

2025

**OBSERVATION REPORT OF
ETHIOPIA'S NATIONAL DIALOGUE:
DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT
SECOND ROUND CONSULTATION
AND EFFORTS TOWARDS
REGIONAL INCLUSION**

Activities Assessment Report III

This report covers the national dialogue agenda-gathering process convened by the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, in collaboration with other stakeholders.



CARD
የመብቶች እና ዲሞክራሲ ሰደገት ማዕከል
CENTER FOR ADVANCEMENT OF
RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY



**CIVIL
RIGHTS
DEFENDERS**

Acknowledgement

The Center for Advancement of Rights and Democracy (CARD) would like to express its sincere gratitude to the author of this report. This report was authored by Bayuligne Zemedagegnehu (PhD).

We are also thankful to Civil Rights Defenders for their generous financial support, which made this report possible. However, CARD is responsible for the review and content of this report.

About CARD

The Center for the Advancement of Rights and Democracy (CARD) is a board-led, for-not-profit organization registered in Ethiopia under the Civil Societies Law 1113/2019 with registry number 4307. CARD acquired its legal personality on 24 July 2019.

CARD aspires to see Ethiopia where democratic culture flourished on human rights values and has been working with a mission to empower citizens and groups of citizens to ensure their ability to promote and defend human rights and build democratic governance in Ethiopia.

© 2025, Center for the Advancement of Rights and Democracy (CARD).

For More Info

Email: info@cardeth.org
Website: www.cardeth.org
Phone: +251 116 671 657

CONTENTS

Executive Summary	IV
Key Findings	V
01 Background	1
02 Methods of Data Collection	4
03 Inclusivity and Transparency in National Dialogue: Conceptual Issues	5
3.1. Inclusivity in National Dialogue.....	5
3.2. Transparency in National Dialogue.....	6
04 Observation Report of Ethiopian National Dialogue Process	8
4.1. Inclusiveness and Transparency of the Ethiopian National Dialogue.....	8
4.2. Agenda Collection from Ethiopian Diaspora Communities.....	10
4.3. Second Round Consultations.....	14
4.4. Challenges of Agenda Collection from Diaspora and Tigray Region.....	16
4.5. Current Status of the National Dialogue Process.....	18
05 Lessons Learned for the National Dialogue Conference/Plenary	19
06 Conclusion and Recommendations	20
6.1. Conclusion.....	20
6.2. Recommendations.....	21
References	22

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Over the past six years, Ethiopia has launched broad legal, institutional, and political reforms in response to public demands for change and to counter decades of authoritarianism and misrule. However, currently Ethiopia stands at a critical juncture, reeling from years of violent conflict, ethnic strife, and humanitarian crises. The conflict in the north (2020–2022) alone resulted in thousands of deaths displacement and human rights violations, leaving deep societal wounds and fragile peace. Amidst this complex environment, the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission (hereafter ENDC) was established in January 2022 to facilitate inclusive and transparent national dialogue to address fundamental divisions, and set a pathway toward reconciliation, stability, and national unity.

Since the launch of the national dialogue process, the Commission has carried out a range of activities, including developing the methodology, establishing institutional frameworks, conducting awareness-raising consultations, selecting stakeholders and participants, and gathering agenda items. With the agenda-gathering process from major stakeholders largely concluded, the Commission complemented this effort by engaging the Diaspora, consulting with diverse community groups to strengthen inclusivity and credibility, and pursuing ongoing initiatives to ensure regional inclusion.

This observation report on Ethiopian national dialogue—covering diaspora engagement, second-round consultations and regional inclusion—forms part of CARD’s ongoing observation series. It seeks to illuminate the current state of the dialogue process, assess continued efforts to promote inclusivity and transparency, and critically reflect on progress while drawing key lessons to guide future pathways toward a successful conclusion.

KEY FINDINGS

- Diaspora Engagement enhanced inclusivity despite political division, contestation, and skepticism. While diaspora engagement in Ethiopia's national dialogue has broadened participation and enriched debate on governance, rights, and national unity, its credibility remains contested due to persistent political polarization, disputes over representation, and skepticism about the process's neutrality—underscoring that inclusivity alone cannot guarantee trust without demonstrable impartiality and effectiveness.
- Second-round consultations enhanced public awareness and support for ENDC's activities, though certain segments of society remain excluded from the process. The second-round consultations successfully helped the ENDC to create awareness and mobilize support for its activities. Moreover, these consultations broadened participation, particularly among previously underrepresented groups such as women, youth and persons with disabilities, civic and religious institutions, professional associations, and political parties. The process improved public awareness of the activities of Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, national priorities, including governance, constitutional reform, reconciliation, transitional justice, and interethnic cooperation. However, some sections of society still remain excluded due to conflict-affected areas and voluntary non-participation caused by mistrust. Persistent challenges remain, including political polarization, low trust among key actors, security and logistical constraints, and perceptions of procedural slowness.
- Agenda collection preparations in Tigray are in progress, with formal activities still pending. Formal consultations in the Tigray region have not yet commenced, primarily due to security concerns, political sensitivities, and prevailing trust deficits. In the meantime, preparatory efforts are underway, involving engagement with federal institutions, community elders, religious leaders, and civil society actors to build confidence and lay the groundwork for the region's eventual participation in the national dialogue process.
- Diaspora engagement and regional inclusion are constrained by unresolved political and security issues. Persistent political mistrust and government-opposition tensions undermine confidence in the ENDC. Security risks, logistical constraints, and regional disparities limit equitable participation. Perceived lack of independent oversight has led to concerns about bias and credibility. Security risks, logistical constraints, regional disparities, and limit equitable participation. Preparatory measures for the National Dialogue Conference provide clear opportunities for success. The ENDC has laid important groundwork for the upcoming national plenary by developing rules

of procedure, codes of conduct, and decision-making frameworks to guide the process. Confidence-building measures and mechanisms to break deadlocks—such as mediation committees, thematic groups, adaptive sequencing, transparency, and consensus-building—are planned to manage disagreements and strengthen public trust in outcomes.

- Faith communities, with their moral authority, reconciliation capacity, and grassroots credibility, can play a vital role in promoting dialogue integrity and inclusiveness. At the same time, the ENDC’s outreach to the Tigray region, as well as to armed groups in Amhara, Oromia, and other regions, represents a critical step toward ending political deadlock and violence. These efforts should be reinforced by African leaders, the United States, and the European Union, who can serve as intermediaries to build trust among the government, regional dissidents, opposition parties, and armed groups.
- Finally, strong public demand for peace, lessons from previous consultations, diaspora engagement, and international support together provide a solid foundation for the successful completion of Ethiopia’s national dialogue.

01 BACKGROUND

National dialogue processes across different regions of the world have produced significant political and institutional achievements when they were effectively implemented and broadly inclusive. In several cases, national dialogues successfully facilitated peaceful political transitions. Most notably, in South Africa (1991-1994), negotiated agreements enabled shifts from authoritarian and conflict-ridden systems to more inclusive governance structures (Sisk, 1995; Southall, 2014). Experiences from other contexts show that national dialogues can drive significant constitutional reforms. In Tunisia, the Nobel Prize-winning National Dialogue Quartet played a decisive role in resolving the 2013-2014 political deadlocks that followed the Arab Spring. By mediating an agreement for a caretaker government, drafting a new constitution, and facilitating democratic elections, the Quartet helped avert state collapse and established a model of peaceful democratic transition through inclusive, civil society-led negotiation (Brown, 2013; Stigant & Murray, 2015).

National dialogues have also contributed to peace agreements and conflict de-escalation, particularly in Papua New Guinea's Bougainville peace process (Regan, 2014), and Nepal's post-civil war settlement (Upreti, 2012) where negotiated consensus reduced violence and fostered relative political stability. However, comparative experience also demonstrates that where implementation mechanisms were weak or inclusivity was limited, dialogue outcomes were largely symbolic or later reversed, as illustrated by Yemen's National Dialogue Conference (Salisbury, 2017), and Sudan's 2015 national dialogue (Saeid, 2017). They were not successful in achieving their objectives due to lack of a neutral convener, and inclusive participation and credible follow-through for sustainable results.¹

The Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission (ENDC), formally established in December 2021 through Proclamation No. 1265/2021 by the House of Peoples' Representatives, represents a critical initiative in Ethiopia's pursuit of national reconciliation, political stability, and social cohesion amid complex conflicts and deep political polarization. The Commission was created to serve as an independent platform for structured dialogue among Ethiopia's diverse political, social, and ethnic groups, with the goal of fostering national unity, addressing historical grievances, and building a culture of consensus. In

¹ For example, the Sudanese President, Omar al-Bashir was the Chairman of the National Dialogue Conference, who opened the first session of the conference at the Friendship Hall in Khartoum on 10th of October 2015 (Saeid, 2017:25).

February 2022, 11 commissioners were appointed to operationalize the ENDC, though the selection process faced scrutiny over transparency and inclusivity, with critics highlighting the dominance of elite candidates and the underrepresentation of community leaders, women, and youth. This concern underscores the broader challenge the ENDC faces in establishing legitimacy and trust among all stakeholders.

The ENDC's mandate is comprehensive, covering facilitation of inclusive consultations, identification of the root causes of conflicts, implementation of a structured national dialogue process, promotion of a political culture of consensus, and effective communication of dialogue outcomes to the public and government authorities. Beyond these core responsibilities, the commission is also tasked with assisting the government in developing actionable plans to implement dialogue recommendations, establishing mechanisms to monitor and evaluate progress, and undertaking supplementary activities such as workshops, public awareness campaigns, and community engagement initiatives to deepen understanding and participation.

Structurally, the ENDC is designed for operational efficiency and oversight. Its governance framework includes: a Council of Commissioners, responsible for strategic decision-making; a Chief and Deputy Chief Commissioner, overseeing leadership and management; a Secretariat for administrative coordination; specialized committees addressing specific issues, and a team of supporting professionals including researchers and facilitators. This institutional design aims to ensure that the dialogue process is inclusive, transparent, and capable of addressing the country's complex socio-political dynamics.

The intended outcomes of the ENDC are ambitious and transformative. By fostering broad-based participation and incorporating diverse voices, the commission seeks to enhance the legitimacy of the state and its institutions, mitigate longstanding conflicts and tensions among social and political groups, strengthen democratic governance through civic engagement and participatory processes, and promote social cohesion by addressing the concerns of marginalized communities.

Despite this, the commission faces significant challenges, including: ongoing violence, humanitarian crises, and political fragmentation, which complicate the creation of conducive environment for meaningful dialogue. The success of the ENDC ultimately depends on its ability to operate transparently, inclusively, and credibly, ensuring that all segments of Ethiopian society are engaged and represented in shaping the country's future.

This observation report sets out to examine the Commission's effort to enhance inclusivity in the agenda gathering process through diaspora engagement, second round consultations and inclusion of regions that are not part of the process so far. Accordingly, diaspora engagement was conducted through embassies, online platforms, and town-hall meetings, enabling broader participation and the incorporation of diverse perspectives on governance, reconciliation, national identity, and dual citizenship. However, influential diaspora communities in North America and Europe abstained from dialogue processes due to mistrust associated with the neutrality and independence of the whole dialogue process from incumbent government.

On the other hand, the second-round consultations of the ENDC aimed to deepen inclusivity by engaging those political actors and convicts that did not participate in the previous agenda collection activities conducted at regional and federal levels. However, when the repeated attempts to engage armed groups, convicts, Tigray region etc. failed to succeed, the Commission re-purposed the second round consultation to create awareness and mobilize support for the dialogue processes in the country.

Despite achievements of the agenda gathering of the dialogue process so far, several challenges persist. Political polarization, low trust among key actors, security constraints, and logistical limitations continue to hinder full participation, particularly in conflict-affected areas like Tigray. Concerns about ENDC's independence and credibility, stemming from its government accountability and resource dependence, further complicate stakeholder confidence.

Currently, preparations for the National Dialogue Conference (Plenary) is underway, including; rules of procedure, codes of conduct, and mechanisms for consensus-building and deadlock resolution..

In conclusion, while Ethiopia's path to sustainable peace remains challenging, the ENDC represents the country's most viable platform for dialogue and reconciliation. With proactive measures to strengthen inclusivity, transparency, trust, and impartiality, the national dialogue has the potential to transform Ethiopia's fragile post-conflict environment into a foundation for unity, stability, and long-term development.

02 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

This study employed a qualitative research approach, primarily utilizing key informant interviews, document analysis, and secondary data review to assess the diaspora engagement, second-round consultations, and efforts towards regional inclusion. The methodology was designed to capture in-depth insights from experts, stakeholders, and official sources involved in the dialogue process.

Data were collected through multiple complementary methods. Semi-structured key informant interviews (KII) were conducted with experts. The interviews followed the Key Informant Interview Guide (Appendix 2), covering themes such as second-round consultations, diaspora engagement, Tigray agenda collection, inclusivity, and challenges in the dialogue process. These interviews allowed participants to provide detailed explanations, subjective experiences, and expert opinions, which complemented insights drawn from documents and secondary sources.

Document and literature review formed another key component of data collection. The ENDC consultations with various segments of society such as diaspora communities, professional associations etc. as well as press releases, and reports were analyzed to understand the formal structures, processes, and progress of the dialogue. Secondary sources, including news articles, policy briefs, and analytical reports from organizations, such as the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), International Crisis Group (ICG), Berghof Foundation, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and academic publications, were reviewed to triangulate interview findings and validate information from multiple perspectives.

In addition, diaspora and regional inputs were considered through publicly available consultation outputs, embassy briefings, and online submissions to assess participation levels, thematic priorities, and representation. Preliminary consultations and preparatory engagements in the Tigray region were also documented to capture specific challenges and ongoing confidence-building efforts.

Data analysis was conducted using thematic content analysis, focusing on areas such as inclusivity and transparency, diaspora engagement, second-round consultations, challenges of agenda collection from Tigray region, and lesson for national plenary. Findings were cross-validated across multiple sources to enhance accuracy and reliability. The data were then organized into thematic categories that informed the key findings, conclusion, and the way forward sections of the report.

03 INCLUSIVITY AND TRANSPARENCY IN NATIONAL DIALOGUE: CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

3.1. Inclusivity in National Dialogue

In national dialogue, inclusivity is a cornerstone for building democratic, participatory, and sustainable political processes. It emphasizes the active engagement of a broad spectrum of stakeholders, including political parties, civil society organizations, marginalized groups, and grassroots communities, ensuring that historically sidelined voices are heard (UNDP, 2021). By integrating diverse perspectives, national dialogues not only enhance their legitimacy and credibility but also provide a more nuanced understanding of societal challenges, enabling stakeholders to collaboratively identify solutions that address root causes of conflict and benefit the entire population.

Inclusivity operates across three main dimensions: political, social, and geographical (Berghof Foundation, 2017). Political inclusiveness ensures that a wide range of political parties, movements, and interest groups participate in the dialogue. This fosters trust among factions, mitigates perceptions of bias, and promotes a sense of ownership in decision-making (Haider, 2019). In contexts marked by historical grievances or political marginalization, political inclusiveness is vital for building equitable governance structures and supporting conflict resolution. Social inclusiveness focuses on the engagement of marginalized groups such as women, youth, ethnic minorities, persons with disabilities, and other underrepresented communities (Haider, 2019). Including these voices enriches the dialogue, promotes social cohesion, and addresses systemic inequalities, creating a society that is more equitable and harmonious. By acknowledging the perspectives of all social groups, dialogues can tackle the underlying causes of conflict and foster a sense of belonging among citizens. Geographical inclusiveness ensures representation from all regions, addressing regional disparities and grievances. Incorporating local perspectives helps mitigate feelings of alienation, strengthens national unity, and empowers local communities to participate actively in the political process. This approach supports effective governance, conflict prevention, and the cultivation of a shared national identity.

On the other hand, the importance of inclusivity in national dialogue lies in three key areas: legitimacy, as broad participation enhances public trust and confidence in outcomes; comprehensive solutions, as engaging diverse stakeholders provides a holistic understanding of complex issues; and conflict prevention, as representation of all groups reduces tensions and promotes long-term peace (UNDP, 2021).

Mechanisms to achieve inclusivity include stakeholder mapping to identify and engage relevant actors, public consultations to gather input from communities across the country, and transparent processes that allow participants to track progress and hold organizers accountable (Mulugeta and Markos, 2022). These measures collectively ensure that national dialogues are genuinely participatory, equitable, and capable of producing sustainable solutions that reflect the diverse realities of society.

3.2. Transparency in National Dialogue

Transparency is another critical factor for the success of national dialogue processes, as it ensures that decision-making is open, inclusive, and accountable, thereby fostering trust among participants and legitimacy in outcomes (Haider, 2019). A transparent dialogue clarifies participation principles, prevents domination of the agenda by any single party, and allows stakeholders to make informed decisions about engagement (Berghof Foundation, 2017). In practice, transparency can be operationalized through dedicated websites, social media platforms, mainstream media, and other publicity tools to share information about processes, decisions, and challenges (Dehinasew, 2022). Beyond technical communication tools, transparency is deeply linked with accountability, efficiency, and effectiveness, as it provides the public with information to evaluate agenda items and assess participation decisions.

Transparency relies on five key pillars: precision (providing critical, informative reporting beyond compliance), accessibility (easy-to-find and digestible information), comparability (facilitating comparison across activities or benchmarks), clarity (plain, understandable language), and availability (information provided in the right format, language, and time). These pillars ensure that information is meaningful, understandable, and actionable for stakeholders, enhancing both the credibility and impact of the dialogue process. Furthermore, transparency is guided by principles such as materiality (information that matters to decision-making), completeness (reporting all relevant matters), accuracy (free from material error), balance (neutral and unbiased presentation), clarity, comparability, and reliability (robust internal controls to ensure quality and verifiability) (Dehinasew, 2022).

These principles establish transparency as more than a technical or procedural concern. It is foundational to trust-building, accountability, and fairness in national dialogues. In the Ethiopian context, the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission (ENDC) has explicitly incorporated transparency as a guiding principle in its three-year strategic framework and operational mandate.

The Commission maintains a website and social media presence to disseminate information regarding participant selection, agenda setting, and progress updates. However, limitations exist, such as the predominance of Amharic-language content and insufficient consideration for people with disabilities, which restrict broader access and inclusivity. Effective transparency, therefore, requires continuous communication and adaptation to ensure that all stakeholders, regardless of language or ability, can engage meaningfully. Ultimately, transparency is essential for ensuring legitimacy, public trust, and the successful implementation of national dialogue outcomes, which include conflict resolution, political settlement, and broader social cohesion.

04 OBSERVATION REPORT OF ETHIOPIAN NATIONAL DIALOGUE PROCESS

4.1. Inclusiveness and Transparency of the Ethiopian National Dialogue

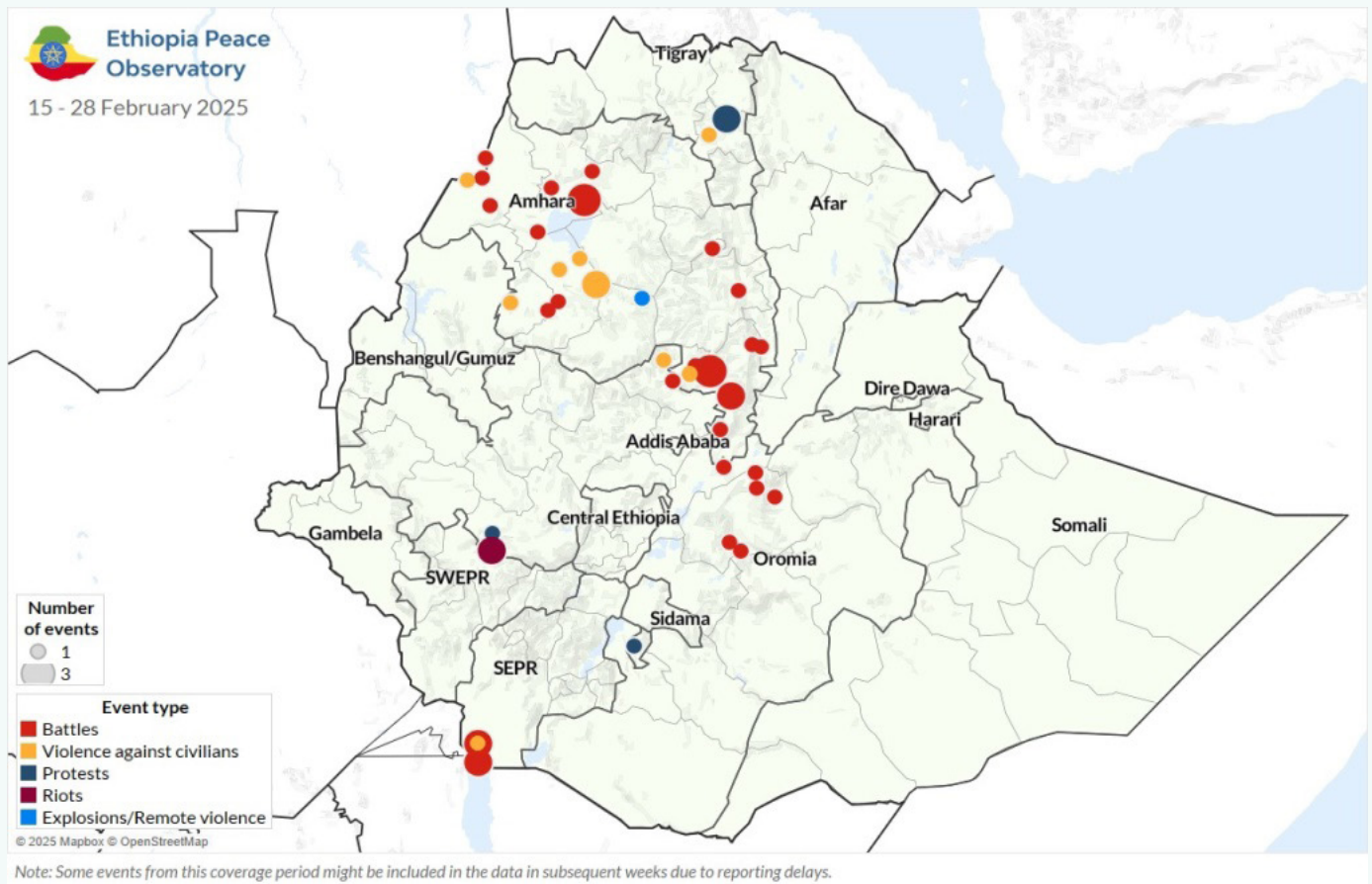
Inclusiveness is a core principle for the success of national dialogue, as it ensures that all key stakeholders and interest groups are represented, allowing the underlying drivers of conflict to be addressed effectively (Berghof Foundation, 2017). However, currently, Ethiopia's ongoing national dialogue has faced criticism for not fully adhering to this principle, mainly as ENDC was not able to select participants of national dialogue from all 94 woredas of Tigray and 4 woredas of Amhara regions.²

Furthermore, critics argue that the process has largely excluded key political and armed groups. Opposition parties such as the Oromo Federalist Congress (OFC), Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), and Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) criticized the formation of the National Dialogue Commission as lacking impartiality, representation, and consensus-building (Edjeta, 2022). Key armed groups involved in the violent conflict, including the TPLF and the Oromo Liberation Army (OLA), and other armed movements in Oromia, Amhara and Tigray regions have also refused to participate in the dialogue process (Gemechu, 2022). Armed movements and political violence as shown in Figure 1 below have adversely affected the inclusivity of the dialogue process. To address this problem, the Ethiopian National Defense Force, and Regional Police Forces have tried to provide security services for participants of national dialogue at local and regional levels in conflict affected areas in Amhara and Oromia regions.³

2 Personal Interview with Ayenew Berhanu (PhD), Senior Agenda Collection and Dialogue Officer, Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, November 18, 2025.

3 Ibid.

Figure 1: Political Violence in Ethiopia



Source: Armed Conflict Location & Event Data (ACLED), <http://acleddata.com/update-situation-updat-5-march-2025>

Despite these criticisms, the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission has taken measures to enhance inclusiveness. Consultations and agenda collection events have been held with different sections of the society, including; woreda administration, farmers and traders, professional associations, civic and religious organizations, women, youth, and persons with disabilities etc. to ensure their active participation in the dialogue process (Haider, 2019). The Commission has also engaged with political parties, reporting that over 80% of registered parties are participating and emphasizing efforts to involve remaining ones.⁴ Skill-based trainings for Commission members, supported by the Berghof Foundation (BF) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), have further strengthened the capacity to conduct inclusive and effective dialogue. In general, while the Ethiopian National Dialogue has made strides in incorporating various social groups and professional associations, the exclusion of major opposition and armed groups continues to challenge the full inclusiveness and legitimacy of the process.

4 Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission Consultation with Professional Associations, Inter-Luxury Hotel, December 4, 2025.

Transparency is another key principle of a national dialogue. Scholars agree that transparency is a critical component for the legitimacy and success of national dialogue, ensuring that the public is adequately informed and able to participate in the process (Haider, 2019). Against this backdrop, Ethiopia's national dialogue has faced criticism for its top-down communication approach and lack of transparency. Opposition groups, such as the Oromo Liberation Front, have claimed that the process for nominating commissioners was unclear and lacked consultation with key political actors (Dehinasew, 2022). Such opacity risks undermining public trust and the perceived impartiality of the dialogue, which is essential for engaging citizens, political parties, and other stakeholders effectively.

In response, the ENDC has undertaken several consultative efforts to enhance transparency and participation. Meetings have been held with professional associations, civic and religious organizations, youth, women, and persons with disabilities to ensure their voices are included in the process.⁵ Political parties have also been engaged, with over 80% of registered parties reportedly participating, and the Commission continues to reach out to those not yet involved.⁶

While these initiatives reflect a commitment to transparency and broader stakeholder engagement, initial criticisms regarding the lack of clarity in the nomination process highlight ongoing challenges.⁷ Therefore, maintaining clear communication, openness in decision-making and active public participation remains essential for ensuring the credibility and effectiveness of Ethiopia's national dialogue.

4.2. Agenda Collection from Ethiopian Diaspora Communities

Ethiopia's diaspora⁸ politics are characterized by extreme polarization, with the large community abroad often divided along ethnic and political lines, influencing national debates and development efforts through advocacy, remittances, and investment.⁹ The

5 Personal Interview with Sisay Asmire, Agenda Collection Officer, ENDC, December 12, 2015.

6 Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, Consultative Meeting with Professional Association, Inter-Luxury Hotel, December 4, 2025. During the consultative meetings Commissioner Melaku Woldemariam stated that there were five political parties that left the dialogue process after initial engagement, while nine parties did not participate at all in the dialogue process.

7 Personal Interview with Ayenew Berhanu (PhD), Senior Agenda Collection, and Dialogue Officer, Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, November 18, 2025.

8 The Ethiopian diaspora community in the United States represents one of the largest expat communities in the Western world. Figures on Ethiopian immigrants in the United States range from 300,000 to 450,000 and they are the second largest African immigrant group after Nigeria. There are also a considerable number of Ethiopian diaspora communities in countries like Israel, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Italy, and the United Kingdom. In total, the country's diaspora community number globally is estimated to be from 2.5 million to 3 million. And their number continues to rise (Addis Standard, 2023).

9 Personal Interview with Teshome Mera, Former Executive Head of Yeka Subcity, November 23, 2025.

Ethiopian government actively tries to engage them for nation-building, although facing challenges from political mistrust, policy gaps, and competing narratives from opposition groups, all complicated by ethicized media and elite divisions (CFR, 2023).

The ENDC has made diaspora engagement a central pillar of its agenda-collection strategy, recognizing the political, economic, and social influence of Ethiopians living abroad. To ensure inclusiveness, the Commission launched systematic outreach initiatives across multiple regions, beginning with African countries such as Egypt, Kenya, South Africa, and others, and later expanding to Europe, North America, the Middle East, and other global hubs of Ethiopian diaspora communities. Through a combination of virtual platforms, email submissions, and in-person consultations, diaspora Ethiopians were offered multiple channels, though official embassy channel was the main one, to submit their concerns, proposals, and agenda items for the national dialogue.¹⁰

The ENDC received the first written and video clips of agenda items compiled by Addis Ababa Diaspora Association (AADA) on October 1, 2024. Upon receiving the agenda items, the Chief Commissioner stated that the ENDC has conducted over ten online consultations with diaspora communities across Africa, the Middle East, Europe, North America and beyond as part of its inclusivity strategy. During the handover of diaspora agenda items, Solomon Gizaw, Vice President of AADA praised the activities of ENDC as a beacon of hope for peace and security (ENA, 2024).

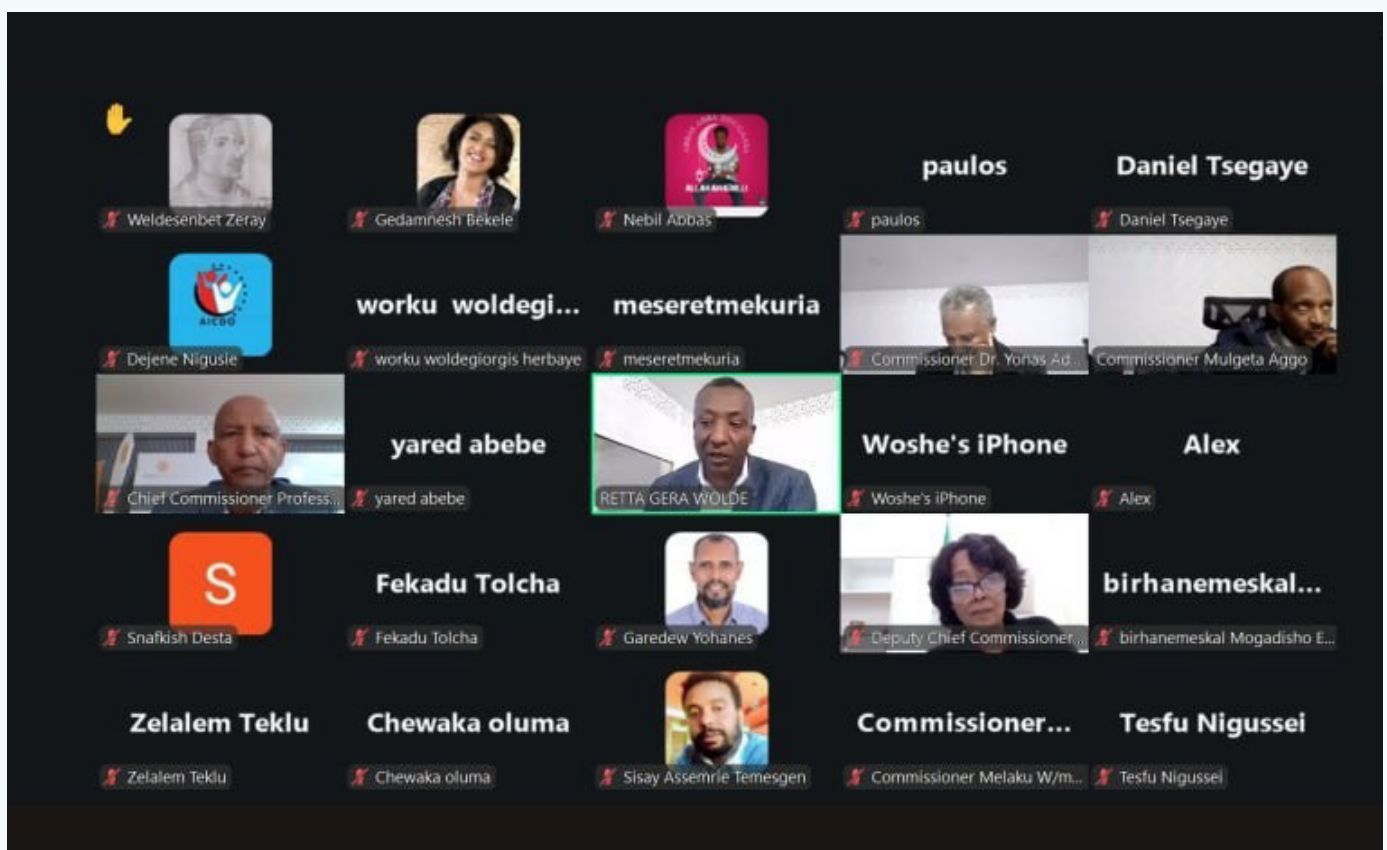
Figure 2: Handover of Agenda Items Compiled by AADC to the ENDC



Source: Ethiopian News Agency (ENA), February 1, 2025

Subsequently, many online consultations were conducted with diaspora communities in 2025. For example, on July 1, 2025, virtual consultation was organized by the Commission with Ethiopians living in countries such as Egypt, South Sudan, Kenya, South Africa, and Botswana, among others (ENDC, 2025a). At the opening of this online consultation, commissioners of the ENDC briefed participants on the Commission's current activities and outlined its future priorities. They further elaborated on the goal of the platform, which is to gather diaspora perspectives and facilitate the formation of representative committees for the upcoming national-level conference. The session provided a platform for diaspora participants to directly present their ideas and concerns to be included in the national dialogue.

Figure 3: Virtual Consultations and Agenda Collections for Diaspora



Source: Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, August 2, 2025.

The agenda collection activities from diaspora communities were not limited to online consultations. The ENDC has officially launched its face-to-face consultation to gather agenda items from members of the Ethiopian diaspora residing in South Africa. Overall, more than 300 individuals attended the agenda-gathering forum in South Africa, where representatives to participate in the dialogue were also selected (ENDC, 2025b). The Commission emphasized that collecting agenda items at both regional and federal levels aims to foster a culture of democratic discussion and peaceful conflict resolution. As

stated previously, this initiative is part of the Commission's broader strategy to ensure inclusive national dialogue by engaging all segments of Ethiopian society, including those living abroad.

The major issues raised during the discussion were double citizenship, maintaining peace and security, media freedom, promotion and protection of human rights, rectifying historical narratives, electoral system reform, constitutional reform, and restructuring Ethiopian federal system.¹¹ Participants used the opportunity to submit their agenda proposals and offer feedback on the process of selecting diaspora representatives who would participate in the national plenary. Commissioners responded to questions and provided clarity on how the diaspora's input would be incorporated into the national dialogue process.¹² Besides, ENDC has collected diaspora agendas through a combination of virtual platforms including email submissions, and in-person meetings in selected countries.

As part of this initiative, the ENDC had started its face-to-face consultations with diaspora members in South Africa. Similar engagements were also conducted for Ethiopian communities in North America and Europe. The Commission called on all members of the diaspora to collaborate, organize, and thoughtfully contribute agenda items that reflect the needs and aspirations of the Ethiopian people. The ENDC has explicitly prioritized engaging the Ethiopian diaspora as part of its broader inclusivity strategy.¹³

On agenda collection from the diaspora, one of the key informants¹⁴ explained that the Commission utilized Ethiopian embassies, online platforms, and town-hall meetings to reach Ethiopians living abroad. He expressed that participation levels were encouraging, particularly in Europe and North America, and that diaspora inputs enriched the dialogue with perspectives on governance reform, reconciliation, and national unity. At the same time, the expert acknowledged challenges related to political polarization, disputes over representation, and lingering skepticism regarding the neutrality and effectiveness of the national dialogue process.

By October 2025, the ENDC announced that its face-to-face agenda-gathering from diaspora communities in six major regions, namely South Africa, North America, Canada, the United Arab Emirates, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, had been successfully completed (ENA, 2025). These efforts demonstrate the Commission's acknowledgement of the diaspora's stake in Ethiopia's political future and underscore the importance of integrating the perspectives Ethiopian diaspora into the national dialogue process. The use of

11 Personal Interview with Ayenew Berhanu (PhD), Senior Agenda Collection and Dialogue Officer, ENDC, November 18, 2025.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Personal interview with Sisay Asmire, Agenda Collection Officer, ENDC, December 12, 2025.

mixed modalities also expanded access and reduced geographical barriers, allowing for a more comprehensive and diverse collection of viewpoints from abroad. Any diaspora interested to contribute to the national dialogue has multiple modalities or pathways (online video conference, emails, face-to-face town meetings) to participate, which is highly appreciable.¹⁵ These developments show that diaspora engagement represents a meaningful institutional recognition of the importance of Ethiopians abroad in shaping national dialogue, and the combination of virtual and in-person outreach significantly broadens participation beyond those physically present inside the country.

Diaspora communities emphasized constitutional and governance reforms, promotion and protection of human rights, identity and federalism, peace and reconciliation, justice and accountability, economic inequality, youth unemployment, and dual citizenship. Participation levels were encouraging, but challenges included political polarization, representation disputes, and skepticism about the neutrality and effectiveness of the dialogue process.

However, the largest Ethiopian diaspora communities, particularly in the opposition front in North America (United States and Canada), and Europe abstained from dialogue process as the ENDC predominantly used government channels such as embassies and consular offices.¹⁶ Therefore, there is a need to take corrective measures to engage the prominent diaspora communities in the national dialogue process.

4.3. Second Round Consultations

The ENDC has expanded its engagement efforts through a broad “second round consultation” phase immediately after federal-level agenda collection with a wider range of federal actors. The Commission convened federal-level consultations that brought together political parties, religious leaders, civic associations, civil society groups, media organizations, professional associations, federal government bodies, federal security agencies, among others (Getahun, 2025). One of the key informants expressed that the main objective was to validate previously collected agenda items while incorporating voices from groups that have no representation at regional level.¹⁷ According to the expert, key achievements included; improved public awareness, broader social participation, and clearer identification of national priorities such as governance, reconciliation, and constitutional issues.

15 Personal Interview with Tegene Kumbi, Ethiopian Diaspora Living in Europe, November 26, 2025.

16 Personal Interview with Sisay Asmire, Agenda Collection Officer, ENDC, December 12, 2025.

17 Personal Interview with Dechasa Ababe (PhD), Associate Professor of African and Asian Studies, Addis Ababa University, December 15, 2025.

During its May 2025 session with federal key actors, the ENDC reaffirmed its commitment to an inclusive and participatory process, urging contributions from various federal institutions and actors that were not represented in the agenda collection process at local and regional levels. This expanded stakeholder engagement indicates a deliberate shift from merely gathering grievances to collaboratively refining, discussing, and prioritizing national issues with a broader array of voices. Such wide-ranging consultations are intended to strengthen the legitimacy and public acceptance of the dialogue process by ensuring that it reflects input from diverse segments of Ethiopian society.

While federal level agenda collection conference improved the participation of diverse actors, some sections of society were still not included, particularly armed groups and some of the prominent opposition political parties, that chose not to participate due to political mistrust. In general, at the federal level agenda collection session, a total of 860 participants from various institutions were invited. However, 717 individuals (83%) of them attended the three-day consultation and agenda collection that took place in Addis Ababa. The ratio of women participation stood at 24%, below the 30% standard set by the Commission. .

The second-round consultation was officially launched in August 2025. The consultations were initially designed to deepen inclusiveness and address shortcomings observed during the first round consultations and agenda collections conducted at regional and federal levels. The evidence obtained from key informants indicates that the second round consultation was designed to collect agenda items primarily from a few *Woredas* in Amhara region that were not previously included due to mistrust and security reasons as well as Tigray region. These consultations also aimed at convincing and engaging others segments of society such as armed groups, opposition parties, and prisoners or convicts. Unable to achieve the intended objectives, due to persistent political mistrust, security constraints, and logistical difficulties, the purpose of the second round consultations was redesigned to serve other purposes.¹⁸

Therefore, the second round consultations were reframed to create awareness and mobilize support for national dialogue process, and help ENDC to address its key challenges such as misinformation, political polarization and low trust among key actors.¹⁹. The second round consultation was officially launched in Desse Town on August 22, 2025.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

They were conducted with major actors such as professional associations, and civic and religious institutions (in Addis Ababa)²⁰ and women, youth, person with disabilities (in all regions except Tigray).

The second round consultations have further broadened and deepened the national dialogue process in the country. Each of the above institutions and communities has got the opportunity to air their viewpoints on fundamental national problems, and issues specific to their constituencies. For example, a total of 101 professional associations were invited to take part in consultation forum organized by the Commission on December 4, 2025 at the Inter-Luxury Hotel in Addis Ababa.²¹ Each professional association was requested to send 1-3 representative(s), especially top leaders, depending on their size and composition. The associations discussed multiple issues related to fundamental national issues such as the problems of ethno-nationalism, ethnic conflicts, and unemployment. Besides, they had also raised civil society sector specific issues such as lack of vibrant civil society organizations, lack of government support, meager funding, and unfavorable laws that undermines the development of strong civil society organizations in the country.²² In general, beyond addressing key challenges of the Commission, these types of consultation forums were organized by the Commission to further broaden the inclusivity and participation of different institutions and segments of society as well as to find ways to work together for the national plenary.

4.4. Challenges of Agenda Collection from Diaspora and Tigray Region

Despite the ENDC's commitment to inclusivity, the national dialogue process has faced significant challenges in collecting agenda items from Tigray region and diaspora communities. While the Commission publicly affirmed its intention to engage the Tigray region, actual participation from Tigrayan representatives has been delayed for a number of factors. The collection of agenda items from the region faces significant challenges, primarily stemming from unresolved post-conflict political issues, deep-seated distrust, ongoing security concerns, and logistical obstacles. The process has been described as a "deadlock" by some officials of the Commission due to these factors.

Observers note that the lack of input from Tigray, as well as other conflict-affected areas, undermines the credibility and legitimacy of the dialogue process. Structural and logistical barriers have compounded these difficulties. One of the key informants²³ claims

20 Personal Interview with Sisay Asmire, Agenda Collection Officer, ENDC, December 12, 2025.

21 Ibid.

22 Personal Interview with Ayenew Berhanu (PhD), Senior Agenda Collection and Dialogue Officer, ENDC, November 18, 2025.

23 Personal Interview with Dechasa Ababe (PhD), Associate Professor of African and Asian Studies, Addis Ababa University, December 15, 2025.

that due to a “lack of active response from the Tigrayan side,” meaningful participation remains “a far cry.” Furthermore, the lack of inclusion of key armed groups in Amhara, Oromia, and other conflict zones further weakens prospects for a comprehensive and sustainable dialogue. Without substantive participation from Tigray region and armed groups, the national dialogue risks being perceived as selective or politically motivated rather than a genuine reconciliation mechanism, threatening both its legitimacy and long-term effectiveness.²⁴

During one of the consultation sessions with top leaders of professional associations in Addis Ababa one of the Commissioners²⁵ explained that the ENDC has faced difficulties related to security conditions, political sensitivities, and disagreements over representation and sequencing of the dialogue. On current efforts, he expressed that confidence-building measures, coordination with peace-implementation structures, and flexible consultation models are being explored to enable agenda collection in Tigray. This implies that ENDC is currently facing a deadlock in its moves to advance consultations in the Tigray region due to unresolved issues between the federal government and regional actors.

The Interim Regional Administration (IRA) of Tigray²⁶ has set a number of preconditions to participate in the national dialogue, which the Commission claims are beyond the mandate of ENDC.²⁷ The preconditions include, *inter alia*, full implementation of the Pretoria Agreement, restoration of constitutional order, withdrawal of forces and civilian protection, safe return of internally displaced persons, restoration of the legal status of TPLF, addressing historical injustices, such as addressing war crimes.²⁸ If the deadlock persists, the commissioners explained that alternative options are put in place, including; phased consultations, indirect agenda submissions through trusted intermediaries, or reserving agenda space for later inclusion during the national plenary.²⁹ In conclusion, one of the experts³⁰ expressed that key lessons from previous consultation round emphasizes the importance of trust-building, transparency, adaptive sequencing, and clarity.

24 Ibid.

25 Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, Consultation with Professional Associations, Inter-Luxury Hotel, December 4, 2025.

26 The Interim Regional Administration (IRA) was established in March in 2023 as part of the November 2022 Pretoria Peace Agreement to end the conflict between the Government of Ethiopia (GoE), and the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF).

27 Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, Consultation with Professional Associations, Inter-Luxury Hotel, December 4, 2025.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Personal Interview with Ayenew Berhanu (PhD), Senior Agenda Collection and Dialogue Officer, ENDC, November 18, 2025.

Regarding the Diaspora agenda gathering process, one of the key informants³¹ explained that political polarization, fragmented representation, transparency concerns, and trust deficits were seen as major challenges to effective diaspora engagement in the national dialogue. Despite these challenges, diaspora participation remained an important asset for inclusivity and success of the national dialogue process.

4.5. Current Status of the National Dialogue Process

The ENDC has conducted national dialogue agenda-gathering process in all regional states except Tigray region as well as the two city administrations. Currently preparations for the National Dialogue Conference (Plenary) are underway and close to completion. A senior agenda collection and national dialogue officer from ENDC stated that the Commission has undertaken technical and procedural preparations, including; drafting rules of procedure, codes of conduct, decision-making frameworks, guidelines and forms.³² He expressed that consensus-building mechanisms and deadlock-breaking tools, such as mediation committees and thematic groupings, are being considered to manage disagreements during the plenary.

With regard to agenda collection from Tigray region, one of the informants from ENDC stated that although formal consultations have not yet commenced, the Commission has been engaging in preparatory and confidence-building efforts.³³ The consultation in Tigray with institutions, community elders, religious leaders, and civil society actors representing Tigray regions have taken place, but political sensitivities, trust deficits, and security concerns have slowed progress.³⁴ Different stakeholders, including the House of Peoples Representatives, have been urging Tigray region to actively participate in the ongoing dialogue process and play its role in ensuring the success of the national dialogue (ENA, 2026).

Overall, as indicated above, empirical evidence and secondary sources confirm that the national dialogue agenda gathering process from Tigray faced significant challenges, including; political polarization, low trust among stakeholders while the process with the diaspora community appears to be on the balance. Nevertheless, there is a cautious optimism in the process, noting strong public demand for peace, accumulated experience from earlier consultation rounds, and international support, all of which can be considered as key opportunities for the successful completion of the national dialogue process.

31 Personal Interview with Tegene Kumbi, Ethiopian Diaspora Residing in Europe, November 26, 2025.

32 Personal Interview with Ayenew Berhanu (PhD), Senior Agenda Collection and Dialogue Officer, ENDC, November 18, 2025.

33 Personal Interview with Sisay Asmire, Agenda Collection Officer, ENDC, December 12, 2025.

34 Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, Consultation with Professional Associations, Inter-Luxury Hotel, Addis Ababa, December 4, 2025.

05 LESSONS LEARNED FOR THE NATIONAL DIALOGUE CONFERENCE/PLENARY

Previous rounds of public consultations have created a sense of confidence, on the part of dialogue participants, to discuss any controversial national issues, and this can be considered as a good lesson for national plenary.³⁵ According to official statistics reported by the ENDC, hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians at the regional and federal levels had participated in the broader agenda-gathering process. And the ENDC claimed that all the documents are properly organized not only for the current national dialogue process, but also for the coming generations of students, and researchers.³⁶ Lessons learned from the previous dialogue sessions, particularly from the second round of consultations and diaspora involvements, are summarized in the following table.

Lesson Learned	Rationale/Benefit
Broad-based nature of the Ethiopian national dialogue process: Public consultations and agenda collection in the national dialogue process in Ethiopia appears to be broad-based involving all segments of society including diaspora. However, there is a need to for inclusion of Tigray region, remaining opposition political parties, and armed groups in some regions are equally important.	Involving all segments of society is a key measure of inclusivity (with the exception of Tigray region, and some opposition political parties, and armed groups). A broad-based dialogue captures diverse experiences and reduces exclusion, which otherwise fuels further conflict.
Utilization of mixed modalities: During agenda collection process, ENDC has used multiple modalities (in-person, virtual, etc.).	The Commission has used mixed modalities to collect agenda from diaspora and various segments of society. This not only enriches agenda items submitted but also increases the chance for problem solving ideas and meaningful discussions on the plenary. However, there is still a room to increase accessibility and participation, especially for conflict-affected communities.
Producing interim reports: Generate interim reports and establish feedback loops before final consensus.	Finally, to builds trust, ensures transparency, and allows timely adjustment during the dialogue process, the ENDC is expected to produce interim reports before the final conclusive report.

35 Personal Interview with Dechasa Ababe (PhD), Associate Professor of African and Asian Studies, Addis Ababa University, December 15, 2025.

36 Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, Consultation with Professional Associations, Inter-Luxury Hotel, Addis Ababa, December 4, 2025.

06 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Conclusion

Ethiopia's National Dialogue process operates at a critical juncture in the country's history, attempting to navigate deep political, ethnic, and regional divisions while fostering reconciliation and national unity. The ENDC that is convening this complex process is striving to be adaptive, learning lessons from its own efforts which came short of fulfilling the stated principles. In this regard, the second-round consultations have demonstrated progress in ensuring inclusivity, broadening participation among previously underrepresented groups, raising public awareness, and clarifying national priorities. Diaspora engagement has further enriched the process, contributing diverse perspectives on governance, reconciliation, and national identity.

Despite these achievements, significant challenges persist. Political polarization, mistrust between government and opposition actors, security constraints, and uneven regional participation continue to impede full inclusivity. Consultations in Tigray region remain limited due to security and political sensitivities, and questions raised by stakeholders about ENDC's independence and credibility, all of which underscore the need for confidence-building measures and neutral oversight.

Nevertheless, opportunities exist to ensure the successful completion of the national dialogue. Strong public demand for peace, accumulated experience from prior consultations, diaspora contributions, and the moral authority of faith communities can support a credible and inclusive process. Implementing adaptive sequencing, transparent procedures, consensus-building mechanisms, and independent oversight will be critical to overcoming deadlocks and ensuring that dialogue outcomes are widely accepted and sustainable.

Overall, the ENDC represents Ethiopia's most viable platform for national reconciliation and consensus. While the path ahead is fraught with risks, proactive measures to enhance inclusivity, credibility, and trust can transform the dialogue into a mechanism for lasting peace, national healing, and a shared vision for Ethiopia's future. The country's stability and cohesion depend on the effective, impartial, and inclusive implementation of the ongoing national dialogue process in the country.

6.2. Recommendations

Based on the finding and analysis of the report, the following strategic steps are recommended to ensure the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission achieves its mandate and contributes to lasting peace in the country.

1. Enhance Inclusivity and Representation

- Continue efforts that expand engagement to include all political actors, particularly opposition political parties and armed groups who remain skeptical of the process.
- Coordinate with federal and regional authorities and non-state actors to ensure safe travel of participants, especially in conflict-prone regions like Tigray, and Amhara.
- Strengthen diaspora involvement, particularly those in the opposition front, through structured platforms, online consultations, and direct town-hall meetings instead of using government channels such as embassies and consulates, to ensure that their inputs meaningfully influence national agenda-setting.

2. Strengthen Confidence-Building Measures

- Strengthen robust transparency mechanisms, including regular public briefings, press releases, reporting of each consultation, a consolidated interim report, and clear communication on how inputs are incorporated into the dialogue outcomes.
- Foster trust among stakeholders by engaging respected intermediaries such as religious leaders, community elders, and neutral civil society actors to mediate disputes and encourage participation.
- Creating platforms for interfaith and community-led initiatives to complement the national dialogue and support grassroots reconciliation.
- Confidence-building measures should also include public engagement and transparency efforts as its central core to sustaining public trust.

3. Secure Neutrality and Independent Oversight

- Grant separate observers access to the national dialogue plenary, including independent monitoring bodies, international or interfaith observers, to safeguard impartiality and reinforce credibility.

4. Institutionalize Consensus-Building Mechanisms

- Develop and publicize clear procedural rules for decision-making, deadlock resolution, and mediation to manage disagreements effectively during the national plenary and subsequent stages.
- Use thematic consultation approaches for the national plenary to allow incremental progress while accommodating sensitive or contentious issues.
- Integrate lessons from previous national and international dialogue processes to design mechanisms that translate public inputs into actionable outcomes after national plenary.
- Establish monitoring and evaluation frameworks to track progress, measure impact, and provide accountability for the implementation of recommendations.

REFERENCES

- Addis Standard (2023). 'Diaspora Dilemma: Shadows of disinformation among Ethiopian diaspora'. November 11.
- Addis Standard (2022). National Dialogue "failed before formation", February 22.
- African Union (2006). 'Policy on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD)'. African Union, Addis Ababa.
- Armed Conflict Location & Event Data (ACLED). (2025). 'Ethiopia Situation Update'. ACLED, March 5.
- Berghof Foundation. (2017). National dialogue and inclusive political settlements: Lessons from transitional contexts. Berlin: Berghof Foundation.
- Brown, N. J. (2013). *When Victory Is Not an Option: Islamist Movements in Arab Politics*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- CFR (Council on Foreign Relations) (2023). *Ethiopia's diaspora politics and polarization* (Background). New York: CFR.
- Dehinasew, D.S. (2022). National Dialogue of Ethiopia: Is it on the right track? *European Scientific Journal, ESJ*, 18(20):71 <<http://doi.org/10.19044/esj.2022.v18n20p71>>
- Edjeta, B. (2022). 'Ethiopia's Stillborn National Dialogue', *Ethiopia Insight* <<http://ethiopia-insight.com/2022/03/12/ethiopias-stillborn-national-dialogue>>
- ENA (Ethiopian News Agency) (2026). "Nat'l Dialogue Enters Final Phase after Inclusive, Successful Process, says House Speaker", January 18.
- ENA (Ethiopian News Agency) (2025). 'Agenda Gathering Process from Diaspora in Six Countries Successful: ENDC', October 17.
- ENA (Ethiopian News Agency) (2024). 'Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission Receives Agenda Items from Diaspora'. October 1.
- ENDC (Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission) (2025). 'Commission Begins Collecting Agendas from Ethiopian Diaspora in Africa'. <https://ethiondc.org.et/en/commission-begins-collecting-agendas-from-ethiopian-diaspora-in-africa/>
- ENDC (Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission) (2024a). 'Diaspora participation as a strategic asset (Remarks by the chief commissioner)'. Addis Ababa: ENDC <www.ethiondc.org.et>
- ENDC (Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission) (2024b). Draft Rules of Procedure for the National Dialogue Conference (Internal Working Document). Addis Ababa: ENDC.
- Gemechu, Y. (2022). 'Ethiopia's new 'national dialogue' cannot deliver inclusive peace'. <<http://aljazeera.com/opinion/2022/1/27/can-ethiopias-national-dialogue-deliver-inclusive-peace>>
- Getahun, T. (2025). 'Ethiopia's National Dialogue Commission Voices Concern over Armed Groups Absence' <borkena.com/2025/05/30/ethiopias-national-dialogue-commission-voices-concern-over-armed-groups-absence>
- Haider, H. (2019). 'National dialogues: lesson learned and success factors'. Helpdesk Report, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5c864ffced915d07cae406da/543_National_Dialogues_Lessons_Learned, Accessed on December 2, 2025.

- Hayner, P. (2011). *Unspeakable Truths: Transitional Justice and the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. London: Routledge.
- ICG (International Crisis Group) (2023). 'Managing Ethiopia's Political Polarization', Africa Briefing.
- IDEA. (2021). 'Designing inclusive national dialogues', Policy paper, Stockholm: IDEA
- Regan, A. J. (2014). *Bougainville: Large-Scale Mining and Local-Level Politics*. ANU Press.
- Saeid, E. (2017). 'National Dialogue Conference: The Permissible Questions'. Berlin: Berghof Foundation.
- Salisbury, P. (2017). *Yemen: National Chaos, Local Order*. London: Chatham House.
- Sisk, T. D. (1995). *Democratization in South Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- South Africa (1991-1994). *CODESA and Multi-Party Negotiation Process Documents*. Panama City: CODESA.
- Southall, R. (2014). *Liberation Movements in Power*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.
- Stugant, S. and Murray, E. (2015). National Dialogue: A Tool for Conflict Transformation. United State Institute for Peace, Peace Brief 194.
- Upreti, B. R. (2012). *Nepal from War to Peace*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) (2022). 'Inclusive Political Dialogue and Trust-building in Post-Conflict States.' UNDP.
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) (2021). 'Supporting National Dialogues: Principles, Challenges, and Good Practices.' UNDP.

For More Info:

Center for Advancement of Rights and Democracy (CARD)

Email - info@cardeth.org

P.O.Box- 30174

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



CARD

የመብቶች እና ዲሞክራሲ ሰፊ ማዕከል
CENTER FOR ADVANCEMENT OF
RIGHTS AND DEMOCRACY