

THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF CONSTITUTIONAL REVIEW IN THE REALISATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN ETHIOPIA

By

Adem Kassie Abebe

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Doctor Legum (LLD)

In the Faculty of Law, University of Pretoria

Supervisor: Professor Frans Viljoen

Co-supervisor: Dr Magnus Killander

26 October 2012



Declaration

I declare that this thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree Doctor Legum (LLD), at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

Adem Kassie Abebe	
Signature	



Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my family. Your prayers and support keep me going. I also dedicate the thesis to my two cousins, Ab Mar Tezera and Hamdiye Ahmed, who passed away in 2011. May God bless your souls!



Acknowledgment

Writing a doctoral thesis is clearly a mammoth task that cannot be accomplished by the candidate alone. I could not have made it this far without the relentless support of several persons. Many have contributed to the growth of my academic career and personal life during my stay at the Centre for Human Rights.

My foremost gratitude goes to my supervisor Professor Frans Viljoen, thank you very much for leading me, and I believe many others, by example. You are a living testimony of how to be great yet humble. If I have become a better researcher, you have a lot to do with it. You have always challenged me to do things in a different and better way. Your insightful comments and suggestions were immensely useful. Despite your hectic schedule, you always read and commented on the draft chapters within a short time. You have ably guided not only my work but also my academic career.

I must thank my co-supervisor Dr Magnus Killander. Your comments were critical yet constructive and to the point. You were always ready to help. Your attention to detail was particularly helpful. Thank you very much for your unreserved direction and guidance.

I thank you both very much for facilitating my research visits abroad. The research visit at the Centre of Good Governance and Human Rights (CGHR), University of Cambridge, could not have materialised without the support of Professor Frans Viljoen. I also thank the Director of CGHR, Dr Sharath Srinivasan, for making my stay at the CGHR as productive as possible. Professor Erika de Wet helped me to arrange a two-months-fellowship at the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law in Heidelberg, Germany. Thank you very much.

The Centre Family, it was a real honour to be part of some of the most efficient and productive group of people. You always make me feel at home. Thank you very much for arranging literally everything I needed.

I also thank my family outside the Centre, the 'Weyallas'. It was wonderful to have you around through the years.

Adem Kassie Abebe



Acronyms and abbreviations

Council Council of Constitutional Inquiry

CSOs Civil Society Organisations

EHRC Ethiopian Human Rights Council (Human Rights Council)

ELA Ethiopian Lawyers Association

EPRDF Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front

Ethiopian Commission Ethiopian Human Rights Commission

EWLA Ethiopian Women Lawyers' Association

FDRE Constitution Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Constitution

FJAC Ethiopian Federal Judicial Administration Council

FSC Ethiopian Federal Supreme Court

HoF Ethiopian House of Federation

HPR Ethiopian House of Peoples' Representatives

ICCPR International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

SSC Regional/State Supreme Court



Summary of the thesis

The constitutionalisation of rights is seen as one of the main drivers of the proliferation of constitutional review. Experiences from around the world reveal that constitutional review can play a considerable role in the realisation of human rights. This thesis identifies that the existence of a justiciable bill of rights, an independent constitutional adjudicator and potential litigants provides the necessary normative and institutional precondition for successful constitutional review. Despite the existence of a robust bill of rights, the role of constitutional review in the realisation of human rights in Ethiopia has been insignificant. This thesis critically examines the Ethiopian constitutional review system through the prism of the effective protection of human rights. The thesis is intended to stimulate, and contribute to, a constitutional reform agenda concerning an appropriate constitutional adjudication system.

This thesis argues that the main reason for the failure of constitutional review system is the fact that the power of constitutional review is granted to the House of Federation, the upper chamber of parliament, a political entity that is designed to be part of and work in harmony with other political organs. It is submitted that the Ethiopian constitutional review system cannot effectively protect human rights. It is argued that independent constitutional adjudicators serve as the principal constituencies for human rights. Moreover, the thesis provides a theoretical exposition to the establishment, and retention, of a politically dependent constitutional review system. It argues that institutional choices are shaped by the interests and ideological bent of dominant political groups. The thesis concludes that the constitutional adjudication system was designed to reinforce and legitimise the status quo, justify the exercise of political power, and countenance executive and parliamentary supremacy as opposed to constitutional supremacy. Based on this, the thesis develops a 'legitimation' theory of constitutional review.

The absence of litigation-centred CSOs, opposition parties, and other human rights advocates that actively resort to constitutional adjudication has further compounded the insignificant role of constitutional review. The reluctance of these potential litigants is directly related to the lack of an independent constitutional adjudication system. In the absence of the prospect of 'supply' of rights by constitutional adjudicators, it is difficult to expect 'demand' for rights in the form of constitutional complaints. The lack of independence inhibits the submission of constitutional complaints including from the 'usual suspects', such as CSOs and political parties. Besides, there is no tradition of reliance on constitutional adjudication in Ethiopia. The failure to establish an independent constitutional review system and to create an environment conducive to the operation of CSOs is a direct consequence of the



lack of a rights-based political and legal culture. However, despite the importance of the politico-legal culture, this thesis focuses on the normative and institutional aspects of constitutional review.

The constitutional review system in Ethiopia has been invisible and so far largely irrelevant. Given the absence of an independent constitutional adjudicator, the thesis concludes that the Ethiopian Constitution is a constitution without a guardian. The thesis outlines a theoretically sound and practically viable alternative constitutional review design from the perspective of the effective realisation of human rights. It recommends that the Constitution should be overhauled to grant the power of constitutional review to an independent adjudicator.

List of key terms

Constitutional review – Human rights – Ethiopian Constitution – House of Federation – Council of Constitutional inquiry – Counter-majoritarian difficulty – Ethiopian judiciary – Domestic status of international instruments – Constitutional litigants – Legitimation theory.

vii

Table of contents

Dec	laratio	n	ii	
Ded	lication	1	iii	
Ack	nowle	dgment	iv	
Acr	onyms		V	
Sun	nmary	of thesis	vi	
Cha	pter 1:	Introduction to the thesis	1	
1.	Bac	kground and problem statement	1	
2.	Res	earch questions	11	
3.	Lite	rature review	15	
4.	Assı	umptions	18	
5.	Met	:hodology	18	
6.	Limi	itations and scope of the study	20	
7.	Defi	nition of terms	22	
8.	Ove	rview of chapters	22	
Cha	pter 2:	The appropriateness of constitutional review as a tool for the realisation of hur	man	
righ	ts		26	
1.	Intr	oduction	26	
2.	The potential role of constitutional review in the realisation of human rights27			
3.	Min	imum conditions for the success of constitutional review in the realisation of rights	32	
	3.1.	Justiciable constitutional rights	35	
	3.2.	An independent, impartial and activist constitutional adjudicator	36	
	3.3.	Informed, capable and organised litigants: Litigation support structures	41	
4.	Con	nparative experiences in constitutional review in selected African countries	47	
	4.1.	Experiences from Ghana	50	
	4.2.	Experiences from Uganda	55	
	4.3.	Experiences from Malawi	59	
5.	Limi	itations of and challenges to employing litigation	64	
	5.1.	Litigation is cost and time inefficient	64	
	5.2.	Courts depend on others to be set in motion	65	
	5.2	Litigation is reactive and contentious	67	

	5.4.	Difficulty of reversing judgments	67
6.	Cor	nclusion	69
Ch	apter 3	3: The constitutional review system in Ethiopia and its potential to	ensure the
rea	lisatio	n of human rights	71
1.	Intr	roduction	71
2.	Wh	no guards the Ethiopian Constitution?	72
3.	The	e process of constitutional review	77
4.	The	e jurisdiction of the HoF to provide advisory or 'consultative' opinions	79
5. hui		alysis of the suitability of the Ethiopian constitutional review system to the	
	5.1.	Implications for independence and impartiality	80
	5.2.	Competence and composition of the HoF and the Council	89
	5.3.	Implications for the protection of the rights of ethnic groups	91
	5.4.	Implications for the protection of individual rights	94
	5.5.	Implications for the constitutionality of measures the HoF takes	95
6.	Cor	nclusion: Which institutional design for Ethiopia?	96
	•	I: The Ethiopian constitutional review system and the counter-majoritari	•
1.	Intr	roduction	103
2.	Der	mocratic challenges to the current constitutional review system in Ethiopia	106
3.	Sta	ting the counter-majoritarian problem	110
4.	Just	tifications for rights-based judicial review	114
	4.1. demo	Democratic objections to judicial review are based on majoritarian co	
	4.2.	Judicial review can be in line with deliberative democracy	119
	4.3.	Judicial review is instrumental in protecting rights	120
	4.4.	The need for an independent and neutral constitutional adjudicator	125
	4.5.	Democratic objections are based on unwarranted assumptions	129
5.	Soc	othing the tension between democracy and judicial review	135
	5.1.	The political question doctrine	137
	5.2.	Constitutional amendment procedures	140
	5.3.	A centralised system of constitutional review	142

	5.4.	The	Canadian approach: Inclusion of overriding clause	143
	5.5.	The	British approach: Declaration of incompatibility	144
	5.6.	The	New Zealand approach: Indirect application of human rights	146
6.	Con	clusi	on	147
Cha	pter 5	: The	e judiciary and its role in the realisation of constitutional rights	152
1.	Intr	oduc	tion	152
	1.1.	Stru	ucture of the judiciary	152
	1.2.	Inde	ependence of the judiciary	153
2. of t			opian judiciary and the realisation of constitutional rights: Circumventing the exclus	
	2.1.	Adj	udicating rights recognised in domestic legislation	157
	2.2.	Inte	erpreting domestic legislation in line with the Constitution	160
	2.3.	Inte	erpreting domestic legislation in line with international human rights instruments	161
	2.3.	1.	Indirect application	162
	2.3.2.		Direct application	163
	2.3.	3.	Status of international instruments	167
	2.4. prima		alidating secondary legislation or executive action or inaction that is inconsistent v	
	2.5.	Con	stitutional interpretation in the exercise of judicial referral power	172
	2.6. by the		alidating legislation and other measures as unconstitutional in line with precedent	
3.	Prac	ctical	problems facing the judiciary in playing its role in the realisation of human rights \dots	174
4.	The	role	of quasi-judicial forums in complementing litigation	178
	4.1.	The	role of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission	179
	4.2.	The	Institution of the Ombudsman	182
5.	Con	clusi	on	184
	-		man rights advocates and their role in the realisation of constitutional right	
1.	Intr	oduc	tion	186
2.	The	lega	I framework governing the operation of CSOs in Ethiopia	188
	2.1.	Mai	ndatory registration of CSOs	191
	2.2	Doc	trictions on activities hased on membership and sources of funding	102

	2.3.	Invasive supervisory oversight	194
	2.4.	Serious sanctions for violations of the provisions of the Proclamation	195
3.	De	clared objectives vs underlying reasons	196
4.	Act	tual impact of the CSO Law	199
5.	Ent	try points for civil society	202
6.	Hu	man rights advocates and constitutional review	205
7.	Ор	position political parties and constitutional review	210
8.	Wł	ny CSOs, human rights advocates and opposition parties should resort to	constitutional
revi	iew		213
9.	Co	nclusion	215
Cha	pter 7	2: Conclusion and recommendations	217
1.	Fin	dings and conclusions	217
2.	Exp	plaining the establishment, and retention, of a dependent constitutional rev	iew system in
Eth	iopia: A	A 'legitimation' theory of constitutional review	226
3.	Re	commendations	233
Bib	liogra	ohv	239