



**Proceedings of the
International Conference on
Peacebuilding and Justice in Tigray:
The Path Forward**



July 05, 2024

**Organized by:
Peace and Justice for Tigreans International
Washington DC, USA**



Foreword

It is with immense pride and profound feeling of accomplishment that we present the proceedings of the first truly International Conference organized by a Tigray diaspora organization on "Peacebuilding and Justice in Tigray: The Path Forward" that took place on January 27, 2024. This virtual conference, organized by Peace and Justice for Tigreans International (which is registered in the US as a 501 (c3)), stands as a testament to the unwavering commitment of PJTI to fostering dialogue, understanding, and collaboration with all stakeholders of peace and justice.

We extend our deepest appreciation to all the esteemed guests who graced this event with their presence. Among them, we are honored to have Mr. Getachew Reda, President of the Tigray Interim Regional Administration, who has assumed the top leadership position at this juncture when Tigray is at crossroads and who needs our full support for his efforts to succeed. We also acknowledge the invaluable contributions of Ambassador Mike Hammer, President Biden's Special Envoy to the Horn of Africa, whose diplomatic efforts have been crucial in our pursuit of peace and justice in Tigray and beyond.

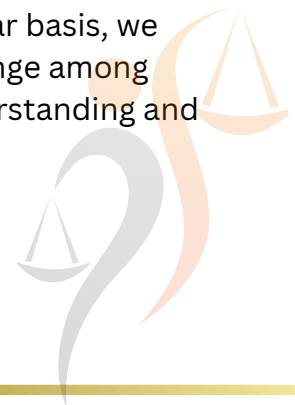
The conference was further enriched by the diverse perspectives of keynote speakers from various backgrounds and regions, each bringing unique insights into the complex tapestry of peace and justice in Tigray and the Horn of Africa region.

We also appreciate the enthusiastic attendance of the Tigray Diaspora, Friends of Tigray, Diplomats, Colleagues and Advocates for Peace and Justice. We are particularly grateful to the faculty and university students from Tigray universities and research institutions who attended in large numbers. The engagement and enthusiasm we have seen are the driving forces behind our mission to create a more just and peaceful world. We acknowledge the presence of Ms. Nora Dempsey from the US State Department, Dr. Hermes Florez from MUSC and Ms. Evey Cherow from Global Partners United among other dignitaries.

As we look forward to organizing similar conferences on a regular basis, we remain dedicated to providing a platform for meaningful exchange among stakeholders. Together, let us continue to build bridges of understanding and work towards a future where peace and justice prevail for all.

With warm regards,

Mulugeta Gebregziabher, PhD
President, Peace and Justice for Tigreans International



Organizers and Presenters Profile



Mr. Peter Hagos
Gebre
Vice President of
PJTI



Dr. Mulugeta Gebregziabher:
Professor at MUSC.
President of PJTI



Mr. Efrem Mesfin
PR Officer of PJTI



Mr. Getachew Reda
President, Tigray Interim
Regional Administration



Ambassador Mike Hammer
Special Envoy, Horn of
Africa, Bureau of African
Affairs



Mr. Yemane Zerai
Associate Professor and
Commissioner of
Commission of Inquiry in
Tigray Genocide



Ms. Christina Laws
Lawyer and Lead
Advocacy
HPN4Tigray



Dr. Patrick Wight
Lecturer at Okanagan
College
Executive Editor of Ethiopia
Insight



Ms. Rita Kabsay
Author and Executive
Director of Irob Anina



Archpriest Mussie Berhe
Treasurer of PJTI



Program Outline

WELCOME AND INTRODUCING HOST

Peter Hagos Gebre, MA
Vice President, PJTI

WELCOME AND INTRODUCING GUESTS

Mulugeta Gebregziabher, PhD
President of PJTI

OPENING REMARKS I

Mike Hammer, Ambassador
President Biden's Special Envoy for Horn of Africa

OPENING REMARKS II

Getachew Reda, MA
President of TIRA

KEYNOTE SPEAKER I

Yemane Zeray, MA
Associate Professor & Commissioner of GICT

KEYNOTE SPEAKER II

Christiana Laws
Lead Advocacy, HPN4Tigray

PANEL DISCUSSION

Facilitator: Peter Hagos Gebre

Panelists:

Patrick Wight, PhD

Lecture and Editor

Rita Kahsay, MA

Author and CEO of Irob Anina

CLOSING REMARKS

Archpriest Mussie Berhe
PJTI

APPENDIX





Welcome message from Mr. Peter Hagos Gebre

Dear Mr. Getachew Reda, President of The Tigray Interim Regional Administration

Dear Ambassador Mike Hammer, Special Envoy for Horn of Africa for President Biden

Welcome to the first conference on Peacebuilding and Justice for Tigray: The Path Forward, organized by the PJT International.

My name is Peter Hagos Gebre, and I am the founding member and Vice President for PJT International. Along with my colleagues I founded this organization to contribute our share towards peacebuilding and ensuring justice in Tigray in the years ahead. This is a continuation of our advocacy work for the past three years to stop the genocidal war in the Tigray region of Ethiopia.

Thank you for participating in this conference focused on the path forward for peacebuilding and Justice in Tigray and beyond. Indeed, you have taken time to join this conversation on your weekend. We appreciate it and seek to be brief but profound in our exchange today.

I would like to invite Dr. Mulugeta Gebregziabher, President of PJTI to give a welcome message and invite our invited guests.

Welcome message from Dr. Mulugeta Gebregziabher

Dear Mr. Getachew Reda, President of The Tigray Interim Regional Administration, Dear Amb. Mike Hammer, Special Envoy for the Horn of Africa for President Biden, Dear distinguished speakers, panelists, and attendees,

Welcome to the first conference on Peacebuilding and Justice for Tigray; The Path Forward, organized by the Peace and Justice for Tigrayans International.

My name is Mulugeta Gebregziabher. I am honored to provide a welcome message as President of PJT International, a young organization established to harness the expertise and experience of the Tigray diaspora for peace and justice in Tigray and beyond.

As many of you know, I have been working on issues of war/peace and public health for the past few years. I published op-eds in international print media and appeared on international media and newspapers in several countries, in addition to hundreds of engagements. I also co-authored scientific articles in the Lancet, BMJ and other leading peer-reviewed journals on the topics of war and its impact on health infrastructure, health workers and civilians. In fact in 2022, the American Public Health Association (APHA) has recognized me for 'outstanding contributions to preventing war and promoting international peace' by awarding me the Victor Sidel and Barry Levy Award for Peace.

As a continuation of my efforts to engage with fellow members of the Tigray diaspora, I have joined hands with other Tigreans to establish PJT International, which is a 501(c3) organization registered in the US in 2023. While PJTI members have been working, for over three years, to promote the causes of peace and justice, this is the first major conference, and it won't be the last.

We believe that the past 3.5 years were the worst time in Tigray's history with horrific social, economic, and political crises due to the genocidal war waged on Tigray. The aftermath of the war is still causing unimaginable suffering for the people of Tigray, especially those who are displaced from their homes and those suffering from the unfolding famine. Those years could also be remembered as years of perseverance and unwavering commitment of the Tigray Diaspora for peace.

As an advocacy organization, PJT International believes that during this unique period in Tigray's history, the diaspora must continue to contribute toward the attainment of peace, justice and accountability, as it did during the fight for survival. It should continue to collaborate with friends of Tigray and institutions that promote peace and justice for anyone without discrimination.

In this regard, while we were hopeful about the international community's effort to document the war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and genocide committed against the Tigray people, with the recent conclusion of the mandate of the International Commission for Human Rights Experts on Ethiopia, we are worried that our people may not get full justice.

PJT International does not believe that the victims of the war can get justice through the current approach of transitional justice mechanism being led by the Ethiopian government. Moreover, the lack of transparency in the transitional justice process and the absence of an agreed road map to deliver justice to the victims of genocide and war crimes are of great concern. The Tigray people deserve better. Let me end my remarks by quoting Albert Einstein (1879-1955):

'Those who have the privilege to know have the duty to act, and in that action are the seeds of new knowledge.'

Without further ado, I now introduce our esteemed speakers.

Opening Remarks by Ambassador Mike Hammer

Thank you very much Professor Mulugeta and of course this new group Peace, Justice of Tigrayans International. It is my pleasure to join you this morning from California, from Los Angeles, where I met some Ethiopian Diaspora just yesterday and participated in Women's empowerment event for the Horn of Africa.

Good afternoon to my friends and colleagues on the East Coast, and of course, good evening to those joining us from Mekelle including my good friend President Getachew Reda. It is, as you pointed out, something especially important in terms of my mandate to work on behalf of the US government to ensure the full implementation of the cessation of Hostilities Agreement that was reached in November of 2022.

We appreciate all the efforts that are being made in both Mekelle and in Addis to make sure that the peace endures and that there is a continuing commitment again to the full implementation of the agreement. Again, let me just touch on a few priority areas that we are working on and again reinforce that the US government is fully determined to work to try to bring peace, justice to all Ethiopians.

We would say one of the pressing issues we have been pressing forward is in trying to ensure that there is progress in the DDR program, Demobilization, Disarmament, and Reintegration, particularly focused on the Reintegration part as the Interim Regional Administration has followed through on commitments on Demobilization and Disarmament. We are pleased that in the United States, we have identified funding, and we are ready to support a program as soon as it is ready. I hope very much that soon we will start contributing to the implementation of this program. It is an item of discussion that I covered quite thoroughly with President Getachew Reda back in December and that it is important for providing reassurance to all of Ethiopia that the peace will hold and of course the elements of the peace dividend will eventually benefit the Tigrayan people.

Let me also say a word about our work to work towards justice and accountability. It is something that our team in Washington together with our embassy is working on to try to make sure that there is progress. You're all aware of Secretary Blinken's determination of atrocities committed during the Tigray conflict that he issued in March of last year, where he found several groups, whether it's the ENDF, Eritrean Forces, some TDF and of course some Amhara special responsible for atrocities, gross violations of human rights, some of war crimes, and crimes against humanity.



Opening Remarks by Ambassador Mike Hammer (continued)

So, we will speak out when the facts call for it and we are determined to see accountability. We also continue to call upon the complete, complete withdrawal of Eritrean forces from Tigray and we are looking for the day when that can be fully realized.

I want to emphasize none of this from our perspective in terms of engagements with the diaspora would be possible if it weren't for the heroic efforts of my colleague who's also on this call, Nora Dempsy, a Senior Advisor for Diaspora Engagement, which reflects the Biden Administration's commitment to hear from Ethiopians, to hear your perspectives, your policy recommendations, and to have exchanges like the one today. I have other commitments today, but she will be remaining on the call, and of course you are always free to reach her and pass along your perspectives. Our policy is informed by the ideas that you share.

I have valued my frequent exchanges with the Tigrayan diaspora and with all the other Ethiopian diaspora that we find here in the United States, and rest assured the United States is committed to try to resolve some of the very difficult and complex issues that plague Ethiopia through dialogue and that we have offered the Federal Government to try to resolve the conflict both in Oromia and you may be aware several weeks last fall in Tanzania to try to negotiate a peace with the Oromo Liberation Army that did not come to fruition yet but we will continue our efforts and that we are also interested to promote a dialogue between the Amhara Fano and the Federal Government.

Again, the United States is keen to advance the rights of all Ethiopians and to alleviate the suffering of all Ethiopians and we will remain committed to that effort. Again, thank you very much for taking the time to listen to me this morning, I very much appreciate the invitation, and I look forward to my visits to Mekelle and I hope to visit even more beautiful areas in Tigray.

Opening Remark by President Getachew Reda

Thank you, Professor Mulugeta, President of PJTI, for inviting me to address you all. As you indicated, we know each other from our college days and happy to see you after a long time.

I am delighted to be here today, albeit virtually, to share my thoughts about peacebuilding and the expectations of the people of Tigray and my government regarding the role of Tigrayans in the diaspora in the peacebuilding efforts now and in the future.

Thank you for working tirelessly to be the voice and the diplomats of Tigray in the effort to end the war and to bring peace and justice. Thank you for being our voice when we had no access to the outside world, you have been our voice which has been a source of hope and strength to our people in the struggle for peace and in our quest for political dialogue and negotiation to solve our issues and differences with the Federal Governance.

Since we have now agreed with the Ethiopian Federal Government to work for peace and to address our issues peacefully, conferences like this focusing on peacebuilding is timely.

Currently, my administration is working in collaboration and with the support of the Ethiopian Federal Government to address the effects of war with special emphasis on:

- Returning the more than a million IDPs who are living in tents and on the streets of many cities and towns in Tigray to their homes.
- Demobilizing and resettling combatants who were forced to pick up arms to defend their homes, their families, mothers and sisters in the devastating war that had been waged on Tigray.
- Resumption of basic social and economic services with special focus on agriculture, education, and health
- Tackling the emergency situation due to the man-made and drought caused famine.

To achieve these and related goals, the importance of ensuring peace and justice in Tigray can't be overemphasized. The issues below are issues that need to be urgently addressed at present. Sustained and coordinated advocacy work for peace and justice is a crucial role we expect from Tigrayans in the diaspora and friends of Tigray.



Opening Remark by President Getachew Reda (continued)

I am not saying something you haven't done or you are not aware. In the past three years, you have advocated to the war in the Tigray successfully. Now it is time to work on creating awareness amount local, state, and federal level government officials, international financial institutions, the UN system and about our peacebuilding efforts here at home and the challenges we face.

Economic support to your families: this is not something I should remind you but at this critical juncture, we would like each of you to support not only your families, friends, and relatives but also the many households that are suffering from the consequences of the war. These financial contributions play very important role to stabilize families and communities.

Professional and capacity development: For those with skills and professional backgrounds in urgently needed areas such as health, education, agriculture, other fields, your support and volunteerism is most needed. The effect of war is multidimensional among which brain drain is one. Many specialists and educators have left Tigray because many of our hospitals and learning institutions are struggling to fill the gap. The services and contributions provided in these areas have very important role in our efforts to provide social services which in turn play a pivotal role in ensuring the peace dividend reaches the ordinary Tigrayan's daily life.

Community engagement: Another way Tigrayan diaspora can play a role in the peacebuilding process is through community engagement. Tigrayan social and community organization as well as faith-based organizations' active engagement with sister community organizations of the Ethiopian Diaspora in your respective countries to foster relationships and trust will take us a long way in restoring our social fabrics at a national level. Such grassroots engagement is essential for sustainable peacebuilding efforts that we do here at home.



Opening Remarks by Mulugeta Gebregziabher

Dear Mr. Getachew Reda,
Dear Ambassador Mike Hammer,
Dear Ms. Nora Dempsey, Dear Dr. Hermes Florez, Dear Ms. Evelyn Cherow,
Dear my colleagues, distinguished speakers, panelists, and attendees

Welcome all, again!

I am honored to provide some additional opening remarks as the President of Peace and Justice of Tigrayans International (PJT International), a young organization established to harness the expertise and experience of the Tigray Diaspora for peace and justice in Tigray and beyond to contribute towards:

1. sustainable peace through dialogue
2. implementation of the road map for justice and accountability
3. upholding territorial integrity of Tigray
4. return of IDPs to their homes
5. resolution of the humanitarian crisis and
6. full representation of Tigray at FDRE during this transitional period and
7. a Tigray that has strong influence in regional & international agenda

The mission of PJT International is to see a peaceful and democratic Tigrean society where justice and, human rights are respected through multifaceted involvement of Tigreans and friends of Tigray. The key goals to realize the mission are to:

- advocate for peace, justice, and respect of human rights for Tigreans using local, national and international platforms.
- advance peace building efforts in Tigray and beyond.
- advance initiatives to build independent civil societies towards building democratic institutions in Tigray and beyond.
- collaborate with local and international organizations to achieve the stated goals.

As an advocacy organization, PJT International believes that during this unique period in Tigray's history, the diaspora must continue to contribute toward the attainment of peace, justice, and accountability, as it did during the fight for survival. In this regard, while we were hopeful about the international community's effort to document the war crimes, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing and genocide committed against the Tigray people, with the recent conclusion of the mandate of the International Commission for Human Rights Experts on Ethiopia, we are worried that full justice may not be achieved.

Opening Remarks by Mulugeta Gebregziabher (continued)

Thus, PJT International will take a leading role in materializing its key goals through the implementation of the following objectives:

- Support the documentation and dissemination of information on conditions of human rights, and justice, in Tigray and beyond.
- Organize trainings and workshops to civil societies on advocacy, democracy, and human rights in Tigray and beyond.
- Support civic and civil societies as foundations of democratic institutions in Tigray and beyond.
- Facilitate scholarship opportunities to emerging leaders with the potential to advance the culture of democracy in Tigray and beyond.
- Promote debate societies as foundations of democratic institutions in Tigray and beyond.
- Promote the role of youth and women in the advancement of justice and peace

Members of PJT International have been working on advocacy efforts and research to promote the causes of peace and justice for more than three years. We do not believe that the victims of the war can get justice through the current approach of transitional justice (JT) mechanism being led by the Ethiopian government for several reasons. For example, the lack of transparency in the transitional justice process and the absence of an agreed road map to deliver justice to the victims of genocide and war crimes are of great concern. Moreover, the crimes committed by Eritrea won't be addressed by the TJ process.

Thus, this conference will facilitate the:

- opening of a constructive discourse on the pertinent issues of peacebuilding and justice in Tigray and beyond.
- charting a path forward to achieve peace and full justice.
- harnessing of the diaspora and friends of Tigray potential to contribute towards peace and justice.

PJT International is ready to collaborate with institutions and organizations with similar fair and just causes irrespective of region, color, religion, or other differences.

I would like to thank my colleagues and those who contributed to the success of this first major international conference.

More importantly, last but not least, I would like to thank my wife and sons!



Keynote Presentation 1

Towards Justice and Accountability: Efforts and Challenges in the Tigray Genocide Investigation

Authors: Yemane Zeray Mesfin,
Associate Professor at Mekelle University
Commissioner, Commission of Inquiry on Tigray Genocide

Summary

The devastating Tigray war broke out in November 2020 and has resulted in huge material human, psychological, environmental, and social losses in the Tigray region. Due to the impact of the war, there was a huge demand to establish one Tigray institution for inquiry, damage, and loss assessment and subsequently for documentation in a situation where there were communication blackouts and full of challenges to investigate and document the international crimes and atrocities that have been committed during the Tigray war.

Assessments show that GBV, homicide, and economic impacts were prevalent in Tigray during the reporting period of November 2020 and August 2022. The GBV resulted in horrific cases of women who were raped and mutilated, suffering physical and psychological trauma resulting in STD infections including HIV, forced abortions, and children being born from rape. The economic impact of the war has led to the displacement of people from their homes, and the suffering of various economic sectors such as agriculture and trade as well as social sectors like healthcare and education.

In conclusion, the findings show that the extent of the toll of the war extends beyond the reporting period. The way to go forward is to find a comprehensive way for the challenging and complex situations that will help with finding and implementing strategic interventions and efforts as a way out of the challenges faced by the people of Tigray.

Keynote Presentation 1 (continued)

Background

The Tigray war broke out in November 2020. This resulted in huge material, human, psychological, environmental, and social losses in the Tigray region. Due to the communication blackout as well as uninvestigated international crimes and atrocities that were committed during the war, there was a push to establish an institution for inquiry, damage, and loss assessment as well for documentation. The Commission of Inquiry on the Tigray Genocide was, therefore, officially established in May of 2022 to assess the human and material loss for different purposes including to comprehensively capture the full scale of human rights violations against the people of Tigray. The commission also serves to document the war for history, to determine accountability for the perpetrators, and to recommend actions to bring justice and help rebuild in the war's wake. The commission has since assessed damage and loss to humanity, GBV, socio-economic, environment, infrastructure, social, and heritage values based on international standards and research approaches that can be validated. So far, the commission has assessed private institutions, social institutions, self-help institutions, public sector/government institutions, and household assessment.

Findings

The need for the Tigray Institution of inquiry can be supported by the killing of the sixty-two civilian residents of a village with 345 residents. The major findings of the GBV cases during the Tigray war also explain the nature, scale and heinous features of the war and its long-lasting impact on the life of the war affected community and the people of Tigray in general. The assessment explored that Tigrayan women were among the most affected part of the community. GBV cases included chemical burns on women, killing during assault, and gang rapes were the most common and frequent form of sexual violence reported. There were also reported cases of perpetrators using several types of foreign objects other than their body parts to dehumanize, humiliate, and intentionally harm survivor's reproductive organs.

Data from a general hospital in southern Tigray shows that out of the reported 510 survivors, eighteen were HIV positive, 312 STD victims, 166 forced abortions, and twenty-six reported of having children resulting from rape. The assessments show that the economic impact of the war affected the agricultural, manufacturing, service, trade, and the finance sectors as well as social, health systems, and education. There was also reported damage in household assets, looting, crop farm damage, and animal farm damage.



Keynote Presentation 1 (continued)

The displacement of people due to the war in Tigray constituted about 61%. This includes people who stayed away for an average of one hundred days. The total number of people displaced to Sudan numbered about 99,299 people. Underprivileged and food insecure people in post war Tigray constitute about 82% of the population.

Conclusion

Although the reporting period for these findings is from November 2020 to August 2022, we can still see the full extent of the toll of war on Tigray extends beyond the reported period. The results of the findings show that the economic, education, health, heritage, and social fabric of Tigray society is almost collapsed and crippled. The human loss as well as the GBV cases are a devastating and multi-facing consequence in Tigray. Navigating this path to recovery demands unwavering commitment. Rebuilding shattered lives and livelihoods, revitalizing productive sectors, and fostering an environment conducive to economic activity are critical steps.

As a comprehensive way out for the challenging and complex situation that the people of Tigray are going through, strategic interventions and commutative efforts are expected from all of us and the international community in general.

Keynote Presentation 2

Four Pillars of Transitional Justice

Authors: Christian Laws, HPN4Tigray

Summary

Advocacy for Health Professionals Network for Tigray is a non-profit, non-partisan organization made up of volunteer members, most of whom are medical professionals. The organization advocates for the national and international policymakers and institutions for solutions to a humanitarian crisis, access to humanitarian aid, and adequate access to healthcare in Tigray—which many to this day do not have. Transitional justice is a process used to respond to human rights violations. It aims to provide recognition and reparation to the victims. The four pillars, truth-seeking, prosecution, reparations, and institutional reforms are used in implementing the transitional justice system.

Background

Transitional justice is a process used to respond to human rights violations. It aims to provide recognition and reparation to the victims. The four pillars, truth-seeking, prosecution, reparations, and institutional reforms are used in implementing the transitional justice system.

Findings

The ICHREE is a resolution adopted on December 17th, 2021, by the Human Rights Council by which they established independent investigations by designating three human rights experts to conduct investigations of violations and abuses of international human rights and humanitarian laws, such as extra-judicial killings, forced displacement, conflict-related sexual violence, and mass massacres. The mandate was set for expiration and was extended to October 2023. In September 2023, through the Health Professional Network for Tigray and in collaboration with Physicians for Human Rights, I spoke at the 54th regular session of the United National Human Rights Council. The EU decided not to submit the draft motion despite great concerns from commissioners and civil society organizations.



Keynote presentation 2 (continued)

So, while the investigations for ICHREE were ongoing, as part of the ceasefire agreement which was signed in November 2022, also known as the Pretoria Agreement, the government of Ethiopia was required to put forward a transitional justice policy addressing accountability and giving justice to victims. However, because the government of Ethiopia itself has been implicated in human rights violations, civil society organizations like Human Rights Watch, and Amnesty have expressed serious doubts about the government of Ethiopia's plans for transitional justice. The mechanisms or pillars that were implemented were truth-seeking, prosecution, reparations, and institutional reforms.

The purpose of truth-seeking is to help victims find closure through revealing the details of human rights abuses they suffered in an official form and through the establishment of truth commissions, whose purpose is to investigate what happened during the conflict and formalize their findings and an official report. In the case of Tigray, what we had as the mechanism of truth-seeking was independent investigations into human rights abuses, conflict-related sexual violence, forced displacement, and extra executions through ICREE.

Criminal prosecution aims to hold individuals who ordered, planned, or perpetrated crimes responsible for their actions through criminal sanctions, such as fines, and/or terms of imprisonment. As there is no transitional justice system that has been implemented in Ethiopia, the information provided is a draft of a policy option for transitional justice used for potential stakeholders.

The document, it is recommended that one must prosecute only those who ordered, planned, and instructed committing gross human rights violations including military leaders and individuals with leadership roles in the government. The second option was to prosecute those who committed human rights violations in any capacity including judicial killings, conflict-related sexual violence, arbitrary arrests, forced displacement, and attacks based on race, religion, or ethnicity.



Keynote presentation 2 (continued)

When we think of reparations, economic or financial compensation for damage or harm that was done to a person comes to mind. In the context of transitional justice, it goes beyond economic compensation. It includes physical rehabilitation for victims, particularly those who are victims of conflict-related sexual violence, providing them psychological care, access to healthcare, access to education, access to social services, and providing guarantees that the violations themselves will not happen again.

Reforms can be implemented in a variety of ways based on the need for adjustability for victims, peace, and reconciliation. Legislative reforms are necessary to incorporate crimes against humanity into the criminal codes of Ethiopia (inaudible) injustices to help address human rights violations including vetting the judges who may have participated in human rights violations themselves.

Structural reformation, creating oversight bodies within state institutions to ensure they are accountable to victims, educating public officials, police, soldiers on applicable human rights laws, and enforcing a no-tolerance policy, addressing conflict-related sexual violence by ending impunity, including women in this high-level conversation, offering protections, safety nets and creating and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms.





**Discussions by Patrick Whight, PhD
Summary**

What are the potential avenues for transitional justice in Tigray?

Countless massacres were committed against civilians in Tigray, including in Axum. According to a poll of Tigrayan women conducted by Kiros Berhane of Columbia University, eight percent of Tigrayan women experienced sexual assault during the conflict. The economy and civilian infrastructure in Tigray were systematically looted and destroyed. This included households, factories, hospitals, and schools. Tens of thousands were rounded up and arrested based on their ethnicity. This amounts to collective punishment.

When it comes to the philosophical question of how to achieve transitional justice, academic literature presents two ways to recover after war: survivor justice and criminal justice. Survivor justice combines impunity for atrocities during the war with political reforms. The second approach to transitional justice is criminal justice, modeled after the Nuremberg trials at the end of the Second World War. Another phrase for this is victor's justice. This speaks to how this type of prosecution is easier to implement when one side has won the war. Since the war was not decisively won by one side or the other, it is difficult to pursue criminal prosecutions.

The next step in Ethiopia would involve finding the right avenue for criminal prosecutions. All avenues using the International Criminal Court (ICC) are closed. There are three ways to have a case heard at the ICC.

- First is “self-referral.” In this case, atrocities must have been committed on the territory of the state referring the case. Second, the UN Security Council can refer a case to the ICC. The problem lies with veto power.
- Second, the ICC prosecutor may start a preliminary examination on its own initiative into alleged atrocity crimes that have occurred on the territory or by a national of a state party (or if a non-state party consents). A second avenue would be to refer Ethiopia to the International Court of Justice. This is a more fruitful avenue.
- Third, the African Union (AU) could opt to form a Hybrid Court for Ethiopia.
- Fourth, the international community could opt to form an ad hoc tribunal on Ethiopia, as was done for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Because the ICC superseded the need for such ad hoc tribunals, it seems unlikely one will be formed for Ethiopia.

Discussions by Patrick Wight, PhD (continued)

What is causing the humanitarian crisis in Tigray to persist even after the war ended in November 2022?

After the Pretoria Agreement was signed in November 2022 there have been widespread crop failures in Tigray owing to drought and unseasonal rain. In April 2023, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and World Food Program (WFP) discontinued their aid delivery, first to Tigray and then to all of Ethiopia.

This was based on a USAID investigation showing evidence of systematic diversion and theft of aid supplies, including by high-ranking regional and federal government officials. This put an end to a brief period after the ceasefire in which robust levels of food aid were finally making their way into Tigray. USAID announced in December that it was resuming its aid distribution. In the meantime, its decision has resulted in deaths from starvation, as well as widespread hunger and malnutrition.

Tigray's regional administration has reported that more than half of Tigray's six million people urgently need food aid, and existing aid is only helping one-fifth of those in need. Over 220,000 children risk dropping out of school. The federal government has not officially declared the crisis a famine. Tigray authorities have accused the federal government of denying the extent of the crisis because they have refused to use the word famine. The federal government has accused Tigray's authorities of "politicizing" the humanitarian crisis.

What are the implications of the international community not deciding that genocide was committed in Tigray?

The term genocide was defined by the 1949 genocide convention. Genocide refers to the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, an ethnic, racial, national, or religious group, as such. In the case of Tigray, Ethiopian officials made numerous overtly genocide statements, for instance, calling Tigrayans, "weeds" and "daytime hyenas." Every time this type of genocidal speech was used, they would retreat by saying they were only referring to the TPLF, not all Tigrayans. But then, they would also say that no Tigrayan is innocent because they supported the TPLF. The actions I outlined before make clear that there were intentions to eliminate the Tigrayans, in part or in whole. The most explicit tactic was the siege waged on Tigray and the blocking of most humanitarian aid that produced starvation conditions. So, there is ample evidence that genocide was committed in Tigray.

Discussions by Patrick Wight, PhD (continued)

Labeling the atrocities genocide has major implications. For instance, the Clinton administration refused to label what the Hutu extremists were doing against Rwanda's Tutsi minority genocide in 1994. This was because the United States did not want to be forced to intervene. The Clinton administration had intervened in Somalia and only a year before had been embarrassed during the Blackhawk Down incident. This led to what was called the "Somalia syndrome." Using the word genocide forces countries to intervene somehow under the Responsibility to Protect doctrine that was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 2005. When it is a political enemy committing atrocities, like Russia and China, labeling their actions genocide is an advantage. It can be used to target them with, for instance, economic sanctions. But, in cases like Ethiopia and Rwanda, labeling it genocide forces these states to intervene in situations they want to stay out of.

What are the international legal mechanisms to prosecute ethnic cleansing?

Ethnic cleansing refers to the mass expulsion, and often mass killing, of members of unwanted ethnic or religious groups in each territory. The members of another group often then replace members of this group. The goal is to render an area ethnically homogeneous by using force or intimidation.

The phrase ethnic cleansing was coined to describe the actions of the Serbian forces during the civil war in the former Yugoslavia during the nineties. The Serbian military commander used this phrase to describe what they intended to do to the Muslim Bosnians before the Srebrenica massacre.

For accountability or justice, you need to bring ethnic cleansing under the definition of another international crime, such as escalating it to genocide or providing that war crimes or crimes against humanity were committed. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have thoroughly documented how Amhara forces unconstitutionally and violently annexed western Tigray at the outset of the war.



Discussions by Patrick Wight, PhD (continued)

Since then, along with their Eritrean allies and with the complicity of the Ethiopian Federal government, they have forcibly and violently displaced hundreds of thousands of Tigrayans and replaced them with Amhara.

There is a need for ethnic cleansing to be classified as a specific crime apart from other recognized international crimes. This would help to secure more effective accountability for these crimes.

What have been the effects of the Pretoria peace deal on the situation in Tigray?

The most immediate benefit has been the end of armed conflict. The resumption of humanitarian aid was slow and was shut down in April 2023 owing to evidence of diversions/theft. Since the Pretoria agreement, the federal government has been at war with militias from the Amhara region. Efforts to disarm regional militias in Amhara have caused this fighting. The federal government has been doing this, at least in part, to return western Tigray to Tigray.



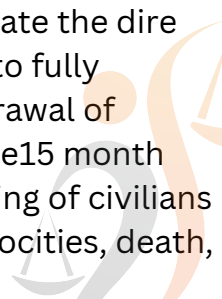
Discussion by Rita Kahsay, MA Summary

The concept of peace, though welcome, needs to come after addressing dire issues such as the starvation and imminent threat of famine, occupation of Tigrayan lands, and displaced people who face constant instability. Occupation of regions bordering Eritrea with full administration control over the areas in the hands of Eritrea. For example, 60% of Irob is still under occupation. Indigenous Irob children in grades 5-8 are being taught an Eritrean curriculum and there are alarming reports of enforced disappearances. Sexual violence also continues to be reported. Although the consensus is that the war has ended, the evidence reports otherwise.

I cannot discuss peace building without acknowledging the plight of the refugees in Sudan. 70,000 refugees currently reside in Sudan forgotten for an entire year without protection or essential services. It is unrealistic to expect reconciliation when the threat and constant fear are still a reality for many people.

The draft of transitional justice policy is extremely flawed. The most dangerous aspect is the omission of justice for victims of heinous atrocities committed by Eritrean troops. The decision to end the mandate of the independent commission of human rights experts on decision to end the mandate of the independent commission of human rights experts on Ethiopia without granting them access, coupled with placing responsibility on the Ethiopian government of investigations and justice, raises questions about remedies for these victims.

For meaningful justice and collective peace, it is essential to recognize the shortcomings of the current transitional justice green paper. Prior to addressing these issues, urgent attention is required to alleviate the dire humanitarian situation. We must push both the government to fully implement the Pretoria Agreement and emphasize the withdrawal of Eritrean forces to Tigray's pre-war borders. Unfortunately, the 15 month delay in executing the agreement has exacerbated the suffering of civilians in Tigray. Immediate action is imperative to prevent more atrocities, death, and famine.





Closing Remarks by Archpriest Mussie Berhe

Summary

As we are talking about peace and justice in the region of Tigray in particular, we should not shy away from collaborating with clergy or other religious workers for peace and justice because we can find the location of peace and justice closer to the house of God than anywhere else. As we are created in the likeness of God, we are a part of God, we are the image of God. We are the Word and flesh of God. Let us understand what the prophet Amos said about peace and justice.

Amos 5:24 Let justice run down like water and righteousness like a mighty stream: It is easy to separate our religious ceremonies from the way we treat others and to think that God should be happy if we give Him “His due” without regard to justice and righteousness towards others. God will not have it.

We cannot separate talking about justice and peace as they are woven into the very fabric of our lives. When we talk about peace, we must talk about justice as it goes hand in hand. Justice is the tenet of the sustainability of peace.

Micah 6:8, Tells us what is required of us to do: Act justly. love mercy, and walk humbly with our God.

The LORD answered the contentious witness in open court. What He requires of us is not complicated:

a. He has shown Us: In Micah 6:8 the prophet’s imagined courtroom, God stopped the shouting of the angry defendant from the witness box.

God said, you function as if what I require of you is some mystery. In fact, it is no mystery at all. He has shown us clearly what is good to make peace and to be at peace is to act justly. So, God is, not only a God of peace, but He is also, a God of justice for His image bearer. Justice cannot be done miraculously. It requires a formula of action.

In our duty we simply need to do these three things: Act justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with our God.



Closing Remarks by Archpriest Mussie Berhe (continued)

When we translate this into Tigray's immeasurable Genocide events, not only does justice need to be served as our God asked us to act justly, but I also think our God would want us to work for the greater cause of Tigray so that the same events will never occur again. Justice is not only compensation for the victims of the Genociders and criminals for the current generation, but it should give us the wisdom and knowledge not to wait for another cycle.

Time is the space between activity and repercussion, like the divide between crime and consequences. So, Tigrayans and friends of Tigrayans, we have no time to waste when our citizens are perishing every day by double Genocide and lamenting on the streets of Tigray and beyond.

Overall, whether we believe in God or not, we all need to carry with us, that: The Creator God is a God of Justice. With the blessings of God, and with all your help, eventually, Tigray will prevail and bring Freedom Home.





Acknowledgment

We would like to thank the presenters who prepared thoughtful remarks and presentations that fit the agenda of peacebuilding and justice. We truly have a diverse group of presenters who made the event special and impactful.

We would also like to thank the attendees for making the time to participate in the international conference and for asking a lot of good and relevant questions that are printed in the appendix (74 questions in total).

We would also like to thank Ms. Nora Dempsy for making arrangements with the US State Department to make the attendance of Ambassador Mike Hammer a possibility. The same goes to those who helped us connect with President Getachew Reda who graced our conference with his presence and outstanding remarks.

We would like to call up on both Ambassador Hammer and President Getachew to address the questions listed in the appendix that were asked during the zoom meeting but were not addressed due to time limitations.

We would also like to thank Dr. Hermes Florez and Ms. Evelyn Cherow for gracing our conference with their presence and for their longtime support for Prof Mulugeta Gebregziabher's work on addressing the health and humanitarian crisis of war and conflict in the Tigray region of Ethiopia.

Last but not least, we would like to thank Ms. Eden Mekonnen for her excellent work of editing the proceedings on Canva.

Executive Board of PJT International
July 05, 2024



Appendix: List of questions and comments that were submitted in the Zoom chat

The text below is copied from the zoom chat platform and it is minimally edited to keep the tone and content of the messages by the attendees and participants of the conference.

We are hopeful that Ambassador Hammer and President Getachew address their respective questions at every opportunity they address the Tigray Diaspora.

Question 1

Subject: Urgent Inquiry Regarding Implementation of Pretoria Peace Agreement in Tigray:
Dear. Ambassador Michael Hammer, I trust this message finds you well. I am writing to express deep concern regarding the non-implementation of the Pretoria Peace Agreement in Tigray and the severe humanitarian crisis it has triggered. The suffering, hunger, and displacement of millions in Tigray demand urgent attention and action.

To address this critical situation, I would appreciate your insights on the following pressing matters:

Specific Timeline for IDP Return: Could you provide a specific timeline for the return of internally displaced persons (IDPs) to restore the pre-war status in West and Southern Tigray Territories? The urgency of their return is paramount to mitigate the ongoing humanitarian crisis.

Humanitarian Catastrophe and Silent Genocide: Given the alarming reports of a looming humanitarian catastrophe in Tigray, comparable to the famine of 1984-85, what steps the United States government taking to prevent further suffering? How can we ensure that the international community is actively engaged in addressing this silent genocide?

Constitutional Order Restoration: What steps is the U.S. taking to ensure the restoration of constitutional order in Tigray? This includes returning the region to its pre-war status, a crucial element in stabilizing the situation

Withdrawal of Non-ENDF Forces: How is the U.S. advocating for the immediate withdrawal of non-Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF) from Tigray? Addressing this matter urgently is vital for the region's stability.

Independent Monitoring and Verification Mechanisms: What measures are being taken to establish independent monitoring and verification mechanisms to oversee the implementation of the peace agreement? Transparency and accountability are crucial in ensuring compliance.

Consequences of Non-Implementation: If the Pretoria Peace Agreement is not implemented urgently, what regional consequences and implications does the U.S. foresee? Understanding the potential fallout is essential for preemptive action.

The gravity of the situation cannot be overstated, and swift, decisive action is imperative to prevent further suffering and loss of life. Your insights on these matters would be highly appreciated.

Question 2

- Hello everyone, I am Solim from Bangladesh Rohingya refugee camps thanks so much for organizing such a great initiative meeting
- It is great to hear that USAID will resume aid, but will it be sufficient enough to
- avert Tigray famine?

Question 3

1. Efforts to Halt Violence in Tigray: Could you elucidate the actions currently underway to end the violence in Tigray, highlighting the principal hurdles, particularly the effectiveness of the international community in advancing peace and mitigating the humanitarian disaster, with an emphasis on the famine emerging from the genocidal conflict causing significant fatalities?
2. Accountability and Peace Negotiations: Regarding the Tigray conflict, what initiatives are in progress to ensure the perpetrators of violence are held accountable and victims receive justice? Furthermore, which diplomatic approaches are being explored to conclude the conflict, considering the influence of regional authorities and knowledge derived from earlier reconciliation attempts?
3. Influence of Public Opinion and Ensuring Civilian Protection: How is the mood within Tigray and internationally affecting peace initiatives, and what actions are being taken to protect civilians and secure worldwide backing for concluding the hostilities?
4. Challenges with the Pretoria Agreement: Why has the implementation of the Pretoria agreement, particularly regarding the reintegration of annexed territories in Tigray, the withdrawal of Eritrean forces and Amhara militias, and the assurance of unrestricted humanitarian aid, failed to materialize?

Question 4

1. Any concerns in the post-pandemic era about challenges for assistance to the Community in Tigray?
- 2. How are other ongoing conflicts competing to secure US government support towards Tigray?

Question 5

- 1. When are the benchmarks for these commitments & promises you mentioned that have not been resolved in over a year? Does the US plan to pressure Ethiopia to lift the siege (de facto) on Tigray?

Question 6

1. Why punish the poor and hungry people by suspending food aid because of the corruption of government officials?
2. The US should be surgical and punish the corrupt Officials. when will food aid resume?

Question 7

Question to His Excellence Ambassador Mike Hammer: Thank you for all your

efforts, Ambassador. Eritrean troops [were supposed to] withdraw from much of the Tigray region shortly[after] the Pretoria Agreement in November 2022, but they still occupy several areas deep inside Tigray borders, including four of Irob's seven subdistricts. Even though an implementation accord signed shortly after the ceasefire states that "foreign" forces should leave Ethiopian territory.

Why are the peace observers including IGAD, US, The Monitoring and Verifications Team and AU not making clear and unequivocal statements for the withdrawal of the Occupying forces?

Why is the Ethiopian government not openly asking for the withdrawal of Eritrean occupation army?

Is the Ethiopian government unilaterally breaching terms of the Pretoria Agreement? What can the US contribute towards resolving this sticking issue?

Question 8

1. What is being done for Amhara force to evacuate from Western and Southern Tigray so the Tigrayan IDPs return to their houses?

Question 9

My Questions are:

- 1, why the Pretoria agreement failed or delayed?
- 2, when will be the time for IDP people return to their home?
- 3, When will our people who have suffered and are suffering get justice ? why is it late?

Question 10

1. Your excellency, do you believe our Nation-USA policy satisfied the Tigrayan American citizen expectations?

Comment

Thank you ambassador for your Persistent engagement with Tigrayan Community.

Question 11

1. What's the US plan to pressure the Ethiopian government to return the over two million IDP and make all invaders the Amhara regional government and the Eritrean government to leave Tigray, IS THE US GOVERNMENT GOING TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE OF TIGRAY FROM ANOTHER ROUND OF GENOCIDE.

Thanks

Question 12

Welcome Ambassador Mike Hammer to this important meeting for us the people of Tigray. We are hoping a solution will come to our IDPs suffering horrifying conditions for more than 3 years. We want to see our IDPs back to their homes now. They are suffering endless.

Question 13

Question to Mr. Getachew Reda,
Mr. President, the Pretoria agreement has underscored the unconditional need for reinstating Tigray's territorial sovereignty, forging a strong and inclusive governance structure, and tackling the dire famine situation head-on. There's also a growing concern over ensuring accountability regarding the diversion of humanitarian resources. Could you shed light on the specific obstacles your government encounters in these critical areas and outline the strategies being implemented to surmount them? Additionally, considering the commitments made in the agreement, how is your administration managing the influence and participation of the TPLF in Tigray's political and administrative landscape? In this context, I am particularly interested in hearing about the continuous party-centric discussions that are being convened by your government.

Question 14

Question for ambassador Mike Hammer and Mr. Getachew:

1. How soon will aid be fully distributed to the starving people in Tigray??? And what actions are being taken?

Question 15

We the people of Tigray demand the Pretoria peace agreement signed more than a year ago is fully implemented without delay so that our IDPs are back to their homes. That is the only solution to solve the crisis of humanity in Tigray.

Question 16

Your Excellency Ambassador Mike Hammer, thank you for your time, commitment, and support to the most deserving people of Tigray. As you know, our people are facing the most horrible challenges from Genocidal war to famine which the government of Ethiopia is using them as a policy instrument on purpose. Please continue doing your best to help our people who are not getting any serious attention and support from International Institutions to World Governments. May God give us more International Supporters like yourself. Amen. Once again, thank you for what you have been doing so far and thank you in advance for your anticipated continuation of your support and endeavor.

Question 17

@Mick Hammer, as specially Envoy for the HoA, do you think you failed the

people of Tigray? because humanitarian aid becomes part of political bargain in Ethiopia and you guys use the people of Tigray as a hostage. This is not an American Value, but we are witnessing this is happening under your involvement of this process. I feel shame as an Tigrayan American.

Question 17

Let's all work together to help our people in Tigray! The most pressing issue is: Famine!!! The US Aid and WFP need to fully restart their humanitarian assistance to Tigray today!!

Question 18

Questions to the Amb. Mike Hammer:

1. As an ardent proponent of Justice and accountability, how did USA believe that the COHA will bring justice to the victims of the Horrific Crimes in Tigray?
2. By any stretch of imagination, a criminal cannot be expected to criminalize himself. So, how can the perpetrators of all the crimes in Tigray be expected to bring themselves to justice and ensure accountability?
3. Where on the planet does a crime as big & complex as this be tried in a way COHA is expected to settle?
4. Yes, COHA silenced the guns. Yet, it is not absolute. You know that the Amhara and Eritrean army are still killing Tegararu in the areas of Tigray which are still in their hands. Still, Tigray is under siege, thousands are dying because of hunger and lack of medicine because hunger is considered as another weapon of war by the PP. So, genocide is still pursuing. Please share your view on this.
5. Yes, COHA could be very helpful if implemented accordingly.

Question 19

How can we say the false narratives of disputed areas the Tigray territories of western Tigray and other territories, when the Pretoria peace agreement signed is based on the current Ethiopian constitution. All Tigray territories should be back to Tigray to the pre- war according to the constitution, nothing else.

Question 20

Ambassador Hammer, the US has been calling for the full implementation of the PA including the complete withdrawal of Eritrean and non-ENDF forces from Tigray. The US hasn't taken any concrete action yet against Eritrea or Amhara forces although it has vowed to do so. Why?

Question 21

1. What is the current status of humanitarian assistance in Tigray, and what steps are being taken to ensure that aid reaches those in need?
2. Can you provide insights into the challenges and successes in facilitating humanitarian access within the region?
3. How is the interim government addressing security concerns in Tigray, and what measures are in place to ensure the safety and well-being of the population?
4. Are there ongoing efforts to collaborate with international organizations or neighboring regions to address security challenges?
5. What kind of support or cooperation is the interim government seeking from the international community to address the multifaceted challenges in Tigray?
6. How can the global community contribute to the ongoing efforts of the interim government in Tigray?

Questions 22

Questions for Mr. Mike Hammer,

1. Could you kindly provide insight into the plans of USAID to resume aid? Given the severity of the situation, how confident are you that the aid provided will be sufficient to avert famine in Tigray? Additionally, could you please clarify when the aid is expected to commence?
2. In light of the reported involvement of Eritrean forces in the Tigray conflict, what factors are influencing the United States' approach towards taking strong action? Are there ongoing efforts to exert pressure on the Ethiopian government to issue an official statement regarding the withdrawal of Eritrean forces from the region?
3. Considering the dire conditions faced by Tigrayan refugees in Sudan, could you outline the initiatives and support measures being undertaken by the United States to assist these individuals? What specific actions has the US taken to address the challenges faced by Tigrayan refugees in Sudan?

Questions 23

However, as you stated correctly, its implementation is frustrating. So, if PP delays the implementation and millions of Tigrayans will perish. So, for how long will you appease the PP to enforce the agreement?

Thank you for all you do to enforce the American values & standards to seek justice for the victims of Tigray. As an American, I am proud of you Mr. Hammer!

questions (cont'd)

However, as you stated correctly, its implementation is frustrating. So, if PP delays the implementation and millions of Tigrayans will perish. So, for how long will you appease the PP to enforce the agreement?!

Question 24

3 years on until today, international journalists and media are not allowed to report the dire situation of our people of Tigray on the ground, the famine perishing thousands of innocent children, civilians as we speak. The world must know and see the true picture of the famine in Tigray.

question 25

The war in Tigray has caused too much pain and suffering. On top of that we are now dying of deliberate starvation. The U.S. must enforce the Ethiopian government to implement the Pretoria peace agreement ASAP. Amhara militias and Eritrean troops must leave Tigray territories and return to the pre-war status quo!!!

Ambassador Hammer, why is the US holding back in calling out.
#TigrayGenocide?

Question 26

Mr. Hammer The war crimes that happened in Tigray are known all over the globe and were considered massive violations of human rights; hence, there was a need to initiate trials to make the offenders accountable and hence impart justice. In general, an international crimes tribunal is a legal body that tries people indicted for war crimes or crimes against humanity as defined in Section 3 of the Act. 2 The aims of such tribunals are to achieve "justice, promote peacebuilding, encourage reconciliation, and take remedial action." Why is the position of the USA under your leadership not pushing for such a measure?

Question 27

Our question from the UK Tegar is direct to Ambassador M. Hamer, " Sincerely appreciating Mr. Ambassador's effort to resolve the check-make of the Pretoria agreement, we just want to ask if has tried to approach the key culprit in this international failure/rather crime., although, with his diplomatic credential, we do not expect him to pinpoint his finger in public at the ringleader of this crime, and how close/ far has he succeeded in twisting the arms of this ringleader to bring him to their/his/her sense? Tgrian Academic Diaspora in Europe, UK -Chapter.

Question 28

Regarding the situation eastern Africa, i would like to ask Amb. Mike Hammer, what steps are being taken to address the declining influence of the Biden administration and growing insurgents of Anti-western rhetoric within the region?

Question 29

Question to Mr. Michael Hammer. What could be the real problem that the United States couldn't in line with its commitment to implement towards implementation to the peace agreement. In this situation can we be able to deal with real accountability?

Question 30

Ass Prof Yemane Zerai - welcome. Thank you for all your tireless work as a commissioner of the #Tigraygenocide leading the investigations. Please keep the evidence safe and preserved. Do not trust the Ethiopian government who committed the #Tigraygenocide. Have backup safe storage abroad.

Question 31

President Gech, when is the TPLF meeting ending? When will be the government be back to people suffering a lot?

Question 32

Appalling- 3 years on, no international journalists and media allowed to report the horrifying #genocide in Tigray. How can the IC not push for this? What we know so far is the tip of the iceberg only. more horrifying situation to come when reporting is allowed.

Question 33

Thank you for participating in this collaborative meeting. I have a few questions: 3.5 million people need immediate assistance due to the famine in Tigray, with 1.7 million needing aid in the coming days. Ethiopian government has denied the famine even arresting those who were fundraising for the famine. This puts more people at risk in addition to preventing the appropriate response to the humanitarian crisis. In addition, it weaponizes famine. What is the US doing to pressure the Ethiopian Government to acknowledge the famine? Does politics and diplomatic relations come into play in this? Further, considering the mandate of the USAID, do you think there was compromised in the USAID's mandate when stopping aid? Secondly, can you tell us of specific engagements you've had with the Ethiopian and Eritrean governments in restoring constitutional order in Tigray which means respecting territorial integrity and the leaving of Amhara and Eritrean forces? Cont'd

Question 34

Mr. Yemane, we repeatedly ask you to provide us information or to submit yourself to the Human Right Commission you fell to do so. The Justice Accountability group is the only group that submitted the information needed that we confirmed submitting the necessary documentation, can you explain Why?

Question 35

Additional Questions to Amb. Hammer:

6. Are you aware that retired Tigrayans are deprived of their own money by the Eth. gov't? If so, isn't this direct violation of international laws of Finance?
7. We are informed that the int'l donors including USAid are providing only 20% of their intended aid to Tigray. While 90% of the people, i.e., about 5.2 million, need urgent food. So, what is the rationale behind this allotment? The int'l experience when people are in danger of Hunger like this is not this. No matter who is receiving it, donors are used to air drop food. Why in Tigray, donors are creating a different criterion? Yes, anyone who steals needs to be accountable. However way is the entire population paying the price and destined to die due to Hunger and diseases? And, when will USAID release its maximum aid?

Thank you, again.

Question 36

Questions to PR. Getachew Reda

1. We demand weekly or monthly report form you teams on the issues of
 - A. Tigray Famine
 - B. Conditions of IDP
 - C. Status of the Pretoria peace agreement
 - D. Status of employment, creating job opportunity for the migrating youths
2. We demand a press release on conditions and international concerns of the refugees in Sudan,
3. We demand a press release, or an official letter to the federal government as well, us to the Sudi Arabia government to release the Tigrayans in prison. (mind that those youth are survivors of Tigray genocide)
4. What role are you playing to tackle the Tigray famine so far and what are your plans for the upcoming 9 months?

Question 37

It is clear No justice = repeat #Tigraygenocide. Ethiopian government denying famine in Tigray, silent killing of our people, our IDPs not returned to their homes, all these is continuing part of the #genocide. Invaded areas of Tigray by foreign barbaric Eritrean troops & Amhara forces active #genocide still going on as we speak.

Question 38

Yemane's presentation was outstanding, and I would be grateful if you could display the data for better clarity, allowing me to follow along more effectively. If that isn't possible, kindly share the information with the attendees. Thank you.

Question 39

Your Excellence Ambassador Mike Hammer, just some questions for you and your Country...

1. Why the US stand for an independent investigation of the atrocities committed in Tigray is fundamentally changed after the Pretoria Deal?
2. How on Earth would the Eritrean government (forces) be made accountable for the atrocities (international crimes) they committed via domestic Transitional justice Framework of Ethiopia for which you are supporting tacitly?
3. Where the 'No More' dictum of the US it pledged in post Rwandan genocide gone?
4. Do you think it is fair and moral for the US (USID) and the international community to punish the starved people of Tigray under the guise of theft and embezzlement of Aid? did such practice/measure been taken anywhere with similar facts?

Question 40

Allied enemies' forces of barbaric Eritrean troops, Amhara militias and fanos. & ENDF intentionally infected our girls and women gangraping them with HIV. Now HIV is spreading fast in Tigray without testing, no protection and no treatment. This is a global issue and not only Tigray issues.

Question 41

Thank you, Yemane, this information should be made available to the global Justice and Accountability actors. We hope PJTI will work closely with the commission to increase visibility of committed atrocities and supporting evidence.

We will do it when the report is publicly and officially declared
in post war, 91% became poor

Question 42

In addition to the distressing atrocities outlined in the presentation, it is particularly alarming to discover the cases of rape impacting male victims in Tigray. Tigray, a community deeply rooted in its religious principles, vehemently condemns such reprehensible activities. We are resolute in our stance, calling for swift and uncompromising justice for all victims subjected to these heinous acts.

Question 43

I agree Dear brother Yemane, thank you for your presentation, however, we are still under genocide and please be aware that any data like this could be destroyed by the perpetrators. Share it with the international community, organizations, and individuals who are seeking justice and accountability.

Question 44

Mr. Yemane, we fought hard for ICHREE to continue its mandate, but to no avail, because money and geo-power politics were against the people of Tigray, who are believed to be expendable impediments against hatched geopolitical interests. But Your organization was silent until the ICHREE mandate was over and followed the next day a Press release of condemnation Why it took that long?

Question 45

First of all thank you for giving me the opportunity to ask a question
Q to Tegadaly Getachew, I have two questions:

I would like to ask about party and government separation of duty in Tigray. Getachew do you believe in having separate duties for party and government in Tigray? Tigray currently doesn't have an elected government or council. Does have a right the interim government to change the rule or law of the state of separate government and party duties?

Second, the matter of fact Ethiopia has mixed party and government duties. For example, Dr. Abiy is the leader of the Prosperity Party as well he is the prime minister of Ethiopia. Doesn't it create interest in conflict with Ethiopia's government policy?

Question 46

Question to Yeman Zeray (thank you for everything)

1. What is holding you from publishing those reports publicly?
2. Collaboration with intellectual are you trying to create your own website to put all documents and reports for the public?
3. Which international organization has reached you and your finding so far? If not what about you have tried to reach out international actors?
4. Can you create your own social medias to publish some reports?

Question 47

- If not, what is your strategy in this?
- Thirdly, why didn't your government support the continuation of the mandate of the ICHREE? Do you think it was an ethical strategy in hindsight? This is considering the continuing of human rights abuses with current unlawfully detained Tigrayans, the challenges of transitional justice with the genociders still in power and lack of impartiality within institutions, as well as international nature of the genocide. Can you explain the political considerations in this? Finally, is there anything being done to help Tigrayan refugees in Sudan? Would there be opportunity to provide them with refugee status in the US?

Question 48

IRA President Getachew Reda- please separate government from party. our people are above party. Anything you do should be in the best interests of our people if Tigray. you have an obligation to accomplish the goals and vision of our TDF heroes gave their one lives to Tigray.

Question 49

Mr Getachew you are willing to work with individuals specially the govt of Ethiopia that committed genocide in Tigray. If you are willing to work with these devils, why are you not able to work with the political parties in Tigray?

Question 50

Ambassador Mike Hammer, how Transitional justice without political transition (while the perpetrator/regime still in power) became feasible and sound for the United States? is it not a like dreaming Transitional Justice without any Transition?

Question 51

Our 2nd question from T.A.D.E.- UK_ Branch goes to President Getachew Reda: "As you well know almost all political parties on this planet, have gone through several evolutionary & revolutionary meandering loops to reach their current status. The loops in mind were passed & circumvented on the back of the galloping horses of negotiations, esp. at all critical turns. However, we have never come across in any historical leaves that those races rarely took them over 60 days. We wonder if you can throw some light on why TPLF's race took so long, esp. at this critical time we all are in when our people are perishing in hundreds? Alex Berhanu, on behalf of T.A.D.E, UK-Br.

Question 52

Focusing. 1. Press Pretoria agreement and 2. Tigray Famines 3. Justice for the victims of people of Tigray

Question 53

Mr Yemane,

- 1.The UN Human Right (UNHRC) closed its mandate, after few days its closure, there was press release why was necessary after the fact.
- 2.The Commission of Human Rights Experts on Ethiopia was established by the Human Rights Council on 17 December 2021, through resolution S-33/1, to conduct thorough and impartial investigations into allegations of violations and abuses of international human rights law and violations of international humanitarian law and international refugee law in Ethiopia committed since 3 November 2020. As a commissioner, what kind information you have provided. What was asked and provided?
- 3.Justic and Accountability group asked you to provide information on rape victims, ethnic cleansing in Irob and Kunama, you agreed to provide information why you change your mind?
- 4.They are high ranking officials who gave the order to kill to rape and ransack our population, why focus only on law ranking soldiers?
- 5.I confirmed reliable resources, you have not provided the necessary information for The UN Human Right (UNHRC) is there any reason why your office not provided.
- 6.Any fellow up letters or confirmation from the office of The UN Human Right (UNHRC)

Question 54

Your excellence Ambassador Mike Hammer, the devastation in Tigray calls urgent ACTION! When will the Pretoria agreement be enforced?

Question 55

Tigray has no representation in Ethiopia for more than 3 years, nor anywhere related to Ethiopia issues. others deciding our fate. What is Tigray right now? Self-determination is a human rights, not given by anymore. How are we forced to live with a regime committing #genocide on us/our people? Still denying famine killing thousands in Tigray.

Question 56

Ambassador Mike Hammer; That genocide is a heinous crime that should never be tolerated or supported in any way. What is the situation in which the US government is investigating the genocide in Tigray by prosecuting the perpetrators?

Question 57

Ambassador Mike, could you please let us know when Tigray people expect life saving Aid reach them and when do you think the IDP's return to their homes? The US can speed up aid delivery by forcing the Federal government do its part to save life. Help save the lives of famine-stricken people of Tigray. We all have a responsibility to care for victims of human rights abuses and sexual violated people.

@Getachew Reda,

1. Is your government doing anything to bring those responsible for the killing of Zewdu to justice? And numerous other women?
2. Is your government doing anything to bring to justice those responsible for aid theft?
3. How are you balancing normalization with the Federal government with issues of justice and accountability?
4. Why isn't a multiparty system opened? Even being derailed due to the arrest of people who were attempting to protest?

Question 58

Pregenocide in Tigray, can we look for a country like South Africa that sued Israel on behalf of Gaza?

Question 59

Dear Mr. Ambassador Mike, Is it possible to proclaim/assert that CoHA is still a

VALID agreement if the critical terms signed are not implemented??? Eritrean & Amhara forces are inside Tigray, people are still subjected to ongoing atrocities, #CHREE has been terminated and unfettered access is left to no avail??? What can Tigray expect from this "deal" and what is US's stand on the situation???

Question 60

Why don't you all hold Tigray regional government responsible for protecting the people of Tigray? You are all crying out about occupation by Eritrea, while TPLF annexed Wolkait, Humera and force the residence to speak Tigray language for the past 30 years. They are free now, there will be no point of return to the Apartide system.

Question 61

The questions being asked are so crucial that Ambassador Michael Hammer would be nice to email them to answer all the questions, so he doesn't have time?

Question 62

Thank you dear Rita for your excellent presentation! May God help you/us endure the pain and trauma you and All Tegaruu have. Yet, remember, we are resilient people, and we will face this challenge, win all odds, and thrive again. Yes, our heroic peoples of Erob & Kunama are being exterminated as we speak due to lack of proper political leadership. But we trust our youth and our resilient exceptional people to mitigate the risk and find out a way forward.

Question 63

Just FYI, to everyone; a finding of scientific investigation on the heinous atrocities in Tigray is systemically made to be silenced by different actors; both from within (Tigray) outside. the raw data are still available but will not, for sure be dead/silenced.

Question 64

Prof. Yemane and his team should be proud of your work. It will be a good document not only for now but even for future scholars. Great and appreciated!

Question 65

Sometimes we need to understand the merits and the demerits of our purpose, and how apartheid history shaped South Africa's genocide case against Israel. What is going on in Palestine is taking a center stage because of security concern for the west and Israel. After the ANC came to power in 1994 it established full diplomatic relations with Palestine while ties with Israel deteriorated over time with limited political and diplomatic interaction because of Israel's "antagonistic attitude" toward peace talks with the Palestinians and "disregard for international law regarding the rights of the Palestinians and their territories".

Question 66

ANC's longstanding support for the Palestine Liberation Organization and what they saw as the growing view that Israel was practicing its own brand of apartheid in the occupied territories. There are certain things that run incredibly deep in the ANC and its support for the Palestinian people is one of them. There's an affinity for the Palestinian struggle which is seen as very close to the South African struggle.

Question 67

Professor Zeray, thank you for sharing this important information. It's distressing to hear about efforts to silence the findings of scientific investigations on the atrocities in Tigray. The raw data, though still available, faces challenges in being heard. Let's hope for transparency and justice to prevail despite these obstacles.

Question 68

We have famine issue in Tigray. Could you please have a commitment from Ambassador Mike? Saving life needs to be our priority first. Justice for victims of genocide may take a long time. Thanks

Question 69

do you think the famine in Tigray is manmade which is by the Ethiopian Government?

Question 70

1 year, 2 months, and 26 days have passed since the Pretoria agreement was signed.
1. Why aren't the U.S., A.U., and all parties involved with the agreement pressing the Ethiopian government to fully implement the agreement within a "specified time frame" rather than opting for an open-ended approach???? As each second passes, innocent lives are at stake. It's time to take decisive action and ACT within a time frame!!! Enough is enough!

Question 71

Thank you PJTI for such an amazing job

1. Can you collect all questions and send via email to Mr. Mike hammer and Pr. Getachew Reda

2. On your next panel discussion can you add peoples from ICC end European union if possible

Comment

We love to see this team move forward. We expect a lot from you all thank you

Question 72

Organizers, if Amb. Mike is back, please let him respond to the Questions directed to him in the comments section first, if you are running out of time. Thank u.

Comment

Thank you very much PJTI for organizing this valuable talk on Tigray issues.

Thank you PJTI for your excellent work

Thank you, Prof. Mulugeta, for the invitation. Hello, everyone who participated in this conference.

Very successful event! Thank you PJTI! Thank you again Prof. Mulugeta and the great team!

Question 73

ሰላማት: After a genocide is perpetrated by an individual, government, or community, the victims face significant challenges and uncertainties. Key concerns include:

1. Ensuring that the perpetrator does not repeat such crimes in the future.
2. Preventing the victims, once they regain strength, from seeking revenge through committing another genocide.
3. Rebuilding the shattered social, economic, cultural, religious, and political connections with accountability and justice.

Addressing these issues requires a careful balance of accountability measures, restorative justice, and efforts to foster reconciliation among affected communities.

Thanks all

Comments

Excellent event presentations: regaining media attention with the compelling recent data especially in the West is vital though difficult. Keep on and all the best to all working for policy, aid, and justice!

Dear Prof. Mulugeta and the Organizing Team, Thank you for the outstanding presentation. I hope you can share the video presentation with Tigrai Press and other media outlets. Best regards, Tigrai Press

Great job Prof. Mulugeta and the whole organizing team! Kindly share where people can see the recordings of today! Thank you!

This was a great meeting connecting the Diaspora with the Tigray political leadership!

PJTI, thank you very much for arranging such an important event. I hope you will keep doing this over and over again. Justice for Tigrai!

Question 74

The Main problem is the Tigray Transitional government has succumbed to the pressure of Federal Government and is not following the implementation of the Pretoria agreement. The most important issues now are

- 1) Returning the internally displaced millions to their houses.
- 2) Providing food to the Tigrayans starving to death. But as Rita said earlier the Wolves are guarding the Hen hut.

Comments

Great Job, Prof. Mulugeta and all organizers and presenters. Thank You!

Thank You Father for This Timely Teaching, I Hope & Pray That Everyone In This Room, Takes Something Out Of This Deep And Blessing!!!

May the blessings of divine guidance illuminate the path towards a brighter future for Tigray, where the shadows of past atrocities fade, and justice prevails for the Tigrean people. It is my heartfelt hope that we all unite in bringing forth accountability, advocating for justice, and fostering healing. I extend sincere gratitude to all the presenters for their exceptional contributions. Your profound insights were not only valuable but also deeply enlightening. The engaging and informative delivery resonated profoundly. Thank you to the organizers and everyone involved; your collective efforts inspire hope for a renewed and better Tigray.

Thank you, the organizer team, presenters and all the participants. We need more like this to engage between the diaspora Tigray and Political, Civil Society in Tigray. Good work!

Abona Archpriest Mussie Berhe - Egziabher Yihabelna. The words are healing. Egziabher Yihabelna for having you on this meeting. Yes, Tigray will be free by our Lord God.