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Forum for Ethiopian Scholars & Professionals (FESP) 12th Conference

Colloquium on the prospects of peacemaking and peacebuilding in Ethiopia Conference Report

December 30, 2022

The 12th conference of the Forum for Ethiopian Scholars and Professionals ([FESP](#)) which was organized virtually, in partnership with the Institute of Ethiopian Studies ([IES](#)) of Addis Ababa University, and Abbay Television, was completed on December 3, 2022. Seven papers were presented by established academics and professionals. The eighth paper was not presented because of internet connection problems. Speakers were selected after two rounds of calls for papers and invitations. The papers/abstracts were reviewed. The call for paper was issued months before the Pretoria and Nairobi peace agreements between the Government of Ethiopia and the TPLF. To reach the wider Ethiopian public, the presentations were made in the Amharic language and transmitted via Facebook. The full videos are available on Facebook (see links below). The YouTube version will be posted as soon as the technical work is completed.

The speakers came from diverse disciplines and experiences, including economics, Ethiopian studies, peace and security studies, refugee and resettlement, development banking, sociology, and political science. The sessions were chaired by scholars and practitioners from architecture, archaeology, linguistics and relief and rehabilitation, and heritage management. The theme of the colloquium was *peacemaking and peacebuilding in Ethiopia*. The guest of honor was H.E. Dejazmatch Wolde Semayat Gebrewold, Author, former Governor of Provinces, and Member of the Senate, in the Imperial Government of Ethiopia. The peacemaking and peace-building process is moving at an accelerated speed and at the time of releasing this report, a high-level delegation led by the Speaker of the House of Peoples Representative has traveled to Mekelle, the African Union's handling of the matter is demonstrating continental capacity, events that are consistent with the general spirit of the colloquium.

At the age of 98 the former Senator, Dejazmatch Wolde Semayat reflected how the novice leftist student movement misunderstood the then problems of the country, which led to the military coup of 1975, the dismemberment and creation of a landlocked country, and the promotion of ethnicity in 1991 and shared his views about the ways and means of overcoming the ills of the nation. The opening remarks were provided by Dr. Takele Merid, Associate Professor of Social Anthropology, and Director of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), Addis Ababa University, and Professor Minga Negash, Professor of Accounting, Metropolitan State University of Denver, Visiting Professor, University of the Witwatersrand. Ato Kone Fisseha made a remark representing Abbay Television and promised that the videos will be available on time.



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Dr. Takele Merid who is on a research visit at a University in Japan indicated the need for the continued engagement of Ethiopian scholars and professionals in public policy crafting and noted that the IES will continue to cooperate and facilitate such conferences as it is within the purviews of the institute's mission. Professor Minga in turn explained the purpose of this colloquium and the link between this and the 11th colloquium. He underscored that national dialogue and peace agreements with armed groups go hand in hand and urged that there should be a formal interface between the two processes. Citing Ex-President [Olusegun Obasanjo's](#) piece of November 19, 2022, expressing that "close to one million" lives were lost and the cost of the war could be close to \$25 billion, he urged that the opportunity for peace brought by the African Union led peace agreement should not be missed. Citing the academic and practice literature he underscored that the peace agreements in ethnoreligious conflicts and DDRs are fragile, and efforts should be made to move from cease-fire to building peace. He reminded the audience about the latest news of the gruesome atrocity crimes that are occurring in Western parts of the country.

The sub-themes of the colloquium and the summary of each speaker's presentation are provided below.

Date: November 26, 2022

Full Video Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/AbbayTV/videos/1242825292987583/>

Session Theme

Peacemaking in Ethiopia: The interfaces between the Ethiopian national dialogue and the African Union led peace agreement between the Government of Ethiopia and the TPLF

Session chair:

Dr. Ashenafi Gossaye, Capital Planning Program Manager at King County, Seattle, Washington, Formerly Assistant Professor of Architecture and Town Planning, Addis Ababa University

Speakers Presentation by Professor Seid Hassan, Emeritus Professor of Economics, Murray State University, Kentucky. Title of presentation:- "Peacemaking & peace building challenges: A systematic review of the academic & practice literature."

Summary

Like civil wars that took place in other countries, the current Ethiopian civil war has resulted not only in massive economic destruction but also in numerous civilian deaths, human rights violations and atrocities, displacements, sexual and gender-based violence, the breakup of families and communities, environmental degradation, the collapse of service provision (including medical and education systems) and food production structures, and the destruction of the social fabric that binds a peaceful society together. The paper and its subsequent presentation involve five parts. The first one presents a summary of the stylized facts of civil wars and civil war settlements. Both researchers and practitioners illustrate why civil wars are more brutal and destructive than interstate wars and why peace settlements are hard to come by, and if they do, why they take longer time and the reasons why civil wars reignite. Part two lists a multitude of reasons why civil war settlements fail. In a nutshell, civil war agreements fail because of spoilers. And these spoilers



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could originate from the side of the government in power and its distractors, from the corners of the rebel leaders' factions; or from outsiders (that is, parties excluded from the peace deal and diaspora members, superpowers, and neighboring countries); or from mistakes made by mediators. Part three lists the fault lines (hurdles) which are germane to Ethiopia and why these factors could lead to the resumption of hostilities. Part four discusses the encouraging signs of the current peace agreement. The last part presents the conclusion and the author's observations. Here, he argued why the upsides of the peace agreement outweigh the downsides and why the current peace agreement could prevail. The presenter concluded by urging all Ethiopians and the rest of the world to leverage the encouraging aspects of the peace agreements and collaborate so that the peace agreement could prevail.

Presentation by Professor Solomon Addis, Professor of African History, Central Michigan University, Michigan. Presentation title (editor assigned): Misconceptions about patriotism, warlords & ethnic conflicts in Ethiopia.

Summary

Using the historical framework and social behavior the speaker characterized Ethiopia's warlords as አገው ንጉሴ (Aggew Ngusie) and explained that the ፋኖ (Fanno) culture is linked with patriotism and the country's history of resisting unjust rule and European colonialism. It has a communal character and support. The presenter urged that the misconception should be clarified and underscored the fact that war has no dividend except destruction. The speaker examined the roles of foreign enablers in the rise of regional warlords (but not patriots) which may not necessarily have royal hereditary links to the throne, creating discontinuities in the system and line of royalty. The warlord (አገው ንጉሴ) culture creates instability and urged that this tradition needs to change. The main problem in the misconception is the ruling elite's competition for power exploiting ethnic & class relations that eventually led to the stereotyping of minority population groups & people with mixed cultures as ነፍጠኛ (armed settlers) which have contributed to the current attacks, ethnic cleansings, and mass displacements. The speaker emphasized that the current constitution is grounded on a wrong cultural and historical footing and requires a reconceptualization of the country's problems. He underscored that peace cannot prevail when this constitution is still enforced and the misconceptions about አገው ንጉሴ (ፋኖ) persist. Finally, the speaker noted that Ethiopia's foreign policy be crafted in the context of the emerging geopolitical dynamics that may misuse the አገው ንጉሴ culture and ethnonationalism (separatist) behaviors that are taken for granted for advancing geopolitical ambitions.

Presentation by Dr. Ahmed Hassan, Associate Professor of Environmental History and Social History, and Director of External Relations, Addis Ababa University. Presentation title:- "Negotiation in Ethiopia: Past Experiences, Current Developments and Future Trajectories."

Summary

The speaker began the presentation by reading a series of poems from the seminal works of Professor Mesfin Wolde Mariam, Ato Girma Tadesse, and Debebe Seyefu. He connected the poems to the present-day problems of the country, noted the Ethiopian exceptionalism and provided a narration of the series of successful and failed negotiations in Ethiopia's long history of Statehood. Citing the seminal works of Professor Tadesse Tamrat on the relations between



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Church and State in Ethiopia, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, poet, politician and cultural theorist, and former President of Senegal, the speaker indicated that Ethiopians have been negotiating successfully to resolve problems within the country and foreign powers in past several centuries. He argued, for peace to prevail, negotiation is unavoidable. Examples from the case of the 14th century (King scholar Zera Yacob & the church) and the 1878 Liche (between Yohannes IV and Menelik II) agreements were presented. Dr. Ahmed took his audience through time and examined a series of important milestones in Ethiopian history where negotiations and mediations also failed. He questioned the characterization of those negotiations as “traditional”, a representation that is reminiscent of European colonial-era scholarship about Africa. Dr. Ahmed was optimistic that Ethiopia’s better minds, in the country and those that are scattered all over the world, would learn from their own history, reassert the Ethiopian identity and find a new path for settling disputes through mediation, negotiation, and mutual respect. He argued that the elder (ሸማግሌ) culture is present in the depth and breadth of Ethiopia’s cultural communities. He concurred with previous speakers and suggested that the Pretoria peace agreement must be supported, and attempts should be made to remove potential obstacles.

Presentation by Dr. Tewodros Zewdu, York University. Presentation title:- “Mixed ethnic people and their role in peacemaking and peacebuilding: Lessons for Ethiopia.”

Summary

The fourth presenter of the day was Dr. Tewodos Asfaw of York University, Canada. The presentation was based on a recently completed Ph.D. dissertation at the same university. It documents the case of several millions of people with mixed ethnic and cultural heritage in Ethiopia. They have been living there for centuries and yet they are not in official statistics, have no representations in ethnically configured regions' governance system and are implicitly restricted from organizing. They are stereotyped and disenfranchised. Their presence benefited the country by creating a fusion of culture and socio-political and spatial environments for an interethnic relationship among the 80-plus ethnic groups of Ethiopia. They were (are) the targets of colonialists and ethnonationalists. However, in the early part of the 1990s, the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) led regime reorganized people and space along a single ethnolinguistic line by treating mixed ethnic identity as an erasable category. This was done using patrilineal affiliation as the only relational system via the 1995 Constitution and the Kilil system. Subsequently, people with mixed ethnic identities suffered greatly when the EPRDF’s patriarchally oriented institutional arrangements excluded them from its ethnic-based relational system. The findings show that the EPRDF’s relational system has been negatively impacting mixed-ethnic people for the past three decades, by fragmenting their family units, and by excluding mothers from their family units. Also, this discriminatory relational system exposes mixed ethnic people to double consciousness by forcing them to investigate their own identity via a single ethnic lens. In other words, mixed-ethnic people were pressured to adopt an inadequate ethnolinguistic criterion as the basis of their identity. This unrelatable socio-political system adds further harm to mixed ethnic people by denying them spatial representation, which makes them vulnerable to internal displacement and violence. The “reformed” EPRDF (Prosperity Party) led government has not changed the situation and minority & mixed heritage people discrimination (prosecution) has continued and endangering peacemaking and peacebuilding.



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Session Theme

Peace building and sustaining the peace agenda in Ethiopia

Date December 3, 2022

Full video Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/AbbayTV/videos/3454173974810959/>

Session Chair

Dr. Abate Getahun, Associate Professor of Applied Linguistics, Former President of Wollo University, and General Manager of Amhara Region War-affected Areas Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Fund Office (ARRFO).

In this segment of the colloquium, some of the thorny issues of building peace were discussed. Issues discussed in this session are indicative and by no means exhaustive. Speaker after speaker, all specialists in social psychology, agricultural economics, post conflict reconstruction, rehabilitation, reintegration of demobilized combatants to society discussed the challenges, and identified policy options. Internet connection problem has affected the quality of the audios and videos. The session was chaired by Dr. Abate Getahun, the former president of Wollo University and currently the Director of the Amhara Region Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Office (Bahir Dar). Dr. Abate took the opportunity to inform the audience about the nature of atrocity crimes and the size and shape of destruction and rehabilitation requirements in the Amhara region.

Professor Habtamu Wondimu, Professor of Social Psychology, School of Psychology & Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS), Addis Ababa University. Presentation title:-“Explications for key elements of culture of peace and strategies for peace building in armed conflicts affected Ethiopia: Psychosocial Interventions in Focus.”

Summary

Unfortunately, conflicts and violence at interpersonal and intergroup levels are widespread in Ethiopia and we need to address the root causes and contributing factors. Even though Ethiopia's ethnic groups have been “living peacefully” with each other, there have been conflicts and violence in the past few decades. The causes of the conflicts are very broad, complex, and illusive and hence would need several studies, conferences, and compendia to properly address them. The main objective of this presentation is to explore the cultures of peace and peace building and share some findings and experiences and forward some strategies/interventions that could assist in building peace and perhaps in the development of culture of peace in the long run. The method of the study is mainly exploratory desk top research where a thematic content analysis is adopted and some critical observations are made/provided. At a foundation level Ethiopia's ethnic group numbers indicate that there is no majority (that is, one ethnic group comprising more than 50%) ethnic group and the level of population fractionalization is moderate when compared to the rest of Sub Sahara Africa. Finding out how and why the political (elite) got to such a level of polarization, to the extent of damaging ethnic relations (social capital) and maintaining positive (negative) peace require a detailed study of cultural peace building mechanism across the depth and breadth of the country.



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Presentation by *Ato Mengesha Kebede, Author, Former Inspector General and Resident Country Representative, United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Presentation title:- “Overcoming the Forced Displacement Challenge Facing Ethiopia.”*

Summary

To overcome the challenge of conflict-induced displacements in the country, a concerted effort needs to be made to identify and address the root causes of the hostilities. Finding the root causes of the conflicts must be geared towards ensuring the respect for fundamental human rights of citizens, irrespective of their ethnicity, beliefs, creed, gender, or political thought. Accountability and the supremacy of the rule of law must be ensured. Pending the realization of the above objective, domesticating the African Union-endorsed Kampala Convention on Internal Displacement through the adoption of appropriate national legislation on internal displacement is essential. Such legislation supports facilitating and clarifying roles and responsibilities of key government entities such as the Refugees and Returnees Service (RRS), the National Disaster Management Commission, and the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission. The linkage between Federal and State level government structures regarding their roles and responsibilities would also be further clarified and streamlined. Establishing a functioning parliamentary sub-committee, with real power, which will exclusively look at the challenges of internal displacement could facilitate the adoption of legislation, review actions by executive organs in addressing internal displacement, and ensure appropriate allocation of resources at the federal and state levels. Clarity regarding the management of relief and coordination of international support enhances credibility and accountability which intern supports resource mobilization. Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration (DDR) programs open windows of opportunity for sustainable development, social justice, and reconciliation. The sequencing of DDR and transitional justice must be tailored to each situation. Revamped international support mobilization by soliciting resources outside the traditional “donor” countries and existing arrangements are needed. Accountability and transparency by the Government and NGOs enhance the resource mobilization process.

Presentation by Dr. Zelalem T. Chala, Assistant Professor of Economics and Business Statistics and, Program Director at Fairfax University of America. Presentation title:- “The macroeconomic consequences of the wars in Sub Sahara’s conflict economies: Emphasis on Ethiopia.”

Summary

Using limited time series data assembled from World Bank and Ethiopian Government sources, the speaker presented a series of interesting graphs that improves viewer cognition of the macroeconomic consequences of the wars. Between 2017 and 2021 the country experienced negative growth in almost all directions. While putting the overall economic effect of the wars in terms of precise GDP is hard, mainly due to incomplete and unreliable data, the net effect is negative. The conflicts have led to rises in the economic misery indices such as unemployment and inflation rates; decline in investment and saving to GDP ratio, Gross Capital to GDP Ratio, exchange rate depreciation, (as well as declines in foreign exchange reserves), worsening of trade balance, the suffering of the tourism sector, internal displacement, and several millions of people needing donor support. The situation is exacerbated by the impacts of Covid 19, droughts, and



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locust invasion of biblical proportions. The presenter compared recovery observed in other post-conflict countries of SSA that Ethiopia may need to emulate. Recovery of the economy can be fast achieved if the country retracts FDI, and international financial aid and shift government expenditure from military to non-military sectors. The presenter also underlined that the potential to reinvigorate the economy depends on maintaining a credible commitment to peace in the Northern Ethiopia and Oromia Region. Faster and effective reintegration and rehabilitation of demobilized ex-combatants of TPLF and other forces are very crucial for sustainable economic growth. The questions and answers session, which raised several related issues, enriched the discussion, notable among being the accuracy and reliability of agricultural and other government-supplied macroeconomic information. Regarding agriculture, it was indicated that, because peasants in conflict zones were mobilized for the wars, several farmlands were left unplanted. The cost of the much-publicized wheat production, its sustainability, and its impact on the grain market were discussed. It was questioned whether exporting the high-cost wheat makes sense when in fact the country is receiving wheat donations that are hampered by the war in Ukraine. Regarding unemployed graduates, the need for the determination of the rate of return to (higher) education and its link to skilled labor outmigration was discussed. The series of the downgrading of Ethiopia's sovereign bond and the country's debt burden (government deficit/spending/borrowing), lack central bank independence, proliferation of black markets, and the sanctions were additional issues discussed in explaining the deterioration of the economic health of the nation and troubles in the management of the economy during the last five years.

Presenter Ato Gabriel Negatu, Nonresident Senior Fellow, Atlantic Council, and Former Director General, East Africa Office, the African Development Bank Group was slated to present his paper entitled. "Sources of finance & ensuring accountability for rehabilitation and reconstruction funds." Internet connection problem did not allow him to present. The edited version of the abstract is provided below.

Summary

In the long lens of post-conflict Rehabilitation and Reconstruction history, restoring institutions of governance, accountability, and transparency is viewed as the most pressing priority. Restoring governance systems with accountability and transparency guardrails following a brutal conflict is far more nuanced and less straightforward than rehabilitating damaged physical structures. The Purpose of Rehabilitation & Reconstruction is to prevent the eruption of new disputes and resumption or a slide back into past conflict. It is a multi-phased enterprise that entails establishing security and stability—silencing the guns; rehabilitating combatants/militias on all sides of the conflict and implementing the Demobilization, Disarmament, and Rehabilitation process. It also entails returning refugees and IDPs to their localities. A precursor to addressing the exigencies visited on the country/region requires a grounded appreciation and grasp of the extent of destruction; followed by prioritized interventions sequentially aligned to local priorities. Rehabilitation of lives and Reconstruction of damaged infrastructure and institutions in Northern Ethiopia requires the use of various innovative financing instruments. Decisions on the choice of appropriate financing instruments will invariably factor into the country/local context, the intended outcome of the interventions, the speed of delivery, the transaction cost of each instrument, alignment with GTP, promotion of local ownership, etc. To close its financing gap, the GoE will have to use funds from a variety of sources, including the following: domestic revenue through



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taxes, special levies, or privatization of public assets; remittance from Ethiopians abroad; issuance of government papers locally and internationally; aid and grant from international partners including NGOs; Trust funds and Grants from international partners; sector earmarked funds from specialized international agencies; borrowing from local and international money markets and borrowing from International Financial Institutions, to mention just a few. In terms of a fund mobilization strategy, a common practice in post-conflict environments is for the government to convene a Donors Pledging Conference and present well-structured proposals; complete with a vetted and costed list of projects for financing consideration by international partners. This is the globally accepted standard—the Gold Standard, for post-conflict interventions. More specifically, the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction must focus on Public Finance Management; Accounting and Disbursement standards; Administrative and Internal Controls; Internal/external Audits, Budget Transparency: Program, and Financial Reporting; plus installing additional financial governance protocols and guardrails, as appropriate.

Vote of thanks and concluding remarks

The concluding remarks for the November 26 colloquium were provided by Dr. Zelalem Tefera, Associate Professor of Sociology at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES), Addis Ababa University. In summarizing the day's activity Dr. Zelalem indicated the connections between the four papers and noted that Professor Seid's presentation was the “base” and the three add to building the peace process. Dr. Yohannes Zeleke, the Master of Ceremonies provided an introduction of the guest of honor and served as an interconnector with the session chair providing beginning and ending remarks and shaping the conversation.

The closing remarks (December 3, 2022) were provided by Dr. Takele Merid of the Institute of Ethiopian Studies and Professor Minga Negash of FESP. Both thanked the contributors to the successful conference and all those who worked and helped us in various ways. In his closing remarks, Dr. Takele Merid summarized the highlights of the presentations and reiterated that the Institute and the University are open for research in public policy and reassured the audience that it will continue to work with FESP and noted that many of the issues discussed at the conference were similar to the issues that were raised at the IES's [21st International Conference of Ethiopian Studies](#) (September 28th to October 1st, 2022), in Addis Ababa. In his final remarks, Professor Minga Negash thanked the members of the conference committee and the board members who worked hard to make the colloquium successful. He reiterated that the forum is for all independent and nonpartisan Ethiopians and open to everyone who wishes to provide a decent public intellectual service and enhance the public good for all. He underlined the link between the 11th conference which was dedicated to the national dialogue and the 12th conference which is dedicated to peacemaking and peacebuilding.

The takeaways from the colloquium

The takeaways from the eight papers and subsequent discussion are as follows:-

(1) Speakers and conference participants welcomed the “*Agreement for lasting peace through a permanent cessation of hostilities*” between the Federal Government and the TPLF that was signed in Pretoria on November 3, 2022. The post conference events are also encouraging.



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(2) Speakers were cautiously optimistic but underscored that there will be spoilers and fractures in both Prosperity Party and TPLF, and contingency plans should be designed to prevent (a) a slide to another round of conflict and (b) new conflict because of attempting to settle pending political problems using Ethiopia's controversial constitution.

(3) It is important to note that no peace agreement is perfect. The disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) phase of the peace process is the most difficult stage. This phase requires prudence and patience and several rounds of implementation meetings, but it is also important to identify excuses/incentives/stakes for gaming the processes.

(4) International databases and limited [research](#) on the link between referendums and ethnic conflicts provide evidence that shows that the instrument is *not* a remedy for resolving ethnic conflicts that have territorial dimensions. Revanchism, historicity, alleged atrocity crimes prior to a new conflict, territories occupied during earlier civil wars and, evidence of social engineering such settling the winner on the lands of the cleansed (vanquished) make referendums ineffective. Furthermore, conducting a referendum for reasons of political expediency, without putting certain restrictions (e.g., voting, property rights, right to bear arms) on recent settlers and migrants makes the instrument a problem rather than a solution, eventually allowing the emergence of new conflicts that changes current alliances (counter alliances) and introduces new conflict and (local& foreign) actors.

(5) It is important to formally link peace agreements with the work of the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission. The Commission must fast-track its work, ensure its independence, seek additional (legal) mandate, and prepare the country for a National Constitutional Convention to revolve the sticky political problems the country has been experiencing during the last three decades.

(6) It is important to note that conflicting parties have the responsibility to protect ([R2P](#)) civilians. Hence, attention is drawn to Paragraphs 138 and 139 of the United Nations (revised) [Convention](#).

(7) There is widespread perception that there is sufficient prima facie evidence of [atrocity crimes](#) (genocide, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, war crimes) committed in several parts of the country, including but not limited to Afar, Amhara, Benshangul-Gumuz, Gambela, Oromia and Tigray regions. For reasons that are apparent, it is important to note that neither the Government (federal and state) nor the conflict actors must be allowed to investigate themselves or interfere on the matter. It is also important to note that transitional justice is a complex process, it is outside the purviews of ordinary human rights commissions, and should be guided by [African Union's \(2019\) Transitional Justice Policy](#).

(8) The legislator, executive and judiciary branches of the Government must try to walk the talk. They must refrain from advancing ethnicity, neopatrimonialism, polarization, and taking long-term decisions on matters that require national consensus and taming ethnicity. The status of Addis Ababa, demarcation of regional (ethnic) borders, language policy, regional flags, symbols, anthem, rights of minorities & people with mixed heritages in majoritarian ethnic states, the role of regional (ethnic) special forces and militia, history, government structure, constitution, land ownership, privatization/reform of State and party business, and macroeconomic recovery and stabilization all require national dialogue.

(9) It is important to learn about donor fatigue and decline in international philanthropism. Hence, resource mobilization for rehabilitation and restoration must have a clear and workable strategy and a reliable system and process that ensures that aid is reaching the affected people. The Government must ensure that it is free from corruption, ethnic identity, religious conversions, political allegiance, and favor. The news of the arrest of the [Commissioner](#) for National Disaster Risk Management Commission (NDRMC), on the grounds of alleged corruption, in July 2022 was a heavy blow.



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(10) The return of internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees must be done in an organized way and meet continental standards (African Union’s [Kampala Convention](#)). It should not be rushed.

(11) The country requires a carefully crafted macroeconomic recovery plan that is based on reliable statistics and a system that curbs regulation and state capture through ethnicity and (new) patrimonial relations. The Government can learn from the experiences of post-conflict recovery plans of other Sub Sahara African (SSA) countries. The war-torn regions of Afar, Amhara, Tigray, and Wellega require special attention and the study by the Amhara Regional State’s War-affected Areas Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Fund Office (ARRFO) can serve as a useful impetus to estimate the need in other regions.
