to the May 2010 elections. Failure to do so would bar him from any government work in the future, he was told. Despite this, he refused. He then received threatening phone calls and was personally intimidated. He fled when shown a copy of a letter to the Supreme Court appealing against his release and being informed that the authorities wanted to arrest him again.

He fled to Kenya in 2010. 'They are searching for me in Ethiopia. I know many secrets - how the government persecutes Oromo people. They are calling various people in the diaspora to find me.'

Workneh Dinsa, 58, Nekemte, Wallega.

School teacher, Dalo primary school, Nekemte.

Workneh was detained twice under the Derg (for two months and for six years) and at least 16 times under the current regime. Twelve of these episodes were of short duration, from one to seven days at Nekemte police station. He was detained for longer periods at the police station and prison in Nekemte on four occasions: from September 1992 to July 1993; six years, from May 1995 to June 2001; February to March 2006, and; February to July 2007. He was beaten but not tortured during these episodes of detention. He was continuously harassed, intimidated, and urged to join the OPDO.

He was forced into hiding in Debre Zeit for 15 days to avoid detention before the May 2010 elections and was called to the police station two days after them.

He was beaten about the head with the barrel of a pistol and it was pointed at his face, while he was told 'We can just eliminate you.' He gathered his three youngest children, aged 14-18, and arrived in Nairobi on 8 September, just 11 days before this interview.

[9] This continued persecution despite employment in the civil service is often reported, but always found incredible by the UK Border Agency when assessing asylum claims.

Other reported abuses in Ethiopia

Deaths in Goba prison

Beker Mame was detained in Goba Civil Prison, Bale, and reported that the following of his fellow prisoners died from torture and neglect in that prison:

Haji Ibrahim Hussein, from Robee, Cinana, died 1996
Mohammed Raytu, Daamole, 1996
Muktar Kedir Adam, Abcheche, Gasera, 1996
Haji Abda Hussein, Gidaja, Cinana, 1996
Hussein Bati Bedasso, Abcheche, Daamole, 1996
Ms Fathiya Temam Jarso, Robee, Cinana, 1997
Abdulbasit Beyan, Har'eku, Beltu, 1997
Tahir Abdulrahman, Beajja, Ginir, 1997
Abdulkadir Haji Usme, Bokeji, Agarfa, 1997
Haji Umer Ali, Seymana, Dinsho, 1997
Mohammed-Amin Haji Umer, Seymana, Dinsho, 1997
Abdulah She-Adam, Kejewa, Beitu, 1997
Sultan Adem, Seymana, Dinsho, 1998
Jemal Adem, Seymana, Dinsho, 1998
Beker Aliyi, Raytu, Ginir, 1998
Mohammed Kalil Haji, Mederso, Agarfa, 1998
Kedir Gebena, Raytu, Daamole, 1998
Shu'eyb Hamu Tiyse, Goro, Goro, 1998
Jeylan Geletu Genemo, Boqoji, Agarfa, 1998

Killings in Guji

Boru Gilo, a 35 year old who was detained at Ginir, Bale, from 1997 to 2002, where he was beaten, bound with wire and whipped with electric cable, reported that in late 1992, **five men were shot dead**, including a man named Qala from Arsi and another named Galgalo from Guji, for no apparent reason. They were shot by government soldiers while walking from the market at Hara Qalo, near Lega Dembi, where they had been looking for gold.

Abuses and incidents in Kenya

Oromo refugees are liable to abuse from host communities in Kenya, the Kenyan police, other refugees (Somali, Ethiopian and Oromo) and agents acting on behalf of the Ethiopian government. The accounts given above include many of the problems which were reported. The following accounts were also obtained during structured interviews and other meetings with individuals and groups of refugees.

The journey through Kenya

In addition to the accounts given above, a tearful 20 year old school student from Bale, who was fleeing forced marriage with a 60 year old man in 2008, described how a friend of hers was caught and detained at the border.

The journey from the border to Nairobi proved problematic for several. A 30 year old evangelical church pastor managed the journey on the roof of a bus, curled up under a tarpaulin. A group of three Borana herders and farmers claimed that Kenyan police commonly apprehended refugees

between Moyale and Nairobi and were paid for them by Ethiopian security forces who took them back over the border.

A secondary school teacher in his 50s from Ambo, told of his fleeing after seven episodes of detention, when being sought for the eighth time. He reported to the immigration office on the Kenyan side of Moyale, but when the person to whom he had reported did not show up in court the next day, he was imprisoned for three months. He was told he could be released if he paid a 50,000 Sh fine. But all he had was the clothes he was wearing when he fled. When he reached Nairobi, he was again detained for 17 days, at Jomo Kenyatta airport. A court ordered for him to be taken to UNHCR, where he was registered and sent to Kakuma.

Kakuma

As well as the accounts of theft and rape in Kakuma, which are recorded in the main section of this report, other information about insecurity in Kakuma and its effects on refugees was obtained.

Dr Mohamed Qassim, Head of the Kakuma Sub-office of UNHCR, said that security there was not good, especially at night. Five were killed in armed robberies in 2008. Refugees corroborated his report that security had thereafter improved with an increased presence of security forces, supported by the Lutheran World Federation. There were no killings in 2009. However, in 2010 an armed robber killed a 12 day old Somali baby in the camp and wounded the baby's mother.

In a meeting with five women in Kakuma, four whose husbands had disappeared or died, fear and insecurity were said to be their predominant concerns. They all found the food ration inadequate and were fearful of being unable to cope with illness and providing clothing and adequate food for their children. However, physical security, especially from rape by 'men with guns', 'in the dark' preoccupied them. One 40 year old said she heard of one case of rape every week on average. Three said they could not sleep because of fear.

A 34 year old former detainee said 'I can't count the number beaten and raped here. I spent six years and four months in prison in Ethiopia and I feel more frightened here.'

'All are vulnerable but young women are the most vulnerable.'

There are about 70 single mothers in Kakuma One camp, seven or eight with teenage daughters, who live in constant fear of attack by men intent on raping them or their daughters.

A 30 year old from Bale, whose husband disappeared in September 2009, described how her nights are disturbed because she fears every slight noise is due to someone trying to break in through her roof. One 45 year old single mother whose child was prone to nocturnal fits felt unable to summon help, saying 'People are too frightened to come and help at night'.

Damitu Gagay Loliso, 32, Arsi Negele, reported that her husband committed suicide by hanging on 28.8.08. She has a 13 year old son. She is unable to sleep because of fear of attack and anxiety. She worries about the future of her son.

'Two rations are not enough for us. We need clothing. I report my problems to UNHCR but they do nothing. I was profiled for resettlement in 2008 but they refused. We have been in Kakuma for six years.'

The chair of the Oromo women's community, who had worked on a film on Sexual and Gender-Based Violence for FilmAid, said that 20% of single mothers resorted to prostitution. Two of the women interviewed had become pregnant because of selling sex in this way. Both had a previous history of being raped, one in Ethiopia and one in Kakuma. Several women said they had found it necessary to get married because they needed protection.

Marital disharmony and separation was commonly reported. Two of the women interviewed in Kakuma had been physically attacked by their husbands.

Dadaab

The chairman of the Oromo community in Dagahaley reported incidents which had not previously been recorded by OSG: the killing of a man named Alemu in 1998 in Hagadera; the suicide of Mohammed Hussein; the rape of a 12 year old girl at Ifo camp in 2003; serious injuries from attacks by other refugees on five individuals in 2002 and 2003; the fleeing of one man (2003), an unaccompanied mother and her daughter (2002) and a family of nine (2002) from the camps because of abuse and threats by other refugees; several robberies, and; the disappearance from the camps of Bayan Jaylan, Hailu Adugna, Ismael Mohammed, Mohammed Jamal and others.

Other incidents of severe beatings, stabbing and theft in 2008 were reported by refugees.

Refugees in Dagahaley reported the stabbing to death in 2004 of a young man in his twenties, named Endale, because he had been hired to work for an NGO. Several incidents of robbery, often with violence, were reported directly to OSG.

In each of the three camps at Dadaab,however, the main complaint was fear because of the hostility of Somali refugees and Kenyan Somalis towards Ethiopians (see footnote, p.11), their branding of Oromo as 'gaal', whether they were Christian or Muslim, and their refusal to allow any non-Somali business activity.

The former owner of the house where interviews were held in Hagadera camp, Iyya Liban Jilo, ca32, was stabbed in the back and right side in August/September 2009 because he had opposed a Somali obtaining property in that block. He had established, overcoming initial refusal of permission and paying high a rent, a small pool hall in the market. The premises were destroyed and he was severely beaten in 2007. He was resettled as a protection case, to the USA in March 2010.

Asli Ibrahim Dawut, 24, a Somali lady married to an Oromo, Tari Halake Galgalo, 25.

Asli fled with her family from Somalia when she was one year old. She grew up in Hagadera. Her husband came in 2004 and is a Somali-speaking Oromo. They met in the market and married in 2008 'because of love'. They have two children of 18 months and 4 months.

Asli was chased away from her home and does not go back to her part of the block. Her Somali community accused her husband of raping her. He was found guilty and was sent to Kamiti prison, Nairobi, on 6 November 2009, where he is serving a ten year sentence.

Burkar Magarssa, 25, built his house in a Somali block in Hagadera because of lack of space in the Oromo block in January 2008. In April 2008, he returned from the market to find it destroyed and was told 'You are Oromo. Who told you to build a house here? You should not build on this block.' He now lives with Somalis on that block.

Nairobi

Most refugees in Eastleigh reported being arrested by police. Every one of 14 present at one meeting had been arrested, some many times. It was said that the police now took people slowly to the police station so they had time to phone relatives or friends to bring money. Sometimes they even lent telephones to the refugees so they could make these calls. The price charged for release was usually 4-5000 Sh, but they would settle for less, sometimes as little as 500 Sh, or the refugee's mobile phone if they were convinced that was all they had.

The practice is becoming less common, possibly because of the change in government and the new constitution and possibly because of the increased level of legal protection by the Refugee Consortium of Kenya and Kituo cha Sheria. Gang violence remains a problem. Armed gangs visit Eastleigh every week, stealing money, cars and mobile phones.

Abdulkadir Haji, 84, reported:
'When I came in 2002, it was impossible to even urinate outside. Police came with socks full of stones to break down our doors. You could not go out to see the light outside. You could not collect money which relatives had sent to banks. Police stayed in front of the banks and captured refugees in their cars. This is how they mistreated us. People tried to send women to collect the money and stayed at home. Someone gave me $800 to keep for him. Four of them beat me and took the money. 800 people were collected in one night. Some were thrown from the building and were broken. It is improving under Kibaki. We can move out and get back home now.

The greatest fear among refugees in Nairobi is of apprehension by agents of the Ethiopian government and refoulement.

Ethiopian government activity in Kenya

Theft and abduction in 1992

Jemal Adem Tahir, a 41 year old from E. Hararge, fled from the Derg regime in 1985 and has been a refugee in Kenya since 1991. He reported that in October 1992, Ethiopian soldiers came to Moyale and searched properties on both sides of the border. They found Oromo literature and the OLF flag in his home. His brother, visiting for one month from Hararge, and Jemal's wife, were beaten and taken into custody. Gold, jewellery and electrical goods were stolen by the soldiers. He had escaped and was joined in hiding by his wife, still bleeding from her beating. They both went to Walda refugee camp on 10 October 1992. Later that year, TPLF soldiers came to Walda camp and took away many people, including local Kenyan Borana Oromo. Jemal and his wife therefore transferred to Kakuma in 1993.

Kakuma

Refugees reported that in 1994 Jemal Midaka was abducted from Kakuma and later returned with an ICRC certificate confirming his detention in Ethiopia following the abduction. He is now resettled in the USA.

In 2005, four Ethiopian agents were arrested and deported after coming to the camp looking for specific Oromos.

In 2006, Mohammed Ali disappeared from the camp. All of the 11 at a group meeting on 12 September were convinced he had been abducted by Ethiopian government agents. Others were believed to have disappeared on their way to Nairobi.

A member of the Ethiopian community, the owner of Kakuma Laundry Soap Project, was a healthy man in his 40s. In 2007/8, he was found dead in a hotel in Nairobi, where he went to pick up some machinery. It is suspected he was poisoned by Ethiopian government agents.

Dadaab

A delegation from the Ethiopian embassy came to Dadaab in 2001 seeking permission from UNHCR to speak to Ethiopian and Oromo refugees to persuade them to join the armed forces. About 30 former Derg soldiers, heavy artillery experts, went with them from Ifo, after being promised seven years back pay.

Nairobi

Several interviewees gave reliable and credible reports of being attacked by agents of the Ethiopian government and of receiving text messages similar to the one received by Boru Wako, a 30 year old from Moyale, in late August 2010, 'Come back to Ethiopia or we'll kill you.' (See accounts given on pp. 4, 5, 19 and 27.)

Associates of a man nicknamed Ibsa 'Oromo', reported that he was offered 30,000 Sh to inform on other Oromo by a TPLF general in Nairobi. He reported the incident to RCK and the police anti-corruption squad. The general was arrested on 24.2.10 and found to be carrying Ethiopian military ID. He and his three associates were deported back to Ethiopia. Ibsa was resettled on 29.4.10 as an emergency.

A 38 year old former detainee and torture victim from Bale who came to Nairobi in 2000 recounted how he joined a protest outside the Ethiopian embassy. This followed an invitation to refugees in Eastleigh to attend the embassy in 2000. The stated purpose was to raise funds and open an office of the Unity of Ethiopian Refugees Association, but it was a guise for infiltrating the community.

He worked as a waiter in the 'Man-to-Man' restaurant on 9th Street in Eastleigh (since renamed '7/11'), where he saw many meetings between Ethiopian embassy staff and people who pretended to be refugees. These were Amharas, Tigreans, Oromo and mixed Amhara-Oromo, and included business people who were 'doing business for the Ethiopian government'. Although they pretended to be refugees, they had Kenyan and Ethiopian passports. He saw them receive payments from embassy staff. He knew of 30-50 informers who infiltrated the Oromo refugee community. 'Some are still there, getting information for the embassy.' 'They came for lunch with the Ethiopian ambassador and the councillor at the embassy at weekends' he said.

Other refugees recalled a demonstration by 500-1000 outside UNHCR premises on 26 and 27 December 2005 to protest about being invited to the Ethiopian embassy on the pretext of attending a wedding celebration. Sixty refugees were taken by bus to the embassy and urged to return to Ethiopia, with promises of safety and financial help. None went. One refugee was detained in Kasarani police station by the anti-terrorist police after the protest and a three man delegation from Eastleigh went to demand his release. The names of these three were given by the embassy to the anti-terrorist unit and they were called to report to them. On Kenyan TV, the Ethiopian government said that all Oromo refugees in Kenya belonged to the OLF.

A young Oromo, **Asafa Lamu, was killed in Kariobangi in June 2010**, after complaining to UNHCR and the community that he was being harassed by agents from the Ethiopian embassy who were trying to persuade him to return to Ethiopia.

Refoulement

In 2009, there were about 300 refugees subject to refoulement from Kenya, and about 500 Ethiopian Somalis were returned to Ethiopia in early 2010, according to Kituo cha Sheria.

Three episodes of refoulement of Oromo refugees to Ethiopia are well documented - from Hagadera camp in Dadaab in 2001, and from Nairobi in 2007 and 2008. Three men were also reportedly subject to refoulement from Nairobi in August 2010.

Hagadera, Dadaab 2001

Awel Mohammed Hussein, aged 38, a mandate refugee since 2000, was abducted from Hagadera at the end of 2001. He was grabbed from behind and injected with something. He remembers seeing a wheel of a vehicle as he fell and then regaining consciousness in Moyale military barracks. He was badly beaten and subject to 'bastinado' with his arms and legs tied together around a pole and suspended with his feet uppermost, while the soles of his feet were beaten until raw. He was interrogated about any OLF connections. This continued every week until he was first visited by ICRC a year later, in November 2002. He showed an ICRC certificate confirming his detention and visits from ICRC in November and December 2002. He was released in February 2003, probably because of ICRC visits. He now lives away from any refugee community.

Nairobi 2007

Tesfahun Chemeda

Mesfin Abebe

Tesfahun Chemeda and Mesfin Abebe were mandate holding refugees who had been in Kenya since 2005. They had moved address because they had been followed by Ethiopian government spies. The two men were picked up in a restaurant by Kenyan anti-terrorist police on 27 April 2007 and taken to Kamukunji police station, where they were held overnight before being

transferred to Giriri police station. Staff from the UNHCR Protection Unit and members of the FBI visited them and reassured them they would not be deported.

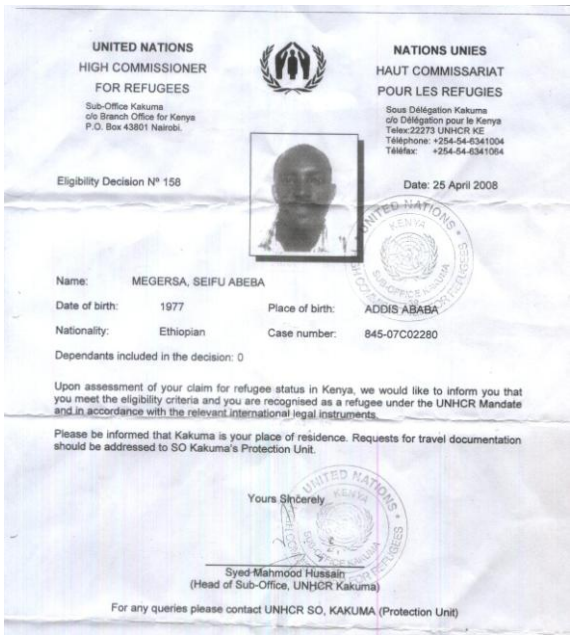
They kept in touch with a community member and expressed relief at being told by the FBI agents that the Ethiopian government would not be informed about them.

The Oromo community instituted habeas corpus proceedings and a court ordered that the Attorney General and Police Commissioner should produce them in court. On 9 May 2007, a senior Nairobi police official and a Kenyan government official told a court that they had already been sent back to Ethiopia to face terrorism charges. They produced a Laissez Passer from the Ethiopian embassy, dated 1 May, which had obviously been backdated as that day was a public holiday. The detainees remained in touch by telephone from within Kenyan custody until at least 11 May, two days after the court hearing.

The Kenyan Human Rights Commission, RCK and UNHCR were unable to prevent the refoulement.

Tesfahun and Mesfin disappeared in Ethiopian custody until their names appeared on a charge sheet in December 2008. They were convicted on terrorism charges at the end of March 2010. Mesfin Abebe was sentenced to death and Tesfahun Chemeda to life imprisonment.

Nairobi 2008



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Téléfax: +254-54-6341064

Eligibility Decision N° 158

Date: 25 April 2008

Name: MEGERSA, SEIFU ABEBA
Date of birth: 1977 Place of birth: ADDIS ABABA
Nationality: Ethiopian Case number: 845-07C02280
Dependants included in the decision: 0

Upon assessment of your claim for refugee status in Kenya, we would like to inform you that you meet the eligibility criteria and you are recognised as a refugee under the UNHCR Mandate and in accordance with the relevant international legal instruments.

Please be informed that Kakuma is your place of residence. Requests for travel documentation should be addressed to SO Kakuma's Protection Unit.

Yours Sincerely

Syed Mahmood Hussain
(Head of Sub-Office, UNHCR Kakuma)

For any queries please contact UNHCR SO, KAKUMA (Protection Unit)

Refugee Mandate of Seifu Magarssa

Gabriel Fekadu

Seifu Magarssa and Gabriel Fekadu were mandate refugees who were refouled in September 2008. A relative of Seifu Magarssa reported sharing a meal with him in Githurai on the evening 18 September 2008, before he was arrested by Kenyan anti-terrorist police. A Tigrean named Daniel called at the building. He was angry with Seifu for asking him to return his air force documents, which he had been holding for six months, ostensibly to enable Seifu to obtain work with Daniel's employer. When he came, they met outside the building. Daniel did not hand over the documents but gave Seifu a telephone number to ring.

Seifu returned to the meal and while they were having coffee another Tigrean, Zenebe, from Adua, a volunteer teacher at Mwiki primary school, called Seifu and told him to meet him at Seifu's home so he could hand over the documents. Seifu wrapped up some food to have for

breakfast the following day and left. When he reached his home, Zenebe came and greeted him, accompanied by nine Kenyan police who arrived in a minibus. These policemen were carrying the documents and asked Seifu 'Is this you?', to which he replied it was. They then slapped him, took him with them into his home and searched it before removing him to an unknown place.

His relative phoned Seifu's phone and when police answered, the relative pretended to be Daniel. The police said 'Don't call on this number again. We will see you soon.' They had obviously been in contact with Daniel and expected to be seeing him again.

Next day, about ten police and anti-terrorism officers came in four vehicles to take Gabriel Fekadu. The police were contacted about both arrests and Kituo cha Sheria and the Kenyan Red Cross were informed. Kituo cha Sheria went to court to request the appearance of the two men but were told they had been deported to Ethiopia on 20 September.

Zenebe has since been to Ethiopia and returned to Githurai. Seifu and Gabriel disappeared into Ethiopian custody and it is rumoured that Seifu has been killed in detention. Kituo cha Sheria began proceedings against the Kenyan government but these have been withdrawn because of the security risk to Seifu's relatives.

Nairobi 2010

Two cattle traders and a farmer from Borana, who were interviewed in Githurai on 19 September, reported the arrest on 22 August of three of their acquaintances who were each waiting for RSD interview with UNHCR:

Jatani Kuno, 38, in Nairobi since 2004
Liban Wariyo, 28, in Nairobi since 2009
Miki Doyo, 26, in Nairobi since January 2008

The informants were certain that the men had been taken to Moyale by the Ethiopian government and had heard rumours that they had been taken to Addis Ababa. An Ethiopian had identified them to police at the time of their abduction.

Return and fate in other countries

Return to Ethiopia

The vice-chairman of the Oromo community in Kakuma, Hussein, was only six or seven years old when he came from Walda camp to Kakuma in 1993. His father died aged 55 in 2001, he believes due to torture injuries. When asked why he had not returned to Ethiopia, having no personal history of persecution there, Hussein reported that his step-mother had gone back to Mega, Borana, with his two sisters but had been detained shortly after arrival and tortured. She died from her injuries and her daughters returned to Kakuma in 2008.

Djibouti

Four refugees reported their experiences in Djibouti, confirming and expanding on reports of refoulement made previously by OSG.[10]

In Awr Aousa camp, to which refugees remaining in Djibouti were taken after the expulsion of 100,000 back to Ethiopia at the end of 2003, all refugees were beaten by Djibouti police, they reported. UNHCR provided little protection and did little to prevent the refoulement of most of the remaining refugees, some 3,000, mostly Oromo, in June 2004 .

[10] OSG Press Release 40, pp. 44-7, July 2004; OSG Press Release 41, p. 17, July 2005.

Eleven managed to get to Nairobi. Two have since died, said to be the result of severe beatings in Awr Aousa and Somalia during the journey - Ramadan Yusuf, 26, in 2007, and Sufian Alisho, 30, in late 2006. Others fled to South Africa.

Mohammed Said Ibrahim (see p. 3) reported that in September 2003, the Djibouti government moved the remnants of the Oromo refugee community to Awr Aousa camp, 80 km from Djiboutiville. On 5 June 2004, Meles Zenawi visited Djibouti. On 8 June:
'we were rounded up and shipped to the border in military vehicles. Big lorries came from Ethiopia to collect us. If we refused, they shot us. Four hanged themselves in Awr Aousa, including an army colonel. In all, the Red Cross said there were 15,000 people in Awr Aousa. I estimate that 8,000 were Oromo.'

'Seifu Mume poured petrol onto himself but I stopped him killing himself, but even I was looking for poison to swallow. Even the Djibouti soldiers were saddened. In the confusion, many ran off. Several of us escaped in the night. On the outskirts of Djiboutiville, which was flooded at the time, we met Usmail Yusuf. We hid there for three weeks. I got some money from a friend and travelled via Hargeissa, Galkayo and Beledweyne to Mogadishu, where I stayed for a few days before crossing the border with Kenya at Dadachugula on 24 July 2004, from where I got a car to Nairobi.'

Puntland

Adus Tahir Omar (see p. 3) went to Bosasso, Puntland in 1993. He reported:
'Meles Zenawi sent a big airplane in 2006 [probably January] to collect Oromo refugees. A Somali, possibly an Ethiopian Somali, walked around with Ethiopian security officers, pointing to Oromos, saying 'This is an Oromo. That is an Oromo' and they were taken away. About 500 were taken. Some ran to Hargeissa, others ran to Kenya.' He therefore fled, eventually to Hagadera, arriving in June 2006.

One refugee at a group meeting in Kakuma spoke of meeting others in 2006 and 2007 in Somalia and Puntland who had travelled there after being refused mandate status at Kakuma. He described being in a group who had crossed the Red Sea to Yemen. Many had drowned on the crossing and out of the whole group only he had avoided being subject to refoulement from Yemen back to Ethiopia.

Somaliland

In Eastleigh, two Oromo who had arrived from Hargeissa one and three weeks previously confirmed a report by the Human Rights League of the Horn of Africa[11] about the abduction and refoulement of Yasin Adem Ahmed in February 2010. He had received his UNHCR mandate in 2002. They reported there were about 1,600 Oromo refugees (mostly with mandate) in Hargeissa and roughly 3,500 (some with mandate) in Bosasso, Puntland. Although there were many Ethiopian troops in Hargeissa and there was close cooperation between the administration of Somaliland and the Ethiopian government, there had been no more episodes of refoulement since that of Yasin Adem Ahmed.

Somalia

Obah Abdulkadir Hussein, 27, her husband and their eight children came from Mogadishu to Dadaab in October 2007.

[11] HRLHA Urgent Action No. 2, February 2010, Toronto.

She reported that in Mogadishu 'Every time you leave the house, you don't know if you will come back, even before the 2006 invasion.' A bullet glanced her head while she was in Mogadishu.

She and her husband estimate that as many as 50,000 Oromo live in Somalia, 10-15,000 in Mogadishu. 'Many have been killed by Somalis because they are Ethiopian. Many are killed by Ethiopian soldiers because they believe they are OLF. Only those who could not run remain there.'

Refusal of resettlement by USA and UK

Jarso Malicha, 42, who was detained on two occasions (two years 1995-7 and 18 months 1997-8) and tortured with red hot embers applied to his legs, was refused resettlement in the USA because he had 'provided material assistance to a terrorist group'. There were at least six refugees in Kakuma who were thus refused because they had given food, water or shelter to OLF fighters.

Refugees elsewhere, including an unaccompanied woman and her daughter who had been in Nairobi for ten years, were also refused for this reason. NGO officials in Nairobi reported that even those who reported providing assistance to the OLF under duress had been refused by the USA on these grounds.

Jemal Adem Tahir (see p. 41) has been in Kenya since 1991 and in kakuma camp since 1993. He believes his resettlement case was forgotten until 2005. He was recommended for resettlement in the UK by UNHCR on 26 June 2006 and was told he had been accepted. He had his orientation and medical check by International Organisation for Migration and was prepared. However, others were resettled but he was rejected by the Immigration and Nationality Directorate of the UK Home Office.

In a letter dated 27 December 2006 from the Gateway Protection Programme, he was told that he did not qualify, because:
'information provided casts strong doubts on the veracity of material aspects of your account of events. It is considered you have failed to give a consistent and credible account of your reasons for leaving Ethiopia.
You do not have a right of appeal against the decision to refuse your resettlement application.
Yours sincerely,
Ms J. Bradford. Asylum Casework Directorate.'

Acting on the instructions of Jemal's daughter, who is now in the UK, a solicitor has asked UNHCR to resubmit an application to the UK Home Office, but there has been no response. He was told that he would be considered for Australia but was again refused.

He said 'Dr Qassim [the Head of the Kakuma Sub-office of UNHCR] told me "You have finished your chance." Now my letters go unanswered and I have grandchildren here.'

Appendix. Targeted assassinations, other killings and attacks 1992 - 2007.

Targeted assassinations of Oromo refugees

1992	Jatani Ali, well known Borana Oromo, shot dead in Nairobi.
1997	Tuso Arero shot dead by Ethiopian security forces immediately after being handed over by Kenyan police.

Targeted assassinations of Oromo Kenyans

8.2.96	Assistant Chief Tara Sora, his wife and another relative killed when his house in Modo Adi, Sololo, Moyale District, was bombed by TPLF forces. His two young children and his brother were seriously injured. He had previously been injured in September 1994 during an attack by TPLF soldiers on Dambala Fachana (see below).
27.2.96	Giuyo Miyo shot dead near Moyale hospital by TPLF soldiers.
5.3.96	Teacher Anderson Micheni shot dead by TPLF soldiers firing into NCCK compound, Moyale.
March 1996	Lawyer Husein Sora, shortly after compiling a report on recent killings and attacks on Oromo, found unconscious near his home in Nairobi and died without regaining consciousness.
5.3.97	Gedi Dika, of Modo Adi, Sololo, Moyale, shot twice in the head and killed by Ethiopian forces.
1998	Buke Liban, Senior Chief, Golole, shot dead by three Ethiopian soldiers. Gallo Wolde, prominent businessman, Moyale, shot dead while ploughing at his farm in Masile, 3 km from Moyale, by two men who returned to Ethiopia.
25.1.99	Oromo nationalist and religious leader, Haji Hassen Ali, the Imam of Jamia Mosque, Moyale, shot dead at his home by Ethiopian gunmen.
August 1999	Prominent Boran Oromo, Qalo Waqo Bero, shot dead at close range, 400 metres from his shop in Marsabit, by Ethiopian government hit-men, according to local MP. He had been warned by Ethiopian government agents against sympathising with the OLF.

Other killings and attacks on Oromo in Kenya

July 1992	Jillo Galma and family detained and tortured by Kenyan police in Marsabit. His father's legs were broken and his brother disappeared.
9.10.92	Civilians Liban Galma and Jillo Gamachu injured when the house of the sister of Butiye Councillor Golicha Galgalo bombed. Two Moyale hospital employees abducted and detained 80 km inside Ethiopia at Boku Loboma until released after intervention of Kenyan government.
Early 1994	Molu Boru Liban, a cattle herder, taken from his farm in Dambala Fachana, N. Kenya, disappeared in detention until found shot dead on Oda plain, Moyale District in 1997, three years after his abduction and disappearance.
28.4.94	Halakhe Kinni of Annona, Sololo, shot at by Ethiopian soldiers.
9.9.94	Two charcoal burners killed by TPLF soldiers at Godh Hadheesa, Moyale.
21.9.94	TPLF soldiers attacked a manyatta at Dambala Fachana, killing 12 and injuring 21,including Assistant Chief Tara Sora and 4 policemen. Tara Sora was later killed (8.2.96 - see above).
1995	TPLF forces attacked home of Bori Subdistrict Assistant Chief, Osma Guyo Jatani. Two elders abducted from Bori (later released).
13.7.95	Galma Kalicha Godo abducted by TPLF from his shamba at Annona, Sololo, held for 68 days in Hidi Lola in Ethiopia and tortured.

16.7.95	Corporal Guracha Bisiko, KANU Chairman for Butiye, abducted by TPLF, held in Ethiopia for seven months and tortured, suspected of supporting OLF.
Dec. 1995	Home of Asst Chief Abakame, Uran Subdistrict, destroyed in bomb attack by TPLF.
11.1.96	Tulicha Kiya and Huka Bagaja, charcoal burners at Oda, Moyale, killed by TPLF soldiers.
4.2.96	Mohamed Ali and Hussein Salim shot and seriously injured, 300 metres from Moyale Police Station.
March 1996	TPLF soldiers attacked Dukana village, Marsabit, killing 23 civilians. Kenyan security forces killed 38 TPLF troops.
12.3.96	Businessman Kalicha Dima, Assistant Chief Ali Godana and another Assistant Chief abducted by TPLF and disappeared into detention in Ethiopia.
22-28.3.97	Over 80 killed, mainly Kenyan Oromo and 19 Kenyan police officers, over 30 women abducted and 4000 animals stolen by well organised armed forces from Ethiopia, believed by local Kenyan politicians to be Ethiopian government troops.
Early 1999	Molu Bilida of Uran village, Sololo, shot dead.
15.1.99	Homeguards and civilians were injured and three were abducted by Ethiopian troops during an attack on Dambala Fachana village, N. Kenya.
April 1999	Chief Liban Waqo of Dambala Fachana and Rob Dima of Borr detained by Kenyan police on suspicion of harbouring OLF fighters.
17.5.99	Waqo Biru, an Oromo refugee in Kenya, was detained by Kenyan police in Moyale and disappeared in detention.
22.5.99	Around 70 heavily armed Kenyan soldiers ransacked the village of Balessa, N. Horr, rounded up 70 civilians and subjected them to beatings and torture while accusing them of supporting the OLF. Three men were taken into detention for having weapons in their homes. The troops went on to attack a small contingent of OLF fighters had peacefully encamped nearby at El Hadi.
28.5.99	Three men, including Subi Waqqo and Jirma Duubaa, shot dead by Kenyan troops in Marsabit District.
July 1999	Three taken by TPLF from border town Modo Adi and held in Ethiopia (later released).
1.9.99	Chief Abdikadir Kedow was among two injured when Ethiopian soldiers attacked Wajir Police Station.
Feb. 2000	Kenyan and Ethiopian governments agreed to flush OLF and ONLF from Kenya. 500 Ethiopian troops crossed the border at Moyale shortly afterwards. Restriction of movement of Kenyan Borana followed the deployment. Mid-month, Boru Tari, son of a prominent Sololo businessman, was abducted by Ethiopian soldiers, when conducting business on the Ethiopian side of Moyale. He was still being held in October. Later in February, three Boran Oromo traders who were buying livestock at a market on the Ethiopian side of the town were abducted and detained in the Ethiopian military camp over the border, for questioning on suspected sympathy with the OLF.
28.3.00	After a meeting with Kenya District Commissioner and the District Security Committee at Moyale on 28 March, at least two members of the 15 man Oromo delegation, Sheik Haji Hassan and businessman Galo Walde, were killed. Borutari Haji was abducted and disappeared next day. The home of delegate Roba Dabaso, a former police officer was attacked by grenades. One of the delegates, Ford-Kenya's youth secretary Abdullahi Galgalo, told *Daily Nation* newspaper in late April, 'We invite human rights organisations . . . to see how the Ethiopian and Kenyan governments are killing us.' He reported that the Kenyan government sent airplanes to investigate the killing of elephants but 'does nothing when a Borana is murdered.'

2.5.00	One week after the April *Daily Nation* report, at least 50, mainly young Borana men, were shot dead by Kenyan troops in the area between Isiolo and the Ethiopian border. On 30 April there had been a heavily armed attack on a village 15 km from Isiolo, in which 40-70 people were killed and 2000 cattle and other animals stolen.
13.5.00	Six killed and 100 cattle stolen in Sabare area, N. Horr, by 'raiders' from Ethiopia.
8.6.00	In the town of Wajir, Abdi I. Kasim and herdsmen Mohammed Adan Mata and Abdikadir Ibrahim Hinni were killed, others were wounded and 5300 cattle and 950 camels were taken by 60 heavily armed TPLF troops, who accused residents of supporting the OLF.
Nov. 2000	Refugee shot dead in Nairobi, believed by relatives in the USA to be a targeted assassination.
30.11.00	Seven women and 2 elderly men killed when 150 Ethiopian soldiers attacked outpost at Gurar, N. Wajir District. Eight houses were burnt down and Kenyan press claimed 49 civilians killed in that area by Ethiopian soldiers during previous two months.
2.12.00	Twelve killed by Ethiopian soldiers at Gurar trading post, N. Wajir. The Ethiopian embassy claimed that fighting was between Ajuran and Garre people but Ethiopian army uniforms were found on two soldiers who died in the attack.
11.1.01	Ten killed, including eight Kenyan policemen, when more that 200 EPRDF forces backed by pro-government Tabaqa militia men crossed into Kenya and engaged Kenya security forces at Kiltipe in Uran, Moyale District. A policeman who was captured and detained for 16 days at Indilola army camp, 5 km inside Ethiopia, reported that those killed were suspected of supporting the OLF. He was forced to sign a declaration on his release, stating that he and his slain colleagues had been on Ethiopian soil during the incident.
15.1.01	Ethiopian soldiers again attacked Uran, engaging Kenyan forces for three hours. 600 families fled.
8.2.01	Over 30 Boran Oromo killed between Samburu National Park and Isiolo and 15,000 cattle stolen. The attack was blamed on Samburu people. Kenyan *Daily Nation* reported over 160 civilians and police had been killed by Ethiopian militia in recent attacks.
June 2004	One week after requests by Ethiopia at a Border Commission meeting on 3 June, 1200-1500 Kenyan troops and police sealed off border towns in Moyale and Marsabit Districts and arrested 63-84 in house-to-house searches. The operation lasted 10-12 days. Injuries from gunshots were reported. Killings were rumoured but not confirmed. Press reports disagreed about whether the detainees were Kenyan or Ethiopian Oromo.
4.9.07	In Moyale, Garomsa Abdisa and an un-named Oromo woman were shot dead 'in front of the Kenyan government office' by Ethiopian soldiers before they withdrew to the Ethiopian side of the border.
2.11.07	Masked gunmen shot dead two refugees and former Addis Ababa university students, Indalkachew Teshome Asefa and Mallas Habib, in their flat in Nairobi. Their Kenyan security guard was also killed. Two brothers of Indalkachew and an elderly neighbour were shot and wounded. The next day, four exiled journalists, including one member of the Ethopian Free Press Journalists Association, were attacked and bound by six gunmen, three said to be TPLF and three Kenyan soldiers, before neighbours beat them off.

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Abbreviations

EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front,
Maikelawi CID	The Central or Special Investigation Department in Addis Ababa, adjacent to the Third Police Station
OFDM	Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement (legal opposition)
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OPDO	Oromo People's Democratic Organisation, government Oromo party
ORA	Oromo Relief Association
OSG	Oromia Support Group
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
TPLF	Tigrean People's Liberation Front
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees