



8dc Xi °GZhZVgX] °Egd\g/b b Z

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Fast politics, slow justice: Ethiopia's Somali region two years after Abdi Iley

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I " ° di] Zg°W°6W°^ z°n h°eVg/b °atVgn°/iyu or special p

EgZhYZci Bj hiV[VhVeed °cib Zci W°Egb ZB ° °hiZg°6W°h°6] b ZYidd° °ea°XZV[iZgi] Z[ZYZg/vã government's patience with Abdi 'Iley' had run its course. Abdi 'Iley's role in the [Somali-Dgdb d°Xdc Xi h](#) between end of 2016 and early 2018 had put him at odds with Abiy's Oromo Democratic Party. When the former regional president instigated ethnic violence in ?^_ ^V°cYi] g°ViZcZY hZXZh°dc °d[°Hdb Va°GZ\ °dcVaHiViZ! °] Z1 Vh°cd °ad°\ZgiZcVW°Z#L ↑ ° reformers in power both in Addis Ababa and the [regional capital Jigjiga](#), hopes were high that perpetrators of the Iley administration would be held accountable for their crimes, that

victims would be compensated and reconciliation be pursued. President Mustafa had a personal

series of [war crimes and crimes against humanity](#) during their 'counter-terrorism' operations in 2007 and 2008.

In 2007, the Somali National Security Force (SNF), a paramilitary force, the *liyu* or special police, became involved in the counter-insurgency around 2008. The *liyu* police is composed of ethnic Somalis, predominantly from the same Ogaadeen

d[edaŋ'X'VchVcY'X'k'āhZgkVcih1 ŋ] ŋ b i] Vi1 Zg'eVg'd[i] ZHG6?cZil dg #=Z'eā/ccZY'id'Veed'ci' them in leading positions in the region. Because most of these diaspora returnees carried foreign eVhhedgh'i] Zn'l Zg'WggZY'[gdb °] dā'c'ā'd XZ'VcY'] VY'id'XdcizcY'l ŋ] 'WZ'c'ā'VYk'hdgh'id'i] Z' President. In April 2019 the ESPDP was renamed Somali Democratic Party and in December 2019 it merged with Prime Minister Abiy's new [multi-ethnic Prosperity Party](#).

While few doubted President Mustafa's credentials as a democracy and rights advocate, governing Hdb Va'g'ā'dc'V[iZg'6W^ āzn'egkZY'id'W'V'Y^ Xj ā'VcY'i] Vc' āzh'h'iVh`# = h'b Vc'X] VāZc\Z' consisted of rebuilding a civilian administration after years of state despotism while both regional and national politics were in upheaval.

ā'V' ghi'hiZe'i] Z'cZl 'VYb c'hig/i'dc'XādhZY'V'āD\WVZZc'VcY'hXg'ZcZY'i] Z'liyu soldiers. The Eg'hYZci'āY'i] Z' ghi'hXg'Zc'c'Z[[dg'l] ā'i] Z'cZl 'liyu police commander General [Mohamed Ahmed Mohamoud](#)!V'[dgb Zg: C9; d' XZg'deedhZY'id'6W^ āzn!VcY'i

Mustafa [dismissed his regional security chief](#), once a close ally, in early April. At the end of May [in protest of the government](#), only to be arrested and beaten up by the *liyu* police. [Aden Farah](#), the region's vice President and a reliable administrator, left the region to become the House of Representatives, a general sense of [mistrust and uncertainty](#). Critics of the President who themselves often pursue their own personal agenda, accuse him of jeopardising regional autonomy.

Critique towards President Mustafa's administration comes from different corners. Some Ogaadeen complain that the region's new clan balance of power has seen their interests

I] Z'DCA; °āVYZgh] ē'ēgd_ZXih'Xdc YZcXZ'i] Vi'↑'XVc'1 ē'i] Zj eXdb ē\ZāXi'dch'V\V'ēhi'i] Z'g āē\ H9E!°W'yi'↑h'g'ij g'id'i] Z'g\ēdc'] Vh'WZc'hdb ZI] Vi'd[V'g'Va'n'X] ZX #6ā] dj \] °DCA; ° \] iZgh° were meant to be integrated into the *liyu* police, only some 50 former rebels joined the region's hZxj g'n[dgXZh'ē'ZVgn' °&. #B dhi'd[i] Z'Zm' \] iZgh'g'ij g'ZY'id'i] Z'g] db Z'Vg'Vh'V[iZgg'XZ'kē\ V' hb VāieVnb Zci#] Z'Y'hVgb Vb Zci!Yzb dWāhVi'ēc'VcY'g'ēciZ\g'i'ēc'd[↑h' \] iZgh'ēgd\g'hhZY'dcā'] Vā'ē\ān!āV'kē\Zn'Xdb W'Vi'cih'[g'hi'g'iZY'1 ↑] '1] Vi'i] Zn'eZg'XZ'kZY'Vh'V'ā'X' d[V'eZVXZ'Y'k'YZcY' in return for giving up the armed struggle.

The regional government hosted the ONLF leaders on the premises of the presidential compound upon their return. But as the former rebels began to mobilise supporters and establish party d XZh'VXgdhh'i] Z'g\ēdc!g'ā'i'ēch'1 ↑] 'i] Z'g\ēdcVāVYb ē'hi'g'i'ēc' °↑h'b V'ē'edā'XVā'Xdb eZi'gdg' – became increasingly strained. While the ONLF were careful not to criticise President Mustafa, i] Zn'g\] iā'k'Zi ZY'] h'VYb ē'hi'g'i'ēc'Vh'V'ā'[idkZgd[i] Z': EG9; °Zc\ēZZg'Y'Ydb ē'Vi'ēc'd[i] Z' region. The President had his own qualms about the ONLF, in particular its earlier decision to [meet face to face with former President Abdi 'Iley'](#)°Yj g'ē\°eZVXZ'iVā'h'ē'CV'gd'W'ē'ZVgn' °&- # He is also wary of the [close relations](#)'i] Vi'DCA; °āVYZgh'ā'Z'6W'g'V] b Vc'B V] Y^ZciZgV'ē'1 ↑] ° ?j WWW/cY'Eg'zh'YZci'6] b ZY'B VYZg f WWW

any of its structural political problems. Second, whatever happens between now and the 2021 federal and regional elections, the Ogaadeen vote will be split between the former rebels and those in favor of the ruling party.

Slow justice in Somali region

So far the Ethiopian government [has not apologised](#) id' th' Hdb Va' X' b' Zch' ° dg' Vcn' di] Zg' d[i] Z' Xdj cig' h' b' Vcn' b' Vg' c' Va' b' ZY' \gdj eh' ° [dg' th'] hidg' X' l' gdc' \Yd' c' \h' # Hdb Z' hj' gk' kd' g' VcY' victims' groups, in particular former Jail Ogaadeen inmates, are lobbying for compensation and rehabilitation. Ogaadeen nationalists have 'celebrated' 'Ogaden Genocide Day' on 22 February ' % %' Xa' b' c' \i'] Vi' hdb Z' . %%%eZdeā'] VkZ' WZc' ° aZY' Vh' hXj gfn' [dg' XZh' h' c' XZ' & . .) #B Vcn' agree that accountability and healing, reconciliation and compensation are direly needed to move forward in Somali region. But little has happened so far. Why has transitional justice been slow id' Xdb Z' id' : i] de' Vh' Hdb Va' g' \ dc' 4l] Zg'] VkZ' WZc' Vi' āVhi' ° kZ' d' Vhi' V' Xā' h' id' YZVā' c' \i' ↑] Z' past.

First, Ethiopia's federal Attorney General has been pursuing [legal proceedings](#) against former Hdb Va' g' \ dc' E' g' Zh' YZci' ° 6W' ^ āZn' VcY') + ° c' Y' k' Yj Vā' h' h' c' XZ' ZVgn' ° %& . #8gb' c' Va' X] Vg' Zh' [dXj h' dc' ° chi' \ Vi' c' \i'] Z' ° a' c' \ h' VcY' k' d' āZc' XZ' \ V' c' hi' ° cdc' Hdb Vā' h' Yj g' c' \i'] Z') ° 6j' \j' hi' ° ° %& - ° [Jigjiga pogrom](#) #NZi' d' [i'] Z') + VXXj hZY' d' cā' h' m' Vg' ° c' Xj hidYn' ° c' Xā' Y' c' \i'] Z' [dgb' Zg' ? V' ā' D' \ WYZZc' X'] Z' [H] Vb' VV] h' Z' H] Z' ^] ; Vg'] #] Z' g' b' V' c' c' \ YZ[Zc' YVcih' Vg' ° dc' i'] Z' g' c' ° [dg' Zn' Vb' eā' !i'] Z' c' did' gdj' h' former *liyu* police commander Abdirahman Abdillahi Burale 'Labagole' who is rumoured to be in l j g Zn' # 6W' ^ āZn' h' d' cā' d' c' ig' Vā' [dg] h' VXi' d' ch' Yj g' c' \i'] Z' ā' hi' [Zi' YVnh' d' [i'] h' Y' h' Vhi' gdj' h' g' ā' !' c' di' [dgj] Z' b' Vcn' V' ig' d' X' ā' Zh' Xdb' b' āi' ZY' h' c' XZ'] Z' id' d' ° dk' Zg' Vh' i'] Z' g' \ d' ch' h' XZj' gfn'] ZVY' ° c' ° %& + #] h' h' VY' !] h' egdh' Xj' i' d' c' h' V' hi' Ze' [dg' Vg' ° \ k' Zc' i'] Vi' h' Zc' d' g' \ dk' Zg' b' Zci' d' X' Vā' h' WZc' Z' ii' ZY' ° [gdb' ° near complete impunity in the past.

Second, although Abdi 'lley' was ousted, the pillars of his regime remained in place, in particular the *liyu* police and one-party rule of the (now) Somali Democratic Party. A [YZ' 7WVi\] ^ XVi' dc](#) of the *liyu* police – meaning its complete abolition – would have created more problems than it would have [g' h' d' k' ZY' !' edi' Zci' Vā' n' YZhi' VVā' h' c' \i' \] Z' Zci' g' g' \ dc' #7j' i' \] Z' Xj' g' g' Zci' X' \] d' XZ' d' \[° ZZc' c' \i' \] Z' b' dhian' unreformed *liyu* police as the region's main security provider is deeply problematic. Changes to the *liyu' eda' XZ' \] VkZ' WZc' ° b' dg' ° Xdhb' Zi' X' i' \] Vc' ° h' j' Vhi' Vci' Vā' # ; dg' Zn' Vb' eā' !' ° c' ° 6j' \j' hi' i' \] h' n' ZVg' th' ° members received new 'Somali State Forces' name tags. Not only are many perpetrators among the *liyu' eda' XZ' ° g' Vc' ° h' !' Wj' i' i' \] Z' g' \j' ā' g' eda' XZ' ° Xdc' i' c' j' Z' id' eā' n' h' Z' Xdc' Y' ° Y' Yā' ° c' ° ā' l' ° Zc' \[dg' XZb' Zci' # In May this year *liyu' eda' XZb' Zc' ° g' edg' ZYā' ° ā' ZY' ° kZ' ° X' k' ā' Vch' ° Vi' i' \] Z' Wdg' Zg' l' ↑ \] ° < Vā' j' Yj' \ Vc' Y' ° c' ° ZVgn' HZe' i' Zb' WZg' i' \] Zn' l' Zg' ° VXXj' hZY' d' \[° a' c' \ h' Zk' Zg' ā' g' Zh' YZcih' !' ° c' Xā' Y' c' \ ° X' \] ā' g' c' !' ° c' ° GVWh' # 8dci' c' j' ↑ n' WZi' l' ZZc' i' \] Z' ° 6W' ^ āZn' n' ZVg' VcY' id' YVn' ° h' Vā' h' d' c' di' VVā' ° c' 1 \] Vi' Yd' Zh' c' di' Zm' h' i' ° c' ° Hdb' Vā' ° region – an independent judiciary and trusted public institutions.***](#)

Third, layers of violence committed in the region over time complicate transitional justice. It is unclear what the scope and nature of redress should be. Who should be held accountable? =dl' ° [Vg' VWX' ° h'] dj' ā' ° b' ZVhj' g' Zh' \ d' ° id' i'] Z' & . + % h' VcY' & , % h' d' g' d' cā' h' i' Vg' c' \ ° [gdb' ° & . . & 4' h' i'] Z' b' V' c' ° V' b' ° id' ° Vg' c' ° e' Vg' Xj' ā' g' e' Zg' e' Zi' g' i' d' g' h' i' d' j' hi' XZ' !' dg' h' i'] Z' \ d' Vā' V' b' dg' ° h' nb' Wā' X' ° dc' Z' !' h' ZZ' ° c' \ ° recognition of and forgiveness for past wrongs? [Many transitional justice processes](#) grapple with such questions. In Somali region and Ethiopia more broadly a particularly thorny issue is

[mistreatment](#) of civilians by security forces soon after coming to power, he will be reluctant to hold national defense forces accountable for past abuses. Conversely, the ONLF also committed human rights abuses and is thus reluctant to push for accountability that might include its own

for reconciliation and his [medemer](#) reforms. But so far there is no roadmareforms. But so169n

[ZYZgVāedaXn°dg [d/b Zl dg ° [dgVXXdj ciVWān°h°ā/X°ē\!°i] Zg°h°V°Y°g°cZZY°id°ej i°ē°ēā/XZ°
safeguards against the repetition of abuses of civilians in Ethiopia's Somali region, so-called
'[guarantees of non-repetition](#)'.

6c°d X°VāgZX°dcē\!°↑]°i] Z°\] dhih°d[°i] Z°eVhi°l dj ā° [dgXZ°VāieVg Zh°id°iV°Z°V°] VgY°ād°°
Vi°i] Zb hZkZh#9Zhe↑Z°Vc°Zc\gV°ēZY°g° Zmid°W°b Z°Zi] c°X°dj ihYZgh°°i] Z°l EA;!° habesha
] ^] ā/cYZgh°dg°di] Zgh°°: i] ēde°Vc°Hdb Vāh°l āi] VkZ°id°VX°cdl āZY\Z°i] Vi°b j X] °d[°i] Z°YV°ān°
violence and torture committed in Somali region over the past decade came from their own
Xdb b j c↑n°Vh°ēY°k°Yj Vāh°l Zg°idg°W°il ZZc°Z↑] Zghj eedg°ē\°dg° \] i°ē\°V\V°ēhi°i] Z°hiViZ#
Outsiders – including the federal government – will have to admit their mistreatment of ethnic
Somalis in Ethiopia, denying their constitutional rights at every turn of the region's troubled
history.

: i] ēde°Vh°b eZgVāZ°VXn°ē↑h°Hdb VāeZgē] Zgn°h°kZgn°b j X] 1] Vi°h°Vi°hiV°Z°] Zg°#] h°Zmēā/ēh°
l] n°V°igVch↑dcVāj hi XZ°egdXZh°hdāZan°VWhZY°dc°Xj hidb Vgn°Hdb Vā°Xdc Xi°g°hdā i°dc°° xeer
VcY°WādY°Xdb eZchVi°dc°° l ācdi°hj XZ#l] Z°āiig°l dj ā°VZ°ēVYZfj ViZ°id°VYYg°hh°Xgb Zh°
VcY°VW°hZh°Xdb b āiZY°W°dgl ↑]°i] Z°°cdl āZY\Z°d° [ZYZgVāVcY°g°\°dcVāhiViZ°d X°Vāh°#L] āZ°
Xj hidb Vgn°Xdc Xi°g°hdā i°dc°XVc°Vg°ē\°Wdj] ZVāē\ Vi°Xdb b j c↑n°āZkZādi] Zgā\ VāVcY°ēdāf°XVā
b ZVhj g°hi] Vi°] dā°hiViZ°VcY°cdc°hiViZ°VXidgh°VXXdj ciVWāZ°°ēXā Y°ē\ [ZYZgVād X°Vāh°° l āWZ°
needed.

L ↑]°i] Z°kZgn°āb ↑ZY°Zn°XZei°dc°d[°i] Z° [red terror trials](#)° carried out by the Ethiopian Special
EgdhZXj idgh°D XZ°V\V°ēhi° [dgb ZgāZY°ē\°d X°Vāh°d[°i] Z°9Zg°g°Z°b Z!°b dYZg°: i] ēde°V°] Vh°cd°
tradition of state sanctioned transitional justice to hold perpetrators of mass violence accountable.
: i] ēde°Vc°Hdb Vāh°] VkZ°eVY°] ZVk°ān° [dgVX°↑°bZch] ē1] Vi1 Vh°b edhZY°dc°i] Zb°VcY1] X]°b°Vc] Y

[] ከወገን ርዕይ ላይ የሚገኘው የግንባታ ግንባታ ስራ ለአጭር ጊዜ ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ገንዘብ ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። የሁለት ሰዓት ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል።
:] ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል። ስራ ላይ ይደርስልዎታል።
visit to and interviews in Jigjiga in September 2019, various news reports and conversations with
