



School of Graduate Studies

**Institute for Peace and Security Studies: MA Program in
Peace and Security Studies**

MA Thesis on the title:

**The Role of Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC) for Restorative
Justice: Challenges and Prospects**

Submitted By: - Seyoum Getu

Advisor: - Yonas Tariku

December 2021

Addis Ababa

Table of Contents

Acknowledgment.....	iii
Acronym and Abbreviations.....	ii
Chapter One	1
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Background of the Study	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem	2
1.3. Objectives of the Study	4
1.3.1. General Objective	4
1.3.2. Specific Objectives	4
1.4. Research Questions	5
1.5. Scope and Limitation of the Study	5
1.6. Significance of the Study.....	5
1.7. Organization of the Study	6
Chapter Two.....	6
Review of Literature	6
2.1. History of Conflict in the World (overview)	6
2.2. Concept of Reconciliation.....	8
2.2.1. Definition	8
2.2.2. Transitional Justice and Reconciliation	9
2.2.3. Different Aspects of Reconciliation.....	11
2.2.4. Process of Reconciliation.....	12
2.2.5. Reconciliation in Multiethnic States	14
2.3. Basic Reconciliation Experiences around the World.....	14

2.3.1. Reconciliation Experience in Chile	15
2.3.2. Reconciliation Experience in Germany	17
2.3.3. Reconciliation Experience in Peru	19
2.3.4. Reconciliation Experience in Canada	20
2.4. Basic Reconciliation Experiences in Africa	21
2.4.1. Reconciliation Experience in South Africa	21
2.4.2. Reconciliation Experience in Rwanda	23
2.4.3. Reconciliation Experience in Sierra Leone	26
2.5. Reconciliation in Ethiopia	28
2.5.1. Pursuit of Reconciliation Process in Ethiopia	28
2.5.2. Critics on Ethiopian National Reconciliation Commission	31
2.6. Comparison of the ERC with selected African countries	33
Chapter Three	37
Research Methods and Procedures	37
3.1. Research Approach	37
3.2. Research Design.....	37
3.3. Data Sources	37
3.4. Data Collection Instruments	38
3.4.1. Key Informant interview.....	38
1.8. Sample Size and Sample Techniques.....	38
1.8.1. Sample Size	38
1.8.2. Sampling Techniques.....	39
1.9. Method of Data Collection Procedures and Analysis	39
1.9.1. Data Collection Procedures.....	39
1.9.2. Data Analysis.....	39

Chapter Four	40
4. Overview of Historical Injustices and Atrocities in Ethiopia	40
4.1. Overview of Historical Injustices committed in Ethiopia	40
4.2. Historical Injustices during the Menelik era	42
4.3. Historical Injustices during Emperor Haile Selassie	43
4.4. Historical Injustices during Derg Regime	44
4.5. Historical Injustices during the EPRDF regime	45
Chapter Five	46
Data Presentation and Analysis	46
5.1. Organogram of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC)	46
5.2. Mandates of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC)	46
5.3. Rationale to establish the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC)	48
5.4. The recurrent causes of conflict in Ethiopia	51
5.5. Achievements made by the ERC since its establishment	54
5.6. Challenges faced by the ERC	57
5.6.1. Challenges Associated with Legal framework (Proclamation)	59
5.6.2. Challenges Associated with System of Administration	61
5.7. The Way Forward for Mitigating the Challenges of the ERC	62
Chapter Six	65
Conclusion and Recommendations	65
6.1. Conclusion	65
6.2. Recommendations	66
References	67
Annex	70

Statement of Declaration

This thesis is the original work of mine and has not been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any institution and the best of my knowledge and belief, this research contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made.

Declared by:

Name: Seyoum Getu Hailu

Signature: _____

Date: December, 2021

APPROVAL

The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend to the Addis Ababa University to accept the thesis submitted by Seyoum Getu and entitled “The Role of Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC) for Restorative Justice: Challenges and Prospects” in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts Degree in Peace and Security Studies complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Name of supervisor _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Name of Internal Examiner _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Name of External Examiner _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Name of Head of Department _____ Signature _____ Date _____

ENDORSEMENT

This thesis has been submitted to Addis Ababa University, Institute for Peace and Security studies, for examination with my approval as a university advisor.

Yonas Tariku

Advisor

Signature & Date

Acknowledgment

First and foremost, I thank Almighty God for giving me the determination, as well as guidance to accomplish this work successfully, despite all challenges. I wish to extend my utmost gratitude to my research advisor Mr. Yonas Tariku, who has been very optimistic, enthusiastic, and helpful throughout this study. His generous advice, encouragement, and feedback have not only helped shape this study but also molded me into being a better researcher. His insatiable desire, energy and motivation had given me the impetus to complete this research. Last but not least, I want to pass my heartfelt thanks to my friends Mini, Kal and Jimi for your synergetic great support, be assured of Lord Blessings for the immense unconditional support.

Acronym and Abbreviations

AC	Amnesty Committee
AFRC	Armed Forces Revolutionary Council
ANC	African National Congress
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Democratic Revolutionary Front
ENRC	Ethiopian National Reconciliation Commission
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
HRVC	Human Right Violations Committee
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda
IRS	Indian Revolutionary Schools
MRTA	Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement
PM	Prime Minister
RPF	Rwandese Patriotic Front
R&R	Reparation and Rehabilitation
SED	Socialists Unity Party
SNNP	Southern Nation and Nationality People
TJRC	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission

Abstract

This study assessed the prospects and challenges of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC). Also, it explores the need for reconciliation in the context of Ethiopia and major rational that necessitate the establishment of the commission. A qualitative research methodology employing an exploratory research design approach was used in the study. In-depth interviews with key informants were deployed as a major source of data collection. Three basic categories of the society from different profession and political affiliation were enrolled as key informants; namely, academicians, politicians and government officials and members of the Ethiopia Reconciliation Commission. A purposive sampling technique was deployed. The study explored those historical narratives, historical injustices, and ethnic extremism are important national issues in Ethiopia that necessitate the establishment of the reconciliation commission. Although efforts were made to clarify and consolidate the ERC's institutional and legal frameworks, and to implement some key activities, it was found to be unsatisfactory as it was still grappling with several challenges. The ERC faced several challenges with respect to standard parameters like institutional setup, legal framework, and composition of commissioners. For the betterment of the commission in its future endeavor, the current mandate of the commission should be more specific, and its institutional setup and member composition has to be revisited, and its powers, capabilities and independence must be enhanced.

Key words: *Reconciliation; Historical injustices; Ethiopia.*

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Conflict is prevailing from the beginning of human history and will never end as long as human existence continues in this world. In its broader perspective, it also includes violent and non-violent forms of destructive relations between hostile individuals or groups. The violent forms of conflict are often manifested by flagrant crimes against humanity (Jeong, 2008). Countries in different parts of the world have experienced different types of conflict and different means of conflict resolution and prevention mechanisms. Reconciliation is often considered as one of the tremendous modern conflict resolution approach (Oliva & Charbonnier, 2016).

Reconciliation which is sometimes referred to as, transitional justice refers to the several judicial and non-judicial measures that a society passing through transition puts in place for dealing with the violence inflicted on members of the society. It is an important tool that is used to identify the etiologies of past violence. Although it emerged as an area of practice and pedantic work only recently, many countries in Africa, Latin America, and Europe have employed transitional justice measures in a manner that perfectly fits their conditions (Dersso(b), 2019).

The term reconciliation is defined as a process of transforming intense relations of disputing parties who stayed in war/conflict previously. It includes the feeling of forgiveness for the better future that raises the hope for peace (Miller & King, 2005). It is also an effective counter poison to impunities, where brawny individuals and institutions act as they want without the fear of retaliation, upbraid, vengeance, or recrimination (Wise, 2013). The process of reconciliation is accomplished through establishing reconciliation commissions.

According to Priscilla Hayner, Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), refers to bodies set up to investigate a past history of violations of human rights in a particular country carried out by the military or other government forces or armed opposition forces (Hayner, 2011). All national reconciliation processes are required to be presumptuous to detect the hard times, explore the etiologies and origins of past conflicts. Also, it should have a sound system to aid the victims and to lodge all views (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019).

In some countries, the concept of reconciliation had been practiced in different institutional framing, but with a similar mandate and goal. For instance, in Kenya, the institution was formed by a name called “Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC)” and in Germany, it was named as “Commission of Inquiry for the Assessment of History and Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in Germany” (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019).

Unlike other African countries, Ethiopia underwent neither a direct transition from a dictatorial regime to a democratic government nor from a continued civil war to peace. Despite of this condition, violence had been and continued to be a major concern (Heliso, 2020). As depicted in the history of Ethiopia, several social and political conflicts and human rights violations remain causes of polarization and violence. However, since PM Abiy Ahmed took power, Ethiopia has undergone drastic transformations (Dersso(a), 2019).

Recently, the Ethiopian government is undertaking a deep reform. One of the central aims of this reformation is to ascertain eternal peace, justice, democracy, national integrity, consensus, and reconciliation among Ethiopian peoples. With a sentiment of accomplishing this aim, on December 25, 2018, the Ethiopian parliament has established a Reconciliation Commission after a series of debates against the necessity of establishing it (FDRE, 2019). However, only a few studies have attempted to assess the actual implementation status of its mandate so far and compared it from other countries' reconciliation experiences. Hence, the current study is aimed at assessing the prospects and challenges of the Ethiopian National Reconciliation Commission.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Peaceful resolution of numerous violent attempts remains a thought-provoking issue amidst the international community. Even though negotiation, mediation and arbitration, and consensus among leaders and elites are critical to overcome such challenges, it remains a temporary approach as long as it lacks the support of the general population. Thus, reconciliation is a very crucial, long-lasting peace-constructive component that requires the interactive engagement of several actors from different social levels (Adamović, Gvozdanović, & Kovačić, 2017).

As iterated by Clark (2010), national reconciliation is the most cost-effective method for disunited societies to face threats to their stability and to create permanent peace (Clark, 2010). In contrary, Torrent contended that the idea of reconciliation advocates people to conjointly internalize the meaning of peace and accept the differences of the other (Oliva, 2011).

Ethiopia has abided by structural as well as human identity crises for more than 100 years. Until today, many quandaries have occurred within the political structure of Ethiopia. This is mainly because, the foundation for the political system of the country is not grounded on a political bargain, genuine competition, and a national consensus of an inclusive approach to governance. It is rather a winner-take-all mental discourse outcome of the political ideology of the incumbent EPRDF. Regrettably, many Ethiopians sacrificed their life to adjudicate these quandaries but the turmoil continued till now (Kebede, 2013; Mamdani, 2019).

As strongly claimed by Geda, the emergence of insurrection and violence in different parts of Ethiopia is strongly colligated to the lack of transparency and accountability of the government for the people (Geda, 2004). Furthermore, the political system of the country is characterized by political and economic state capture, lack of genuine competition among political parties, fragile and vulnerable national governance institutions, such as the parliaments, judiciary, and corruption watchdogs that are prone to corruption and nepotism (Kebede, 2013).

As it is normally expected in any state formation, political injustice, marginalization, religious and ethnic conflicts, political exploitation, violence, and genocide have occurred in the Ethiopian history. Unfortunately, the seeds of past injustice and conflict are astoundingly rising in the recent political, social, and economic domains of the country. As a result, different displacement and conflicts took place in different parts of the country (Yarnell, 2018).

The previous Ethiopian governments are greatly criticized by their failure of engaging in inclusive national dialogue, consensus and reconciliation to solve the country's problems. Also, the absence of national consensus on basic national issues and the lack of national reconciliation have led the country into fatal fragility and stalemate. Concurrently, it hindered the economic development and harmonies relationship among the peoples (Salih, Eshete, & Assefa, 2018).

Although several qualitative studies have been conducted on the issue of National Reconciliation Commissions internationally, studies done in our country are scarce. Besides, available studies in our country simply describe about the overall overview and mandate of the ERC but lacks extensive evaluation in terms of their success story from other countries' experiences.

A recent comparative study conducted by Heliso (2020), to critically appraise the ERC revealed that the commission has several strong dimensions such as a solid institutional set-up, a budget

source, powers and duties endowed, security guarantee, and cooperation from the incumbent government and its opportunities to engage the public in its work. Nonetheless, it was also found to have significant drawbacks associated with selection, appointment, removal, and composition of commissioners, accountability structure and absence of clarity in its mandates (Heliso, 2020). Because the study used solely the South African TRC experience as a comparator, it failed to address every perspective of a reconciliation process and thus was not comprehensive.

Although studying national consensus and reconciliation and indicating pathways is imperative to inform policy, many studies have not been conducted about the issue in Ethiopia. Therefore, the current study fills the research gap: national consensus and reconciliation, in the framework of pathways for effective reform in Ethiopia. Fortunately, this study addresses every challenge of the ERC in concert with its future prospect. Moreover, the study is comprehensive, and timely.

Because this study aims to assess the attempts made by the ERC so far to attain and sustain peace and potential challenges faced in the implementation process of its mandate, every aspect and perspectives of a reconciliation process will be covered.

Some selected Western and African countries experiences such as Chile, Germany, Peru, Canada, South Africa, Rwanda and Siere Leone,. The finding of this study will be helpful to fill the actual gap besides appreciating the success story of the commission. Overall, it will serve as an important input for the betterment of the commission in its future endeavor.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The main and core objective of this thesis is to assess the prospects and challenges of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC) since its establishment.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To examine the attempts made so far by the ERC in achieving the established goals.
- To identify the potential challenges faced by the ERC in the implementation of its mandate.
- To explore the rationale that led to the establishment of the ERC.

1.4. Research Questions

- What attempts are made so far by the ERC to bring sustainable peace and national consensus?
- What actual potential challenges does the ERC faced in the implementation of its mandate?
- What are the main reasons that led to the establishment of the ERC?

1.5. Scope and Limitation of the Study

The scope of this study was confined to prospects and challenges of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission. Because of this, the study focused on the various attempts made by the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission to bring long-lasting peace in the country and also assessed whether the commission appositely executed its established mandate and objective thereby identifying the potential challenges encountered in the reconciliation process. However, this study may have some limitations due to the broad nature of the study and large numbers of actors that should be engaged in the study. Nonetheless, this would not adversely affect the validity of the overall findings of the study. Indeed, effort was made to surmount such limitations by cross-checking data gathered via secondary sources as extensively as possible.

1.6. Significance of the Study

This study has both academic and policy justifications. Even though several studies are available in other countries, many studies had not been conducted concerning this issue in the Ethiopian context. Thus, this study would help academia by adding new findings. It can also be used as a baseline for future studies since the problem is not researched very well. So, this study would add new findings and perspectives for the academic literature and academia in general.

As it is known, the country is trapped between achievements and several challenges. Although tremendous achievements have been obtained from the reform, it is still at the crossroad and unable to address the potentials threats. Hence, this study would help the policymakers and other concerned bodies including the commission itself to vividly identify potential challenges and gaps encountered by the ENRC in the reconciliation process.

1.7. Organization of the Study

This thesis is organized into six basic chapters. The first chapter is dealt with the introduction and background of the study. The basic techniques and ideas of the thesis are vividly explained in this chapter. Chapter two deals with the basic concepts pertaining to the subject matter of the study and literature reviews related to the topic. The third chapter, chapter three, describes the method and methodologies of the thesis. Chapter four gives overview on the past injustices in Ethiopia by categorizing it by regimes. Chapter Five the basic chapter, discusses the findings of the study. The last chapter, chapter six, brings the summary and recommendation of the study.

Chapter Two

Literature of Review

2.1. History of Conflict in the World

Conflict is a state of human interaction where there is inharmoniousness or a perceived divergence of interests, needs, or goals. It transcends mere difference since it can also arise from a direct clash in the values or goals of protagonists (Van Wyk, 2007). The presence of conflict thus infers none other than a win/lose outcome, in which one set of values or goals takes precedence over others. The sources of adversarial relationships are not limited to tangible economic interests or control over power, but also extend to value and identity differences (Jeong, 2008). Worldwide, interstate conflict was a commonly encountered scenario.

An interstate conflict where two countries go to war with each other using formal military force is old-fashioned because of the supervision and intervention of international and regional organizations, and third-party states. Currently, a novel type of conflict called intrastate conflict has appeared in the atmosphere of interstate conflict that creates a great challenge to traditional methods of conflict resolution. Because it often involves non-state actors fortified with unconventional weapons and unstructured ideological or ethno political motives, it needs a modern method of conflict resolution such as reconciliation. (Mawhinney, 2015).

Ethiopia is Africa's second most populous country situated in the Horn of Africa and home to more than 80 ethnic-groups. Intrastate conflicts became a common incident here and there in the country that resulted in internal displacements for millions. In Ethiopia, egregious human rights violations have happened starting from the time of modern state formation. Most of the violations were either committed during the imperial period that was dispatched in 1974 or under the Derg regime from 1974-1991. Regrettably, despite a promised democratization, violations have continued by changing its form under the incumbent government EPRDF, which has been ruling the country since 1991 until now (Mahlet 2018). It is believed that a complex confluence of factors has led to the current ethnic tensions and violence in the country (Heliso, 2020). Thus, historical narratives, past regimes injustice and the issue of social cohesions, political and

economic marginalization, ethnic extremism, and the issue of boundary demarcation are major national issues causing conflict in the country.

2.2. Concept of Reconciliation

2.2.1. Definition

Desmond Tutu said reconciliation is the most natural thing in the world (Tutu, 2007). Nevertheless, academics cannot reach an agreement on defining the concept of reconciliation. The complexity starts with the multidimensional nature of the notion. One should not choose one single approach to deal with the concept; instead try to construct a definition from an integrated approach (Oliva, 2011).

Reconciliation is a relatively new term in the conflict resolution literature. The new currency of the term and its increasing application are due, in large part, to major international developments that brought issues of justice, historical truth, and reckoning with history to the core of social agendas in many countries and increased international awareness of the importance of these issues for resolving ethno national conflict (Rouhana, 2004). Reconciliation represents a common future between perpetrators and victims or members of hostile groups not as a “continuation of the past” but as the “possibility of a constructive relationship” seeking humanity and acceptance (Roncin, 2011).

Reconciliation is a long-term process that rests on the development of a shared vision of the future with the simultaneous recognition and assumption of responsibility for the past by establishing various mechanisms for attaining justice, healing, restitution, reparation, and restorations (Tadese, 2020). It can happen at multiple different levels, from the individual, interpersonal, and communal to the national and international levels (Snodderly, 2016).

The reconciliation process in a forthcoming handbook on reconciliation, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA, Stockholm) defines reconciliation as “a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future” (Bloomfield, 2003). The “significance of reconciliation is that it underlines the need to overcome individual and collective trauma that passes from one generation to the next, which perpetuates the cycles of violence”. Reconciliation is seen as necessary because “hearts and minds are ravaged by war and violence, and their healing is no less critical a need than the reconstruction of burnt-out

villages”. If these needs are left unaddressed, the risk of a return to violence is assumed to escalate (Dahl, Daly, Jackson, & Dahl, 2009).

As clearly depicted from the examples above, there have been many attempts to define the term reconciliation. What makes it common is that reconciliation involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering (between former enemies) and encompasses the changing of destructive patterns of interaction between former enemies into constructive relationships, in attitudes and behavior. It is a process toward sustainable peace.

The working definition of reconciliation after an internal armed conflict is that it is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships towards strong peace. In other words, reconciliation mainly focuses on remembering, changing, and continuing with life in peace. However, it does not require forgetting, forgiving, or loving one another (Brounéus, 2003).

Proclamation No.1102 /2018, the proclamation to establish Ethiopia Reconciliation Commission defines reconciliation as...” Reconciliation means establishing values of forgiveness for the past, lasting love, solidarity, and mutual understanding by identifying reasons of conflict, an animosity that is occurred due to conflicts, misapprehension, developed disagreement and revenge.”(FDRE, 2019).

2.2.2. Transitional Justice and Reconciliation

Any country under transition, after a protracted civil war, usually has mandatory homework to deal with its terrible past for the sake of its bright future. Thus, a country under transition has to address all tragedies and egregious human rights violations that happened in the past for its smooth move forward. It is with this understanding that the concept of transitional justice emerged (Kirchhoff, 2009). Transitional justice deals with various judicial and non-judicial measures that a society in transition puts in place for dealing with the violence inflicted on members of the society and the drivers and causes of such violence as part of the effort for transitioning from one political order characterized by violence, and repression to another peaceful and democratic order (Heliso, 2020).

The concept of transitional justice wants to address multi-dimensional objectives and interests of the victims, societies in transition, the international community, and perpetrators. Accordingly,

victims mostly want to know the truth and justice. Also, societies in transition want truth, justice, reconciliation, and peace. Similarly, the international community wants to see that those who committed crimes of universal concern such as crime against humanity are held accountable for their actions and thereby to fight impunity as well. Perpetrators also want to disclose the truth to escape from moral questions (Kasapas, 2008).

A clear distinction among the different measures is made between retributive and restorative forms of transitional justice. Both concepts differ in rudimentary motive and procedures on the ground and produce their respective merits and demerits. Retributive justice mechanisms conform to the Western tradition of accountability for crimes and mainly focus on prosecution and criminal punishment. Examples of retributive justice mechanisms include international criminal tribunals, permanent international criminal courts, and hybrid domestic or international courts (Denbel, 2013).

Moreover, retributive justice punishes wrongdoing to discourage future violations, fulfills a moral obligation to the victims, and contributes to a more fair or just society. However, its punitive nature is unable to heal survivors' trauma and fails to establish truth beyond juridical truth. Also, it cannot recognize the interchangeability of perpetrators and victims in the contexts of systemic suppression (Kasapas, 2008). On the contrary, restorative justice mechanisms mainly focus on the rebuilding of relationships and communities. Advocates for restorative justice promote, among others, truth and reconciliation commissions, and principal elements of justice that are informal and customary. Also, restorative justice seeks to address underlying issues contributing to human rights violations, using active community participation for the promotion of forgiveness and reconciliation (Zurschmitten, 2020).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission is the most frequently used way of delivering transitional justice in countries under transition after protracted civil war or dictatorial regime. This is mainly because; it provides room for a negotiated settlement and political compromise among previous military governments and incumbent ones (Heliso, 2020). Truth and Reconciliation commissions are usually established for a limited time (less than five years) and are tasked to investigate human rights violations over a specific period and are expected to come up with actionable policy recommendations. They are also expected to provide space for restorative justice that

would allow societies in transition to move away from vengeance towards reconciliation (Hayner, 2011).

2.2.3. Different Aspects of Reconciliation

From **Religious Aspects**, the term reconciliation can be found in theological roots, referencing a Christian point of view, for instance, to restoration between God and a person, or between individuals, often in association with forgiveness and confession. One approach to the Bible's concept of justice is that it can be seen as interpersonal reconciliation, which focuses in particular on the issues of compassion, mercy, and forgiveness. Justice can never achieve full retribution for the victims, especially not for the dead, but the theologian's that victims will be vindicated after death. Reconciliation is from this point of view seen as the "ultimate fulfillment of justice", requiring forgiveness (Brounéus, 2008).

From **Socio-Cultural Aspects**, the relationship between conflict and culture is complex. Culture shapes how we perceive ourselves and others. Violence, fear, and hatred during war result in the modernization of old myths and stereotypes to explain one's own or some other group's gruesome behavior and thereby justify whatever atrocities are committed. After the war, the societal and cultural fabric is drenched with these beliefs. They can be seen in how history is described, how the language is used, in education, the media, theatre, etc. To live in peace, these beliefs must be questioned and transformed (Brounéus, 2003). The rebuilding of society in the aftermath of violence requires careful context-specific interventions. These interventions could enable societies to re-imagine new cultures of peace, justice and equality as well as create platforms for dialogue, healing and forgiveness (Tadese, 2020).

From **Economic Aspects**, economic development seems essential for peace, and peace is essential for reconciliation. More specifically, in the work of truth commissions around the world the importance of economic compensation has become unmistakable. Reconciliation must go hand in hand with economic justice. Survivors of atrocity and injustice have often been denied access to for example education, jobs, housing, and medical care. When the time comes for building a new and peaceful society, the gaps are vast between former perpetrators and survivors regarding all areas (Tadese, 2020).

From **Political Aspects**, reconciliation involves the repairing of damaged relationships among members of society. One important aspect of the repair that reconciliation requires often consists of the (re-)establishment of mutual respect for the rule of law (Murphy, 2007). Political aspects of reconciliation events are defined as: 1) a meeting between senior representatives of the former opposing factions; 2) a public ceremony, covered by national media; and 3) ritualistic or symbolic behavior that indicates peace (Brounéus, 2003).

From **Psychological Aspects**, past traumas do not simply pass or disappear with the passage of time. Psychological restoration and healing can only occur via providing the space for survivors to feel heard and for every detail of the traumatic event to be re-experienced in a safe environment. From a psychological perspective, one feels a sense of security and self-assurance after an act of reconciliation which becomes a stepping stone towards better communal harmony and freedom that liberates one from damaging human relationships (Tadese, 2020).

From **Juridical Aspects**, three dimensions of justice must be taken into account in peace building and reconciliation after internal conflict: The rule of law: the apparatus of the justice system must be restored as it has usually broken down and lost all legitimacy during the war. *Certificatory justice*: addressing the injustice and pain that has been suffered by people during conflict. Distributive justice: “addressing the underlying causes of conflict, which often lie in real or perceived socioeconomic, political or cultural injustice” to prevent further violence (Brounéus, 2008). It is also describing as a species of justice concerned with righting injustice. Its aim is simply to set unjust situations right.

2.2.4. Process of Reconciliation

Reconciliation can be described as a process that focuses on how reconciliation unfolds, regarding thus motivations, goals, beliefs, attitudes, initiatives and emotions. Thus reconciliation is that process through which victim and perpetrator transform the nature of their relationship aiming to build a new social context for a peaceful common future (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004). Ignasi Torrent Oliva exposed, chronologically ordered, the five fundamental requirements for a reconciliation process to become a reality: truth, apology, forgiveness, reparation and, finally, initiatives to promote interaction (Oliva, 2011).

Truth Telling- The truth of what happened has to be revealed to write a common history for all communities previously confronted. The need for a common history marks the beginning of

shared beliefs that will unify the communities in the future and thus enable a peaceful living together. However, the process of truth-telling is neither always easy nor comfortable. Quite often, unless events present absolute evidence, the parties and their protagonists display a biased attitude and position about the succeeded facts. Because of this reason, a truth and reconciliation commission is undoubtedly needed in ameliorating complex conflicts (Oliva, 2011). Truth commissions are temporary official institutions established to examine patterns of specified human rights abuses over a given time period. (Radzik, 2020).

Apology- Apologizing is perhaps the most explicit way where wrongdoing can be acknowledged. A well-formed apology requires at least acknowledgment of both the fact of wrongdoing and responsibility by the wrongdoer, as well as an expression of regret or remorse (Radzik, 2020). The apology is also necessary because it is a formal acceptance of responsibility so that both parties are labeled: the victim and the perpetrator. When we talk about an apology as an official and diplomatic act, we have to be aware of the fact that states are legal abstractions, not ethical persons. Accordingly, apology can never mean the same thing for states as for individuals (Oliva, 2011). Ideally, the wrongdoer directly addresses the victim. This is not possible in all cases, of course, as when victims have passed away. However, apologies made to indirect victims, such as the families of survivors, as well as apologies simply performed before broader, interested communities are well established in practice (Tadese, 2020) .

Forgiveness: - Apology call for forgiveness. This is the only act in the whole process of reconciliation that empowers both the victim and the perpetrator in a moral sense. It is a sign sent by the victim of compassion, understanding and will to build a common and peaceful future. Forgiveness substitutes de culture of revenge and thus keeps further the possibility of a return to a violent context. It is eventually an expression of love and mercy and the forswearing of resentment (Tadese, 2020).

Reparation-Truth, apology, and forgiveness constitute the moral content of any reconciliatory process. Next requirement for this process to success is the reparation. This is the material punishment the perpetrator has to pay to the victim. It is a restorative fine to cover the physical and/or psychological damaged caused to the victim. It is usually an economic penalty but it can also be accomplished with properties (Oliva, 2011). The payment is made either by the party who was responsible for the harm, by the wrongdoers' descendants or other beneficiaries, or

potentially by a third party acting on the wrongdoers' behalf. Reparations for historical injustice are particularly controversial (Radzik, 2020).

Initiatives to Promote Interaction- Once the moral wounds have been faced and the reparation has been paid off, it is time to promote initiatives aiming to consolidate a positive and constructive interaction among the previously confronted communities, that is to say, to bring the parties to an actual reconciled state. These initiatives can turn the negative peace (non-violent context) to a positive peace (interactive context) removing thus the possibility of a new conflict (Tadese, 2020).

2.2.5. Reconciliation in Multiethnic States

In those cases where intrastate conflict is featured by two communities or more ethnically diverse, theoretical and practical ways of achieving reconciliation become more complex. In nationally polarized polities, political parties are generally organized on ethnic lines and few people vote for parties associated with another group. So that intragroup competition determines who represents the group in intergroup context, in ways that can significantly constrain intergroup peacemaking and reconciliation (Oliva, 2011).

Politics must follow ethnicity, not backward. Migration, which is natural of human nature, cause nationality and ethnicity never, acquired a stable territorial base. What the state cannot do is to reproduce politically the pluralist pattern that immigrants and their children have spontaneously generated, for that pattern is inherently fluid and indeterminate (Oliva, 2011).

From a socio-psychological point of view, reconciliation leads people to collectively internalize the meaning of peace and accept the differences of the other. In some way, through a reconciliatory process, one integrates the essence of "the other" creating thus a new common or shared identity. However, the core of the identity of each party must remain intact. This mutual acceptance should be easier to reach when the two confronted communities shared a common day today before the conflict (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004).

2.3. Basic Reconciliation Experiences around the World

The nature of conflict has changed fundamentally in the 21st century. Hence, conflict is no longer preponderantly a clash between states, but now encompasses highly complex intrastate conflicts that hurt civilian and cause national disagreement. The complex nature of intrastate

conflict needs a new method to conflict resolution. That method is embedded in restorative justice, which gives parties to conflict ownership over their own conflict resolution process. The phenomenon of truth and reconciliation has come out of the restorative justice custom to become a feasible, and promising model for effective conflict resolution (Mawhinney, 2015).

International experience has revealed that addressing past human rights violations is a key step in the process of reconciliation and nation-building. The purpose of such action, often at the moment of political change, is to demonstrate a break with the past, promote national reconciliation, and sustain political legitimacy. The TRC was but one of a series of such commissions held in different parts of the world since the mid-1970s (Barry, 2006).

Of course, these commissions were established as transitional governments in newly emerging, tenuous democracies contended to account for the violence, crimes, and civil and human rights violations of past regimes. Those regimes faced substantial pressure from within, and from the international community to follow the tradition of prosecuting war crimes created at Nuremberg (Mawhinney, 2015). One earnest while example mentioned was the 1991 and 2003 Chilean Commission on Truth and Reconciliation. Other countries such as Guatemala, Israel, Germany, Guinea, Uganda and Argentina have also established their own commissions; likewise, Chad, El Salvador, Honduras, Sri Lanka and Thailand – all have met with limited success (Barry, 2006).

Although truth and reconciliation commissions first emerged in response to the South American dictatorships, in the 21st century, the truth and reconciliation commission form has been applied to diverse experiences of political and social strife throughout the world. Recently, more than 18 countries in Latin America, Africa, and Asia have utilized the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) as a preferred means of responding to historical injustice (Asare, 2008).

For this particular study, the reconciliation experiences of Chile, Germany, Peru, and Canada are selected from the westerns and South Africa, Rwanda and Sere Leone are selected from Africa for experience sharing and review considering their success story in terms of effectiveness and the availability of several supporting literature on this sphere.

2.3.1. Reconciliation Experience in Chile

The National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation of Chile was established following the presidency of Patricio Aylwin in March 1990 and the downfall of General Augusto Pinochet's

administration. Violence was common conduct under Pinochet's regime whereby many Chileans underwent a wrenching tragedy. It was also the presence of various violent acts such as torture, detainment, disappearance, the killing of many civilians under Pinochet's administration that led to the foundation of this commission. Although independent organizations including, churches and social representatives have tried their best in preventing and confronting violent conducts such as illegal detentions and disappearances in courts, their effort was fruitless because of the presence of a puppet judiciary system and violate military coup within Pinochet's regime. The presence of authoritative governance in concert with ample cumulative violence has led to the election of a new president, Patricio Aylwin (Hayner, 2011).

The launching of the National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation through presidential decree shortly following presidential inauguration is one of the tremendous initiatives of Aylwin's regime. The Commission was wittingly comprised of eight appointed members having a different perspective on the present government. Surprisingly, four of the appointed members were former officials of the Pinochet government who were involved in opposition. The commission was chaired by former senator Raúl Rettig (Hayner, 2011).

The commission was mandated to investigate "disappearances after arrest, executions, and torture leading to death committed by government agents or people in their service, as well as kidnappings and attempts on the life of persons carried out by private citizens for political reasons." However, people who died and survived from torture cases were less readily emphasized in the commission's report. It took approximately thirteen years for Chile to formally admit that an indispensable part of the truth was missing in the documented 1991 report. This fact resulted in the establishment of another national commission in 2003 that focuses on torture survivors (Loveman & Lira, 2007).

The commission's eighteen-hundred-page report was completed in February 1991. It is considered as a potent indictment of the practices of the Pinochet regime, identifying both the brutality and the response by domestic and international actors. As it is vividly iterated in their report, over 95 percent of rights violations were attributed to state agents, and 4 percent to leftist armed groups. After a thorough reading of this report, President Aylwin asked forgiveness from the victims and accepted the necessity for forgiveness and reconciliation, and called the armed forces to undergo gestures of recognition of the pain caused (Hayner, 2011).

Despite the appreciable work of the Reconciliation Commission, the issue of previous ill-treatment was not often well discoursed by the public or press in Chile for several years following. After the arrest of Pinochet, significant judicial actions were implemented domestically. For instance, by the end of 2009, 779 former officials had been charged with human rights crimes, and over 200 had been tried and convicted, with 59 serving sentences in jail (Hayner, 2011; Vasallo, 2002).

Twelve years after the National Commission on Truth and Reconciliation in 1991, Chile created another commission to address a group of victims who were missed in the first effort such as those who had been imprisoned, tortured, and survived. Thus, President Ricardo Lagos established this National Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture via presidential decree in September 2003. The commission was mandated to determine who had been illegally detained and tortured for politically motivated reasons between September 11, 1973, and March 10, 1990, the period of military rule. It was also mandated to suggest a reparations program. The commission's 1,200-page report was completed in November 2004 and presented to the nation by the Chilean president in a televised speech. A complementary report was then published in June 2005 (Vasallo, 2002).

The commission identified around fourteen main forms of torture that were deployed in Chile, and concluded that during the dictatorship, especially in the early phase, "torture was a policy of the state, meant to subjugate and terrorize the population." It recognized 28,549 persons as victims of political imprisonment. Of these 1,244 had been younger than 18 and 176 were younger than 13. The commonest method of torture, reported in more than a third of the cases, was the use of electrical shock. The commission identified 1,200 places where detention and torture took place, including schools and hospitals, expositing on the initial list of 300 documented by the first commission. In addition, the commission publicize the names of victims, but not the full details of their testimony, which was to be sealed for fifty years (Hayner, 2011; Loveman & Lira, 2007).

2.3.2. Reconciliation Experience in Germany

After the pain of World War II, Germany was a country divided into two military zones. The three western zones governed by the Allies were known as the Federal Republic of Germany where as the eastern zone became the German Democratic Republic. However, political,

economic, and personal freedoms were extremely curtailed in Communist East Germany ruled by the Socialist Unity Party (SED). Although it was not as equipotent as other transitional countries experiences of violence, considerable amounts of violence had been committed by the SED (McAdams, 2001).

Although scholars generally refer to them together as one entity, two separate commissions were established by the German Parliament, the first leading into the second. In March 1992, the German Parliament created a commission to detect and document the practices of the German Democratic Republic (East German) government from 1949 to 1989, the Commission of Inquiry for the Assessment of History and Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in Germany. The Commission was comprised of twenty-seven members, headed by East German Parliamentarian and human rights activist Rainer Eppelmann. Eleven of the twenty-seven members of the commission were experts from outside of Parliament, primarily historians (Hayner, 2011).

The commission was mandated to “conduct political-historical analysis and make political-ethical assessments” of the overall structure and practices of the SED party; the human rights violations and environmental degradation that resulted; violations of international human rights conventions and norms, including political, mental, and psychosocial repression; the essence of ideology in education, literature, and daily life; the role of the opposition movement; Church-state relations; the independence of the judiciary; and relations between West and East Germany.

The first inquiry’s report, released in 1995, is over 15,000 pages in length, published in eighteen volumes, and includes all the research papers and testimony from the commission’s hearings. As this commission recommended, a follow-up inquiry was instituted by the incoming Parliament, the Commission of Inquiry on Overcoming the Consequences of the SED Dictatorship in the Process of German Unity. In addition to continuing investigations into many of the same topics, this body was also mandated to look into areas such as the economy, education, and the impact of unification policies from 1990 to 1995. Later, another multi-volume report was submitted in 1998. Although the commission was appraised for including various perspectives, it was also criticized for its excessive length (Hayner, 2011; McAdams, 2001).

2.3.3. Reconciliation Experience in Peru

The twenty-year armed internal conflict of Peru started when militants of the Peruvian Communist Party-Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso) launched an armed struggle against the Peruvian State. The smaller MRTA (Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement) carried on a separate armed struggle from 1984 until 1997. Peru's armed forces, police, and peasant civil defense patrols executed a counter-insurgency that persisted until the crumble of Alberto Fujimori's authoritarian regime in 2000. It had been characterized by extrajudicial killings, disappearances, torture, and other serious violations of human rights and international humanitarian law (Heilman, 2018).

Pressure from civil society for an official inquiry into rights abuses led to a fairly extensive process of reviewing possible terms of such an endeavor, and in July 2001 the interim president, Valentín Paniagua, addressed a decree establishing a Truth Commission (which later renamed the Truth and Reconciliation Commission). Initially, seven members were appointed in July 2001, and later the newly elected president Alejandro Toledo added five additional members to the commission. The commission was chaired by Salomón Lerner Febres, president of the Catholic University of Peru and a philosopher by training. From June 2001 to August 2003, Peru's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (the Commission de la Verdad y Reconciliación del Perú, or CVR) investigated, analyzed, and reported on human rights abuses committed in Peru by state forces and insurgents between 1980 and 2000 in what the CVR labeled an "armed internal conflict." (Union, 2013)

The commission prepared a sophisticated database system for careful tracking and analysis of the violence. According to statistical projections of this database and other supporting documentation from state and non-state sources, the commission concluded that around 69,280 people were killed or disappeared during the conflict. The CVR established that 79 percent of the victims lived in rural areas, and 75 percent of the dead spoke Quechua or another Indigenous language as their first language (Heilman, 2018; Union, 2013).

The commission submitted its final report, a nine-volume analysis of the violence, totaling about eight thousand pages first to the president, and then to the public in a ceremony in Ayacucho, at the center of the most-affected area. The commission relegated a confidential report recommending criminal investigations about many of the accused perpetrators. The Final Report

recommended institutional reforms including changes to Peru's educational system, limits on military autonomy, changes to policing, and greater controls over intelligence agencies (Heilman, 2018; Union, 2013).

2.3.4. Reconciliation Experience in Canada

A Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), as was established in Canada concerning abuse of its indigenous population after a significant reparations program had been implemented and after formal apologies from the religious and state institutions complicit in the abuses. The Indian Residential Schools (IRS) system has been referred to as “Canada's greatest national shame”. In this school, attendance was compulsory and Aboriginal languages and cultural practices were prohibited. The schools were also known for sexual, physical, and psychological abuse (Union, 2013). The IRS system is now the subject of the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Unlike other truth and reconciliation commissions that have been created due to regime change, where a majority of citizens demands a truth-seeking process, Canada's TRC arose as a result of protracted litigation by survivors of the IRS system against the government and churches that ran the schools (Stanton, 2011).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was established as part of the 2006 Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) in response to a staggering number of lawsuits over the damages inflicted by the Indian residential school system that operated from the late 1800s until 1996. Although the use of a truth commission in a stable democracy is in many ways at odds with transitional justice orthodoxy, the Canadian TRC provides an opportunity for thinking normatively about the scope and bounds of transitional justice (Nagy, 2013).

The truth commission was first established with the inauguration of three members in mid-2008, but internal problems and disagreements led to their resignation. Three new commissioners were inaugurated in July 2009. The commission will work for five years, but is mandated to complete national events and to deliver a report on historic findings and recommendations after two years. The commission is also mandated to create a national archive of testimonies. The commission is prohibited from making findings or conclusion in relation to any specific individual, or naming names in its events, activities, statements, or report, “unless such findings or information has

already been established through legal proceedings, by admission, or by public disclosure by the individual.” The commission holds no subpoena power (Union, 2013).

2.4. Basic Reconciliation Experiences in Africa

2.4.1. Reconciliation Experience in South Africa

South Africa’s transition is a pioneer in its conversion from repressive to democratic regimes. It plays a great role in bringing reconciliation, despite questioning the usefulness of amnesty powers. During the transition from apartheid in 1995, the South African government passed the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act, which offered for the creation of a truth and reconciliation commission tasked with launching an authoritative narrative of human rights violations committed between 1960 and 1994 (Union, 2013). The circumstance whereby the South African Commission of Truth and Reconciliation emerged provides many important lessons regarding reconciliation during a period of substantial political change (Mawhinney, 2015).

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa (TRC) is introduced as a primary institutional mechanism envisioned for the delicate exercise of redefining social relations inherited from the apartheid regime in South Africa. The South African TRC process attempted to bring a strong democracy. As a result, it was considered a gold standard in Africa in terms of achieving national reconciliation and accountability. The commission also advocated that institutional reforms must ensure that crimes will not be repeated (Hollanda, 2013).

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) expected to render an inducement for a culprit to come forward of their own accord. The commission released its final report in 1998. According to this report, the majority of the human rights abuse were committed by the previous government, African National Congress (ANC), and other liberation movements (Union, 2013).

In addition to the TRC, three other committees were also established to execute the mandate of the commission. The first was, the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRV) whose function was to investigate human rights abuses between 1960 and 1994. The second was the Reparation and Rehabilitation (R&R) Committee, whose task was to provide support for victims in an effort to reconstitute the victim’s dignity and to develop policy proposals and recommendations on how to

advance the rehabilitation and mending of the survivors, their families, and the community at large. Finally, the Amnesty Committee's (AC) responsibility was to ensure that applications for amnesty would be carried out in line with the act which established the process (Campbell, 2000).

As Valdez proposed that a state which wishes to deal with its authoritarian past via reconciliation must include four components in its efforts: "to investigate and make the facts known (truth); to put on trial and punish the guilty (justice); to redress the moral and physical damage caused (reparation); and to eradicate from the security forces those known to have committed, ordered or tolerated the commission of abuses (Valdez, 1998)." Unfortunately, the South African TRC was fairly successful at achieving truth, but it was not quite fortunate in addressing the other three components (Campbell, 2000).

For many scholars, the South African TRC is considered effective because it fulfills the central elements and conditions that strengthen truth and reconciliation. Also, the South African TRC had legitimacy or at least the conjuration of legitimacy because it was founded by a democratically elected government, and more importantly, because it delineated legitimacy from an exceptional degree of public involvement. The composition and characteristics of the appointed commissioners are also considered a success story of South African TRC. This is because; both men and women, and who came from a range of backgrounds, and different parts of South Africa were involved in it. It appeared to be highly effective because it was implemented at a timely moment when there was significant support from civil society institutions and the general public (Mawhinney, 2015).

Nevertheless, the commission was highly criticized for failing to address the socioeconomic effects of apartheid and failing to hold individual and institutional beneficiaries of apartheid accountable. It was also widely criticized for escalating expectations about its competency to nurture individual reconciliation, when at best it was established to conduce to national and political reconciliation. Besides, some members of the community consider the reconciliation processes as a witch hunt of the Afrikaner and booster of impunity (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019). Furthermore, its founders declared grandiose political intentions to the detriment of localized more palpable aims. Hence, there was a marked disparity between the ambitious mandate and the political discourse about the commission, and its actual achievements (Hollanda, 2013).

2.4.2. Reconciliation Experience in Rwanda

The flourishing experience of national unity and reconciliation in Rwanda has become a milestone and springboard to all national attempts for fighting against all forms of discrimination and exclusion that have been the typical manifestations of Rwandans for several decades. It is a sole viable option to proceed as a nation for Rwanda that is emerging from a dismantled past, genocide and to move fast forward to a reconciled and democratic Rwanda (Sentama, 2014).

Rwanda is a country, whose past was characterized by vehemence, division and exclusion since the monopoly of colonial powers under their divide and rule policy. This culminated in to one of the most barbaric and diabolic genocides in the history of humankind, the genocide committed against Tutsi, between April and July in 1994. It is approximated that beyond one million people were brutally murdered within those three months, along with the immense crippled of the nation's social, political, and economic foundations (Lohkoko & Nkwi, 2017). This brutal attack was genocide because the victims were purposively and meticulously selected according to their membership of a specific group called the Tutsi. "Moderate Hutus" were also massacred as they were conceived to be Tutsi co-conspirators. There is a massive believe that prominent Rwanda's political and intellectual elites were behind the plan and order of the execution (Zorbas, 2004).

The genocide was terminated and the Rwandan population had relieved as a result of the victory of the liberation war by the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), through its armed allies, the Rwandese Patriotic Army (RPA). However, so much lives have been lost that none felt like much celebrating (Thomson, 2014). After the 1994 genocide perpetrated on the Tutsi, the newly established government, the Government of National Unity, on July 19th, 1994 by coalition of political parties led by the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF), was therefore confronted with eminent challenges to bring together and reconcile Rwandans, who were in absolute dismay and destitute (Pou Gallo, 2019).

One of the perplexing tasks of the newly established government was to rebuild trust between the authorities and, in particular, to restore the image of the police and the army, who partook in the genocide under the previous regime. There would have to be a time of transition before a new Rwanda could be built on the ashes of the old. In general, the ultimate challenge was hence on how to reconstruct the socio-economic, institutional, and cultural fabric, rehabilitate the security system, render justice and prevail unity and reconciliation in the ruined Rwanda (Sarkin, 1999).

In the upcoming years, after the genocide, more than 120,000 people were detained and made responsible for their criminal role in the mass killings. To deal with such an ample number of culprits, a judicial response was assumed on three basic levels: The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, the national court system of Rwanda, and the Gacaca courts (Roncin, 2011).

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) was established by the United Nations Security Council on 8 November 1994 and commenced work in 1995. The tribunal has the authority to pursue persons presumed to have a giant responsibility in the genocide and other robust violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda between January, 1 and December 31, 1994. The first trial was held in January 1997 and was planned to finish by the end of 2014, and within this period the ICTR made responsible 93 individuals for their serious involvement in the violations of international humanitarian law (Pou Gallo, 2019).

A simultaneous prosecutorial approach is found in Rwanda's national court system. In this system, the courts engaged in accuse of the suspected convicts in the planning of the genocide or of committing grave atrocities, including rape (Zorbas, 2004). Until mid-2006, the cases of nearly 10,000 genocide suspected convicts were held accountable by the national court system. In 2007, the Rwandan government expelled the death penalty, which had been exercised in 1998 for the last time when 22 people accused of genocide-pertaining crimes were killed. This decision got rid of the serious difficulty in the transfer of genocide cases from the ICTR to the national courts, as the ICTR was at the verge of termination (Lohkoko & Nkwi, 2017).

The traditional community court system known as "Gacaca" (pronounced GA-CHA-CHA) was re-established by the Rwandan government to provide justice for tens of thousands of accused individuals, who awaited their trial in the national court system, and to bring about reconciliation at the grassroot level. The Gacaca system was fully operational since 2005 (Zorbas, 2004). The overall aim of Gacaca's is to provoke reconciliation and healing by rendering a platform for victims to vent about themselves, promoting acknowledgments and apologies from the culprits, and facilitating the media between the victims and perpetrators every week, on the grass, to develop the sense of togetherness (Pou Gallo, 2019).

Communities at the local level elect judges to hear the trials of genocide suspects accused of all crimes except take part in the panning of genocide, in the traditional Gacaca system. The courts

order lower sentences if the person regrets cause of his/her wrong deeds and crave reconciliation with the community. In many of the cases, confessing prisoners went back home without further penalty or community service orders. The operation of the system, exceeding 12,000 community based courts have listened nearly 1.2 million cases entire the country. Confessions are acceptable if and only if they incorporate (1) full-fledged information about the crime scene, (2) an apology and most importantly (3) the accusation of one's co-conspirators (Colomba, 2013).

The Gacaca trials also serve as a means to foster reconciliation and helps victims to know the truth about the death of their family members and relatives. Moreover, they also allow perpetrators to confess their crimes, show sincere regrets and inquire for forgiveness in front of their community (Mugabe, 2003).

The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission of Rwanda

The reconciliation process in Rwanda concentrates on restoring the Rwandan identity, as well as prevailing justice, truth, peace and security in the country. Different efforts have been made by the Rwandan government towards achieving the goal of peaceful coexistence between the perpetrators and victims (Sentama, 2014). One of the fruitful manifestation of the efforts is the establishment of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission in March 1994 by a parliamentary law to advocate unity and reconciliation amidst Rwandans as a result of the mess of 1994 genocide, which marked as a cornerstone in changing effects of bad governance based on discrimination and exclusion (Thomson, 2014).

Some of the factors that were pinpointed as the major causes of the 1994 genocide and other massacres in Rwanda, after a thorough discussion between the leaders and the general public, include wrongly perceived and deliberately altered history, bad governance, repressive regimes that divided people on ethnic basis, social injustice and resentment, which created unbalanced opportunity and discrimination; and poverty (Mugabe, 2003).

The main activities of the Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission are as follows:

- Ingando (solidarity camps): A program of peace education in solidarity camps. From 1999 to 2009, more than 90,000 Rwandans participated in these programs, which aim to clarify Rwandan history and the origins of division amidst the population, promote

patriotism and fight genocide ideology. It has facilitated the smooth reintegration of former returnees, provisionally released prisoners back to their communities (Pou Gallo, 2019).

- Itorerory'Igihugu (peace education academy): the Itorero program was established in 2007 promote Rwandan values and cultivate visionary leaders. From 2007 to 2009, 115,228 participants took part in the program (Thomson, 2014).
- Seminars: Training were provided to grassroots leaders, political party leaders, youth and women regarding trauma counseling, conflict mitigation and resolution, and early warning systems (Sentama, 2014).
- National summits: Since 2000, several national summits have been organized on topics related to justice, good governance, human rights, national security and national history. The National Summits are therefore meant to serve as a platform for a free discussion on the variety of actions the country has been involved in and the problems that the country is currently facing, to adopt relevant strategies (Mugabe, 2003).
- Research: The National Unity and Reconciliation Commission have published several studies investigating the causes of conflicts in Rwanda and how to mitigate and resolve them. They also organize a series of action -research aimed at orienting Rwanda's policies about unity, reconciliation, peace and development (Sentama, 2014).

In general, Rwanda displayed a far-sighted exemplary experience in justice and reconciliation. It also uncovers how the interplay between international, national and traditional criminal prosecutions can both facilitate and demark justice and reconciliation. However, it is often criticized by more of system and infrastructure building than healing psychological injury (Union, 2013).

2.4.3. Reconciliation Experience in Sierra Leone

Sierra Leoneans suffered through an unrelenting ten-year war tagged by the commission of appalling barbarity. Even though the rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and the military junta Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) perpetrated most of the flagrant abuses such as purposeful amputation, other pro-government forces were also involved in the violations of humanitarian law. Promiscuous killing, rape, and sexual slavery, the use of children as combatants, and incendiarism were some of the abuses faced by civilians during the war times.

Evidence revealed that by the war's end in January 2000, an estimated 50-75,000 people were dead, two million were displaced, tens of thousands of women and girls had been raped or forced into sexual slavery, thousands of children had participated in the fighting, and some 4,000 people had been the victims of purposeful amputation (Dougherty, 2004).

Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (SLTRC) has its origins in the Lome Peace Agreement, signed on 7 July 1999. The agreement provided for stopping several aggressions, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of combatants. Article XXVI of the Lome Peace agreement recommends establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, starting operations within 90 days of the signing of the agreement, and submitting its report within a year. As a result, the parliament passed the implementing legislation for the TRC in February 2000. The mandate of the TRC was "to address impunity, break the cycle of violence, provide a forum for both the victims and the perpetrators of human rights violations to tell their story, and to get a clear picture of the past to facilitate genuine healing and reconciliation." (Lamin, 2003)

The mandate of Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Commission and its implementation pose various precedents and incorporated innovative achievements. It gives "special attention to the subject of sexual abuses and the experiences of children within the armed conflict." Also, the commission's report continued to bring out the use of children and women as belligerents, laborers, and sex slaves. Moreover, the commission integrated gender issues in its job. The body opened up vital work on the role of extraneous forces, including transnational corporations and governments, in the villainous "blood diamond" industry, although some critics accuse that it did not decently inquire the role of these corporations in exacerbating the conflict (Union, 2013).

Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Commission coordinated reconciliation ceremonies with the engagement of traditional and religious leaders and with the permission of victims and alleged culprits. The commission commenced a national project before the end of its mandate that accorded all chiefdoms in the country to orchestrate reconciliation activities according to the demands of their communities. The commission approved its final report in March 2004 though it was not made official to the public until July 2005. The report is well accredited with documenting human rights violations and creating an authoritative historical record. The government laid down significant progress in carrying out recommendations to date, especially with the establishment of a reparations program in early 2009. Overall, the Sierra Leone TRC

provided a positive bequest and created an advocacy tool for transformation in Sierra Leone (Union, 2013).

Like Rwanda, Sierra Leone's experience provides a new perception into the problems of merging various mechanisms to address the issue of accountability and reconciliation. In Sierra Leone, a truth and reconciliation commission has coexisted with a hybrid domestic and international court. However, the establishment of the Special Court of Sierra Leone fundamentally demoted the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to second-class status, with donors increasingly diverting funds to the court. As a result of this, the commission was not able to cover the entire country. Moreover, the two institutions collided over access to detainees (Dougherty, 2004).

Overall, the objectives of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission were:

- To establish an impartial historical record of violations and abuses of human rights and international humanitarian law related to the armed conflict in Sierra Leone, from its beginning in 1991 to the signing of the Lomé Peace Agreement in 1999;
- To address the problem of impunity, to respond to the needs of the victims;
- To promote healing and reconciliation, and to prevent a repetition of the violations and abuses suffered;
- To seek assistance from traditional and religious leaders to facilitate its public sessions and in resolving local conflicts arising from past violations or abuses or in support of healing and reconciliation (Koulen, 2009)

2.5. Reconciliation in Ethiopia

2.5.1. Pursuit of Reconciliation Process in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, gross human rights violations still remain unaddressed since the time of modern state formation in Ethiopia. They are either committed during the imperial period that ceased in 1974 or under the Derg regime from 1974-1991. As a matter of bad luck, despite a promising democratization, gross human rights violations became a relentless problem by changing their form under the incumbent, which has been ruling the country since 1991 (Heliso, 2020).

The idea of truth and reconciliation is deep rooted in the Ethiopian cultures. However, its exercise and implementation may change to match the local contexts and the issues that elicited

the need to search the truth and reconcile those involved (M. G. Berhe, 2017). The Derge and EPRDF, the recent governments of Ethiopia, have made efforts to establish commissions of inquiries, to find the truth of incidents: havoc, human rights violations, or executions during mass protests. Amazingly, despite differences in purpose, both governmental institutions and the traditional approaches can be used in combination to resolve conflicts (Zurschmitten, 2020).

Derg Regime

The Marxist regime of the Derg had a strong and coercive judicial system which was inherited from the king's system of governance. Besides, during this Marxist regime the traditional methods of truth-finding and reconciliation systems, for example, *afersata* (አፈርሳታ) and *awchachin* (አውጫጭኝ), were perceived to be inappropriate (Chigora, 2009). However, they were not abandoned and in fact, the traditional approaches were used occasionally when the temperature of the revolution dropped. For example, at local levels, ad hoc reconciliation processes remained important especially to address both intra and interethnic disputes.

Inter-ethnic disputes were common among pastoralists, over grazing land, and access to water to their cattle (Dialogue, 2012). When conflicts triggered by such developments are observed, they were addressed by either elders or local authorities or at times by a combination of both. Most intra-group (ethnic) tensions, which in some cases can become violent, were addressed within the group by involving religious leaders, elders and social institutions. However, if the violence became deadly the government will intervene to broker peace and punish the party that it considers is guilty (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019).

The EPRDF Regime

When EPRDF took power in 1991, the then Transitional Government created in 1992 the Office of the Special Prosecutor, to investigate and bring to justice those who are responsible for human rights violation and/or corruption between 1974 and 1990, the Derge regime (Tiba, 2007). The Special Prosecutor was mandated to investigate the assassination of young elites, activists, etc. by rival political parties because of their political views and positions; this is the period known by Ethiopians as the “red terror”. After the investigation, the prosecution was carried within the normal judiciary system. Senior Derg officials and those who participated in the Red Terror,

including Chairperson Mengistu Hailemariam were prosecuted, and those who were found guilty were sentenced to death, or life or up to 25 years of imprisonment (Enyew, 2008).

In subsequent years, however, since the federally structured EPRDF government is based on ethnicity, violent conflicts among and between ethnic groups became necessary. Elections triggered violence. For example, the result of the May 2005 elections led to series of demonstrations, violence in Addis Ababa and some parts of the country. During the demonstration in Addis Ababa, on 8 June 2005, the security forces killed 193/205 or more, depending on the varied sources, of peaceful demonstrators. The parliament then established eleven persons Inquiry Commission by the Proclamation No. 478/2005 to investigate the killing in Addis Ababa, (the incidents of 1-10 and 14-16 November in Addis Ababa) and some parts of the country (Denbel, 2013).

After the commission itself claimed it, a thorough investigation, the commission submitted its report to the House of Peoples' Representatives, but members of the Inquiry Commission disputed that the report presented to the parliament stating that what submitted was not the original one but an edited version by a third party. Subsequently, some members of the Commission were forced to leave the country. Recently, some of the same members of the Commission who are living abroad returned to Ethiopia and approached the Speaker of the House of Parliament to request that the original report should be made public (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019).

EPRDF initiatives since April 2018

Abiy Ahmed who took office as Prime Minister (PM) of Ethiopia in April 2018, changed the discourse from ethnicity to national unity and introduced the concept of "Medemer". The concept was initially widely accepted by Ethiopians living in the country, the diaspora, and the international community (Heliso, 2020). Within a short time after Abiy took office, leaders of opposition political parties, bloggers, human rights activists, and journalists walked free from the notorious prisons in different parts of Ethiopia. Leaders of opposition political parties who were in exile were given amnesty and invited to return home, participate and contribute in the democratization processes (Zurschmitten, 2020).

After many unsuccessful attempts to mediate between the two synods of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahdo Church, during the early days, PM Abiy encouraged and accompanied the leadership of the two synods to deliberate on their difference and reunite. The leadership agreed to resolve their difference and reunite. Similar problems among the Muslim communities were also addressed by a committee (mediation team) that Prime Minister Abiy reportedly appointed. The team brought the different groups together, after several deliberations the groups also sorted out their respective differences, elected new leaders and the past leaders handed over to the new leadership (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019).

To institutionalize reconciliation initiatives, manage the change processes, track the progress being made, and narrate lessons learned and impact, the government formed a new ministry – Ministry of Peace with the mandate of promoting peace and security, and unity among people of the nation (Dersso(b), 2019). Regarding peace, another initiative initiated by the PM is the establishment of a reconciliation commission for Ethiopia. After the approval of the draft proclamation to establish a National Reconciliation Commission during the 14th regular session of the Ethiopian House of Peoples’ Representatives, forty-one Commissioners were nominated by the PM and then confirmed during its 24th regular session of the Representatives which have a mandate for three year period (FDRE, 2019).

2.5.2. Critics on Ethiopian National Reconciliation Commission

A study by Heliso (2020), reported that the Ethiopian National and Reconciliation Commission has the following strong dimensions such as a strong institutional set-up, a budget source, powers and duties endowed, security guarantee and cooperation from the currently sited government and its opportunities to engross the general public in its work. However, it was found to have serious drawbacks associated to selection, appointment, removal and composition of commissioners, accountability structure and absence of clarity in its mandates including the period to be covered under investigation and final report dissemination strategy (Heliso, 2020). As vividly iterated in this study, sustained political will and commitment is vital instrument to ensure the Commissions ultimate effectiveness.

As commended in a study by Tadese, major concerns that need to be well addressed by the ERC are historical narratives, past regimes injustice and the issue of social cohesions, political and economic marginalization, ethnic mythos, and the issue of boundary demarcation. However,

there are no pragmatic works done by the Commission to resolve such national issues. According to this study, applying other countries reconciliation model in a manner that fits our context is an imperative approach to ensure perpetual peace, justice, democracy, national unity, consensus, and reconciliation among Ethiopian peoples (Tadese, 2020).

Dersso claimed that one of the actual gaps faced by the ENRC is the lack of negotiation and agreement amidst the various political forces in the country on the objectives, mandate and expected role of the Commission. Although public consultation is very critical for imitating and designing transitional justice framework like Reconciliation Commissions, it was not entertained by the ERC. As a result, the Commission failed to address the most important issue of creating adequate platforms that accost the input of various sectors of society including victim groups on the draft law establishing the transitional justice mechanism (Dersso(b), 2019).

According to a study by Dersso, two major foundational gaps were detected from the Ethiopian National Reconciliation Commission. First, within the four corners of the proclamation, no direct colligation has been demonstrated between the Commission and the ordinary institutions for administration of justice. Second, the fact that there is no political agreement grounding the mandate of the Commission and that there was no public engagement in the making of the law establishing the Commission and in the nomination of the members of the Commission. As per Dersso's point of view, the foreswearing that the Proclamation establishing the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission does not incorporate provisions that delineate the material and transient scope of the mandate of the Commission (Dersso(b), 2019).

As it has been widely discussed in academic circles and practitioners of peace making, truth is an inherently contested value and arguably, "all that a reconciliation commission can achieve is to minimize the number of lies that can be circulated unchallenged in public discourse", In the country where every ethnic group have their own narratives, it is hardly possible to come up with a truth acceptable to all. As such, the Commission must focus on factual truth (Dersso(a), 2019).

Despite the fact that critics were made by some scholars on nascent literatures, studies conducted to address the challenges and prospects of the ERC that contributed for most of these critics still remain understudied. This is the main reason why the study was conducted.

2.6. Comparison of the ERC with selected African countries

Evidence revealed that there is no magic formula for the national consensus and reconciliation and hence each national consensus and reconciliation process needs to be designed according to the specific context: the country, the conflict the country has been through, the culture and traditions it has. However, this does not necessarily mean that it should be totally departed from international standards (Bloomfield, 2003; Brounéus, 2008). In congruent with this, majority of the participants agreed with the idea that Ethiopia should take the best reconciliation experiences, methodologies of other countries and domesticate according to the current Ethiopian context

As written in an earnest while book called ‘unspeakable truth’ by Hayner, critical appraisal of a Reconciliation Commission should be based on standard parameters such as consultative process in setting up the commission, chiseled selection criteria of commissioners, and number and balanced composition of commission in expertise and representation (Hayner, 2011). With this regard, the ERC shows significant deviation from international trend.

i) Comparison in terms of composition

Evidence showed that, the manner in which a reconciliation commission is comprised has a crucial impact on the effectiveness of a reconciliation commission (Dersso(a), 2019). As the majority of the participants clearly stated, the numbers of commissioners of the ERC are large in number and lack ethnic diversity as compared to other countries' reconciliation commissions.

According to a study by (Dersso(b), 2019), members of the reconciliation commission must have the adequate professional background to effectively execute the process of reconciliation and bring the desired outcome and as a result, most of the established commissions tried to fulfill this crucial requirement. This trend is not observed in the ERC context.

As commended in several literatures done on the topic of reconciliation, the manner in which commissioners are selected and the involvement of the societies, in the selection process, are crucial factors for their success or failure. For example, in the case of the South African TRC, the members of the commission were well recognized, having good reputation and acceptance in the community (Heliso, 2020; Tadese, 2020; Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021).

The composition characteristics of the appointed commissioners are also considered a success story of South African TRC. This is because; both men and women, and who came from a range of backgrounds, and different parts of South Africa (Mawhinney, 2015). Similar to that of South

Africa, the ERC is composed of diverse background, in terms of religion, ethnicity, experience, age and above all, gender. However, it was not as gender inclusive as that of South Africa. As depicted in table 1, the number of commissioners is smaller as compared to South Africa (n=19), Sierra Leone (n=7) and Rwanda (n=12).

ii) Comparison in terms of institutional setup

Evidence showed that the ERC is currently composed of renowned public figures, religious leaders, intellectuals, sport personalities, artists, politicians and activists etc. Unfortunately, conterminous care was not given to inclusion of individuals with certain technical competencies to deal with the ERC's immensely complex reconciliation mandates (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019; Heliso, 2020). This process was different from what was observed in South Africa, Rwanda and Sierra Leone. Interestingly, in some of the African countries' reconciliation commissions like Kenya and Sierra Leone, there are a trend of engaging foreigners and internationals as part of members of the commissioners.

iii) Comparison in terms of legitimacy (legal frameworks)

In connection to the legitimacy of the commission, almost all of the participants agreed with the idea that the legitimacy of the ERC is highly compromised for the reason that the members were hand-picked by the ruling party, and above all, the Commission shall be accountable to the Prime Minister as provided under Article 3 of the establishment proclamation (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019). This is not the case seen in other African countries. In addition, the mandates given to the commission are vast to effectively execute the reconciliation work as compared to others. Unlike others, the ERC incorporated traditional conflict resolution methods in the reconciliation process,

As depicted in numerous studies, reporting and recommendation are the main areas where the ultimate effectiveness of a TRCs is judged because they were not established just for the sake of formality and then to keep the final report on the shelf (Barry, 2006; Clark, 2010; Dougherty, 2004). For instance, as depicted in *table-1*, the South African TRC, the Rwandan TRC and the Sierra Leone TRC submitted a comprehensive report. However, the ERC didn't submit a report.

	STRC (South Africa)	NURC (Rwanda)	STRC (Sierra Leone)	ENRC (Ethiopia)
<i>Number of Commissioners</i>	19	12	7	41
<i>Accountable to</i>	President	President	President	Prime Minister
<i>Commissioners appointed by</i>	President	President	President	Prime Minister
<i>Duration of the Commission</i>	3 years	Indefinite	2 years	3 years
<i>Period of the Investigation</i>	1960 to 1994	1994 Genocide	1991 to 1999	Unknown
<i>Mandates (Objectives) of the Commission</i>	To investigate the causes, nature, the extent of gross human rights violations. To facilitate the granting of amnesty to persons. To establish and make known whereabouts or the fates of the victims.	To promote Unity, Reconciliation, and social cohesion among Rwandans and build a country whereby everyone has equal rights & contributing to good governance.	To address the problem of impunity & respond to the needs of victims. To promote healing and reconciliation. To seek assistance from traditional or religious leaders for reconciliation	To maintain peace, justice, national unity & reconciliation among Ethiopian peoples.
<i>Challenges</i>	Some members of the community took the process as a witch hunt of the Afrikaners.	It is more of institution-building rather than trauma healing.	It has sufficient funding.	The numbers of commissioners are large & lack competency. Simple proclamation. The selection process of the

	<p>The provision of the amnesty encourages impunity.</p> <p>The commission are pro movements of the struggle and thus supports causes of ANC, SACP, PAC</p>	<p>It is a top to down approach.</p>		<p>commissioners is unclear.</p> <p>It is a top to down approach.</p> <p>Translated versions of the proclamation have errors.</p> <p>Mandates given to the commission are too vast.</p>
<i>Outcome</i>	<p>The STRC submitted a comprehensive report (6 volumes) to the president on 28 October 1998.</p>	<p>The NURC need to submit an annual report on three main programs (i.e., Civil education; Conflict mediation; Community initiatives)</p>	<p>The STRC approved its final report in Mar 2004 even though it was not officially publicized.</p>	<p>None</p>

Table 1. Comparison of the ENRC with selected African Countries Parameters (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019)

Chapter Three

Research Methods and Procedures

3.1. Research Approach

A qualitative research method was employed in this study. This type of research method was preferred to provide a better understanding of the research problem. It is usually deployed to gather in-depth insights into a problem or generate new ideas for research. Qualitative approach to research is highly concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior (Kothari, 2004). The main purpose of a qualitative research is to describe and interpret issues or phenomena systematically from the perspective or outlook of the individual or population being studied, and to generate novel concepts and theories (Mohajan, 2018).

3.2. Research Design

An exploratory research design approach employing the qualitative research method was used in this study. Exploratory research studies are also known as formulative research studies. This type of research design is conducted about a research problem when there are few or no earlier studies to refer to or depend upon to anticipate an outcome (Bhattacharjee, 2012). The main purpose of such studies is that of formulating a problem for more precise investigation or of developing the working hypotheses from an operational point of view. The major focus in such studies is on the discovery of ideas and insights (Kothari, 2004). Since the establishment of a reconciliation commission is a recently introduced phenomenon in the Ethiopian context, available literatures, which most of them are under investigation, with robust conclusive information on this sphere are sparse. As a result, this study aims to explore the need for reconciliation in the context of Ethiopia and major rationales that necessitate the establishment of the ERC. Moreover, it also aims to explore the efforts or attempts made so far by the ERC to bring reconciliation and the challenges faced by the ERC in the implementation of its mandate.

3.3. Data Sources

The sources of the data in the case of this study were multiple. Most importantly, academicians, politicians, and government higher officials were amongst the designed and targeted data sources

because they were believed to be the main actors of reconciliation and also have thorough knowledge about the concept and importance of reconciliation.

3.4. Data Collection Instruments

3.4.1. Key Informant interview

In-depth interviews with key informants were deployed as a major source of data collection in this study because it enables the researcher to collect a detailed analysis of each view that has to be raised in this particular case. Moreover, it also allows the researcher to flexibly probe very important information that needs to be aroused in the follow-up questions (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

Key informant interviews are qualitative, in-depth interviews from people selected for their first-hand knowledge about a topic of interest. The interviews are loosely structured, relying on a list of issues to be discussed. Unlike surveys and case studies, in-depth interviews with key informant's interviews provide detail information directly from knowledgeable people and also provide flexibility to explore new ideas and issues not anticipated during planning. In addition, they are inexpensive and simple to conduct (Kothari, 2004). As a result of the abovementioned advantages, this study deployed in-depth interview with key-informants as a data collection tool to explore key informants' insight on the challenges and prospects of the ERC.

In this in-depth interview, three basic categories of the society were enrolled as key informants. Firstly, political science, law and security sector academicians were involved in the study as they have thorough knowledge on the subject matter. Secondly, higher government officials working on the vicinity of the subject area, specifically the peace minister were enrolled. Finally, higher officials and members from the 'Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission' were included to identify the potential challenges faced by the commission in the implementation of its mandate and to assess the efforts made so far since its foundation to avail the process of reconciliation.

3.5. Sample Size and Sample Techniques

3.5.1. Sample Size

For this study, nine (9) research participants from different political affiliations and professions were enrolled. These were academicians (3), politicians (3), higher officials from the 'Ethiopian National Reconciliation Commission' (2) and government officials from the peace ministry (1). These research participants were believed to have better knowledge about the issue and represent

the views and opinions of the majority of the people in the study. Also, the selected participants were actively engaging in the current political development of Ethiopia. The politicians involved in this study had different political ideologies and perspectives.

3.5.2. Sampling Techniques

A purposive sampling technique was employed. In purposive sampling, items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher and his/her choice concerning the items remains supreme. Put differently, the inquiry organizers purposively select the particular units of the universe for constituting a sample on the basis that the small mass that are selected out of a huge one will be typical or representative of the whole (Kothari, 2004). This enabled the researcher to select interviewees with relevant information regarding the problem under study.

3.6. Method of Data Collection Procedures and Analysis

3.6.1. Data Collection Procedures

Before conducting the in-depth interview, a letter from IPSS was prepared with a description of the main purpose of the academic research. Voice recorders and short notes were used to capture information from the in-depth interview. Interviews were conducted until information saturation. Finally, interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed critically. In the data collection procedure, every consideration of a qualitative study was taken into account. In addition, because the participants who were enrolled in the current study claimed to remain anonymous throughout the study, each participant was systematically coded (see annex-1).

3.6.2. Data Analysis

First, the researcher organized and prepared the data for analysis. This involves transcribing interviews and sorting and arranging the data into different types depending on the sources of information. Then, the transcribed data was interpreted. The primary data obtained from the in-depth interviews was analyzed qualitatively through thematic analysis. Articles conducted on the selected African countries reconciliation commissions were thoroughly reviewed with due focus on standard parameters such as composition, institutional setup and legal framework aspects of a reconciliation. Within these set of parameters, detail of the challenges experienced by the ERC was explored. After that, the Ethiopian scenario was critically evaluated based on the identified parameters with respect to some selected African countries experience.

Chapter Four

Overview of Historical Injustices and Atrocities in Ethiopia

4.1. Overview of Historical Injustices committed in Ethiopia

Ethiopia is one of the oldest countries in Africa which has the longest history of statehood despite the many contentions surrounding its making and unmaking. Bloody wars accompanied by ups and downs have happened in the state-building process of Ethiopia. As similar to any other state buildings process in the world, the Ethiopian state-building process was not devoid of incertitude. Notwithstanding, there are contradictory arguments regarding this issue among the elites. As a result of this debate, there is disaffirmation of past injustices and exaggeration on the other side. Undoubtedly, Ethiopia's political history was embedded with several injustices, discriminations, marginalization, and stereotypes (Tadese, 2020).

Similar to various historical incidences that happened in the country, a different history claimed as the dark time happened. The Ethiopian people endured centuries of subjugations by their own rulers. The country and its people were decreed for a long period by Imperial regimes most of whom arrogated legitimacy based on decent from mythical King Solomon of Israel and Queen Sheba who gave birth to the first Ethiopian King - Menelik I. The absolute power endowed within the consecutive imperial regimes of the country has led the population into prodigious suffering. Ever since the coming of the Christian era until the rising of Gragn Mohammed, a Muslim leader from eastern Ethiopia, in the sixteenth century, even the Horn of Africa was under the ascendancy of the Emperors of Abyssinia (Adeto, 2020).

Evidence depicted that the modern Ethiopian state got its original shape in the second half of the 19th century though the process of state formation dates back to the empire of Axum in the first centuries. It is during this period, that the Ethiopian empire expanded substantially. Then several ethnic groups were incorporated into the empire and becomes the base for a centralized state instituted from the center (Van der Beken, 2007).

The fact that the root of the Ethiopian monarchy was deep-seated to the Empire of Axum remains incontrovertible. The empire of Axum, situated in today's northern Ethiopia, bloomed in

the first centuries AD and took over important territories in the Red Sea region. Since then, the issue of Christianity (Orthodox Church), connected with the imperial rule, remains a perpetual factor in society. However, the expansion of Islam resulted in unfirm control of the Axum Empire over the Red Sea region. Especially during the 16th century, the Christian empire was gravely imperiled by a devastating Moslem invasion (Van der Beken, 2007).

The period of 'Zemene Mesafint', from the middle of the 18th century, when real power was towered by regional leaders and respective component principalities of the emperor wasn't last long and ended in 1855. Shortly following the end of this period, Kassa Hailu, a nobleman from Qwara in North-Western Ethiopia, was crowned Emperor Theodoros II and regarded as the founding father of modern Ethiopia. This was due to his ambition to make greater Ethiopia. But the emperor wasn't able to succeed in his ambitious reform as numerous regional rebellions tried to take over the dominant role. Emperor Theodoros II's ambition of building great Ethiopia was interrupted by his clash with the then one of Great world power British and costed his life. Then in 1872 Kassa Mercha of Tigray was crowned as a new emperor with the name of Yohannes IV. Unlike Emperor Theodoros II, emperor Yohannes IV attempted to establish a unified Ethiopia via subverting the power of regional lords and strong imperial authority (Van der Beken, 2007).

Throughout Ethiopia's prospicient political history, different narratives of violence and injustices abound with contended impacts on cultural identities, modes of local governance, livelihoods, and the rights of citizens. Some of the documented cases of human right violations committed in the Ethiopian state-building process includes physical and cultural genocides, prosecution of religious leaders, and confiscation of land (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021).

Most of the current political problems of Ethiopia are rooted in the process of the creation of the modern empire-state in the last quarter of the 19th century (Gudina, 2003). The dispersion of several narratives from various uttermost political elites caused many messes in the political arena. Recent ethnic and religious conflicts are extensions of the existing historical narratives. Unfortunately, historians and the elites wrote the Ethiopian histories only from their own point of view. Also, the way the history books have been written and drafted were polemical, debatable, and prepossessed (Tadese, 2020). The Ethiopian state-building process received heavy human and material costs when encroaching structural factors in ethnic relations (Adeto, 2020). Hence, to bring reconciliation, Ethiopia should make use of its reconciliation commission (Dersso(b),

2019). For thorough understanding of the need for reconciliation in Ethiopia, it is good to first look into the several historical past injustices or atrocities committed in Ethiopia.

4.2. Historical Injustices during the Menelik era

Emperor Menelik II was considered as a spearhead of a state policy approach that dealt with the transformation of a hitherto decentralized feudal state to a centralized one. The Emperor is well known for beefing up Amharic as the state dominant language and boosted Amhara cultural values and Orthodox Christianity. In contrary, he is criticized for the suppression of some ethnic group's identity, culture, language, and religion that resulted from the forcible incorporation of geographical areas (Zurschmitten, 2020).

Territorial expansion became a commonly encountered scenario in Ethiopian history at the end of the 19th century by emperor Menelik. For instance, King Menelik conquered large territories to the east, west, and south of Shoa even during the reign of Emperor Yohannes IV. However, this further exacerbated the ethnic tension. The issue of the land scheme was an important factor in the oppression of the conquered peoples. The conquered peoples lost their conventional rights to land and their role was abridged to only cultivating the land and providing goods and services to the feudal (Van der Beken, 2007).

Although Menelik tried to collect several dozen ethnic groups to live under one policy, the issue of equality wasn't maintained, especially within the partners of Menelik's polity. The staggering expansion and consolidation of the empire-state produced a new phenomenon, called a phenomenon of elite competition and conflict in a more declamatory multi-ethnic polity. Regrettably, the seed of future conflict was ingrained when the Amhara elite of Shewa led by Menelik and his successors started to run the country as personal demesne by inflicting their language and culture, and religion (Gudina, 2003).

Evidence criticized that the Menelik regime for its act of erasing the ethnic identity of the non-Amhara peoples and substituting it with an Amhara identity. To this end, the language of the Amhara, then culture and religion (Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity) were strongly circularized and idealized while all other languages, cultures, and religions were derogated (Gudina, 2003; Van der Beken, 2007).

4.3. Historical Injustices during Emperor Haile Selassie

A son of feudal from Eastern Ethiopia Teferi Mekonnen was attained power in imperial name of Haile Selassie (1930-1974). The strategy of homogenization and violent suppression continued into the second half of the 20th century. Emperor Haile Selassie was considered an Amhara monarch who further consolidated his predecessor's endeavors. (Van der Beken, 2007).

The Emperor tried to upgrade the political integration of all territories with a policy of one language, one religion, and one culture. As a result, competency in the Amharic language became subservient for getting economic opportunities and political positions. Likewise, religious affiliation constituted a criterion for inclusion or exclusion from public life. Even though it wasn't directly imposed by the regime onto other religious groups, the promotion of Orthodox Christianity as the only religion cited in the constitution negatively affected other religions including Muslim and other faiths. The astoundingly rising discontent among those marginalized by the regime's policies of assimilation paves the way to nationalist and ethnonationalist oppositions throughout the country. Moreover, the military's response to regional and often ethnic-based insurrections included arbitrary violence against civilians and the undermining of communities' economic base (Zurschmitten, 2020).

Unfortunately, in the 1960s, armed conflicts bobbed up in different regions of the empire and students nurtured the ideas which provided the ideological ammunition for resistance against the imperial regime. In the middle of the 1960s students had demanded far-reaching reforms of the land scheme and a few years later they contended the official strategy of nation-building. Then, the students thus played a significant role in calling "land to tiller" and undermining the legitimacy of the imperial regime (Adeto, 2020).

The major difficulties for Haile Selassie's regime occurred during 1974. The inadequate response of the government to and atrocious famine and the international oil crisis further undermined the already precarious position of the imperial administration. In the first months of 1974, there were several street protests by diverse segments of the Ethiopian population. The government was not able to control the swelling flow of protests and related demands and also lost the support of the army. After successive trials, a military committee called Derg, comprising of representatives from several sections of the army, took power in 1974 and deposed the emperor in September (Van der Beken, 2007).

4.4. Historical Injustices during Derg Regime

Following the overthrow of the feudal system in 1974, Ethiopia went through the most repressive regime under the leadership of the military junta called the ‘Derg’ for more than a decade. The injustices that occurred during the Derg era are considered as the underlying causes of tension among the political elites. Evidence estimated that over 150,000 people including students, academics, and political opponents were brutally killed during the Derg regime and many more were tortured, forcibly disappeared, and arrested (Wiebel, 2017).

The Derg immersed Ethiopia into an unexpected era of “promiscuous detentions, assassinations, extra-judicial killings and summary executions” of nearly all categories of Ethiopians. Although legal opinions vary on the accurate number of people killed in the course of the Red terror, numbers usually range from 150,000 to 500,000. In addition, it also killed dozens of young intellectuals with impunity. Cruelty enough, the Derg paraded the bodies of children victims with bullets and intentionally left their cadavers on major and back streets for a passerby as a mode of threatening for anyone defied to controvert him (Van der Beken, 2007).

In the late 1970s of revolutionary Ethiopia, periods of extreme political and inter-communal violence called Red Terror have emerged. This violence burst out two years after the revolution of 1974 and was expanded in different parts of the country, particularly in Addis Ababa, Gondar, Mekele, Asmara, and Dessie. Most importantly, the Red Terror campaign in Addis Ababa was the most life-threatening because it was accompanied by summary executions, detention, torture, and disappearance of many people, largely targeting the young and the educated. In some cases, people were polished up and shot in marketplaces. Until today, the number of casualties and victims of the Red Terror remains unknown. Even though most of the violence’s were carried out by, the delegation of the state’s means and instruments of violence to newly made militias and to armed citizens was a characteristic feature of the Red Terror. In addition to many more who were subjected to torture, exile, personal losses (Wiebel, 2017).

Because extreme political violence was the characteristic feature of the Derg regime, the 17 years of its rule is often viewed as the bloodiest regime in the country’s history. This is also the reason why many considered the downfall of the Derg regime as a pivotal event that contributed a lot to the commencement of new social and political transformation, especially in association with the rule of law, democracy, and human rights (Reta, Williams, Tronvol, & Kokkinis, 2014).

4.5. Historical Injustices during the EPRDF regime

Following the downfall of the socialist Derg regime, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) (1991–2018) led by the Tigray People Liberation Front (TPLF), a Marxist-Leninist ethno-nationalist liberation movement from northern Ethiopia took power. The EPRDF judged the historical Ethiopian state as a 'Jailhouse of Nationalities' whereby the Amhara group of imperial family predominated. Apparently, the regime made a politico-military shift with the intent of resolving inequalities in ethnic relations and preventing violent conflicts. However, this approach increased violence-creating tensions among ethnic identity groups because it was endowed with the concept of ethnic federalism. This generated competition between ethnic groups, mainly their aspiring elites, over 'resources' such as land, water, minerals, federal funds, and communal or religious identity (Adeto, 2020).

The human rights violations committed by the EPRDF are suggestive of the well-established Derg era trauma that Ethiopian elites have not recuperated from. As contended in Tadese, the EPRDF regime was the brutal political regime in Ethiopia that many sectors of the societies suffer from. This is mainly because several have been killed, tortured, and mentally and physically disabled (Tadese, 2020). As a result of this, the regime is often viewed as a brand-new authoritarian regime that ruled the country with an iron fist for 27 years.

Regrettably, EPRDF leaders took little time to practically prove that they are not different from the Derg regime because as soon as they took hold of power, they started systematically spreading their unsavory campaign against legitimate democratic organizations who struggles the regime. To silence any opposition elements within the country and deny freedom of expression that could perhaps lead to mobilize people against their unpopular policies. The reason for the EPRDF's unpopularity is, it came to power by military force and remained in power using the same instruments of force that brought it to power.

This could also explain the reason for the engagement of the EPRDF in gross violation of human and democratic rights. As attested by Berhe, the democracy talked about by the EPRDF and its allies is nothing more than a paper formality that disguises the true quality of the EPRDF leadership. Also, the EPRDF's ethicized political device to build legitimacy and consolidate power vividly depicts its failure (A. Berhe, 2001).

Chapter Five

Data Presentation and Analysis

5.1. Organogram of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC)

The Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC) was officially instituted in February 05, 2019 comprising of 41 individual members appointed by the parliament upon recommendation of the Prime minister (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). The Commission has three years of mandate out of which one year is devoted to the preparation and strategic plan development in addition to the installation of necessary infrastructure for reconciliation, data gathering, and further investigation. The commission has been organized into five main standing committees and the chairs of these committees constitute the executive committee of the reconciliation added up with the chair and vice chair of the commission appointed by the parliament upon recommendation of the Prime Minister. The commission has officially started its operation as disclosed during the first press conference held on 30th April 2019, where the chairperson, vice-chairperson, and two members of the commission gave briefings to the media.

5.2. Mandates of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC)

The Proclamation 1102/2018 depicted that the mandate of the Ethiopian National Reconciliation Commission has three pillars. The first and perhaps most prominent pillar of the mandate of the Commission relates to the social and political conflicts pillar which is the core mandate focusing on the establishment of national reconciliation, peace, and national cohesion (Dersso(a), 2019). The second pillar seeks to identify the nature, cause, and dimension of the repeated gross violations of human rights for the promotion of reconciliation and respect for human rights (FDRE, 2019). The third pillar focuses on promoting national consensus. The overarching goal of the commission is to establish a narrative for the country's past injustices, to identify their root causes, and to shed light on them in the hope the process will bring forgiveness (Dersso(a), 2019).

Pillar I of the Mandate of the Commission – Social and Political Conflicts

The Proclamation defines under Article 2(3) reconciliation to involve 'establishing values of forgiveness for the past, lasting love, solidarity, and mutual understanding by identifying reasons

of conflict, the animosity that occurred due to conflicts, misapprehension, developed disagreement and revenge’ (FDRE, 2019). Yet, unlike similar bodies of other countries where truth or truth and justice were used along with reconciliation in the nomenclature of the body, only the term ‘reconciliation’ is used for our Commission (Heliso, 2020). Clearly, there is not a single truth about conflicts in Ethiopia. And truth does not consist only of factual, forensic, and scientific truths; it can also consist of personal, narrative, social, and restorative truths (Dersso(a), 2019).

Article 5 of the Proclamation establishing the objective of the Commission also states that the ‘objective of the Commission is to maintain peace, justice, national unity and consensus and also reconciliation among Ethiopian peoples.’ (FDRE, 2019). As these terms make clear, there is a particular premium that is put on the peace and reconciliation dimension of the work of the Commission.

As part of its mandate to facilitate reconciliation, the Commission is expected to initiate various measures. These important measures include: a) the provision of forums that facilitate the public acknowledgment of the sufferings that individuals and communities have endured due to gross human rights violations and political conflicts, b) the convening of national and community dialogue forums to deal with the past and existing sources of polarization and tension, c) the establishment of as complete a record as possible of the facts relating to the social and political conflicts and the gross human rights violations and the political, institutional and socio-economic conditions and situations that made such violations and conflicts possible, and d) the promotion via government and community-based initiatives of restorative measures (Dersso(b), 2019; Zurschmitten, 2020).

Pillar II – Gross Violations of Human Rights

The second pillar is to identify “the nature, cause, and dimension of the repeated gross violations of human rights” as a means to ensure respect for human rights and to promote reconciliation. But what constitutes gross human rights violations is not defined. While international law provides some guidance-gross human rights violations are often associated with systematic and large-scale abuse of civil and political rights related to the life and liberty of the person (Dersso(b), 2019).

Given that the Ethiopian human rights violations have taken on identity dimensions, the violation of group rights should also be taken into account in the commission's work. This would mean the commission should consider socio-economic rights violations, like ethnically based displacement, land dispossession, grand corruption, and the embezzlement of state resources. Acts such as extra-judicial execution, torture, forced disappearance, sexual and gender-based violence authorized, condoned, or facilitated by the state or its agents should also be examined (Dersso(b), 2019).

Pillar III – Promoting National Consensus

National consensus are nationally owned political processes designed at prevailing consensus among a wide range of national stakeholders in situations of deep political crisis, in post-war situations or during political transitions. As depicted in the proclamation, national consensus and reconciliation practices help to beguile the harmonious relationship, build trust, confidence, and intimacy among the societies. However, the legitimacy of the national consensus process and the readiness of the society to participate in the process determine the outcomes of the national consensus practice. Apparently, which countries national consensus and reconciliation model should Ethiopia follow to build sustainable peace remains a question of debate.

5.3. Rationale to establish the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC)

The Ethiopian scenario does not perfectly fit into the common trends of transition as accredited in other countries. However, in recent times, the Ethiopian government is officially claiming that it is undertaking a deep political reformation. One of the core aims of this reformation is to ensure perpetual peace, justice, democracy, national unity, consensus, and reconciliation among Ethiopian peoples. To achieve this overarching aim, on December 25, 2018, the Ethiopian parliament has established Reconciliation Commission (Heliso, 2020).

The EPDRF government that established the Red Terror Martyr's Museum with the motto, "Never Ever Again" to remember Derg's time egregious human rights violations, has continued the practice of torture and other human rights violations (Dersso(a), 2019). It has been carried out under many government-owned prison and detention centers, such as Maekelawi, Jail-Ogaden, and many other illegal private detention centers at the federal and regional levels (Mahlet 2018). These politicized human rights violations, coupled with ethnic-based federalism, resulted in the belief that ethnic groups in power have violated the rights of others not in power,

and this, in turn, caused several inter-ethnic conflicts and disagreements. Even starting from the year 2018, interethnic conflicts became common incidents happening in almost every part of the country (Dersso(a), 2019).

On the contrary, there is a high level of continued denials, silence, and claims on what happened in reality under various regimes due to distortions, lack of proper and genuine clarification, and recordings of incidents in the country. As a result, the establishment of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission is a matter of urgent necessity. However, its establishment is not an end, rather, like in the case of many other truth and reconciliation commissions, what matters most is its success and effectiveness by attaining its short, medium, and long-term goals as a transitional justice accountability measure (Heliso, 2020).

Emphasizing retributive or restorative justice mechanisms precedes the consideration of past and present factors. In Ethiopia's context of repeated and continued human rights violations, people affected demand accountability for those responsible (Watch, 2020). If imprisonment as a form of punishment is the utmost goal, interventions of transitional justice would need to gravitate towards retributive justice mechanisms. Fair and transparent trials allow for the legal recognition of the harm caused to victims and appropriate treatment of perpetrators. However, Ethiopia's past and present human rights abuses are compounded with an interlocking of victims and perpetrators. The unclear distinction between the two constitutes a great obstacle for the prosecution of abuse through trials (Zurschmitten, 2020).

The nature of Ethiopia's recent reform creates a further hindrance to effective retributive justice mechanisms. PM Abiy Ahmed's rise to power did not categorize clear winners and losers. The party in power was not replaced, but reformed. Key suspects of human rights abuses either remained in power or continue enjoying a significant amount of political and economic influence (Mekonnen, 2019). This creates two basic problems. First, retributive justice mechanisms would pursue the prosecution of politicians or civil servants still in office. In Ethiopia's context of weak institutions and political instability, the initiation of formal judicial proceedings against government officials risks an interference of government departments, and further destabilization of an already volatile political landscape and security situation. Second, retributive justice would seek to prosecute former leaders affiliated with the same political organization that represents the main driver of Ethiopia's transition – a paradoxical situation (Zurschmitten, 2020).

The restoring of hitherto hostile relations and trust in state institutions is crucial for Ethiopia's transition to long-term stability. Hence, restorative interventions such as truth and reconciliation commissions – allow individuals and communities to give much broader accounts of experienced events, and assist in the unearthing of underlying and systemic causes of human rights violations. Thus, they are better suited to help to reach reconciliation between Ethiopia's alienated ethnic groups (Zurschmitten, 2020).

All of the interviewed participants share commonalities with the idea that genuine reconciliation and the establishment of the commission has paramount importance for Ethiopia, though the way they express their rationales for its establishment varies from participant to participant. To this end, one of the interviewed government officials and member of the commission put it as follows:

I believe that the establishment of the reconciliation commission is indispensable because it is helpful to investigate diverse etiologies of past human rights violations and abuses carried out as part of the transition from a totalitarian government to a government that strives forward to bring democracy. Also, it aids to recognize victims with appropriate compensation and gives chance to perpetrators to ask forgiveness for their misconduct - Participant 1.

This statement is in line with a recent study conducted in Ethiopia which revealed that grudges emanating from historical issues continue to overshadow the current Ethiopian political discourses and dispensations, leading to the existing political polarization, protraction of political violence and low state of national cohesion (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). Hence, urgent and univocal reconciliation has paramount importance to responded to this imperative.

As reiterated in a recent study, reconciliation serves as the country's 'preferred transitional justice mechanism' to surpass the recurrent challenge of tackling past history of injustices and violations (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). With similar context and perspective, the other interviewed government official and member of the commission reiterated that:

For sure, reconciliation is an equipotent solution for Ethiopia's complex problem because the country historically experienced several conflicts in the past. Hence, the establishment of the ERC is essential to bring sustainable peace by making sure that

conflicts will not be repeated, to explore reasons for past conflicts, to know who is responsible for the conflicts and who victims are -Participant 2.

As accorded in a study by Heliso (2020), the process of reconciliation requires untangling truth, rectifying victims, and making perpetrators accountable even if the country is struggling with many problems to be fixed. One of the interviewed academicians from the law school of Addis Ababa University described the necessity of establishing the commission by stating that ‘*the use of a similar road of minimizing conflict is not always possible when confronting transitions.* In this regard, the same participant underscored that:

Because we are witnessing systematic and very sophisticated human rights violations in the country, systematic solutions such as reconciliation remain compulsory instruments specially to build a common truth that everyone living in the country is expected to stand with it -Participant 2.

Evidence revealed that even after overthrown of the repressive Derg regime and replacement of the EPDRF, the cycle of massive human rights violations has continued until PM Abiy came to power and decided to make fundamental reforms and liberalization of the political atmosphere (Tadese, 2020). In this regard, one of the interviewed government officials and member of the commission vividly clarified the immediate and existed reasons for the establishment of ERC as follows:

As per my thinking, the immediate reason for the establishment of the commission is that the government that was in power was resigned from power unexpectedly but with a full economic and financial capacity to initiate civil war and to dismantle the reform. The main reason is that the country has passed through many conflicts starting from the period of revolution including civil fights that need to be reconciled -Participant 1.

5.4. The recurrent causes of conflict in Ethiopia

Evidence revealed that several social and political conflicts remain causes of polarization and violence in Ethiopia (Dersso(b), 2019). Hence, it is natural to first look into the causes of conflicts in Ethiopia before proceeding to assessment of prospects and challenges of the ERC as these were the rationale for the establishment of the commission.

Most of the participants underscored that the causes of conflict in Ethiopia are multifarious. To this end, one of the interviewed higher officials from the Peace Ministry has asserted that:

I think there are multifaceted reasons for the chaos and conflicts observed here and there in the country. I don't believe that the current conflict is created out of nowhere suddenly. So, it is better to look back at the historical origin in connection with Ethiopia and Ethiopian history. In my perspective, the main reason for the perpetual conflicts observed in the country is the unhealthy historical narrations (rhetoric) given on Ethiopian history -Participant 3.

Evidences conducted on the area of past injustices and atrocities committed in Ethiopia depicted that historical narratives, past regimes injustice and the issue of social cohesions, political and economic marginalization, ethnic extremism, and the issue of boundary demarcation are major national issues causing conflict in the country (Chigora, 2009; Mekonnen, 2019). Regarding the nature and type of conflicts in Ethiopia, one of the interviewed academicians reiterated that:

It is very difficult for sure to know the causes of conflicts because of their dynamic and time-dependent nature. But, in many cases, conflicts are occurred pertaining to the political, economic, social, and cultural issues of the country. However, the current level of conflict in Ethiopia is highly polarized, politicized, and ethicized -Participant 4.

According to a study by Heliso, the main cause of inter-ethnic conflicts and disagreements in Ethiopia, especially during the EPRDF regime, were politicized human rights violations coupled with ethnic based federalism (Heliso, 2020). In congruent with this, one of the interviewed academicians from IPSS described that, '*the structural root cause for Ethiopia's conflict is the history of state formation and marginalization, recent tensions are just provocative factors but not root causes -Participant 5.* In addition, the same participant reiterated that 'Ethnic based politics is a major cause of conflict because it enforces you to remind history selectively in a manner that suits your own idea and context'.

Most of the participant's agreed that history by itself is not a cause of conflict rather fraudulent narrations and poor understandings of history are the main sources of conflict. In congruent with this idea, another interviewed politician underscored that:

The common denominators for conflicts occurring in our country are historical injustices that were present during the state formation. Some people including me interpret state formation as a natural phenomenon whereby many historical incidences have happened.

The consequence of these historical events could be good or bad depending on individual's perception and interpretation. However, the best way to deal with these historical events is through giving recognition and accepting it -Participant 6.

Evidences revealed that the political structure of Ethiopia had many quandaries because of the fact that the foundation for the political system of the country is not grounded on a political bargain, genuine competition, and a national consensus of an inclusive approach to governance (Kebede, 2013; Mamdani, 2019). In support with this argument, another interviewed politician reiterated that:

According to the existing political turmoil in Ethiopia, I believe that the backbones of all the chaos and conflicts observed here and there in the country are the elites. The other giant contributing factor for the occurrence of conflict is that political power is attained without knowledge/competence, interest; genuinely to serve one country instead it is attained by the elites to reflect their own ethnic hegemony -Participant 7.

Likewise, a recently published study by Tadese, done to examine the role of national consensus and reconciliation practices for peace in Ethiopia, revealed that the Ethiopian political elites are manipulating their political interest over national issues and causing a lot of chaos in the country regardless of the willingness of the general public to address the national issues through national consensus and reconciliation (Tadese, 2020). This statement is in line with the prepositions given by the politicians involved in the study who stated that elites are the trouble makers in Ethiopia.

On the other hand, historical evidence showed that various types of traditional conflict resolution approaches were frequently applied for resolving conflicts which had been occurring in different parts of Ethiopia. However, during the period of the previous EPRDF governance, the habit of using such approaches were intentionally attenuated (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019). To this end, one of the interviewed government officials and member of the ERC underscored that:

The causes of conflict in Ethiopia are most commonly associated with political policy problems. Other important causes of conflict include intentional weakening of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and lack of habit of open dialogue amidst politicians and elites residing in the country -Participant 2.

5.5. Achievements made by the ERC since its establishment

The ERC was established as a foretelling tool to end a long chapter of violence, injustices and grievances, and pursue a quest for healing and sustainable peace. Over the past two years, efforts were made to clarify and strengthen the ERC's institutional and legal frameworks, and to implement some crucial policy processes and key activities (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). Despite the fact that the commission is grappling with so many challenges, it had also executed some substantial activities.

From the perspective of the commissions' achievement, the majority of the participants stated that the ENRC did not do any tangible work worth mentioning except creating awareness to the society and preparing open dialogue sessions. Of course, some of the academicians involved in the study also admitted that it is easy to criticize the work of a reconciliation commission on theoretical concepts but from the practical points of view, it is hard to judge because it is stippled with many hindering factors and challenges. To this end, the interviewed academician from IPSS of Addis Ababa University underscored that:

What the commission believed as a great achievement is about generating the idea of reconciliation and increasing awareness to civil societies and other related stakeholders regarding reconciliation. However, the primary objective of such commissions should be finding truth through conducting researches, interviewing victims, and examining data from hospitals and police instead of creating awareness which is a preliminary step. With this regard, the commission did nothing -Participant 5.

Evidence revealed that one of the criteria to evaluate the effectiveness profile of an established reconciliation commission is via assessment of accomplishment of its established primary goals such as finding common truth, recognizing violent conducts imposed on victims and providing reparations to victims, putting perpetrators to justice whenever deemed necessary, ensuring that similar violent conducts will never be repeated (Heliso, 2020; Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). In this regard, the majority of the participants, including the members of the commission, agreed that the commission did not even touch the primary goals yet.

According to a recent study (Heliso, 2020; Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021), some examples of the substantial activities executed by the ERC includes facilitating dialogues and raising

awareness about the Commission's mandate and the need for peace and reconciliation through public forums and regular media briefings. In line with this, both the academicians, and the members of the commission involved in this study witnessed that the commissions' significant achievement since its establishment is escalating knowledge about reconciliation to concerned bodies. For instance, one of the interviewed members of the commission reiterated that:

The commission underwent several open discussions with civil societies, political parties, journalists, political leaders, and regional state officials even by visiting all regions of the country and tried to inform the mandates of the commission to regional state officials -Participant 2.

The same participant described that in collaboration with a social medial platform called 'Tikvah Ethiopia', the commission prepared project competitions on the topic of traditional reconciliation approaches for more than 1000youngsters. Regarding this writing contest, one of the interviewed academician and member of the commission from Addis Ababa University underscored that:

One of the very fascinating achievements of the commission is the work conducted on traditional reconciliation mechanisms with the motto of "I do have the idea of reconciliation" in collaboration with Tikvah Ethiopia. On this program around 2000-3000 papers, which states about the traditional reconciliation approaches, were collected and presented by youngsters in the form of dialogue and/or theatre -Participant 4.

To kick start implementation of its substantive mandate related to the resolution of violent conflicts, the Commission identified criteria to select conflicts for resolution. It is currently set to work on seven core conflicts, both social and political (Heliso, 2020; Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). Interestingly enough, one of the areas mentioned as an achievement by both members of the commission participated in the study is the identification of these core conflicts based on priority. For instance, one of the interviewed members of the commission put it as follows:

The commission picked around 20 conflicts in the country and tried to produce a conflict map. From the 20 conflicts, 7 conflicts were selected by the commission and an attempt was made on how to resolve these conflicts on the ground. For example, the conflict that happened between Sidama and Wolayta is amongst the identified core conflicts. It is not an easy task making such kind of achievements within 2-3 years. The ERC undergone discussions with regional stakeholders to resolve challenges arising from demands for the formation of new regional states in the SNNP -Participant 1.

Another area cited as a success story of the commission is preparing a statement taking form via different languages of the country and preparing a platform for national and intergenerational dialogue between the elders and youths of Ethiopia with the intent of strengthening national consensus. To this end, one of the interviewed members of the commission reiterated that:

As part of an independent sector of MIND (Multi stakeholders Initiatives for National Dialogue), we are preparing to launch a national dialogue in late June 2021. However, it was not commenced until this paper was submitted to the department -Participant 2.

Concerning potential hindering factors for the commission's poor achievement status, one of the interviewed higher officials and members of the ERC reiterated that;

The commission took a longer period to get into practice and attain desired achievements because the selected commissioners came from different areas of expertise including religious institutions, athletics, art, and politics which was too difficult to manage and accommodate the diversity and the reconciliation experiences of other countries were not taken into consideration upon the write up of the proclamation -Participant 2.

Available literatures done on the concept and importance of reconciliation and a reconciliation commission revealed that there are no clear-cut standards or parameters to measure success or failure of a reconciliation commission. As a result, the issue remains a topic of debate for many scholars. In the absence of universally accepted standards, it would be difficult to ensure the effectiveness of a reconciliation commission (Hayner, 2011; Heliso, 2020). Despite of this fact, published literatures depicted that three fairly comprehensive criteria's are often used to test the success of a truth and reconciliation commission, namely, fulfilment of the objectives stated in the mandate- investigation and report; implementation of the recommendations; and pursuit of reconciliation (Heliso, 2020; Vasallo, 2002).

Fortunately, in view of the stated criteria's, majority of the participants agreed with the idea that achievements made so far by the commission are below the required standards and expectations. With this regard, one of the interviewed members of the commission asserted that:

Bringing reconciliation is not as similar and as visible as building a house because it is a slow-moving but continuous process -Participant 1.

However, the attempts made so far should not be undermined because the commission is still grappling with so many challenges. With similar context, one of the interviewed politicians from EZEMA opposition political party underscored that:

According to the perplexing situation in the country, I don't expect change within this short period of time. Also, the establishment of the commission alone does not bring the desired peace and reconciliation in Ethiopia -Participant 8.

5.6. Challenges faced by the ERC

Viewed from the perspective of the foregoing, there is little indication that one finds to suggest that the Ethiopian transitional justice framework anchored on the Reconciliation Commission is founded on an identifiable political agreement. There does not seem to be any dispute about the value of establishing the commission but the process of establishing the commission created. However, the lack of negotiation and agreement among the different political forces in the country on the established objectives, mandate, and expected role of the commission presents a foundational gap for the commission (Heliso, 2020).

As noted several times in recently published articles (Heliso, 2020; Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021), done to examine the role of the ERC, there was no publicly available information on consultation contributing to the establishment of the ERC, including drafting and announcement of the founding proclamation, and nomination and appointment of commissioners. However, as a compensatory response to these limitations that resulted in dire consequences such as legitimacy compromise, the Commission conducted a series of consultations and engagements in the subsequent periods (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). With this regard, one of the interviewed government officials and member of the commission reiterated that:

The commission lacks consultation and awareness from opposition political parties, civil societies, religious institutions, and regional state higher officials. Therefore, it was just established by the goodwill of the PM but not via an extensive political discussion by the concerned bodies about its importance and mandates -Participant 2.

In association with the limitation of the Commission on the base of overall composition of the commission, one of the interviewed academicians at IPSS of Addis Ababa University described that:

Unfortunately, the way the commission was established seems simplistic because it was founded haphazardly by the goodwill of the PM. Surprisingly, the commissioners of the ERC were not even officially consulted about their consent to participate in the commission rather they heard it from Television just like the ordinary people. Hence, the way the commissioners were selected remains unknown -Participant 5.

The same participant clarified the lack of inclusivity of various stakeholders in the establishment of the commission as follows:

Victims of violent conducts, family members of the victims, and other concerned bodies were not consulted about how the commission should be established and what specific jobs need to be executed by the commission -Participant 5.

The implementation of the commission's stated objective is an important process that requires the support of Ethiopians at home and in the diaspora, including the international community and especially countries that have experience in designing and implementing TRCs. Even with such support the commission may not be able to achieve its objectives and be able to deliver in a three years term of office (Zurschmitten, 2020).

Managing diversity is amongst the serious challenges faced by the reconciliation commission that need due emphasis. Because the 41 commissioners are appointed from very diverse groups with different educational backgrounds and experiences, managing this diversity will be a big challenge. Moreover, it will take a while for the Commission to become a group, to operate and function as a team (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019). To this end, one of the interviewed academicians from IPSS Addis Ababa University described the difficulty associated with managing diversity as follows:

The numbers of commissioners involved in the commission are too many which paves the way for a lack of common consensus among the commissioners. In addition, almost all of them are part-timers and because of this, they are doing it as a part-time job which is not appropriate because by its nature a commission work is complex and intensive that needs a substantial investment of time, knowledge, and commitment -Participant 5.

Evidence revealed that an effective reconciliation commission should have members that have an adequate professional background related to reconciliation (Tadese, 2020). To this end, one of the interviewed academicians from IPSS Addis Ababa University put the gap colligated with the competency of the commissioners as follows:

The selected commissioners did not have sufficient knowledge, skill, and competency. They also lack understanding of the complex and intensive nature of the commission. Most of them have no professional background in human rights, gender study, prosecution, and conflict resolution -Participant 5.

On the other hand, the political affiliation of the members of the commission is another area of concern cited as a challenge by some of the participants. For instance, one of the interviewed government officials and member of the commission underscored that:

Some members of the commission are politicians which may be mistakenly conceived by the ordinary citizen as if the institution is not free from politics -Participant 1.

Another area that could be cited as a challenge for the commission is a challenge associated with developing systems and structures because the commission must put in place solid systems and structures that would help fasten its daily routines, handle documents, identify victims and perpetrators, a framework for finding the truth, etc. and deliver within the three years; (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019).

The most critical challenge that the commission will face is related to gaps in the proclamation. For example, the proclamation does not mention how far in the past the Commission should find the truth. Determining and deciding this will be one of the challenging first tasks; it will be the first litmus test for the Commissioners on their decision-making methods (Dersso(b), 2019).

Overall, the challenges faced by the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC) can be broadly categorized into two basic categories. Namely, challenges associated with the legal framework (Proclamation) and challenges associated with the system of administration.

5.6.1. Challenges Associated with Legal framework (Proclamation)

As commended by Dersso, the commission needs to find a way to interact with ordinary judicial institutions in three basic ways. First, such judicial institutions could be sources of information and evidence for the commission. Second, existing judicial institutions could render technical expertise and legal advice to the commission. Finally, existing judicial institutions could act as subjects of investigation, as some may have failed to discharge their obligations for protecting victims or ensuring the protection of their rights (Dersso(b), 2019). In this regard, one of the

interviewed academicians from the Law School of Addis Ababa University put the difficulty associated with the legal framework as follows:

It is not clear how the commission will be coordinated and complemented with other judiciary bodies including the Attorney General. For example, if a perpetrator tells the truth in front of the commission, will he/she be forgiven or should he/she need to follow other legal procedures, which is not clearly stated in the regulation -Participant 9.

According to Dersso, a proposed truth and reconciliation commission requires a legal framework that need to be agreed on its scope, power and terms of reference (Dersso(a), 2019). In this aspect and related to the content of the legal framework of the commission, the same participant underscored that:

The proclamation does not contain recommendation guidelines regarding how victims will be treated once finding the truth is completed. For example, would victims be given a compensation fee or will a statue be built for them or will the national day be delegated, is still unknown. Furthermore, it does not state the consequences that the commissioners face if they are found to be unethical in the process of executing their job -Participant 9.

Furthermore, as reiterated in a recent study by D & F, what start and end dates and specific mandates should the ERC carve out for its work remain ill-defined (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). To this end, the other interviewed academician from IPSS Addis Ababa University contended that:

The exact timing of the reconciliation process is not clearly defined by the commission. For example, it is not known whether it starts from the Derg Regime or Queen of Shaba, or king Hailesilassie. Furthermore, economic crimes, tortures, and arbitrary detentions were not incorporated in the legislation as mandates of the commission -Participant 5.

According to Heliso, to make ERC effective, the commission has to have a focused mandate area, primarily centered on gross human rights violations and recurrent violent conflicts (Heliso, 2020). In terms of the mandate of the commission, the commission is highly critiqued for having a crude proclamation. In line with Heliso's statement, one of the interviewed academicians from IPSS Addis Ababa University underscored that:

The responsibilities mentioned in the proclamation are crude; having no details and some of the duties depicted in the legislation are not directed to the primary concern of the country. For instance, unlike that of political conflicts, social conflicts are not recent

primary concerns affecting the country but much emphasis is given to it. In addition, it does not clearly state what it means by gross human rights violations and what it constituted of. For me, it looks like a disabled person running in a field -Participant 5.

With respect to the language versions of the proclamation, the proclamation is also criticized for its lack of consistency. For instance, one of the interviewed government officials and member of the commission underscored that:

In the Amharic version of the proclamation, it states that the secretariat of the commission is appointed by the PM while the English version states that it is appointed by the chairperson of the commission -Participant 1.

According to Hayner, the mandate aspect of a reconciliation commission is the main area where those who establish a reconciliation commission either be paralyzed or get life (Hayner, 2011). Interestingly, another area of concern mentioned as a challenge by some of the participants is the scope of the mandates of the commission because the participants, including members of the commission, believe that the mandates given to the ERC are too vast to carry out effectively. In line with this, one of the members of the commission described the scope of ERC as follows:

Because of the immense mandates consecrated to the commission, there is duplication of mandates between the commissioners. Also, there is mixing of responsibility between the commission and the office of the commission -Participant 1.

Most importantly, the basic reconciliation experiences of different countries were not taken into consideration while writing up the proclamation. To this end, the interviewed academician from IPSS Addis Ababa University reiterated that:

In the write-up of the proclamation, apart from Kenya and South Africa's experience, the reconciliation experiences of other countries were not taken into consideration – Participant 5.

5.6.2. Challenges Associated with System of Administration

Available literatures indicated that current political dynamics must be investigated to determine the importance of considering cases after a certain period for achieving effective reconciliation and a peaceful future (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Dersso(b), 2019). In order for this to become true, a systematically ordered system of administration is crucial. With regard to the challenges associated with the system of administration, one of the interviewed academicians from IPSS Addis Ababa University reiterated that:

Because the commission is accountable directly to the PM, the implementation aspect of the mandates and the fate of release of the final report to the general public may be compromised depending on the content of the report. Furthermore, the secretariat is also accountable to the PM but not directly to the commission itself which creates ambiguity about whether it is a single or multi-institution -Participant 5.

As a general fact, a reconciliation commission is established to deal with past violence's carried out since before the establishment date of the commission but not to deal with recent violence's (Brounéus, 2003; Hayner, 2011). Unfortunately, the commission was seen encumbering with recent conflicts as described by most of the interviewed participants. To this end, one of the interviewed politicians put the interference of the commission in the recent chaos of the country as follows:

The commission is not mandated by the law to look out for current conflicts as this was relegated to the current justice system such as the attorney general, police, etc. However, because conflict is occurring in the country every time, the commission was inadvertently diverted to deal with recent conflicts of the country -Participant 6.

To add evidence on the weakness of the commission related to its establishment, one of the interviewed government officials and members of the commission reiterated that, '*meetings from the parliament at different times were not documented properly and distributed to the members of the commission -Participant 2*'.

5.7. The Way Forward for Mitigating the Challenges of the ERC

As well-attested in a recent study by D & F, The ERC need to be revitalized and strengthened to become leaner and more technically competent in the fields of peace, justice and reconciliation. To elaborate the necessity of revitalizing the commission, one of the interviewed academicians at the Law School of Addis Ababa University reiterated that:

First, we need to confirm that the commission is still present and functional. For this, the commission should publicize itself to the general population through executing tangible practical works instead of preaching theoretical concepts and undergoing occasional meetings with ordinary citizens -Participant 9.

Similarly, the same participant put the role of involving reconciliation experts as follows:

When meetings are held, the commission should invite and give chances for other experts who have extensive knowledge and reading to share their thoughts on how to effectively coordinate social institutions with the reconciliation commission -Participant 9.

Evidence revealed that one of the considerations to be taken seriously is the determination of the time frame the commission should investigate because how far in the history of Ethiopia should the commission go to find the truth for reconciliation remains unknown (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019). In this regard, one of the interviewed academicians from IPSS at Addis Ababa University underscored that:

The commission should specify the exact period to be investigated and it must be written in the proclamation -Participant 5.

According to a study by Heliso, one of the means of revitalizing the commission is through revisiting the proclamation because the process of revisiting the founding proclamation could empower the Commission to focus on specified gross human rights violations and identify root causes of recurring violent conflicts (Heliso, 2020).

To this end, one of the interviewed academicians from IPSS at Addis Ababa University clarified changes to be made on the proclamation as follows:

The commission should revise and amend the proclamation by involving different stakeholders such as civil societies, victims, family members of the victims, perpetrators, religious leaders, regional state officials, and opposition parties. Furthermore, it should clarify and specify the power and mandates given to the commission with due emphasis given from law perspectives. In the revised version of the proclamation, economic crimes, tortures, arbitrary detentions need to be incorporated in the legislation -Participant 5.

As accorded in literatures, the setup and functioning of commissions are among the most critical ‘barrage of methodological, operational and political problems’ confronting the work of a reconciliation commission (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). In this point of view, the same participant put his recommendation regarding the composition of the commissioners as follows:

The numbers of commissioners need to be reduced to ameliorate the gap colligated with the lack of agreement between the commissioners. In addition, the commissioners must be impartial and at best they should not be politicians -Participant 5.

Furthermore, evidence revealed that the Commission’s work should be strategically linked with other transitional justice mechanisms, primarily ongoing criminal prosecutions, conditional

amnesties and pardons offered since 2018 (Yohannes & Gebresenbet, 2021). In this perspective, one of the interviewed academicians from the Law School of Addis Ababa University clearly described the contents of the revised proclamation from a law perspective as follows:

The proclamation should contain recommendation guidelines regarding how victims will be treated once finding the truth is completed. It should state the consequences that the commissioners face if they are found to be unethical and reluctant -Participant 9.

Another consideration that the reconciliation commission of Ethiopia should apply as cited by previous researches is educating the public about its mandates, objectives, and the process of reconciliation (Tadese, 2020). In this regard, the commission has to launch an awareness creation campaign via different media outlets including print and electronic Media such as radio, TV, blogs, and social Media to clarify its roles and responsibility, the structure, the process for finding the truth (Abebe & Mengistu, 2019). To this end, most of the participants agreed that creating awareness to the public and concerned bodies and winning the public trust is critical for the minimization of potential challenges.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1. Conclusion

In countries having a controversial past that tested by a complex history of conflict like Ethiopia, genuine reconciliation is needed to build inevitable national consensus. The rationale to the establishment of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission (ERC) following the declining of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) and the rising opportunity of the current transitional like government have therefore planned to solve multifaceted complex problems. Of course, renowned progress has been made in realizing the establishing of ERC and the commission shows us efforts to elucidate its mandate and powers, as well as participations with the public and political actors to create awareness of its work. Therefore, the ERC is institutionally founded in the legal frameworks of its foundation and attempted to start some key activities.

However, when the achievements made so far by the commission since its date of the establishment is compared to its objectives to maintain peace, justice, national unity and reach on consensus through the reconciliation among Ethiopian peoples, it's possible to say that the road is even not begin yet. In fact, the continued complex nature of conflict in Ethiopia, even in a manner worsens after the time of ERC establishment can be taken as a main factor for the lack of plan implementation. Hence the political and security landscape in the country following the establishment of ERC can be taken as the pulling factor that made the commission unable to start key activities. So, what we can easily understand from this point of view is that from the beginning at the establishment of ERC, a complex political community compounded by complexity of bureaucratic structure Ethiopia is throwing and challenging was overlooked.

The commission is faced different challenges since its establishment within its institutional setup, composition and legal frame works even. From the perspective of institutional setup, the ERC establishment proclamation No. 1102/2018 under its article 10 controversially puts different and contradictory ideas on who will appoint the head of secretary of the commission and necessary staffs.

The Amharic version of the proclamation gives the power to Prime Minister and the English version puts the responsibility to appoint the head of the office on the shoulder of Chairman of the Commission. Composition wise also the commission lacks diversity in gender and regional or ethnicity as well as political background mixture. In legal frame work also the ERC can be criticized for the overloaded unspecified duties put on bulked numbers of commissioners for the unspecified duration of time.

Therefore, the process of ERC's establishment lacks deep technical and political considerations that it needs a genuine political discussion/dialogue due to the nature of complexity of political environment. This could begin from organizing the members through public discussion and empowering them in consideration of professionalism and working full time.

6.2. Recommendations

The establishment of ERC has really generated the desire to close a longstanding century's chapter of conflict and grievances among Ethiopian people arising from different socio-political background. But a commission having 41 members to implement its responsibilities in three duty years began its journey by having many desires but doubtful to be implemented. So having such a challenge of 2 and half years out of 3 years duty times of the commission, the researcher recommends the following points in brief.

- A revitalization of the ERC is needed and it shall begin from amending the commission's establishment proclamation contents by specifying clear mandates, detail and meaningful legal languages that can be applicable. This include terms of selection, appointment, removal, and composition of commissioners to specific duties the members can carries.
- The time frame and issues to be investigated to the reconciliation should also clearly identified by the legal frame work via the proclamation and it's better if the common consensus will reach on it by inclusive public debates through their representatives.
- Terms and areas of responsibilities of the ERC shall be clearly defined and identified to specify the roles of the commission so that it could be manageable and applicable. For instance, meaning of core terminologies such as human rights violations (physical violence alone or both physical and economic violence) and the following clear measures/mandates of the commission should be mentioned in the proclamation.

.....//.....

References

- Abebe, L., & Mengistu, B. (2019). NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COMMISSION FOR ETHIOPIA. Unpublished.
- Adamović, M., Gvozdanić, A., & Kovačić, M. (2017). Process of reconciliation in the Western Balkans and Turkey: a qualitative study: *Compex*.
- Adeto, Y. A. (2020). Violent ethnic extremism in Ethiopia: implications for the stability of the Horn of Africa. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 20(2), 10-36.
- Asare, A. A. (2008). The Ghanaian National Reconciliation Commission: Reparation in a Global Age. *The Global South*, 31-53.
- Bar-Tal, D., & Bennink, G. H. J. F. c. r. t. r. (2004). The nature of reconciliation as an outcome and as a process. 6, 1-289.
- Barry, S. (2006). Reconciliation: the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission's contribution to dealing with the past, reconciling and building the nation. In *die Skriflig*, 40(4), 691-714.
- Berhe, A. (2001). The EPRDF and the Crisis of the Ethiopian State.
- Berhe, M. G. (2017). Transition from war to peace: the Ethiopian disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration experience. *African Security Review*, 26:2, 143-160. doi: 10.1080/10246029.2017.1297580
- Bhattacharjee, A. (2012). Social science research: Principles, methods, and practices.
- Bloomfield, D. J. D. B. (2003). Reconciliation: An Introduction, in *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*, ed.
- Brounéus, K. (2003). Reconciliation: Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation.
- Brounéus, K. (2008). Reconciliation and Development. *esocialsciences.com*, Working Papers. doi: 10.1007/978-3-540-85754-9_8
- Campbell, P. J. (2000). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC): Human Rights and State Transitions-The South African Model. *African Studies Quarterly*, 4(3), 2.
- Chigora, P. J. A. S. R. (2009). Traditional justice and reconciliation after violent conflict: Learning from African experience, Luc Huyse & Mark Salter (Eds.): book review. 18(1), 118-119.
- Clark, J. N. (2010). National unity and reconciliation in Rwanda: A flawed approach? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 28(2), 137-154.
- Colomba, V. M. (2013). Post-Conflict Peace Building in Rwanda, the Effect on Youth, and the Development of Bright Future Generation, NGO. University of Massachusetts Lowell.
- Dahl, E., Daly, E., Jackson, P., & Dahl, D. (2009). Reconciliation and the Therapeutic Impulse: What Does It Mean to@ Heal a
- Denbel, J. D. (2013). Transitional Justice in the Context of Ethiopia. *International Letters of Social Humanistic Sciences*(10), 73-83.
- Dersso(a), S. A. (2019). Ethiopia's Experiment in Reconciliation Retrieved february 21, 2021, from <https://www.usip.org/publications/2019/09/ethiopias-experiment-reconciliation>
- Dersso(b). (2019). Ethiopia's transitional justice framework: Defining the boundaries of the mandate of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission. *Dialogue forum of Justice Sector Joint Forum*, 11.

- Dialogue, A. (2012). *Integrating Traditional and Modern Conflict Resolution: Experiences from Selected Cases in Eastern and the Horn of Africa*. Monograph Series
- (2).
- Dougherty, B. K. (2004). Searching for Answers: Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *African Studies Quarterly*, 8(1), 39-56.
- Enyew, A. B. (2008). *Transitional Justice and the Creation of a Human Rights Culture in Ethiopia*.
Reconciliation Commission Establishment Proclamation No.1102 /2018. (2019).
- Geda, A. (2004). Does conflict explain Ethiopia's backwardness? Yes! and significantly.'. Paper presented at the Making Peace Work Conference at WIDER, Helsinki.
- Gudina, M. (2003). The elite and the quest for peace, democracy, and development in Ethiopia: Lessons to be learnt. *Northeast African Studies*, 10(2), 141-164.
- Hayner, P. B. (2011). *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*: Routledge.
- Heilman, J. (2018). *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Peru*: Oxford University Press.
- Heliso, T. E. (2020). Critical appraisal of the Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission: A comparative study. *Journal of Law and Conflict Resolution* 11(1), 15-25.
- Hollanda, C. B. d. (2013). Human rights and political transition in South Africa: the case of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. *Brazilian Political Science Review*, 7(1), 8-30.
- Jeong, H.-W. (2008). *Understanding conflict and conflict analysis*: Sage.
- Kasapas, G. J. R. U. (2008). An introduction to the concept of transitional justice: Western Balkans and EU conditionality. (18), 59-76.
- Kebede, G. (2013). Political corruption: political and economic state capture in Ethiopia. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(35).
- Kirchhoff, L. (2009). Linking mediation and transitional justice: The use of interest-based mediation in processes of transition *Building a future on peace and justice* (pp. 237-260): Springer.
- Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*: New Age International.
- Koulen, S.-J. (2009). *Traditional Justice and Reconciliation After Violent Conflict-Learning from African Experiences*: JSTOR.
- Lamin, A. R. (2003). Building peace through accountability in Sierra Leone: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Special Court. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 38(2-3), 295-320.
- Lohkoko, E., & Nkwi, W. (2017). South Africa and Rwanda: Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, Peacebuilding, Religious and Local African Authorities in Conflict Situations. *Conflict Studies Quarterly*, 20-33. doi: 10.24193/cs.q.20.2
- Loveman, B., & Lira, E. (2007). Truth, justice, reconciliation, and impunity as historical themes: Chile, 1814-2006. *Radical History Review*, 97, 43.
- Mahlet , Y. T. (2018). Analysis: Ethiopia crackdown on corruption, human right abuses. Everything you need to know. Retrieved february 22, 2021, from <https://addisstandard.com/analysis-ethiopia-crackdown-corruption-human-right-abuses-everything-need-know/>
- Mamdani, M. (2019). *The Trouble with Ethiopia's Ethnic Federalism*'. New York Times.

- Mawhinney, E. B. (2015). Restoring Justice: Lessons from Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa and Rwanda. *Hamline J. Pub. L. & Pol'y*, 36, ii.
- McAdams, A. J. (2001). *Judging the past in unified Germany*: Cambridge University Press.
- Mekonnen, D. R. (2019). Ethiopia's transitional justice process needs restoration work. Retrieved february 17, 2021, from <https://www.ethiopia-insight.com/2019/02/01/ethiopias-transitional-justice-process-needs-restoration-work/>
- Miller, C. A., & King, M. E. (2005). *A glossary of terms and concepts in peace and conflict studies*.
- Mohajan, H. K. (2018). Qualitative research methodology in social sciences and related subjects. *Journal of Economic Development, Environment and People*, 7(1), 23-48.
- Mugabe, A. M. S. (2003). *The Rwandan process of unity and reconciliation: its potential for building sustainable peace*.
- Murphy, C. (2007). Political Reconciliation, the Rule of Law, and Genocide. *The European Legacy*, 12(7), 853-865. doi: 10.1080/10848770701671375
- Nagy, R. L. (2013). The scope and bounds of transitional justice and the Canadian truth and reconciliation commission. *International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 7(1), 52-73.
- Oliva. (2011). *An analytical framework for reconciliation processes. Two case studies in the context of post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina: Research thesis. Master's Degree on International Relations, Security and ...*
- Oliva, & Charbonnier, L. (2016). *Conflict Analysis Hand Book: Afield and Headquarter Guide to Conflict Assessments*. United Nations System Staff College, Turin, Italy, 59.
- Pou Gallo, N. M. (2019). *Transitional justice in a post-genocide scenario: towards reconciliation in Rwanda*.
- Radzik, L. a. M., Colleen. (2020). "Reconciliation" , *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), (Winter 2020 edition ed.). url= <<https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2020/entries/reconciliation/>>.
- Reta, D. S., Williams, A., Tronvol, K., & Kokkinis, A. (2014). *National prosecution and transitional justice: the case of Ethiopia*. University of Warwick.
- Roncin, H.-R. (2011). *The Meaning of Reconciliation and Development in Post-genocide Rwanda*. UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN BRITISH COLUMBIA.
- Rouhana, N. N. (2004). Group Identity and Power Asymmetry in Reconciliation Processes: The Israeli-Palestinian Case. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 10(1), 33-52. doi: 10.1207/s15327949pac1001_3
- Salih, M., Eshete, A., & Assefa, S. (2018). *Reflections on Expanding Ethiopia's Democratic Space: Aspirations, Opportunities, Choices*: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Addis Ababa Office.
- Sarkin, J. (1999). The Necessity and Challenges of Establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Rwanda. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 21(3), 767-823.
- Sentama, E. (2014). *Unity and Reconciliation Process in Rwanda: 20 years after the 1994 genocide perpetrated against Tutsi*.
- Snodderly, D. (2016). *Peace terms: Glossary of terms for conflict management and peacebuilding*.
- Stanton, K. (2011). Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Settling the Past? *International Indigenous Policy Journal*, 2(3).
- Tadese, J. (2020). *National Reconciliation and Major National Issues: Pathways for Sustainable Peace in Ethiopia*.

- Thomson, S. (2014). Rwanda's National Unity and Reconciliation Program. *International Relations Journal*.
- Tiba, F. K. J. J. o. I. C. J. (2007). The Mengistu genocide trial in Ethiopia. *5(2)*, 513-528.
- Tutu, D. (2007). *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground* by Erin Daly and Jeremy Sarkin (Vol. 13). University of Pennsylvania Press. Philadelphia: Routledge.
- Union, A. (2013). *Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges in the Fight Against Impunity*: International Peace Institute.
- Valdez, P. (1998). Must the Victims Always Wait? *Siyaya*, 3, 53-55.
- Van der Beken, C. (2007). Ethiopia: from a centralised monarchy to a federal republic. *Afrika Focus*, 20(1-2), 13-48.
- Van Wyk, J.-A. (2007). Political leaders in Africa: Presidents, patrons or profiteers? *ACCORD Occasional Paper*, 2(1), 1-38.
- Vasallo, M. (2002). Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: General Considerations and a Critical Comparison of the Commissions of Chile and El Salvador. *The University of Miami Inter-American Law Review*, 33(1), 153-182.
- Watch, H. R. (2020). Ethiopia: Justice Needed for Deadly October Violence Retrieved february 25, 2021, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/04/01/ethiopia-justice-needed-deadly-october-violence>
- Wiebel, J. (2017). *The Ethiopian Red Terror*: Oxford University Press.
- Wise, A. U. P. o. t. (2013). *Peace, Justice, and Reconciliation in Africa: Opportunities and Challenges in the Fight Against Impunity*: International Peace Institute.
- Yarnell, M. (2018). *The crisis below the headlines: Conflict displacement in Ethiopia*: Washington, DC: Refugees International. Retrieved from [www](http://www.refugeesinternational.org)
- Yohannes, D., & Gebresenbet, F. (2021). Dealing with a difficult past. *ISS East Africa Report*, 2021(39), 1-20.
- Zorbas, E. (2004). Reconciliation in post-genocide Rwanda. *African Journal of Legal Studies*, 1(1), 29-52.
- Zurschmitten, S. (2020). *The Time is Now: Ethiopia's Pathway Towards Reconciliation*. Swiss Federal Institute of technology Zurich, NADEL, ETH Zurich.

Annex

Annex-I: Coding of Participants enrolled in the study

Name of the Participants	Occupation/title	Coding
Mr. Tamirat Kidanemaryam	Member of the ERC <i>(Position: Conflict Resolution Committee Deputy Chairman)</i>	Participant-1
Mr. Tamiru Lege	Member of the ERC <i>(Position: Gross Human Right Violation Committee Chairperson)</i>	Participant-2
Mr. Leo Mezgebu	Government Official	Participant-3

	<i>(Position: Higher government Professional at Ethiopian Peace Ministry)</i>	
Dr. Ezra Abate	Academician <i>(Lecturer at Yared Music School, Addis Ababa University)</i>	Participant-4
Dr. Fana Gebresenbet	Academician <i>(Lecturer at Institute of Peace & Security Studies [IPSS], Addis Ababa University)</i>	Participant-5
Professor Beyene Petros	Politician <i>(Individual Presentation)</i>	Participant-6
Mr. Lencho Leta	Politician <i>(Individual Presentation)</i>	Participant-7
Mr. Girma Seifu	Politician <i>(EZEMA Political Opposition Party)</i>	Participant-8
Mr. Chernet Hordofa	Academician <i>(Lecturer at Law School of Addis Ababa University)</i>	Participant-9

Annex-II: Themes and Sub-themes of the study

Major Themes of the Study	Sub-themes of the study
The recurrent causes of conflict in Ethiopia	i. <input type="checkbox"/> Historical causes of conflict in Ethiopia ii. <input type="checkbox"/> Economic causes of conflict in Ethiopia iii. <input type="checkbox"/> Political causes of conflict in Ethiopia iv. <input type="checkbox"/> Social causes of conflict in Ethiopia v. <input type="checkbox"/> Cultural causes of conflict in Ethiopia
Challenges faced by the ERC	i. Challenges associated with the legal

	<p>framework (Proclamation).</p> <p>ii. Challenges associated with the system of administration.</p>
Achievements made by the ERC since its establishment	i. Efforts made by the ERC
The way forward for mitigating challenges of the ERC	i. Solutions for tackling ERC challenges

Annex III: Follow up Questions for Key Informant Interview (English Version)

I) Questions for Academicians

1. What do you think are the contributing factors for the occurrence of conflicts here and there in the country?
2. Do you think that history is one of the contributing factors for the occurrence of conflict in the country? If so, how is history affecting the current political atmosphere?
3. Do you think that the establishment of the ERC is important for the country? If so, in what way would it be helpful and why?
4. How did you see the ERC and its goals implementation since its establishment?
5. Do you think that the ERC commission achieved all its established goals? If no, which specific goals do you feel are not implemented very well?
6. What do you think are the actual and possible challenges currently faced by ERC?
7. What are the mechanisms to minimize these challenges experienced by the ERC?
8. How do you evaluate the efforts made by the ERC in addressing these challenges?
9. How do you evaluate the reconciliation experiences of the ERC as compared to other African and Western countries reconciliation experiences?
10. Do you think that the attempts made so far by the ERC are sufficient and very effective in solving the countries problem? If not, what remaining things should be addressed by the ENRC to make it very effective?

II) Questions for Politicians

1. Do you think that history is one of the contributing factors for the occurrence of conflict in the country? If you think so, how is history affecting the current political atmosphere of Ethiopia?
2. How did you see the ERC and its goals implementation since its establishment?
3. How politics harmed attempts of peace building and reconciliation in Ethiopia? And how it could provide solution?
4. What do you think are the possible challenges currently faced by the ERC?
5. What are the mechanisms to minimize these challenges experienced by the ERC?
6. Do you think that the attempts made so far by the ERC are sufficient and very effective in solving the countries problem? If not, what remaining things should be addressed by the ERC to make it very effective?

III) Questions for ‘Ethiopian National Reconciliation Commission’ Higher Officials

1. Do you think that the establishment of the ERC is important for the country? If so, in what way would it be helpful and why?
2. What were the main reasons that led to the establishment of this commission?
3. What was the main mandate and role of the Commission?
4. How do you explain the implementation status of the commission so far in terms of execution of its mandate?
5. Do you think that the ERC commission achieved all its established goals? If no, which specific goals do you feel are not implemented very well?
6. What successful experiences have been made so far by the commission?
7. What do you think are the actual and possible challenges currently faced by the ERC?
8. How do you see the efforts made by the commission in minimizing these challenges?
9. Have you compared the structure and roles given to this commission in relation to other countries experience?
10. Have you contextualized the Ethiopian problem in relation to other countries case? If so, what similarities and differences did you found?
11. Do you think that the attempts made so far by the ERC are sufficient and effective in solving the countries problem? If not, what remaining things should be addressed by the ERC to make it very effective?

IV) Questions ‘Peace Ministry’ Government Officials

1. What are the contributing factors for the occurrence of conflicts in the country?
2. What are the core challenges peace ministers has faced in the last three years since its establishment following the PM Abiy governmental reform?
3. Do you think that the establishment of the ERC is important for the country? If so, in what way would it be helpful and why?
4. How did you see the ERC and its goals implementation since its establishment?
5. Do you think that the ERC commission achieved all its established goals? If no, which specific goals do you feel are not implemented very well?
6. Do you think that the attempts made so far by the ERC is sufficient and very effective in solving the countries problem? If not, what remaining things should be addressed by the ERC to make it very effective?

Annex IV: Follow up Questions for Key Informant Interview (Amharic Version)

ለምሁራን የተዘጋጀ ጥልቅ ቃለ መጠየቅ-1:

1. ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ባሉ የተለያዩ አካባቢዎች ለተፈጠሩ እና እየተፈጠሩ ለሚገኙ ግጭቶች ዋና ዋና ምክንያቶች ምንድን ናቸው ብለው ያስባሉ?
2. ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ባሉ የተለያዩ አካባቢዎች ለሚፈጠሩ ግጭቶች ታሪክ አንዱ ተጠቃሽ ምክንያት ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? የሚያስቡ ከሆነ ታሪክ አሁን ያለውን የኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካ ላይ ተፅእኖ የሚያሳድረው እንዴት ነው?
3. የእርቀ ሰላም ኮሚሽን መቋቋሙ ለሃገሪቱ ጥሩ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? ካሰቡ ለምን እና ሀገሪቱን በምን መንገድ የሚጠቅማት ይመስልዎታል?
4. እርቀ ሰላም ኮሚሽኑ ከተቋቋመበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ የተቋቋመበትን አላማ ከመተግበር አንፃር ያለውን አፈፃፀም እንዴት ይመለከቱታል?
5. ኮሚሽኑ የተቋቋመበትን ሁሉንም አላማ አሳክቷል ብለው ያስባሉ? የሚያስቡ ከሆነ የትኞቹ አላማዎች ላይ ነው የጎላ የአፈፃፀም ድክመት አለበት ብለው የሚያምኑት?
6. ኮሚሽኑ ያጋጠመው እና ወደፊት ስ ያጋጥመዋል ብለው የሚያስቧቸው ፈተናዎች ምንድን ናቸው?
7. ኮሚሽኑ የሚያጋጥሙትን ፈተናዎች እንዲያልፍ ምን ምን መደረግ አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ?
8. ኮሚሽኑ ያጋጠመውን ፈተና ለመፍታት ያደረገውን የእስካሁኑን ጥረት እንዴት ይመለከቱታል?
9. የእርቀ ሰላም ኮሚሽኑን የእርቅ ልምድ ከሌሎች የሚያውቋቸው የአፍሪካ እና የአለም ሀገራት እርቅ ልምድ አንፃር እንዴት ይመዘኑታል?
10. ሀገሪቱ የገባችበትን ችግር ከመፍታት አንፃር ኮሚሽኑ ያደረገውን የእስካሁኑን ጥረት በቂ እና ውጤታማ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? በቂ አይደለም ብለው የሚያስቡ ከሆነ ምን ምን ተጨማሪ ነገሮች ማካተት አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ?

ለፖለቲከኞች የተዘጋጀ ጥልቅ ቃለ መጠየቅ-2:

1. ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ባሉ የተለያዩ አካባቢዎች ለሚፈጠሩ ግጭቶች ታሪክ አንዱ ተጠቃሽ ምክንያት ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? የሚያስቡ ከሆነ ታሪክ አሁን ያለውን የኢትዮጵያ ፖለቲካ ላይ ተፅእኖ የሚያሳድረው እንዴት ነው?
2. እርቀ ሰላም ኮሚሽኑ ከተቋቋመበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ የተቋቋመበትን አላማ ከመተግበር አንፃር ያለውን አፈፃፀም እንዴት ይመለከቱታል?
3. ፖለቲካ የኢትዮጵያን የሰላም ግንባታ እና እርቅ አሰራር እንዴት ሊጎዳ ይችላል? እንዴትስ ሊጠቅም ይችላል?
4. ኮሚሽኑ የሚያጋጥሙት ፈተናዎች ምን ምን ናቸው ብለው ያስባሉ?
5. ኮሚሽኑ የሚያጋጥሙትን ፈተናዎች እንዲያልፍ ምን ምን መደረግ አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ?
6. ሀገሪቱ የገባችበትን ችግር ከመፍታት አንፃር ኮሚሽኑ ያደረገውን የእስካሁን ጥረት በቂ እና ውጤታማ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? በቂ አይደለም ብለው የሚያስቡ ከሆነ ምን ምን ተጨማሪ ነገሮች ማካተት አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ?

ለኢትዮጵያ እርቀ ሰላም ኮሚሽን የበላይ አካላት የተዘጋጀ ጥልቅ ቃለ መጠየቅ-3:

1. የእርቀ ሰላም ኮሚሽን መቋቋሙ ለሀገሪቱ ጥሩ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? ካሰቡ ለምን እና ሀገሪቱን በምን መንገድ የሚጠቅማት ይመስልዎታል?
2. ኮሚሽኑ እንዲቋቋም ያስፈለገበት ዋና ዋና ምክንያቶች ምንድን ነበሩ?
3. ኮሚሽኑ የተቋቋመበት አላማዎች እና ሀላፊነቶች ምንድን ናቸው?
4. ኮሚሽኑ የተቋቋመበት አላማ እና ሀላፊነት ከመወጣት አንፃር የለበትን የአፈፃፀም ደረጃ እንዴት ይገልፁታል?
5. ኮሚሽኑ የተቋቋመበትን ሁሉንም አላማ አሳክቷል ብለው ያስባሉ? የማያስቡ ከሆነ የትኞቹ አላማዎች ላይ ነው የጎላ የአፈፃፀም ድክመት አለበት ብለው የሚያምኑት?
6. ኮሚሽኑ ከተቋቋመበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ አሳክቷቸዋል ብለው የሚያስቧቸው ተሞክሮዎች ምንድን ናቸው?
7. ኮሚሽኑ ያጋጠመው እና ወደፊትስ ያጋጥመዋል ብለው የሚያስቧቸው ፈተናዎች ምንድን ናቸው?
8. ኮሚሽኑ ያጋጠመውን ፈተና ለመፍታት ያደረገውን የእስካሁኑን ጥረት እንዴት ይመለከቱታል?
9. ኮሚሽኑ የተሰጠው ሀላፊነት እና ቅርፅ ከሌሎች ሀገራት ልምድ ጋር ያለው ነፅፅ ምን ይመስላል?
10. ኢትዮጵያን የገጠማትን እና ያለችበትን ችግር ከሌሎች ሀገራት ችግር አንፃር በጥልቀት ተመርምሯል? ከተመረመረ ምን የሚመሳሰሉ እና የሚለያዩ ነገሮች ተገኝተዋል?
11. ሀገሪቱ የገባችበትን ችግር ከመፍታት አንፃር ኮሚሽኑ ያደረገውን የእስካሁን ጥረት በቂ እና ውጤታማ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? በቂ አይደለም ብለው የሚያስቡ ከሆነ ምን ምን ተጨማሪ ነገሮች ማካተት አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ?

ለሰላም ሚኒስቴር የመንግስት አካላት የተዘጋጀ ጥልቅ ቃለ መጠየቅ-4:

1. ኢትዮጵያ ውስጥ ባሉ የተለያዩ አካባቢዎች ለተፈጠሩ እና እየተፈጠሩ ለሚገኙ ግጭቶች ዋና ዋና ምክንያቶች ምንድን ናቸው ብለው ያስባሉ?

2. ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ዐቢይ አህመድ ስልጣን ላይ ከመጡ ጀምሮ ባለፉት ሶስት አመታት ውስጥ የሰላም ሚኒስትር ምን ምን መሰረታዊ ፈተናዎች/ተግዳሮቶች አጋጥመውታል?
3. የእርቀ ሰላም ኮሚሽን መቋቋሙ ለሃገሪቱ ጥሩ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? ካሰቡ ለምን እና ሀገሪቱን በምን መንገድ የሚጠቅማት ይመስልዎታል?
4. ኮሚሽኑ ከተቋቋመበት ጊዜ ጀምሮ የተቋቋመበትን አላማ ከመተግበር አንፃር ያለውን አፈፃፀም እንዴት ይመለከቱታል?
5. ኮሚሽኑ የተቋቋመበትን ሁሉንም አላማ አሳክቷል ብለው ያስባሉ? የሚያስቡ ከሆነ የትኞቹ አላማዎች ላይ ነው የጎላ የአፈፃፀም ድክመት አለበት ብለው የሚያምኑት?
6. ሀገሪቱ የገባችበትን ችግር ከመፍታት አንፃር ኮሚሽኑ ያደረገውን የእስካሁን ጥረት በቂ እና ውጤታማ ነው ብለው ያስባሉ? በቂ አይደለም ብለው የሚያስቡ ከሆነ ምን ምን ተጨማሪ ነገሮች ማካተት አለበት ብለው ያስባሉ?