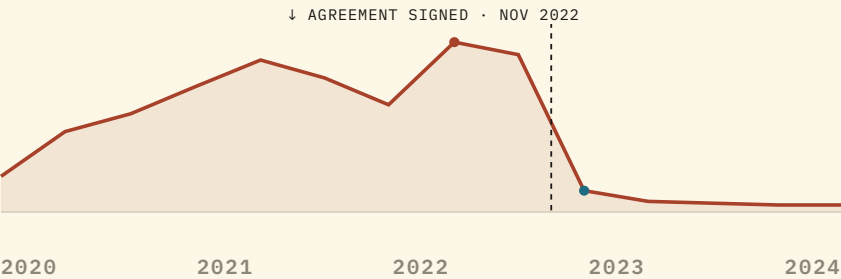


A Peace Agreement in Terminal Crisis

Three years after the Pretoria Agreement silenced Africa's deadliest war, research with **103 participants** finds a fragile *negative peace* — the guns are quiet, but constitutional order, justice, reconstruction and oversight remain unrealised.

FIG. 1 – THE ONE UNDISPUTED SUCCESS
Conflict fatalities collapsed after the ceasefire



Schematic of war intensity. Source: Pan African Agenda · Our World in Data · Uppsala Conflict Data Program, 2024

600,000+

TOTAL LIVES LOST, 2020–22

319,000

DIRECT DEATHS – 61% OF AFRICA'S
CONFLICT FATALITIES IN THE PERIOD

*The deadliest conflict since the 1994 Rwandan
genocide – halted by mediation.*

Summary of Key Observations

SIX PROVISIONS ASSESSED

01 SECURITY · CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES
The guns fell silent ✓
The sole achievement acknowledged unanimously. Yet respondents call the peace fragile, reversible and reliant on exhaustion — not resolution.

02 CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER
83.3% say it is **not** restored
≈40% of Tigray's territory remains under Amhara and Eritrean occupation.

03 DISARMAMENT · DDR
Peace Agreements weaponised as loading time
Heavy weapons surrendered before any guarantee of withdrawal or protection. Reintegration packages inadequate; female fighters excluded.

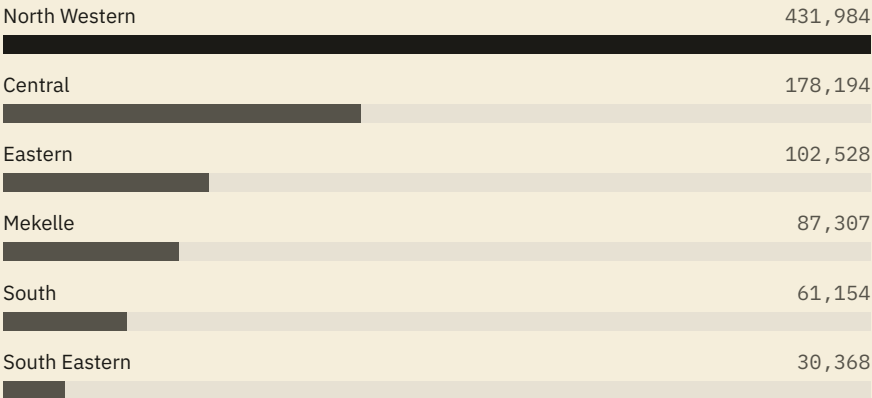
04 TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE
89% trust **neither** party to deliver justice
75% are unaware of any transitional-justice initiative at all.

05 RECONSTRUCTION
70%+ call recovery **absent or failing**
Damages run to tens of billions; Tigray remains in emergency-relief mode.

06 MONITORING · AU MVCN
50% never saw a **single** report
The mechanism is seen as weak and aligned with the federal government.

FIG. 2 – INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS BY ZONE

Nearly 900,000 remain displaced



Source: Pan African Agenda, IDP figures, Tigray, September 2025

891,535

TOTAL IDPS RECORDED

~40%

OF TIGRAY'S TERRITORY UNDER OCCUPATION

LENGTH OF DISPLACEMENT

3–4 years	588,435
1–2 years	92,095
Under 1 year	30,123

Proposals for Action

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

- 1

Revitalise the Implementation Mechanisms of the Pretoria Agreement

Convene an inclusive, all-parties implementation meeting that accounts for new realities, reconstitutes the Tigray transitional process, and establishes credible enforcement mechanisms.
- 2

Launch high-level preventive diplomacy

Forestall relapse amid the regionalisation of war in Sudan and Ethiopia — and the rising threat of an Ethiopia–Eritrea war that would render the Agreement obsolete.
- 3

Form a 'Friends of the Pretoria Agreement' group

A USA–UN–EU–AU–IGAD bloc to replace the ineffective AU mechanism with stronger oversight, transparent reporting and accountability measures for spoilers.
- 4

Mobilise local constituencies for peace

Empower civil society, women, youth and Generation Z as agents of peacebuilding — drawing on movements like Sudan's Emergency Response Rooms and the Tigray Accountability Coalition.

What is to be done: Without urgent course correction, the Agreement will be remembered not as a celebrated blueprint for peace, but as a sobering record of solemn promises made and systematically broken — **weaponized as a time-buying instrument for another military confrontation.**

METHODOLOGY

Mixed-methods design — 103 participants across expert interviews, an online survey and focus-group peer reviews. Provisions scored against an Implementation Assessment Matrix.

SCOPE

Five priority areas: withdrawal of external forces, return of IDPs, justice and accountability, DDR, and political dialogue between the GoE and Tigray.

SOURCES

Pan African Agenda survey & interview data, 2025 · Our World in Data · Uppsala Conflict Data Program · ICHREE & US Dept. of State findings.

