



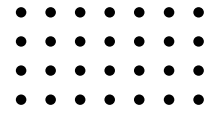
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QUARTERLY SITUATION REPORT



omna tigray

Executive Summary



The humanitarian crisis in Tigray, Ethiopia, has been caused by one of the most devastating conflicts in modern history. Marked by genocide, famine, and mass displacement, it has unfolded largely in the shadow of global silence. Despite the signing of a cessation of hostilities agreement (CoHA) in November 2022, the situation remains dire, with continued instability, restricted humanitarian access, and ongoing human rights abuses and illegal occupation of Tigrayan territories. Recent statements from Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed signal an alarming escalation of genocidal rhetoric, making it clear that Tigray's suffering is far from over. To make matters worse, internal divisions within Tigray's political leadership are exacerbating the crisis, deepening the suffering of civilians who remain trapped in an unrelenting cycle of violence and deprivation.

The Tigrayan people have endured relentless suffering. It is estimated that hundreds of thousands have been killed due to direct violence, famine, and lack of medical care. Systematic starvation has been used as a weapon of war, with humanitarian aid deliberately obstructed and withheld to push Tigrayans toward the brink of extermination. Reports of mass conflict-related sexual violence, extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, and forced displacement continue to emerge, painting a horrifying picture of ethnic cleansing and genocide. Despite the CoHA, Tigray remains under siege. Eritrean and Amhara forces continue to occupy large parts of the region, perpetuating violence and preventing displaced persons from returning home. Infrastructure is in ruins—hospitals, schools, and roads lie in a state of devastation, with little to no reconstruction efforts underway. The Ethiopian government's refusal to hold perpetrators accountable further erodes trust in any potential peace process.

Executive Summary

Recent remarks by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed have only deepened fears of continued atrocities. His rhetoric has dangerously escalated, calling for the elimination of his political opponents in language disturbingly reminiscent of historical genocides. Such statements, in addition to an uptick in arrests of Tigrayans outside of Tigray, serve as both a call to arms and an indication that the Ethiopian government has no real intention of securing peace for Tigray. Compounding these external threats is the worsening internal political crisis within Tigray itself. Divisions among the Tigrayan leadership have led to governance paralysis, internal power struggles, and disillusionment among the people. Rather than focusing on unity, rebuilding, and protecting the people's interests, including ensuring Tigray's territorial integrity and the return of the hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs), factional disputes have created additional layers of instability, leaving civilians even more vulnerable. With trust in political institutions eroding, the suffering of ordinary Tigrayans is being prolonged not only by external aggression but also by internal disarray.

The international community's response and its mechanisms for accountability and monitoring have been largely inadequate. Unlike other global crises that have prompted swift and large-scale action, Tigray has been met with hesitation, muted condemnations, and insufficient humanitarian efforts. While some countries have imposed limited sanctions and restrictions, they fall woefully short of the decisive action required to halt the ongoing genocide. Many of the soft-power tools employed to hold Ethiopia accountable for the crimes being committed in Tigray have been rolled back, with global institutions, like the World Bank, returning to the status quo. This selective approach to human suffering exposes deep-seated racial and geopolitical biases, illustrating whose lives are deemed worthy of saving. Without an international recommitment to hold Ethiopia accountable for implementing the CoHA and its atrocity crimes past and present, the silent genocide of Tigrayans will continue.

Food Insecurity

Throughout the genocidal war on Tigray and subsequent silent genocide of attrition, the Ethiopian government has weaponized starvation against the people of Tigray. Still today, Tigray is experiencing a severe food security crisis, exacerbated by ongoing conflict, internal displacement, and insufficient governmental response. Despite the escalating humanitarian needs, the federal and local governments have been criticized for their inadequate acknowledgment and action regarding the crisis. The effects of this crisis are far-reaching, affecting not only access to food but also overall public health, economic stability, and social cohesion within the region. The crisis has placed an enormous burden on humanitarian organizations, local leaders, and the displaced populations who are struggling to survive under dire conditions.

Ethiopia Federal Governmental Response

As Haileselassie and the Derg did before in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, the Abiy Administration has consistently denied the severe food insecurity and famine in Tigray. In 2021, the Ethiopian federal government denied reports of hunger in Tigray and expelled seven senior United Nations officials, accusing them of “meddling in the country's internal affairs.” In June 2022, the former United Nations undersecretary-general for humanitarian affairs, Mark Lowcock, revealed that the Ethiopian government obstructed a famine declaration. More recently, in March 2024, Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed stated, “*There are no people dying due to hunger in Ethiopia,*” denying reports of starvation in drought- and conflict-affected areas.

Similarly, in October 2024, when the leader of Tigray’s interim administration, Getachew Reda, warned of looming mass starvation, a federal government spokesperson dismissed the reports as “inaccurate” and accused him of “politicizing the crisis.” The move was widely condemned by the international community, as it limited the ability of organizations to respond to the growing humanitarian catastrophe. The government has since continued to downplay the severity of food insecurity, making it difficult to implement effective response strategies. The Ethiopian government's use of hunger as a weapon of war, as identified in the International Commission of Human Rights Experts on Ethiopia’s September 2022 report, even extended to Abiy Ahmed opposing the re-release of the Band Aid charity single *Do They Know It's Christmas?* for its 40th anniversary, arguing that it perpetuates negative stereotypes of Ethiopia.

Food Insecurity

The Ethiopian government must acknowledge the severity of the food security crisis in Tigray and collaborate with international agencies to facilitate effective humanitarian interventions.

Impact of Internal Displacement

As of March 2024, approximately 4.4 million people were internally displaced in Ethiopia due to conflict, hostilities, and climate shocks, with a significant portion originating from Tigray. At the height of the active war in Tigray, over 35% of Tigray's population was internally displaced. Today, close to a million remain unable to return home due to the ongoing illegal occupation and failures of the Ethiopian government and Tigray leadership to ensure their safe return home. IDPs have faced the worst of the famine and food crisis in Tigray. They lost access to their livelihoods, agricultural lands, and markets. Targeted programs to assist internally displaced populations, focusing on restoring livelihoods, providing psychosocial support, and ensuring access to food and essential services, should be implemented.

Conflict and Food Insecurity

Agricultural destruction was a key tool of the genocidal war on Tigray. The ongoing conflict has led to the destruction of agricultural infrastructure, loss of livestock, and abandonment of farmlands, directly reducing food production in the region. Furthermore, hostilities have disrupted supply chains and markets, limiting the availability of food and increasing prices, making it difficult for households to access essential commodities. The full implementation of the CoHA, facilitating peace, must be prioritized to enable the resumption of agricultural activities and the rebuilding of local economies, which are crucial for long-term food security.

Food Insecurity

Food Crisis Severity

Malnutrition is widespread, with many surviving on meager rations or going days without food. A recent study published in BMC Public Health highlights the severity of the crisis, revealing that starvation is the leading cause of death across all age groups in Tigray. Verbal autopsies conducted for 1,946 out of 2,694 deaths indicated that 49.3% were due to starvation. Children under five were particularly vulnerable, with a higher risk of starvation-related deaths. Females were also more likely to die from starvation than males. Additionally, a significant portion of households (60.1%) experienced moderate or severe hunger.

The 2024 SMART+ Assessment found that acute malnutrition in children under five years old in Tigray was at a "Very High/Critical" level (>15%) in almost every zone according to the Weight-to-Height Z-Score (WHZ) measurement. The combined global acute malnutrition rate (c-GAM) was 30.6%, exceeding the famine declaration threshold.

The regional average for stunting among children was 40.06%, while 32.87% were underweight. These indicators show chronic undernutrition and a severe impact on child development, leading to long-term health complications and reduced life expectancy.

The 2024 SMART+ Survey, however, did not include urban populations or displaced households, likely underreporting the full scale of malnutrition and food insecurity in Tigray. The lack of comprehensive data presents a major challenge in assessing the true extent of the crisis and allocating resources effectively. Future food security assessments must include displaced and urban populations to ensure a more accurate representation of the crisis.

The high malnutrition rates indicate that urgent interventions are required to prevent further deterioration of health conditions among vulnerable populations. Furthermore, these persistent high malnutrition levels underscore the necessity for sustained, well-coordinated humanitarian aid—all of which have been lacking in Tigray.

Food Insecurity

Humanitarian Response and Gaps

Humanitarian organizations face significant obstacles in delivering aid due to the ongoing illegal occupation of Tigrayan territories and bureaucratic impediments. The lack of federal government cooperation has further hindered the timely distribution of food assistance to those in need. Food aid levels have declined significantly since 2023, with only 900,000 people receiving food assistance in the last two months of 2024, reaching less than half of the estimated population in need. The crisis is set to only get worse as the United States under the Trump administration has ceased USAID programs and has stopped contributing to the World Food Programme. Strategies to address the immense gap that such changes leave are immediately required to prevent the deaths of thousands of food-insecure Tigrayan children.

Displacement and Occupation

The illegal occupation of Tigray by Eritrean and Amhara forces has created an unrelenting humanitarian disaster marked by mass displacement, ethnic cleansing, and ongoing atrocities. Despite the signing of the CoHA in Pretoria, South Africa, in November 2022, much of Tigray remains under occupation, forcing millions into a state of uncertainty and suffering. The situation has ignited widespread protests among IDPs throughout Tigray, as they demand justice, the right to return home, and international intervention. The continued presence of Eritrean and Amhara forces in Western and Southern Tigray, as well as Irob, Gulomakeda, and other areas along Eritrea's border, has prevented the safe return of displaced persons, who face the reality of permanent exile from their ancestral lands. Reports of ethnic cleansing—executions, mass rapes, looting, enforced disappearances, and destruction of homes—have surfaced since the onset of the war in November 2020, with little to no accountability for the perpetrators. Despite the supposed peace deal, these forces continue to occupy Tigrayan land, continuing to commit these atrocity crimes and reinforcing an agenda of ethnic erasure.

Displacement and Occupation

Medical services in occupied areas are extremely limited, leaving the sick and wounded without treatment or having to take long and arduous journeys to access care in unoccupied areas where health facilities struggle to meet the needs of a population having gone through a genocidal war and struggling to survive amid a silent genocide. Hospitals and clinics that once provided aid have been depleted of medicine and supplies, and many healthcare workers are unable to operate due to the lack of resources.

Fleeing from ethnic cleansing across Tigray, displaced persons have sought refuge in makeshift camps across the region, with urban centers like Mekelle, Shire, and Adigrat hosting large numbers of IDPs in overcrowded conditions. The blockade on humanitarian aid during the height of the war has left a lasting impact, with many IDPs still struggling to access basic necessities. The psychological toll of displacement, coupled with the trauma of war, has led to a mental health crisis, with little to no support available for those suffering from post-traumatic stress and grief. The current humanitarian situation in these camps is catastrophic, with starvation and disease taking an increasing toll on the population. Starvation has become the leading cause of death in Tigray. Every day, dozens of people, including children and the elderly, die from hunger-related complications and preventable illnesses. One study estimated that 60.3% of deaths in IDP centers were attributed to starvation. Furthermore, women and children, in particular, face heightened risks of gender-based and sexual violence and exploitation in IDP camps.

The conditions of the camp have been horrific. Birhane Tafere, IDP from Humera, currently in Abiye Adi, says, *“All displaced people are in despair. We are worried about what will happen next”*. Negasi Marek, displaced from Western Tigray and currently in an IDP camp in Tsehaye Primary School in Shire, says, *“We are not living; we are suffering. Especially the elderly, diabetics, and people with hypertension do not get medicine and food. All you can expect here is death.”*

In response to their worsening conditions and the continued occupation of their homelands, thousands of IDPs have taken to the streets in protest. Recent demonstrations across IDP camps in Tigray have brought attention to the plight of displaced Tigrayans, highlighting their demands for justice, the right to return home, and immediate humanitarian assistance.

Displacement and Occupation

Protesters have condemned the Ethiopian government, the Tigrayan government, and the international community for their inaction, arguing that the CoHA has failed to address the root causes of displacement. The demands of displaced Tigrayans must be met with concrete actions, including the immediate withdrawal of Eritrean and Amhara forces from Tigray, the safe and dignified return of IDPs, prosecution of war criminals through independent international tribunals, and sustained humanitarian assistance for those still suffering in displacement camps.

Healthcare Crisis

The targeted destruction of public facilities, and in particular, healthcare services, was an integral element of the genocidal war on Tigray. During the war, the vast majority of healthcare facilities in Tigray were looted and/or vandalized by Ethiopian, Eritrean, and Amhara forces. Recent studies have shown that 80% of health posts, 73% of health centers, 80% of primary hospitals, 83% of general hospitals, and 100% of specialized hospitals were damaged during the war. These attacks on healthcare facilities jeopardized the health and well-being of the millions of people living in the region. As a recent article published in the *Atavist* shows, Tigrayans were left unable to access health services at the height of the war. It details the story of one patient, noting that *“her family took her to a local clinic but found it empty, the staff having fled for their lives. The woman then went to a small hospital, but Ethiopian and Eritrean soldiers had requisitioned it as barracks, in defiance of international law. They chased the woman and her family away.”* The signing of the CoHA in 2022 was supposed to alleviate this issue, with the federal government of Ethiopia pledging to restore all essential services in Tigray, which would include health services. However, since the signing of the CoHA, the healthcare crisis in the region has not improved.

Due to the federal government’s unwillingness to allocate the necessary funds for the restoration of health facilities damaged during the war, most continue to function at reduced capacities. This means that populations that rely on health facilities are unable to access lifesaving treatment.

Healthcare Crisis

In particular, vulnerable groups such as those experiencing malnutrition, children, pregnant people, the elderly, and persons with disabilities are cut off from vitally necessary health care. The impact of this continues to be devastating. As a recent study shows, the destruction of healthcare services has significantly disrupted access to maternal health services, especially in rural areas. Moreover, as the region's decimated health infrastructure has ceased the provision of free services, such as treatments for diabetic patients, more lives are put at risk. In all, the destruction of health facilities continues to endanger the lives of millions in Tigray.

In addition to the physical destruction, the war and post-war context have also had significant ramifications for healthcare providers. Due to the war, healthcare providers such as doctors and nurses worked for years in extremely dangerous conditions without receiving salaries. The article published by Atavist Magazine shows the horrific circumstances under which Tigray's healthcare professionals fought to provide care for their patients. The article details the experiences of doctors, nurses, and other healthcare professionals during the war, many of whom developed post-traumatic stress disorder in the course of their work. Among the stories is Abraha's, a doctor who was treating patients during the war: *"Less than 24 hours passed before Abraha began to glimpse the war's toll on children. Young patients with blast and shrapnel wounds began arriving in the pediatrics ward the from areas outside Mekelle. In time, so many children would pour into Ayder that Abraha wondered: Were soldiers targeting them?"*

After the 2022 CoHA, these healthcare professionals did not receive the necessary support and were left to navigate these traumatic experiences on their own. Additionally, healthcare providers did not get paid the wages they were owed. As recently as December 2024, over 900 healthcare professionals in Tigray resigned due to unpaid salaries. This further undermines the region's already devastated healthcare infrastructure. Urgent financial and psycho-social support is needed to rehabilitate the region's devastated health infrastructure and avoid preventable deaths from treatable conditions.

Systemic Violence Against Women

Since the onset of the genocidal war in November 2020, Tigray's women and girls have been subjected to widespread sexual violence, forced impregnation, and unimaginable brutality at the hands of Ethiopian, Eritrean, and Amhara forces. These crimes were not isolated acts of war but part of a calculated campaign to terrorize and destroy the social fabric of Tigrayan society. The world has largely ignored the suffering of Tigrayan women, and those responsible for these crimes remain unpunished, further perpetuating a culture of impunity that emboldens future atrocities.

Sexual violence has been weaponized as a tool of genocide, with survivors recounting the horrific tactics used by soldiers and militias. Women have been gang-raped, held in captivity as sex slaves, and subjected to extreme physical torture. Some have been intentionally infected with HIV or branded with ethnic slurs. Reports indicate that many were raped in front of their family members, a deliberate strategy to instill shame and destroy Tigrayan identity.

The situation in displacement camps remains dire, as many survivors have been abandoned without medical care, psychological support, or justice. Hospitals that once provided services for sexual violence survivors have been looted and destroyed, leaving women to suffer in silence. There is an urgent need for reproductive health services, as many survivors have become pregnant as a result of rape, with no access to safe abortion or maternal care. The psychological trauma endured by these women is immeasurable, with countless reports of depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and suicide. The war has robbed them of their dignity, their sense of security, and their futures.

Beyond the atrocities committed by occupying forces, the collapse of law and order in Tigray due to the genocide has further endangered women and girls. The absence of a functioning judicial system and security apparatus has led to a surge in kidnappings, killings, and gender-based violence. Women who survived the war now face new threats, as criminal elements exploit the lawlessness to commit further atrocities. Reports from within the region indicate that women have been abducted from IDP camps, their fate unknown. *"We escaped death once, but now we live in fear every day,"* said a displaced woman in Shire. *"Girls are disappearing, and no one is there to protect us."*

Systemic Violence Against Women

In some areas, women have been attacked in broad daylight with no repercussions for the perpetrators. The lack of accountability has created an environment where gender-based violence continues unchecked, deepening the suffering of Tigrayan women. Amidst this suffering, Tigrayan women have sought solidarity and strength from other survivors of genocide, particularly Rwandan women who endured similar horrors during the 1994 genocide. Meetings and discussions between Tigrayan survivors and Rwandan women have been a source of both pain and resilience.

"Hearing their stories, I realized we are living the same nightmare they did," said a Tigrayan survivor. *"But they also showed us that survival is possible, that justice is worth fighting for."* Rwandan genocide survivors have shared their experiences of navigating post-genocide trauma, advocating for justice, and rebuilding their lives despite international neglect. These connections have provided a sense of solidarity and a shared determination to hold perpetrators accountable.

The complicity of the Ethiopian government in these atrocities is undeniable. Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed's forces, along with their Eritrean and Amhara allies, have systematically carried out this campaign of terror while denying and downplaying the crimes. International organizations and human rights groups have documented these atrocities extensively, yet there has been no meaningful accountability. Calls for independent investigations have been ignored, and the perpetrators walk free, emboldened by the silence of the world.

Tigray's Internal Affairs

While the November 2022 Permanent Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA) signed in Pretoria, South Africa, between the warring Tigrayan and Ethiopian federal forces brought active war to an end—the social, economic, and political conditions in Tigray remain fragile as crises and occupation persist, as the implementation of the CoHA remains unmet.

Key provisions of the CoHA on ensuring safety of civilians, unhindered humanitarian assistance and restoration of essential services in Tigray, the restoration of the administrative territory of Tigray under the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) constitution, the return of IDPs to their places of origin, transitional justice, and post-conflict rehabilitation and reconstruction remain unimplemented and/or obstructed by the Ethiopian government, leaving Tigray in a position of insecurity as frustration mounts. Stagnation in the implementation of the CoHA has occurred without independent and international monitoring from the international community, as the African Union (AU) has proven to carry favor to the Abiy Administration. Further, survivors of the Tigray Genocide are without justice and accountability, social services have not fully resumed, an estimated one million remain internally displaced, humanitarian assistance remains limited, and lawlessness has taken hold amid a broken society. According to figures from Tigray health officials, *“60% of households have moderate or severe hunger, compared to only 3% before the war. Shockingly, this rate is now even higher than during the war and blockage (almost 36%).”* Moreover, over 40% of Tigray remains occupied by neighboring Amhara and Eritrean forces, and the particularly vulnerable Kunama and Irob communities continue to face targeted violence, displacement, and human rights abuses. In the most recent AU session on the "Lessons Learned Report from the AU-Led Peace Process for the Tigray Region of Ethiopia," AU High Representative for the Horn of Africa, Olusegun Obasanjo, spoke of Tigrayan occupied as contested territories and suggested that these areas remain neutral, going against the stipulations of the CoHA and threatening its implementation.

In addition to these challenges, political tensions between the Tigray Interim Administration and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) threaten the unity and social cohesion within the society, with the risk of further escalation. The Ethiopian state would be in an unsustainable position if war were to resume in Tigray, in addition to the wars in Amhara and Oromia.

Tigray's Internal Affairs

Thus, it is essential that concerted efforts are made towards the full implementation of the CoHA as a necessary first step in addressing many of the crises in Tigray today. Implementation will require actions from not only the signatories but also from observers of the agreement, including regional and international partners. As Tigrayans work to rebuild their lives and livelihoods, international partners, humanitarian organizations, the diaspora, and friends of Tigray should support their efforts.

Domestic Context

In recent years, Ethiopia has experienced a complex interplay between centralizing reforms and longstanding demands for regional autonomy. The country's federal structure—a framework designed to accommodate ethnic diversity—has come under renewed scrutiny. In response to insurgencies in Amhara and Oromia—as well as Tigray's political detachment following the state-sanctioned genocide—authorities in Addis Ababa have continued to centralize state power. This drive toward centralization has further marginalized regions, given these distinct political identities, while such policies have intensified debates over the balance between national unity and regional self-determination, highlighting the challenges inherent in Ethiopia's domestic political order.

Parallel to these administrative shifts, the Federal government's reform agenda—claiming to seek enhanced political participation and stimulate economic recovery—has seen limited success. The memory of the genocidal war on Tigray fuels persistent calls for accountability and transparency, particularly from opposition groups and civil society organizations. The genocide in Tigray also severely disrupted regional economies, and lingering instability has exacerbated uneven resource distribution. With agricultural productivity and livelihoods still recovering, communities disproportionately impacted by political corruption have voiced their frustration with the central government's cronyism and its failure to equitably distribute the country's development gains.

Domestic Context

Macroeconomic challenges further complicate the domestic political order. Despite annual GDP growth between 2000 and 2020, economic shocks—including the COVID-19 pandemic, internal fragmentation, recurring droughts, and the Ukraine crisis—have collectively undermined Ethiopia’s macroeconomic stability and stalled human development. By 2024, these pressures resulted in a significant slowdown in real GDP growth while inflation surged past 30 percent. These compounding shocks have deepened both the current account and fiscal deficits, intensifying the country’s financial vulnerabilities. In December 2023, Ethiopia defaulted on external debt, and the government announced to bondholders that liquidity constraints—coupled with strategic fiscal considerations—prevented it from making a USD 33 million coupon payment on its USD 1 billion Eurobond.

Geopolitical Context

The Horn of Africa has been facing multi-layered problems of inter-state conflicts, intra-state conflicts, terrorism, poverty, famines, massive human suffering, death, displacement, and war. In addition to genocide and civil wars in Ethiopia, Ethiopia’s neighbors, including Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia, are also experiencing civil wars. At a time of massive human suffering, we are also witnessing a retreat from traditional Western partners as they shift attention toward their immediate region and/or domestic borders. The retreat from traditional Western partners is facilitating the shift of power from a unilateral world to that of a multipolar world, as witnessed by the growing influence of Middle Eastern states in the Horn of Africa region. For example, the conflict in Sudan between the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) under Abdel Fattah Al Burhan and the Rapid Support Force (RSF) under Mohamed Hamdan Al Burhan Dagalo (Hemedti) continues unabated with acts of genocide, thousands of deaths, destruction of infrastructure, massive displacement and migration in the region. The war is fueled by outside actors, including the United Arab Emirates (UAE) supporting the RSF and Saudi Arabia supporting the SAF. The UAE supplies arms and drones, causing massive destruction. The SAF is undertaking military offensives and recapturing strategic places like Khartoum and Eastern Sudan, the Al Jazira state, and its capital, Wad Medani. The UAE played a similarly destructive role during the genocidal war in Tigray, supplying arms and finances in support of the federal government's war effort.

Geopolitical Context

Ethiopia's quest for port access in the region has further exacerbated tensions and fears of potential conflict. In January 2024, Ethiopia signed a memorandum of understanding with Somaliland to lease land along its coastline to establish a military base, and in return, Ethiopia would recognize Somaliland as an independent state. The memorandum led to the deteriorating of relations between Ethiopia and Somalia—which refuses to recognize the independence of Somaliland. Somalia severed diplomatic ties with Ethiopia and declared that Ethiopia could not participate in the Africa Union Support Mission in Somalia (AUSSOM). Furthermore, in what is widely seen as a reaction to the memorandum of understanding, Somalia agreed to a defense agreement with Egypt and agreed to include Egyptian forces in AUSSOM.

Egypt's military presence could contribute to escalating tensions between Ethiopia and Egypt, further destabilizing the region. Turkey is serving as a mediator between Ethiopia and Somalia in an attempt to prevent an escalation of tensions. In December 2024, the leaders of Somalia and Ethiopia met in Turkey and reached an agreement that upholds Somalia's territorial integrity while allowing Ethiopia access to the sea and reversing the decision to remove Ethiopian forces from participating in the AUSSOM. Turkey has made significant investments in Somalia, and Somalia hosts Turkey's largest overseas military base and will host the next round of talks in March 2025 between Ethiopia and Somalia.

The 2018 Ethiopia and Eritrea Agreement, initially lauded by international observers as a peace agreement, was instead a war pact, laying the foundation for Ethiopia and Eritrea to coordinate and conduct the genocide in Tigray. The November 2022 Cessation of Hostilities Agreement created fissures in relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and since then, relations have significantly deteriorated between the two. In October 2024, Egypt, Somalia, and Eritrea established an alliance, with the leaders signing a security partnership in response to what they perceive as regional provocations by Ethiopia. In February 2025, a former Ethiopian president wrote a contentious opinion piece in Al-Jazeera, warning that the Eritrean President is working to reignite conflict while completely ignoring Ethiopia's role in the genocidal war. Given the former Ethiopian president's close relationship with the Ethiopian Prime Minister, the opinion piece gives credence to a potential brewing conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Ethiopian news sources reported in February 2024 that the Eritrean Embassy in Addis Ababa is set to close while planning on maintaining its diplomatic presence at the African Union. This diplomatic breakdown, in conjunction with their mutual support of each other's opposition groups, is worrisome and could indicate preparation for proxy conflicts, if not direct conflict between the two states.

Geopolitical Context

The conflicts in the Horn risk further exacerbation as tensions continue to rise, risking destabilization. African institutions have so far failed to help mediate and stabilize the region, as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) remains weak due to hostile relations and a lack of trust among its member states and the African Union (AU) under former Chairman Moussa Faki who was inept and not fit for purpose. With a recent change in AU leadership in February 2025, there is hope that Chairperson Mahamoud Ali Youssouf of Djibouti can bring peace dividends to the region as he understands the dynamics, players, and realities in the Horn of Africa.

Call to Action

For the international community, the genocidal war on Tigray ended on November 2, 2022, with the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA). For people in Tigray, however, the reality is one of silent genocide, in which the population suffers from a worsening hunger crisis, illegal occupation persists, and atrocity crimes continue. A recent in-depth article in the *Atavsit Magazin* recounts what it was like for Tigrayans living through genocide. One Tigrayan described his experience, saying, *“Please save my family. Please. Not today. It shouldn’t be today.”* Sadly, this statement still holds true. Hundreds of thousands of Tigrayans spend every day trying to survive and hoping today is not the day of their death. Making matters worse, they are surviving through this silent genocide without cause for hope as they have been abandoned by the international community, the Ethiopian Federal government, and their own leadership. Domestic and international stakeholders must recommit themselves to preventing the immense suffering of Tigrayans. We, therefore, call for:

- The World Bank and International Monetary Fund to halt any funding to Ethiopia until the country is able to bring peace to the region of Tigray, fully implementing the peace deal;
- The US to continue suspending Ethiopia from the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) trade deal until human rights violations have ceased across the country;
- International support for a robust monitoring and verification mechanism intended to help drive implementation of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement;

Call to Action

- The UN Human Rights Council to establish a mechanism to drive justice and accountability in Tigray to complement and extend the victim-trusted work of ICHREE; and
- The AU Peace and Security Council to create an ad hoc regional tribunal to prosecute atrocity crimes committed in Ethiopia.

So as to facilitate:

- Immediate humanitarian access and the continuation of aid into all of Tigray;
- Immediate internationally monitored and verifiable withdrawal of Eritrean and Amhara forces from all parts of Tigray and the restoration of pre-war territorial boundaries;
- Ensured safety and security of Tigrayans as Tigray Defense Forces disarm;
- Immediate restoration of all essential services, including banking, electricity, telecommunications, transportation, and trade across all of Tigray;
- Immediate protection of Tigrayans who are facing ethnic cleansing in occupied Western Tigray and an end to the state-sanctioned ethnic profiling and ethnically-motivated attacks against Tigrayans living across Ethiopia;
- Release of all Tigrayans detained on the basis of their identity, including journalists, 22,000 Tigrayan ENDF members, and Tigrayans deported from Saudi Arabia;
- Justice and accountability for all victims affected across the duration of the war;
- An inclusive, internationally-mediated national dialogue that includes the Tigray regional government and other relevant stakeholders; and
- Official recognition of the Tigray Genocide committed by the Ethiopian National Defense Forces, Eritrean Defense Forces, Amhara Special Forces, and Amhara Fano Militia against the Tigrayan people.

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