

Rape and genital maiming/mutilation as a torture method in Ethiopian Prisons: Evidence that prisoners of conscience, critical journalists, and activists have been abused

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, it has come to be recognized that men and women activists, prisoners of conscience, and critical journalists in Ethiopia have been sexually abused in detention as a method of torture. We do not know exactly how common the abuse is. Few former prisoners are willing to disclose their experience. Rape, genital maiming/mutilation, and sexual violence including sodomy are under-reported by both men and women. Male survivors of sexual violence are less likely than women and girls to disclose assaults (Callender & Dartnall 2011)¹ due to a combination of cultural and religious reasons manifested through shame, confusion, and guilt. This study uses personal accounts and anecdotal evidence to investigate the alleged abuses. The data indicate that genital maiming/mutilation and rape have been practiced in an attempt to silence dissent and humiliate the victims. This study highlights the urgent need for the international community and local human rights organizations to address seriously the needs of victims of sexual violence such as genital maiming, rape, and other obscene and sadistic, ill treatment in prisons. The human cost of the silencing and the marginalization of survivors can only be estimated at present.

INTRODUCTION

The use of sex and sexual humiliation as torture in prisons seem to be a practice that most people do not dare talk about in Ethiopia. Generally, the practice is not uncommon in war times and prisons abroad. However, little is documented about rape as a method of torture in Ethiopia. Wartime sexual violence is a complex issue, but it can also be a very effective way to humiliate, terrorize and subjugate women and men. Although women and girls are the main victims during conflict and displacement and in infamous prisons, it doesn't mean men are not victims of the practice². Studies from many wars where sexual violence was documented show that men and boys are targeted for a range of sexualized violence³. For example, a 2010 study in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo found that almost one-quarter of men in selected conflict-affected territories had experienced sexual violence: an estimated 760,000 men⁴.

¹Callender, T. and E. Dartnall (2011) "Mental health responses for victims of sexual violence and rape in resource poor settings." SVRI Briefing Paper, Sexual Violence Research Initiative, Medical Research Council, Pretoria, South Africa (e-version).

² https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Wynne_Russell/publication/266376422_Care_and_Support_of_Male_Survivors_of_Conflict-Related_Sexual_Violence_Background_Paper_March_2010/links/542e1f4b0cf277d58e8e9946/Care-and-Support-of-Male-Survivors-of-Conflict-Related-Sexual-Violence-Background-Paper-March-2010.pdf. Care and Support of Male Survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: Background Paper March 2010.

³ <https://www.theguardian.com/working-in-development/2017/nov/21/male-sexual-torture-in-the-syrian-war-it-is-everywhere>.

⁴ Male rape and sexual torture in the Syrian war: 'It is everywhere'. <https://www.theguardian.com/working-in-development/2017/nov/21/male-sexual-torture-in-the-syrian-war-it-is-everywhere>.

Whether rape is conducted in war situation or within the bounds of prison as a method of torture, the purpose is to humiliate the victim, and to intimidate others. It may be to obtain information from a third party. It is the reasons why the authorities seem to condone or encourage the rapes, which are never purposeless. Rape is committed for a combination of motives including the exercise of power, the infliction of humiliation, and lust, and even the perpetrator is not likely to know which is predominant. Unwanted sexual activity, by its nature, is always humiliating and degrading, which is not necessarily the case for non-sexual assault. When it is carried out in an organized manner it aggravates the humiliating and degrading treatment such that it can be considered torture⁶. The evidence in this report testifies to the fact that Ethiopia has also become a hub of this evil practice which can be characterized as a true crime against humanity. Reports of torture, sadistic cruelty and other ill-treatment are never investigated and those suspected of criminal responsibility never brought to justice. Criminal proceedings in Ethiopia continue to place the burden of proof on an individual complaining of torture or other ill-treatment, something which flies in the face of international human rights law and standards. The law rightly places the burden of proof on the authorities to prove that confessions were lawfully obtained, but judges (extension of the corrupt political system) still continue to give primacy to evidence presented by a public prosecutor without questioning its legality and are failing to exclude evidence obtained under sodomitic act, other form of sexual torture and ill-treatment.

In this paper I am not going to delve into the horrible sexual abuses connected to living in prisons in general or war related atrocities. I am focused on rapes, genital maiming including castration and the alleged sodomizing practices (sodomy)⁷ performed on political prisoners, prisoners of conscience, critical journalists, activists etc. by TPLF/EPRDF⁸ security elements. This is a hidden horror, untold by the victims and undocumented by local and international bodies— Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International or investigative journalists/researchers. Sexual violence used as a form of torture seems to have become a routine part of interrogations. Rumors are rampant that one way of torturing devices by security forces in the Ethiopian prisons are raping women activists and sodomizing men dissidents. The purpose of rape as a method of torture is twofold: one is to coerce these innocent dissidents or political activists to secure confessions for crimes they have not committed⁹; and second and most important of all is to dehumanize, terrorize and cripple the activism and motivation of the

⁵ 'UN official calls DR Congo "rape capital of the world"', BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/8650112.stm>, 13 April 2013.

⁶ Michael Peel (ed.), *Rape as a Method of Torture*. London: Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture.

⁷ According to the legal dictionary (USA) Sodomy is defined as anal or oral intercourse between human beings, or any sexual relations between a human being and an animal, the act of which may be punishable as a criminal offense. The word sodomy acquired different meanings over time. Under the Common Law, sodomy consisted of anal intercourse. Traditionally courts and statutes referred to it as a "crime against nature" or as copulation "against the order of nature." In the United States, the term eventually encompassed oral sex as well as anal sex. The crime of sodomy was classified as a felony (<http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/sodomize>). "Sodomy Laws." Available online at <www.sodomylaws.org> (accessed March 04, 2018). <http://glapn.org/sodomylaws/usa/usa.htm>

⁸ According to Berhe, A. (2004) the TPLF started in February 1975 as a small guerrilla band in the northern region of Ethiopia and eventually grew to provide the core of the Ethiopian government. It was originally an ethno-nationalist movement that aimed to secure the self-determination of Tigray within the Ethiopian polity. It succeeded in mobilizing the people of Tigray to such extraordinary effect that, in 1991, it won state power in Ethiopia in the name of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The latter — the government of Ethiopia today — is often accused by opponents of being 'simply a Tigrean front'. Aregawi, Berhe (2004). *The origins of the Tigray People's Liberation Front*. *African Affairs* (2004), 103/413, 569–592 © Royal African Society 2004. DOI:10.1093/afraf/adh024.

⁹ Agger, Inger (1989) 'Sexual Torture of Political Prisoners: An Overview', *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 2(3): 305-318.

prisoners to fight for justice and democracy¹⁰. My objective is that this preliminary report should be a call to action for us all starting from today. In my opinion today it is our duty to form an independent commission consisting of international and national human rights activists to investigate the issue of sexual abuse in prison in order to develop the cases, to inform the public, and to pursue the main agents of these crimes within the international system. The commission I am suggesting here can't form without the help of every single victim or the help of a close relation to the victims. This will not be possible without breaking the silence or without the will of everyone to end the darkness and silence of the victims and all the other unknown men and women that are not among us today and have been the victims of horrific sexual abuse in prisons. (I very much hope that the new Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed — inaugurated in April —takes the issue seriously and help establish an independent commission that investigates the magnitude of the problem and identify the victims. In a recent report *Ethiopia fires prison officials over human rights abuses amid torture report* (July 5, 2018), Ethiopia's attorney general announced the dismissal of five top prison officials for alleged human rights violations, hours before the Thursday release of a Human Rights Watch report on torture in one regional prison. Berhanu Tsegaye said 'the top prison officials "were relieved of their post for failing to discharge the responsibilities and respect prisoners' human rights," according to the state-affiliated Fana Broadcasting late Wednesday. The announcement came hours before the release of a harrowing report by Human Rights Watch describing systematic torture in Jail Ogaden, a prison in Jijiga, the capital of Ethiopia's Somali region. Ethiopia has long been criticized for its human rights violations and egregious prison conditions, but new Prime Minister has spoken forcefully against the old way of doing things¹¹.

I strongly argue that these atrocities are crimes against humanity and are particularly odious offenses in that they constitute a serious attack on human dignity or grave humiliation or a degradation of active young and energetic human beings. They do not seem to be isolated or sporadic events, but are part either of a government policy or of a wide practice of atrocities tolerated or condoned by the security and police forces or a de facto authority. The prohibition of torture is a fundamental and inviolable norm of international law, and the practice is inexcusable and abhorrent under any circumstance. The recent dynamic development of international jurisprudence has significantly enhanced the protection of human rights in general, and the identification of rape as an act of torture provides a particularly cogent example of this advance. The recognition by the international community of rape as a war crime or act of genocide is an especially positive step, providing as it does greater protection of rights at a time when they are most susceptible to infringement¹².

Despite the extensive rumor and extraordinarily high number of informal complaints of sexual violence against activists committed by TPLF interrogators no one former inmate has come out openly to talk about it¹³. This is because of the shame associated with it. Although I am a researcher and supposed to be less emotional and rigorously objective, I have to admit that I am so outraged and deeply concerned about the continuous injustices and discriminatory practices imposed on the gentle and far sighted Ethiopians. I am seriously concerned over consistent rumors and anecdotal evidences indicating that the obscene and sadistic forms of

¹⁰ Human Rights Watch. *Rape as a weapon of war and a tool of political repression*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002.

¹¹ <https://www.nazret.com/2018/07/05/ethiopia-fires-prison-officials-over-human-rights-abuses-amid-torture-report/> [By Paul Schemm. **Washington Post**]

¹² Michael Peel (ed.), *Rape as a Method of Torture*. London: Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture.

¹³ Altman, D. G.; Bland, M. (1995). "Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence". *British Medical Journal*. 311 (7003): 485. doi:10.1136/bmj.311.7003.485.

torture and ill treatment is deeply entrenched in the so-called justice system in Ethiopia, which overly relies on confessions as the basis for convictions in particular for political purposes.

While I say I am outraged, I know this quiet consuming rage has uplifted me to passionately involve into this terrain: as “Rage — whether in reaction to social injustice, or to our leaders’ insanity, or to those who threaten or harm us — is a powerful energy that, with diligent practice, can be transformed into fierce compassion.” — Bonnie Myotai Treace. My overall impression and observation of life, if we ever call it life, in Ethiopia after the fall of the repressive Derg regime, is rather than justice for all, we are evolving into a system of justice for those who belong to a privileged ethnic group and who can afford it. We have a network of complex institutions that are not only too big to fail, but too big to be held accountable. However, as we stand up for an ideal, or genuinely act to improve the lot of our long suffering Ethiopians, or strike out against injustice, we definitely sweep down these walls of oppression and resistance. What saddens me equally is the reaction of some good friends and relatives when I told them that we need to expose this particular crime perpetrated by the government. Their reaction/statements may be well meant but crippling. Some of their statements were: “Ethiopians are too sensitive to the concept of obscene sexual practices”; “It causes uncomfortable feelings for a society unprepared to hear these stories”; “Our society is deeply religious, what terms are you going to use to unravel these?”; “What use does your work have”; “Be careful! These evil forces can do harm to you”; “The victims will never talk openly about it because of shame and societal values, and how do you collect reliable data in this situation, better focus on other injustices” etc. These types of reactions have three consequences 1) the victims never get support that they deserve upon their release 2) This ‘political and justice apathy’ prolongs the life of the oppressive system 3) The perpetrators escape justice. Many people seem to forget that exposing the crime would inject a threat of accountability into power and upend the impunity these security apparatuses had operated under for years. In the international law of human rights, it refers to the failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice and, as such, itself constitutes a denial of the victims’ right to justice and redress. Impunity is especially common in countries like Ethiopia which lack a tradition of the rule of law, suffer from corruption or that have entrenched systems of patronage, or where the judiciary is weak or members of the security forces are protected by special jurisdictions or immunities¹⁴.

METHODOLOGY AND THE EMPIRICAL DATA

This is a project in the making. This paper will be developed in to a full length research as more data is secured using a cocktail of methods. For now the methodological approach for this short essay is limited text and personal accounts mostly through friends or far relatives to the victims¹⁵. I have a brief conversation with two of the victims; one lives in Canada the other one in one Asiatic country conducting a PhD study as a guest scholar. Besides, I conducted several hours of conversation over the phone with journalists, media personnel, doctors, activists, and religious leaders. Some of the evidences are collected in a casual or informal manner and relying heavily or entirely on personal testimony or through second hand information i.e., “I

¹⁴ *“Principles for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights Through Action to Combat Impunity”*. Derechos.org. Retrieved 2018-03-04 <http://derechos.org/nizkor/impu/principles.html>.

¹⁵ Gibson, Rhonda; Zillman, Dolf (1994). “Exaggerated Versus Representative Exemplification in News Reports: Perception of Issues and Personal Consequences”. *Communication Research*. 21 (5): 603–624. doi:10.1177/009365094021005003.

¹⁵ UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), “We Keep It in Our Heart” - Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys in the Syria Crisis, October 2017, available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/5a128e814.html> [accessed 3 March 2018].

know a person who..."; "I know of a case where..." etc. Personal accounts, including memoirs, journals, diaries, autobiographies, and life histories, are important sources that help us understand the human condition. Everybody has a personal history; every life has its share of joy and sorrow, victory and tragedy. These are the stories we tell about our lives that usually portray a larger picture of a life in a certain context. In this case, prison in Ethiopia, prison for activists and political prisoners. Personal accounts can provide information on a particular "slice of life," explaining the circumstances of abuse in Ethiopian prisons under TPLF. Personal accounts can focus on particular events or may cover a life more completely. They may involve recollections focused on extraordinary events such as participation in wars or catastrophic events, or explanations of unusual experiences such as sodomizing experiences and rape¹⁶.

Some of the accounts are anecdotal and therefore more rigorous data need to be corroborated/ incorporated to validate the accuracy of some of the statements¹⁷. Although accurate determination of whether an anecdote is "typical" or not requires statistical evidence, a large size of "scanning survey" in the form of continuous conversations and trusted relationships with inmates, relatives of inmates, medical doctors and human right activists can make up the deficiency in data collection¹⁸. Based on these data, the general indication however is that genital mutilation, castration; sadistic practices and rape are methods of torture against (political) activists in current Ethiopia. Research with sexual assault and torture victim-survivors can present heightened ethical challenges. This means that research on this topic must be handled with particular skill, care and respect. Broadly speaking, I took into consideration for the principles of; Respect; Merit; Justice; Beneficence as embodied in The ethics of sexual assault research.¹⁹

THE CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS AND IDENTITY ASPECTS OF THE ATROCITIES AND LIFE AFTER PRISON

The main problem for most of the victims is to openly talk about the abuse. The Ethiopian society is still traditional in many ways. There is shame associated with sexual abuses creating a sense of shame and guilt. The devastating scale of this sexual violence against political activists is being exposed today by sporadic evidences which indicate that almost no victim report perpetrators to the police or the judge as these forces are part of the machinery of torture. Negative social attitudes to rape and sexual assault victims, in particular Sodom performed on male inmates, play a big part in the reluctance of victims to come forward, according to my observation. The issue of sexual abuse in general and an act of sodomy in

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¹⁷ Where only one or a few anecdotes are presented, there is a larger chance that they may be unreliable due to cherry-picked or otherwise non-representative samples of typical cases. Similarly, psychologists have found that due to cognitive bias people are more likely to remember notable or unusual examples rather than typical examples. Thus, even when accurate, anecdotal evidence is not necessarily representative of a typical experience. Accurate determination of whether an anecdote is "typical" requires statistical evidence. Misuse of anecdotal evidence is an informal fallacy and is sometimes referred to as the "person who" fallacy ("I know a person who..."; "I know of a case where..." etc.) which places undue weight on experiences of close peers which may not be typical. Compare with hasty generalization. Gibson, Rhonda; Zillman, Dolf (1994). "Exaggerated Versus Representative Exemplification in News Reports: Perception of Issues and Personal Consequences". *Communication Research*. 21 (5): 603-624. doi:10.1177/009365094021005003. Schwarz J, Barrett S. Some Notes on the Nature of Evidence.

¹⁸ Anecdotal evidence is evidence from anecdotes, i.e., evidence collected in a casual or informal manner and relying heavily or entirely on personal testimony. When compared to other types of evidence, anecdotal evidence is generally regarded as limited in value due to a number of potential weaknesses, but may be considered within the scope of scientific method as some anecdotal evidence can be both empirical and verifiable, e.g. in the use of case studies in medicine. Other anecdotal evidence, however, does not qualify as scientific evidence, because its nature prevents it from being investigated by the scientific method (see above for references).

¹⁹ <https://medicalxpress.com/news/2017-04-ethics-sexual-assault.html>

particular is an extremely taboo subject in Ethiopia as in many other countries. The stand-out fact is that almost none would report it to officials or even to loved ones, because of this general perception that society is unsympathetic or lack understanding. And, many of my informants feel the media appear to be unsympathetic to people who report rape. Some who went through such abuses informed me that the same is true of the legal system and society in general. It is shocking and unacceptable that this happens in a deeply religious society such as Ethiopia. But if we campaign to dispel the myths and help the survivors to realize how commonplace it is, then some may feel more emboldened to get help. Most of us have never heard about the horror of prisoner rape and Sodom performed by security officers from someone who has survived it, and whose life was changed forever as a result. Most of us have not heard that much about prisoner rape at all. The feeling of shame is so intense for rape victims that almost none tell anyone what happened to them. Even in therapeutic settings, victims of rape often avoid talking about what happened to them. The victims expressed that they feel ashamed to mention just a slice of the story when others reacted to them with embarrassment or discomfort. And this feeling of shame had silenced them. This I call it genocide in slow motion²⁰. Research lends support to the conclusion that an intense feeling of shame can actually cause loss of memory. Shame silences because it encloses the entire self²¹. One informant explained that

"The whole thing is traumatic and humiliating. I am not willing to talk about the details of this experience. I am horribly worried about the social stigma and exclusion. I have deep fear to be shunned by own friends. I do not even want to talk about the torture let alone that specific form of torture. Who has the gut and patience to listen to your ordeal....It is 'impossible' to describe the act. Still worse, the reaction of relatives and friends and the community is even more scaring. I am living in two dark worlds. First, I cannot keep off my mind from what happened to me; I have physical, mental and spiritual agony. And second, I cannot share this with anyone even to a doctor or my spiritual father. I don't want friends or family to know what has happened to me. I think it is better off not to think about or discuss, even in private.because the feeling of how powerless I am as a human being is obvious here....I do not know what to do next.....Just die slowly..." Arage.

One informant who was once in prison and who knows personally a victim of rape said

"My friend is worried about being a different person. He fears he loses his belief in god. And his life after prison is in shatter.... His intense feeling of shame isolated him from the rest of us. He told that the person he was, was lost that very day he was abused.....His writing project is in ice...." (Raffi)

A close friend to one of the victims told me that

'what most people don't understand is that the type of rape as a torture in prison isn't like it is on the outside. It's not random or chaotic. It's planned and methodical. In anecdotal data: "The incident which marked me the most was when they, the interrogators stripped me of my clothes, and used a wooden thing to pierce my anus, and played with my genitals. Sometimes they tie a cord on my penis and tie the other end of the cord to a bottle with 50 cl water and the pain on my genital is unbearable. Besides, they pee on you. The situation for an activist or a person accused of terrorism on false grounds is a gross breach of justice and human rights. And with the

²⁰ Kristof, Nicholas (2006) "Genocide in slow motion." *New York Review of Books*, 52(2).

²¹ <https://www.healthyplace.com/abuse/articles/guilt-and-shame-of-being-raped/>

prevalence of HIV in the prison system, rape can turn a one-year prison term into a death sentence”.

One can imagine life after prison for these victims. As we note from the excerpts, rape and torture whether they occur as a single or series of events, the physical, cultural, spiritual and psychological consequences for the victim can be overwhelming. The stories in this short study are testimony to the fact that all too often victims find it very difficult to reveal their experiences. They do not seem prepared to bring the matter to the court or to public knowledge. The assault erodes the fabric of a community in a way that few weapons can. The damage can be devastating because of the strong communal and cultural reaction to the violation. In a deeply religious country the issue can be more complicated as spiritual elements are played out. The harm inflicted in such cases on a person is an attack on the victim's family and culture as well as profession.

One well informed respondent reacted to the subject of the research in an email conversation:

The other fact that needs more thinking in my opinion is the delivery of this subject. The subject matter by itself is a heavy subject to any society. It gets heavier when we bring it home. We, Ethiopians deal with this kind of subject matter in a very sensitive way. This fact might make it difficult to write about like any other topic. This being said professor; the topics you pick are very deep and timely. Also, they are not just articles; they are well researched, balanced and durable materials. It is even very humbling for me to suggest any comment (Hara)

At the time of writing this version of the report, I am in the process of meeting two victims, one of them lived in South Africa as a guest student and the other one in undisclosed university abroad. I have a contact person who serves as an intermediate between me and the two young men. I am hoping to incorporate their accounts in the final report. The similarities the two went through are striking. These two scholarship students, according to our intermediate or 'middle man' who is also an accomplished scholar, had to share dormitories with Tigran students in two different universities and countries. Both had an angry dispute or squabble with their Tigrean mates which led to separation into different dormitories. The dispute revolved around Ethiopian politics. When the non Tigrean students went home for vacation, they were arrested and viciously tortured. The arrest happened at the Addis Ababa (Bole) Airport when they were about to leave Ethiopia for their respective universities abroad. Relatives thought that they have left the country but they were actually high jacked from the departure terminal. Up on release they were told not to mention the arrest and abuse. The two were allowed to leave the country. However, upon arrival at their schools, they chose to disappear, defect and seek asylum. These two young scholarship students told my informant that "they felt that as '.....a man with a damaged and contaminated body'.....because of the abuse on intimate parts of their body....." According to my informant, he knows many other similar stories. Young and bright scholars leave their country en masse. He mentioned the word brain draining, intellectual migration.

The movement of Ethiopian intellectuals such as University students, lecturers and researchers has increased under the TPLF regime. Some observers say that Ethiopia has become a substantial net exporter of academic talent, a so-called brain drain. The condition suggests that the provider nation is at risk of depleting its natural supply of intellectual talent. The main cause of migration in Ethiopia is political instability, losing confidence in their government and future prospects for a better life. These are individuals who may have difficulties because of their ethnic, cultural, religious belongings or being a member of opposition political groupings, critical journalist, human right activist etc. Concerning intellectual migration,

Ethiopia suffers most from this “unfortunate phenomena.” Worth noting also is that in such a country marred by polarization that penetrated all layers of life, it is not only academicians who flee. This category should be called intellectual workforce, because academicians and engineers are joined by artists and musicians.

Several people told me that one of the slogans used from time to time against the regime by young people during protests reads “Woyane Bushti” (see appendix 1). The literal translation is “TPLF (The ruling party) is fagot”. At this point I cannot confirm what the protesters meant by the term, Bushti. They could mean to refer to the sodomatic practice allegedly perpetrated by the security forces or just to refer to a contemptible or dislikable practice or behavior of the government.

GENITAL MAIMING AND RAPE AS A METHOD OF TORTURE: EXPRESSION OF HATRED, PUNISHING DISSENTING OPINIONS AND SILENCING MECHANISM

Based on **Article 5 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights** and **Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights**, both of which provide that *no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment*, the UN Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment entered into force in 1987, seeking to make the struggle against torture more effective. However, prison in Ethiopia violates these conventions to which Ethiopia is a signatory.

According to my informant who has knowledge of some of the former prisoners, “sexual violence used as a form of torture seems to have become a routine part of interrogations. It is a vehicle of expression of passionate psychological dynamics which I think is to give a sense of ‘ethnic based’ strength and power via sexual domination and subjugation. In fact it is mainly characterized by hatred, racism; expressions of sadistic cruel tendencies.....The Amhara’s are the primary target”. My informant further reiterated that “sometimes the act of sodomy is for purely sexual purposes, gratification. The security guards or interrogators are predominantly of Tigrean origin and during their life in the northern mountains as rebels conducting Guerrilla warfare, they routinely experienced both consensus based and forced sodomy among themselves. This was partly because they slept in sex separated barracks or caves during the war”²².

According to some narratives from the prisoners, many politically active and distinguished women had experienced “sexual torture”. A former prisoner told me that “This torture was made by the interrogator, the warden, or the police officer. These abuses were experienced as a means of devaluing the person and discourage the victims from involving in politics²³. This is in line with the research work by Agger (1989)²⁴. In its report, *Surviving Rape in Iran's Prisons*, The Iran Human Rights Documentation Center²⁵ similarly documented the ordeals of five former prisoners – two women and three men – who provide their first-hand accounts of being raped, witnessing rape or being threatened with rape during their detention in Iranian prisons²⁶. Excluding the scattered cases of rape, sexual torture and abuse has been used most commonly to gain confessions. The evidence and stories from those arrested since the election

²² See also *Ye’Meles Liqaqit* page 53 ; By Ermias Leggesse)

²³ See also Human Rights Watch. *Rape as a weapon of war and a tool of political repression*. New York: Human Rights Watch, 2002.

²⁴ Agger, Inger (1989) ‘Sexual Torture of Political Prisoners: An Overview’, *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 2(3): 305-318.

²⁵ <http://www.iranhrdc.org/english/mission.html>

²⁶ 4 <http://justiceforiran.org/english-sexual-abuse-and-torture-of-politically-active-women-in-prisons-crimes-against-humanityshadi-sadr/?lang=en>

in 2009, shows that torture and sexual abuse is being reported more than in the 90's and is no longer confined to women political prisoners. Over the past 30 years, sexual torture and rape (as the worst kind), has been used as a tool to obtain confessions and to punish dissenting opinions and life styles as well as to attack the personal identity of women and those related to them in Iran. Since the society is ruled by patriarchal ideas, and different tools are used for the mental torture of women, sexual abuse and, more importantly, the threat of sexual abuse, is used as a means to prevent women from participating in political activities. The isolation of politically active women from their family and the society combined with the threat of abuse means that families seek to limit the activities of women and girls in order to prevent them from coming into danger. On one hand, the government threatens the sexuality of women by spreading fear, and on the other hand it places the responsibility on the families of those women to keep them quiet and to prevent any activities against the regime.²⁷ There are some patterns of this practice even in current Ethiopia.

Ethiopia has a lot of own examples, rape as a method of torture and silencing mechanism²⁸. Two facets of the problem are that victims of rape and sexual violence in general are denied access to justice because the justice system is part and parcel of the corrupt political apparatus. Because the vast majority of the population never had a clue about the horror of rape and genital maiming/mutilation as a means of torture from someone who has survived it, and whose life was changed forever as a result. The limited knowledge that exists is shrouded with mystery and kept in secrecy which makes it difficult for the victims to get support and the perpetrators to be accountable for their crimes. It is also difficult for us researchers if the information is sporadic and fragmented. That is why it is essential that victims come forward to talk about surviving rape in Ethiopian prisons. The personal testimonies that a few Ethiopians dared to talk about would help bring this hidden atrocity out of the shadows, and raise public awareness about this widespread violation of fundamental human rights.

Most of the activist and their friends I talked to were sexually assaulted in different ways (mostly causing pain in the genital areas not necessarily in the usual sexual intercourse form), beaten, electro-shocked, touched and groped during detention and interrogations. All have been accused of inciting public unrest, terrorism, activism related offences. Many were presented to the media as "terrorists" or as 'subversive elements prepared to overthrow the government 'straight after they were forced to "confess" to the false accusation. A famous former prisoner and activist told me that

".....During the time I was imprisoned, there was all types of torture....I was not aware of sodomatic acts though. What I know is that they put ice in the women's vagina, even men were victims of the genital area abuses.....I know of one who urinate through other means because he cannot pee in a regular manner. Because of the injury or maiming.....I know that a woman interrogator urinated on a political prisoner under torture....during my life in prison dozens of prisoners savagely and mercilessly tortured.....by the guards/interrogators in unspeakable way....Who would tell you the details...none I think....The most common on male political prisoners is hanging a bottle full of water (Highland) with a cord tied to the genital. You can imagine the pain.....(Demeke)

²⁷ <http://www.iranhrdc.org/english/human-rights-documents/ngo-reports/justice-for-iran/3398-sexual-abuse-and-torture-of-politically-active-women-in-prisons-crimes-against-humanity-shadi-sadr.html>

²⁸ Blatt, Deborah (1992) 'Recognizing Rape as a Method of Torture', *New York University Review of Law and Social Change* 19(4): 821-865.

A reliable person who has good knowledge of the workings of the system wrote to me in a private mail:

.....I heard some prisoners were raped (even sodomy) and filmed. Hard to believe these sinful acts committed by Ethiopian's in Ethiopia. It's a shame even for the offenders. On top of that, I'm not, as a reader, interested to know the details of the crime. Of course, difficult to say at this level without knowing how you treat the item. Otherwise the issue is untouched thoroughly and might be sensation. Good luck!

When I mentioned my plan to research the topic to a person with whom I have some mail exchange on Ethiopian affairs, he advised me,

.....Regarding this subject, what stands out for me from Habtamu Ayalew's first interview (I believe with VOA) is that, this kinds of cruel practices are one of the mechanisms that TPLF is using to humiliate political prisoners and prisoners of conscience. Since then, I became aware of the great agony that most political prisoners have gone through. Some have abandoned politics all together, I heard. So, it will be good to maybe get in touch with Habtamu and get some of the facts. There are also, politicians who were imprisoned after the election of 1997 (Ethiopian Calendar), such as the amazing young lady Birtukan Mideqesa, and after that, Reeyot Alemu and recently, Nigist Yirga, I am sure there are many male political prisoners and prisoners of conscience who may be valuable source of tangible information. The people I have mentioned above may or may not be the victim of this practice; however, they would know someone who is a victim of this cruelty. They will be willing to be the voice for the people who might have become voiceless due to the shaming act of the fascist's deed (Hara)

These stories paint an utterly shocking snapshot of the level of torture against men and women activists or prisoners of conscience in Ethiopian prisons. Maiming and causing injuries to the genitals and sexual violence used as a form of torture seems to have become a routine part of interrogations in these prisons. From the data we can infer that the purpose of inflicting pain and/or damage to the genitals with the overt or covert threat of interfering with future sexual pleasure; and inflicting damage to the genitals designed to prevent future reproduction. At first I was skeptical: rumors of abuse on intimate parts/body parts are rampant in prisons and beyond prisons. Had my informants heard any accounts from someone they knew personally? Again, resounding replies of “yes”. As I met with more and more informants I found similar patterns of responses except that almost none wanted to talk about the sodomitic part and the details of abuses on both sexes. They all respond that it is difficult to use a specific language.

Similar observation has been documented in other countries. In the last decade alone, sexual violence—including rape, sexual torture and mutilation, reproductive violence, sexual humiliation, forced incest and forced rape, and sexual enslavement—against male civilians and combatants, both adults and children, has been reported in 25 conflicts across the world²⁹. “Sexual humiliation of a man can be intended as proof not only that he is a lesser man, but that his community (ethnicity/nationality/etc.) is a lesser community. Violence intended to prevent procreation, such as castration or genital mutilation, feeds into this theme of humiliation of the

²⁹ *Care and Support of Male Survivors of Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: Background Paper. March 2011. All content following this page was uploaded by Wynne Russell on 03 October 2014. See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266376422>*

individual, given the worldwide narrative of “man-the-impregnator-protector-provider,” as well as of the group” (Gilmore 1990, cited in Men and Healing 2009: 17³⁰)

Unfortunately, I found very few written material on the theme to help substantiate all those accounts. The following excerpt is from the Facebook post of journalist Getachew Shiferaw, who is known for his court reporting of cases of prisoners of conscience in Ethiopia³¹. (see appendix 2 for the Amharic version). The case is posted (March 14 2018) on several social media with different heading: Aschalew Dessie who was castrated in prison told the court he was not allowed to get medical check up at St. Paul Hospital; Political Prisoner from the Amhara Region of Ethiopia Narrates in Court how he was “forcibly castrated” by Ethiopian Gov’t Security in the Central Prison

He [Getachew] reported earlier today about little known police officer, Aschalew Dessie, whose is an ethnic Amhara, being abused and tortured for “being an Amhara” in Ethiopian prisons. He is allegedly detained for suspected links to the Arbegenoch Ginbot 7 Movement. According to Getachew, Aschalew in his latest court appearance stated that the prison officials of the Meakelawi Prison had “tied and hanged few liters of plastic bottles on his penis” to torture him and as a result of this common torturing mechanism, he has been “castrated.” He also suffered damage to one of his ears due to the torture by the EPRDF ruled government securities and prison officers in the Federal prisons. Although the judges ordered him to present his grievances in writing, he unbuttoned his trouser and showed his bare private parts to the judges and the audience. Endless sobbing filled the courtroom, Getachew reports. Scores of ethnic Amhara Ethiopians have been the main targets of government repression, discrimination, abuse and torture over the past 27 years’.

A number of my informants painfully expressed that the abuses leave some men castrated. The physical abuse leaves the prisoners as in the above case incapable of reproduction, as a result of removal, destruction, or inactivation of the gonads. Torture that resulted in the removal of the testicles of a male and the ovaries of a female is the worst form of cruelty. The consequences are that the victims will be deprived of essential virility, vigor, or significance by mutilating and expurgating. These forms of abuse frighten many activists and critical journalists. That is exactly what the repressive regime wants, to silence dissent and intimidate others. There are tens of video clips, posts on social media, official interviews given by former (political) prisoners on diaspora media broadcasting etc. revealing these atrocities. (see the interview with Yonatan Tesfaye for the latest news on the matter³²). At the time of concluding this text, personal testimonies of abuse and atrocities in prisons have emerged; and surprisingly the news has been reported by the state’s own media, unheard during the last 27 years. I very much hope the new prime minister immediately establish a national commission that finds the truth and bring the culprits to justice and create accountability culture and infrastructures. “The new prime minister who came to prominence in Ethiopian politics, with a hard row to hoe, had a lot of work cut out for him before he even got there. He had the 27 years of ethnic tensions, web of deceit, antagonizing hate, endemic corruption, religious disputes and divisive politics to sort out. But he has been doing it in style so far; that shifted the political

³⁰ Fisher, Andy, Rick Goodwin and Mark Patton (2009) *Men and Healing: Theory, Research and Practice in Working with Male Survivors of Childhood Sexual Abuse*. Available at <http://themensproject.ca/section.php?ID=17&Lang=En&Nav=Section>

³¹ <http://debirhan.com/2018/01/political-prisoner-amhara-region-ethiopia-narrates-court-forcefully-castrated-ethiopian-govt-security-central-prison/>

³² *Ethiopia: EthioTube ልዩ ዝገጅት - ቆይታ ከኖኖታን ተሰፋዬ ጋር: A talk with Yonatan Tesfaye | March 2018 - YouTube.* https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=r_1lswyZGKk&feature=youtu.be

paradigm to the ecstasy of Ethiopians. The mesmerizing first three months was a renaissance to Ethiopians, which gave them hope instead of despair and warmed up their hearts to the new God-send leader; the month of July, was the *mensis mirabilis* to be recorded in Ethiopian history books'.³³

SUMMARY AND PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION

The project is underway and the conclusions that we can draw from this work are tentative. For many years there have been rampant rumors that prison officials and interrogators in Ethiopia abuse prisoners of conscience, journalists, and members of the opposition party. These prisoners have been exposed to unspeakable violation and are at the same time incapable of public expression in Ethiopia where sexual abuse is a taboo subject. Rape and the maiming of genital organs as a method of torture are part of this tragedy. Abuses are not only sexual. They are multifold: dehydration, starvation, and solitary confinement; refusal to provide basic medical care; ignoring cries for help; and varied forms of psychological abuse.

The objectives of this study are (a) to document the magnitude of this tragedy; (b) to create public awareness; (c) to assist the victims; and (d) to encourage survivors to come forward and share their stories with researchers and human right activists. As there is no possibility of obtaining recognizable justice in Ethiopia, this documentation is essential to helping the victims gain access to international judicial mechanisms. Survivors could file suit and pursue criminal prosecution and trials for both the perpetrators and those who ordered the sexual torture. It has been demonstrated on many occasions that the federal judiciary in Ethiopia lacks the independence and determination to prosecute these crimes. As a result, an international system would provide hope to the survivors and their families in pursuing criminal prosecution.³⁴

There are a number of challenges to realizing the above objectives and goals. The first is lack of credible evidence. It is next to impossible to induce survivors to talk about their ordeals, so most of the evidence and data in this report are anecdotal. Two of the personal accounts lack rigor because survivors were not willing to share their experiences in detail. A second challenge lies in the ability to prove systematic abuse. Zawati observes, "The International Criminal Court Statute states that sexual abuse is a crime against humanity if they can prove that it was done in a systematic way".³⁵ Theoretically, one ought to regard these atrocities or acts in their context and verify whether they may be regarded as part of an overall policy or a consistent pattern of an inhumanity, or whether they instead constitute isolated or sporadic acts of cruelty.³⁶ The limited data in this study indicate that the atrocities are planned, systematic, procedural, and omnipresent. By *omnipresent* we mean that the abuses appear to be present in all prisons at all times where activists and opposition party members are incarcerated. The anti-terrorism proclamation (A Proclamation on anti-terrorism Proclamation No. 652/2009)³⁷ has provided an instrument to crush dissent and silence

³³ <https://www.satenaw.com/team-lemmas-july-the-mensis-mirabilis/> [Team Lemma's July – The Mensis Mirabilis. August 2, 2018. By Tsega Menkir]

³⁴ <http://justiceforiran.org/english-sexual-abuse-and-torture-of-politically-active-women-in-prisons-crimes-against-humanityshadi-sadr/?lang=en>

³⁵ Zawati, Hilmi (2007) "Impunity or immunity: wartime male rape and sexual torture as a crime against humanity." *Torture*, 17(1): 27-47.

³⁶ <http://www.iranhrdc.org/english/human-rights-documents/ngo-reports/justice-for-iran/3398-sexual-abuse-and-torture-of-politically-active-women-in-prisons-crimes-against-humanity-shadi-sadr.html>

³⁷ <https://chilot.me/2011/01/a-proclamation-on-anti-terrorism-proclamation-no-6522009/>

opposition parties. The proclamation punishes free expression, a violation of international law. The consequence is painfully real for journalists and activists who face imprisonment for exercising basic rights. They have been branded by the Government as traitors and terrorists.

The study findings show that obscene and sadistic forms of torture are used in prison. The purpose of the abuse is purely to humiliate the victim and to intimidate others.

Sexual abuse has consequences far beyond the event itself. Harms include physical damage, psychological insult, sexually transmitted diseases, depression, and intrusive memories. In a country where psychological and psychiatric treatment, counselling, and emotional support are not common, it is very difficult for the survivors to reassemble their lives and to function as socially adequate and occupationally competent citizens.³⁸ The gravity of this problem can be even more complicated among male victims because of cultural beliefs and deep seated traditions.^{39,40}

A cardinal reflection and overwhelming surprise in this study is the widespread rumor among Ethiopians that *sodomy* is also practiced in prison by government agencies as a method of torture.⁴¹ More research and investigation is required to substantiate such rumors. At present, the data are quite limited and diffuse. However, other forms of sexual abuse, such as genital maiming, rape, obscene and sadistic, ill treatment, are documented practice.

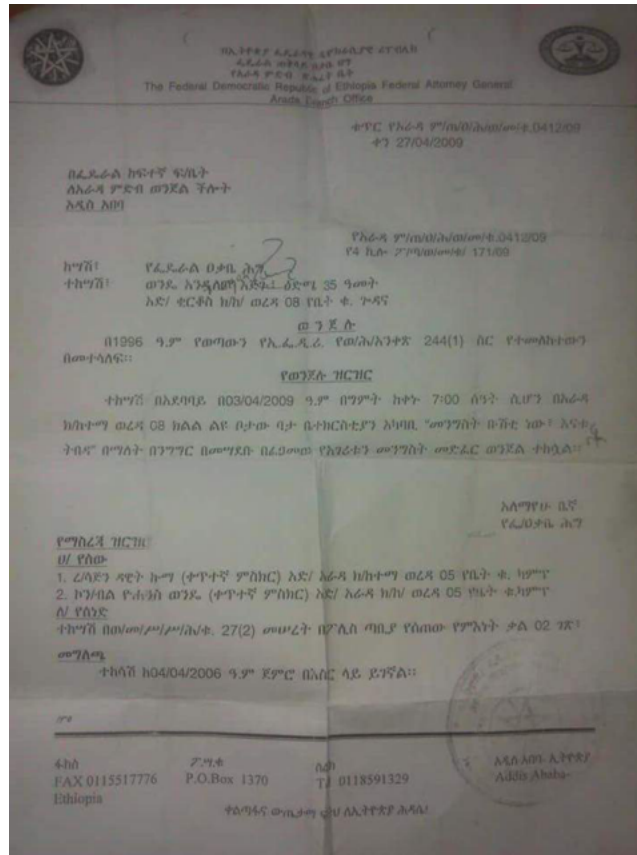
³⁸ Noll-Hussong, Michael et al. (2010) "Aftermath of sexual abuse history on adult patients suffering from chronic functional pain syndromes: an fMRI pilot study." *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 68: 483-487.

³⁹ Lewis, Dustin (2009) "Unrecognized victims: sexual violence against men in conflict settings under international law." *Wisconsin International Law Journal*, 27(1): 1-50.

⁴⁰ Sorsoli, Lynn et al. (2008) " 'I keep that hush-hush:' male survivors of sexual abuse and the challenges of disclosure." *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 55(30): 333-345.

⁴¹ Walker, Jayne, John Archer and Michelle Davies (2005) "Effects of rape on men: A descriptive analysis." *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 34 (1): 69-80.

APPENDIX 1



APPENDIX 2

ልክ ያጣው የእነ ገብረ እግዚያብሔር አብሪት

አስቻለው ደሴ የፌዴራል ፖሊስ አባል ነበር። አማራ በሰብብ በሚታሰርበትና በሚከሰስበት ግንቦት 7 አባል ነህ ተብሎ ታሰረ። የተለመደውና የሌለው የ“ሸብር” ክስ ተመስርቶበታል። የታሰረው ደግሞ የአማራ ወጣቶች ዘራቸውን እንዳይተኩ ከሚከላኹበት ማዕከላዊ ወንጀል ምርመራ ነው። እንደሌሎቹ ወንጀሎቹ አስቻለው ደሴንም ብልቱ ላይ ሁለት ሊትር ሀይላንድ ውሃ አንጠልጥለው ዘሩን እንዳይተካ አድርገውታል። ጁሮውንም ጎድተውታል። ለዚህ ሁሉ ቁስሉ ምንም አይነት የህክምና እርዳታ አላገኘም። በክሱና በማንነቱ ምክንያት ህክምና ተከልክሏል። ጥጋቢዎች ላቆሰሉት፣ ለጎዱት አካልና መንፈሱ ምንም አይነት ህክምና አላገኘም።

የፌዴራል ከፍተኛ ፍርድ ቤት ልደታ ምድብ 4ኛ ወንጀል ችሎት ቀርቦ ማዕከላዊ የደረሰበትን አሰቃቂ በደል በቃል ሊገልፅ ሲል “በፅሁፍ አቅርብ” ተባለ። አስቻለው ደሴ ግን የተፈፀመበትን ቢያንስ በጥቅም የታደሙት ወገኖቹ ያዩለት ዘንድ ሱሪውን አውልቆ “የኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ይፍረደኝ” አለ። ችሎቱን የታደሙት አነቡ፣ ከአስቻለው በምራት እየተናገረ በጥቅም የነበሩት በተለይም የሴቶች ሲቃም አጀበው። በፅሁፍ አቅርብ ያሉት ዳኞች፣ ያጁት ፖሊሶች በአስቻለው የሰቆቃ ድምፅ ፀጥ አሉ። ደሴ ማንነቱን የሰጠው የአሱ የሰቆቃ ጩኸትና የታዳሚዎች ሲቃ ብቻ ነበር።

አስቻለው ደሴ ይህን ሰቆቃ ተናግሮ ወደ ቂሊንጦ ሲመለስ፣ ሌላ ቅጣት ነበር የጠበቀው። ከቃጠሎው በኋላ በግዳጅ በእስረኛ ጉልበት ወደተሰራው ዘን 5 ተቀየረ። ዘን 5 ጥብቅ ቁጥጥርና አፈና ያለበት እስር ቤት ነው። የቂሊንጦ እስር ቤት ኃላፊዎች ምንም በማያገባቸው አስቻለውን ጨምሮ በርካቶችን ፍርድ ቤት በሚናገሩት ደደበድቧቸዋል። ወደ ጨለማ ቤት ይልኩታል። የአሳሪዎቹ አብሪት ግን በዚህ ግን አለበቃም።

የአስቻለው ቤተሰብ የሆኑ ቁስ ይህን መከረኛ ወጣት ለመጠየቅ ከአማራ ክልል ወደ ቂሊንጦ ይሄዳሉ። እስር ቤቱ በር ላይ ግን ያልጠበቁት ደገጥማቸዋል። ጥምጣማቸውን ካላወለቁ ወደ እስር ቤቱ እንደማይገቡ ይነገራቸዋል። ቁሱ ቢለምኑ የሰማቸው አላገኙም። አሳሪዎቹ የቁስ ማንነትንም ወደ ኋላ ያያሉ፣ በመጡበት አካባቢ ይመዘኛቸዋል፣ ያዋርዷቸዋል፣የእስረኛውን ማንነት ጋርም ያያደዙታል።

ቁሱ ሰቆቃ የደረሰበትን አስቻለውን ለመጠየቅ ሲሉ ቆባቸውን አውልቀው ገቡ። የተፈፀመባቸውን አስፀጻፊ ተግባርም ለአስቻለው አጫወቱት። አስቻለው ለምን እንዲህ ይበድሉናል ብሎ በምራት ሲናገር ከጎኑ የቆመው ጥበቃ ፖሊስ እየሰማ ነበር። ይህም ወንጀል ሆኖ ለእነ ገብረ እግዚያብሔር ተነገራቸው። ገብረ እግዚያብሔር የተባለ ፖሊስ እግዚያብሔርን የማይፈራ ከቂሊንጦ “ኃላፊዎች” መካከል አንዱ ነው። ቁሱ ቆባቸውን አውልቀው እንዲገቡ መገደዳቸው ሳይባቸው ይህ መደረግ አልነበረበትም አለ ተብሎ አስቻለውን አስደብድቦ ጨለማ ቤት እንዲገባ አድርጓል። ያ ሁሉ በደል የተፈፀመበት አስቻለው በቤተሰቦቹ እንዳይጠየቅ ተከልክሏል። ማዕከላዊ በተፈፀመበት ድብደባ ቁስሉ ሳይጠግግና ህክምና ሳያገኝ አሁንም እየተደበደበ ነው። የእነ ገብረ እግዚያብሔር አብሪት ልክ አጥቷል!

በጌታቸው ሸፈራው

ፋንታሁን እንደዘገባቸው⁴²

አስቻለው ደሴ በሸብር ክስ ቀርቦበት ክሱን ቂሊንጦ እስር ቤት ሆኖ እየተከታተለ የሚገኝ ወጣት ነው። ማእከላዊ በምርመራ ወቅት በድብደባ ብልቱ የተከላኸበት መሆኑን ከዚህ በፊት በጥቅም ልብሱን አውልቆ አሳይቷል።

አስቻሏል ህክምና እንደሚያስፈልገው እና የዘር ፍሬው ካልወጣ ወደ ካንሰር እንደሚቀየርበት በጳውሎስ ሆስፒታል ሃኪም ተነግሮት ለየካቲት 27/2010 እንዲቀርብ ቀጠሮ ተሰጥቶት ነበር።

የቂሊንጦ እስር ቤት ኃላፊዎች ግን የቀጠሮውን ቀን አሳልፈው የቀጠረው ሃኪም በሌለበት/በማይገኝበት የካቲት 29/2010 ቀን ወደ ጳውሎስ ሆስፒታል ወስደውት ለግንቦት 17/2010 ተለወጭ ቀጠሮ እንደተሰጠው ነገረውታል።

⁴² <http://www.zehabesha.com/amharic/archives/88965>

ዛሬ ፍርድ ቤት ቀርቦ የጤናው ሁኔታ አስቸኳይ እና ጊዜ የማይሰጥ በመሆኑ የቂሊንጦ ኃላፊዎች ሆስፒታል በአስቸኳይ እንዲወስዱት እንዲፈቀድለት ጥያቄ አቅርቦ የነበረ ቢሆንም ዳኞቹ ሆስፒታል በሰጠው ቀጠሮ ማዘዝ እንደማይችሉ ነግረውታል።

አስቸላው ቂሊንጦም አስር ቤት ውስጥ የሚገኘው ጨለማ ቤት ታስሮ እንደሚገኝ አቤቱታ አቅርቦ ነበር። ጉዳዩን የሚከታተለው የፌዴራል ከፍተኛ ፍርድ ቤት ልደታ ምድብ 4ኛ ወንጀል ችሎት በአቤቱታው ላይ ትእዛዝ ለመስጠት ለየካቲት 7/2010 ቀጠሮ ሰጥቶታል።

ማአከላዊ በምርመራ ወቅት በድብደባ ብልቱ የተከላሸበት መሆኑን ያሳየው አስቸላው ደሴ የዘር ፍሬው ካልወጣ ወደ ካንሰርነት እንደሚቀደርበት ተነገረው

APPENDIX 3

ጠቃሚ ማስረጃዎች
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ብልታቸው ላይ የውኃ ላስቲክ እንዲተንጠለጠሉባቸው ለፍርድ ቤት ካመለከቱ የፖለቲካ አስረኞች በጥቂቱ፤
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☞ አድነው ተሾመ (ዛሬ ታኅሳስ 16/2010 ለ4ኛው ችሎት የተናገረ) ☞ ፩ ዐለቃ ጌታቸው መኮንን (አሁን በነጻ የተፈቱ፤ ለፍርድ ቤቱ ሱሪያቸውን አውልቀው ያሳዩ) ☞ አወቀ ሞጁሆዴ (ከመቶ ዐለቃ መኮንን ጋር በነጻ የተለቀቀ) ☞ አስቸላው ደሴ (ለፍርድ ቤቱ ሱሪያቸውን አውልቀው ያሳዩ) ☞ ፈረደ ክንድሻቶ (ሱሪ ማድረግ ስለማይችል በሸርጥ የሚንቀሳቀስ) ☞ አበበ ካሴ (እግሩን የሚሸመቅቀው፤ አስካሁን ሕክምና ያላገኘ)

ድብደባ ደርሶባቸው ወይም በቂ ሕክምና ሳያገኙ በአስር ላይ አያሉ ከሞቱ የፖለቲካ አስረኞች መካከል በጥቂቱ፤
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☞ ተስፋሁን ጨመዳ (ነሐሴ 2004 በቃሊቲ ወሳኒ ቤት እያለ ሕይወቱ ያለፈ) ☞ ኒሞና ጥላሁን (ሐምሌ 2006 በቃሊቲ ወሳኒ እያለ ሕይወቱ ያለፈ) ☞ ሙባረክ ደመር (ጥር 2007፣ ቂሊንጦ ውስጥ እያለ ሕይወቱ ያለፈ) ☞ አየለ በየነ (ሐምሌ 2009፣ ቂሊንጦ ወሳኒ ቤት እያለ ሕይወቱ ያለፈ) ☞ አብደታ ኮላንሳ (ጥር 2007፣ ቂሊንጦ ወሳኒ ውስጥ እያለ ሕይወቱ ያለፈ) ☞ አርማዬ ዋቄ ማሞ (ጥቅምት 2010፣ ቂሊንጦ ወሳኒ ቤት እያለ ሕይወቱ ያለፈ) ☞ መሐመድ ጫኔ (ጥቅምት 2010፣ ቂሊንጦ ወሳኒ እያለ ሕይወቱ ያለፈ) ☞ ኑረዲን (ሚያዚያ 2006 ዓ/ም በደህንነት ቢሮ በድብደባ

ሒወቱ ያለፈ የሐረምያ ዩኒቨርስቲ ተማሪ የነበረ)

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ሀብታሙ አያሌው

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