

**WORLD PEACE
FOUNDATION**



ANNUAL REPORT

Tufts
UNIVERSITY

W FLETCHER

World Peace Foundation
at The Fletcher School of Law and
Diplomacy, Tufts University
169 Holland Street
Suite 209
Somerville, MA
Phone: 1-617-627-2255
worldpeacefoundation@tufts.edu
worldpeacefoundation.org

**WORLD
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ABOUT WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

OUR MISSION

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of educating the people of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destructiveness of war and of preparation for war, its evil effects and present social conditions and on the well-being of future generations, and to promote international justice and the brotherhood of man, and generally by every practical means to promote peace and good will among all mankind.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

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STAFF

Alex de Waal, Executive Director

Bridget Conley, Research Director

Lisa Avery, Associate Director

A large military tank is mounted on a multi-wheeled trailer, parked on a dirt road. The tank's main gun barrel is prominent, pointing towards the left. The scene is set in a war-torn area, with debris and damaged structures visible in the background. The sky is overcast and grey. The text is overlaid in white, bold, sans-serif font.

**WHY IS THERE NO TALK TODAY
OF HOW ARMING UKRAINE FOR
SELF-DEFENSE SHOULD BE
TREATED AS AN EXCEPTION TO
EXISTING RESTRICTIONS ON
SENDING LETHAL ARMAMENTS
INTO WAR ZONES?**

**IT'S BECAUSE NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND
INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS DESIGNED
TO REGULATE THE GLOBAL TRADE IN
LETHAL WEAPONS ARE SO FEEBLE AS TO
BE ALMOST WORTHLESS.**

ARMS TO UKRAINE:

AN EXCEPTION WITHOUT A RULE

A global arms race underway with no effort to curtail it. Global military expenditure is set to pass **\$3 trillion this year**. There is no serious international discussion about arms control. Transfers proceed with rarely even a moment of hesitation to acknowledge existing arms control mechanisms previously endorsed by liberal states.

The avalanche of arms pouring into Ukraine is just one example. When the U.S. and its NATO allies opened their weapons stocks to send massive supplies to Ukraine they didn't need to amend a single law or circumvent a single regulation. Western leaders didn't need to appeal to their publics to explain why they were channeling the most sophisticated lethal armaments into a war zone, in a country that was already the world's eleventh-largest arms seller.

Aiding Ukraine in its self-defense against Russian aggression is readily justifiable. Supporters of the Arms Trade Treaty and other regulations on the weapons business might agree that normal restrictions on the arms trade should be set aside for this emergency. But in fact, the United States, Britain, France and other nations didn't need to waive any rules to arm

Ukraine. Selling weapons to countries at war is just what they do.

Over the last two years, the WPF has led a research project examining arms sales to conflict zones. What we found raises significant concerns. Our team, led by Sam Perlo-Freeman, analyzed data on sales to 32 conflict zones and the sales patterns of the top 11 arms-selling countries suppliers from 2009-2018.

While those countries have differing policies regarding arms exports, most have measures in place meant to curb sales to war zones. That's because sales to conflict zones risks fueling violence, weaponry being used to commit human rights abuses or violations of international humanitarian law, and falling into the wrong hands.

Yet, the research shows that no major arms producing country hesi-

tates to sell weapons to conflicts and war zones, especially if the buyer is a long-time client. This is true for countries like China, Russia and Ukraine – which for decades was a major hub for weapons sales, licit and illicit. It is also true for the US, UK, and France. In practice, even where controls exist, they allow for sales to just about any conflict zone.

The U.S. – which accounts for 39% of the global trade – has an export policy that is largely controlled by presidential administrations. Purposefully ill-defined US laws nearly prohibit Congressional action that could modify or prevent arms sales; and Congress rarely exercises what restraint it can.

In 2021, Congress made headlines for considering to delay a sale to Saudi Arabia while it was bombing Yemen into famine. But that sale, too, proceeded.

The U.K.'s licensing process asserts a more humanitarian approach, evaluating the "risk" that arms transfers might contribute to conflicts. But "risks" are minimized. Ceasefires or other de-escalations, regardless of how shaky they might be, are interpreted as an immediate green light for recipients to replenish their armories. Exports to countries entangled in conflict are among the UK's largest and longest-standing arms customers.

In France, decisions to sell weapons are often made behind closed doors. Leaders say its arms exports are undertaken with respect for its international commitments — notably the European Union Council Common Position that instructs that Member States shall deny an export license if this would provoke or prolong intra-state or interstate armed conflict. Our research shows that France, in fact, appears to be one of the exporters for which conflict appears to be associated with a higher probability of transfers.

Why is there no talk today of how arming Ukraine for self-defense should be treated as an exception to existing restrictions on sending lethal armaments into war zones?

It's because national, regional and international standards designed to regulate the global trade in lethal weapons are so feeble as to be almost worthless.

Even in the context of supporting Ukrainian self-defense, there are red flags. No one is tracking the flood of weaponry into Ukraine. Despite nods at the general principle of accounting for where weapons go, the U.S. government has not articulated a plan for undertaking this work. There

is a long history of weapons going awry, especially in the fog of war (see Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria as examples) — yet the U.S. is proceeding as if diversion and capture pose no threat whatsoever.

There is also little to no Congressional oversight of the transfers to Ukraine. A low-level Congressional rumbling has begun on this issue, but thus far little has been done to improve the situation.

Not only are the floodgates open for sending weapons to Ukraine, they have been washed away across the continent. Europe is rearming in a manner not seen for generations. From Spain to Latvia military budgets are all rising. Notably, Germany is shopping for weapons on a scale unprecedented since World War II.

The U.S. had long pressed its NATO allies to spend two percent of GDP on their militaries, a goal once considered unrealistic. Now, all 19 member states are expected to reach — if not exceed it — by 2024. NATO's Secretary General, Gen. Jens Stoltenberg noted, "Two percent is increasingly considered a floor, not a ceiling."

Russia led the way in the arms build up. In the years up to the invasion of Ukraine it expanded its defense budget, developed new weapons systems, and scrapped arms control treaties. Its aggressive actions in Georgia, Crimea and eastern Ukraine were all signals for what it planned to do with its bigger military.

There's a parallel arms race underway in Asia. In the shadow of ascen-

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IS THERE NO WAY OF HOW UKRAINE -DEFENSE BE TREATED AS AN EXCEPTION TO EXISTING TENSIONS ON G LETHAL WEAPONS INTO ZONES?

dant China, countries like Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan, among others, rush to buy advanced weapons systems. India is the world's biggest arms importer.

The Middle Eastern arms race had a head start, driven by fierce rivalries and oil monies. Its longer history shows the perils of arming a volatile region—and arms exporters' refusal to learn the lessons. The Iranian revolution of 1978 delivered western weapons into the hands of an implacable adversary, and Saddam Hussein's Iraq, armed by the west to fight Iran, turned out to be a perfidious ally. Such history hasn't deterred western nations from selling vast arsenals to autocratic regimes, betting on their stability. So far none of the Gulf monarchies have collapsed, but betting on royal families is always a gamble.

Another change in recent years is that the west's friends in the Gulf no longer buy weapon systems for prestige and self-defense. Western arms systems are being used by Gulf allies in adventurist interventions in nearby countries including Libya, Syria and Yemen. They have also advanced their production capacity. The region's arms fairs now feature locally-manufactured weapons systems, from Sudanese armored vehicles to Turkish drones. The weapons are used in deadly and destabilizing wars from Armenia-Azerbaijan to Ethiopia.

The U.S.' favorite Middle Eastern state—Israel—has carved out a niche in the global arms market, concentrating on high-tech electronic warfare. Part of their sales pitch is that these systems have

been tried and tested, in Gaza for example.

The Middle East shows once again how arms sales should all come with a warning: caveat venditor—“let the seller beware.” If the history of the arms business teaches us one rule, it's this: there's no guarantee on who will ultimately use your weapon against whom.

This has been known for years.

International arms control treaties—notably the Arms Trade Treaty—were crafted in the post-Cold War era. At that time there was real hope for a workable multilateral peace and security architecture. Now, when it is most needed, this consensual, cooperative system is collapsing before our eyes. Gaps in the system – like those that our work revealed in arms controls to war zones – are becoming more deadly.

Arms exporting countries need consistent laws and regulations that restrict or prevent arms sales to conflict zones. This should start with western democracies, the countries ostensibly most committed to peace.

Even those most committed to peace accept that there's a strong case for arming Ukraine to repel Russian aggression. But the horrors of the war in Ukraine are a shocking reminder of what modern weapons systems do to civilians and cities. Sadly, people in Ethiopia, Myanmar, Syria and Yemen need no such reminders.

Arming Ukraine is an exception without a rule. **We need the rule, too.**

PEACE AND

GLOBAL TRENDS

WHO SELLS WEAPONS TO WAR ZONES?

GLOBAL ARMS TRADE AND CORRUPTION

This was the final year of our project, Defense Industry, Foreign Policy and Armed Conflict. Here is what we found: **(1) Everyone arms war.** All major arms exporting states sold weapons to countries actively at war. **(2) Almost all wars receive arms.** Of the 32 wars this century that we reviewed, all but one received weapons from the world's top exporting countries. **(3) Ethical export policy is a myth.** There are no clear cases of top exporters halting arms sales when conflict begins. **(4) Money beats morals.** Rather than conflict, the wealth and military spending of a particular country were stronger determinants of whether a given exporter would supply arms to them. And **(5) relationships are key;** an established arms supply relationship was one of the most powerful determinants of whether arms transfers would occur, regardless of the recipient's conflict status.

We were able to demonstrate these insights across the eleven top arms selling countries and through in-depth analysis of national policies and patterns in the US, UK and France. The findings hold regardless of differences in national policies/controls governing arms trade, the relationship between industry and government, and the precise nature of oversight.

Funded by the Carnegie Corporation, the research team included Sam Perlo-Freeman (Campaign Against the Arms Trade), Jennifer Erickson (Boston College), Anna Stavrianakis (Sussex University, UK), and Emma Soubrier (Arab Gulf States Institute, DC). Our project partner was the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP). Look for more from us on this topic, as we have just been awarded a second Carnegie Grant to continue this research for another two years.



Activities & Outputs:

1 research seminar with the project team

1 quantitative report, reviewing evidence of sales to weapons in the top 11 arms producing countries

6 events hosted by others that our researchers participated in

5 report launch events hosted or co-hosted

3 country case study reports published, focusing on the US, UK and France (including executive summaries for all cases and translation into French for the France case study)

1 interactive website launched, Who Arms War?

-
- > A ten week-long **social media campaign** promoting the project outputs
 - > Over **6,330** views of project webpages
 - > **454 page views** of related blog essays on Reinventing Peace (WPF blog)
 - > Over **800 downloads** of the project's reports

Flying high for the bird's eye, Sullivan Flickr (Public Domain)

PROGRAM OVERVIEW

PEACE AND GLOBAL TRENDS



CORRUPTION TRACKER

Corruption Tracker aims to create an up-to-date, online tracker of all cases and robust allegations of corruption in the global arms trade. The project brings together a network of journalists, academics, and activists in the field, who contribute to an online database documenting the cases and allegations. The CT also conducts training workshops, teaching others how to investigate corruption in the arms trade. WPF provided partial funds for this project and serves on the CT Board.

Activities & Outputs:

4

research
training
workshops

1

scholarly
and activist
seminar
hosted in
Berlin

5

new
cases of
corruption
published

CARBON COMPACTS, DECARBONIZATION

[Carbon Compacts, Decarbonization, and Peace in Fragile States in Africa and the Middle East](#), funded by the U.S.

Institute of Peace and WPF, focused on the political impacts of decarbonization on fragile states that are highly dependent on revenues from oil and gas production and which do not have the capacity to plan for an orderly energy transition—what we call “traumatic decarbonization.” What we found: the collapse in oil revenues contributed to popular discontent and civic movements for democracy, while ruling elites sought alternative sources of funds (in Sudan and Venezuela, gold) and intensified political repression. In the case of the most dramatic collapse in oil income (South Sudan), the government reverted to predatory militaristic forms of governance redolent of warlordism during the pre-oil era. Where the elite assumed that the revenue loss was temporary (Iraq, Nigeria) they tactically adjusted to short-term austerity without making any fundamental reform. (The research was completed before the recent oil-price rebound.) We also found that high oil prices are associated with comprehensive peace agreements while low prices correlate with larger numbers of partial agreements, such as temporary ceasefires.

Activities & Outputs:

1 event that our research team was invited to participate in

1 blog essay, published by USIP Analysis and Commentary, June 2021.

8 research papers in process

POLITICS OF PANDEMICS

The intersection between pandemic disease and political calculus was a major focus for our work in 2020/2021, with the publication of Alex’s book *New Pandemics, Old Politics: Two hundred years of the war on disease and its alternatives* (Cambridge, Polity Press).

Activities & Outputs:

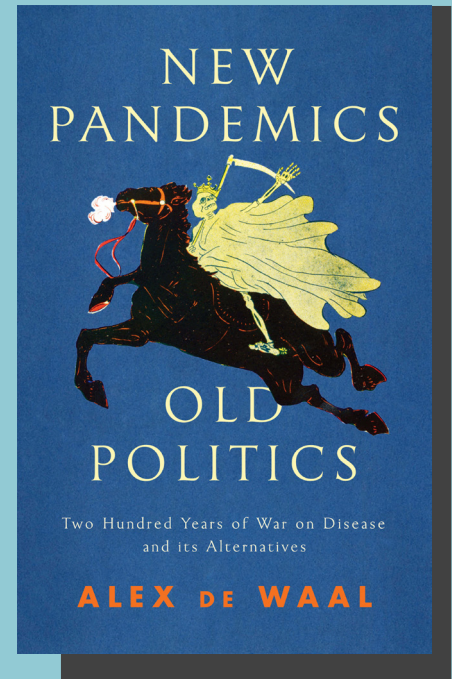
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essays by Alex de Waal, published in the **London Review of Books**, **The Baffler** and **Lettre**.



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events and interviews promoting the book, including at Florida Gulf Coast University, the World Bank, Jesse Ventura (podcast), Fletcher Ginn Library, and the International Research Association for History and Social Sciences.



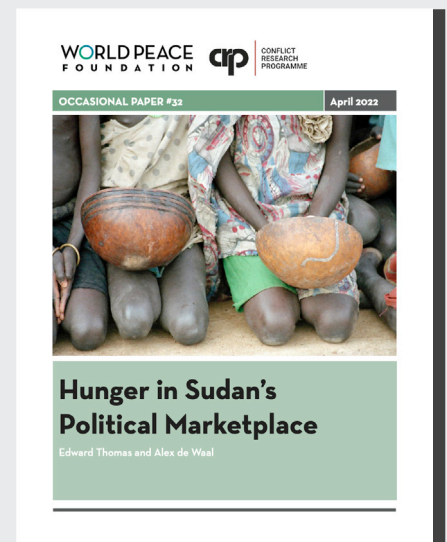
POLITICAL MARKETPLACE

The underlying theme of our research on the “political marketplace” is that transactional politics increasingly trumps institutional politics, and that political transactions are increasingly monetized, and hence political life is amenable to analysis as a market. This year, we focused on the intersection between political markets and extreme hunger. Our work in this area, previously done under the auspices of the [Conflict Research Programme](#) based at the London School of Economics, has transitioned to a program known as [PeaceREP](#) (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform) based at the University of Edinburgh; and is funded by the Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO).

Activities & Outputs:

7

Research Essays



PEACE AND SECURITY

IN AFRICA

WHAT ARE THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN THE HORN OF AFRICA?

CRISIS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

Each of the countries of the region—Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan—is in its own particular kind of crisis, marked by armed conflict, autocratic government and economic collapse. The regional peace and security architecture, painstakingly constructed over two decades by many of the region’s leaders including senior officials at the African Union, has essentially collapsed. Its institutions for conflict resolution and peacekeeping are dysfunctional, its principles are routinely flouted, and its norms have been subverted by a clique of governmental leaders for whom an axis of autocrats is preferable to the complex multilateralism that was in place beforehand. WPF’s work has focused on two countries: Ethiopia and Sudan.

The crisis in Ethiopia has five key features. One is high-intensity polarized ethnic politics. The level of ethnic hatred, dehumanization and incitement to violence in the public sphere is extraordinary and terrifying. Language that elsewhere would be condemned as genocidal is routine on social media and among supporters of the government.

A second is the triumph of transactional politics. We have seen the decay of an institutionalized state and its replacement with an incipient political marketplace in which political allegiances are transacted on a material basis. Prior to 2018, Ethiopia was a developmental security state, with positive and negative attributes. It had a fast-growing economy that was rapidly reducing poverty and hunger; it had functioning institutions of governance—and it was also a repressive political system in which aspirations for democracy were thwarted. Today it is in economic freefall; its civil service has evaporated with salaries unpaid; administrative systems have been replaced by local big-man patronage politics; and its ‘democratic’ political space takes the form of an unregulated scramble for influence using money and coercive power.

Third is the dismantling of the African peace and security architecture and instead the incorporation of the country into the security perimeter of the Middle East so that the key external actors are middle powers such as Turkey and the United Arab Emirates. Prior to 2018, Ethiopia was an active partner in UN and AU peace operations, both diplomatic and military, today its capacity to promote peace has shriveled. Peace negotiations in Ethiopia are paralyzed.



Fourth is the weaponization of starvation. Rarely in modern history have we seen a systematic and rigorous use of starvation as a weapon of war and political control to match its use against Tigray. Not only have crimes of pillage and destruction of objects indispensable to survival been perpetrated at scale but there has been a remarkably thorough blockade of humanitarian aid and essential services. That blockade extends to a near-total information blackout, and it seems likely that hundreds of thousands have starved to death without publicity.

Finally there is a toxic media environment in which information is both tightly controlled and highly politicized, with extraordinarily aggressive social media campaigns targeted not only against political opponents but also anyone who dares speak for peace.

During the year, Sudan's democratic revolution was decisively reversed by a coup d'état, mounted with the singular goal of protecting the privileges of the army, which had extended its corrupt tentacles throughout the economy. It was backed by Middle Eastern powers with a record of opposing democracy: Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, and discreetly also endorsed by Israel, which has developed close ties with al-Burhan after he took the decision to join the Abraham Accords and recognize Israel. International response was indecisive, but included suspending economic assistance, which means that Sudan's economic crisis is deepening. The coup has revealed the weakness of western, especially U.S., support for democracy in the face of a determined military leader with the backing of key U.S. allies in the Middle East. The underlying concern of the U.S. and Europe is

with 'stability', apparently paying little regard to the way in which the established systems of military-kleptocratic governance in Sudan have proven a recipe for instability. The Sudanese army's close ties with Russia became evident this year.

The crisis in Sudan's national food system is founded on the over-exploitation of farmlands and farm workers in the rural areas to produce crops for export, while urban populations consume imported wheat, subsidized at great expense. Recurrent rural unrest is met with violent suppression. On top of this, the elite preoccupation with transactional politics makes the system as a whole resistant to reform. Layered with climate crisis and the sharp increase in wheat prices associated with the Ukraine war, political and economic tensions have brought Sudan's food economy to the point of collapse.



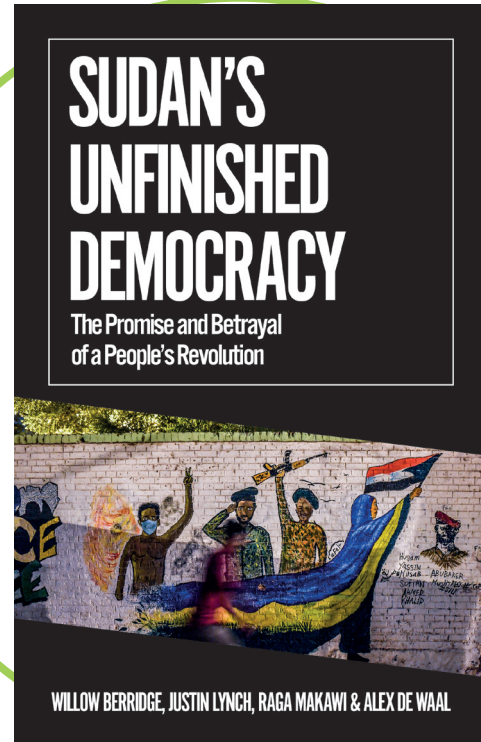
PROGRAM OVERVIEW

PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA

Activities & Outputs



Alex worked as an informal advisor to former South African president Thabo Mbeki. In [his address to the United Nations Security Council special session on peacebuilding on October 12](#), during the month in which Kenya chaired the Council, Mbeki highlighted our 2016 report 'African Politics, African Peace'.



- 1 high level policymaker seminar**, hosted jointly with the U.S. Institute for Peace and the Thabo Mbeki Leadership Foundation, in Johannesburg involving a dozen senior policymakers from Africa and the U.S.
- 3 days of expert testimony** at the ICC's first trial of a Sudanese official for crimes committed in Darfur. Alex was the first witness at the trial, and also the first expert witness jointly appointed by prosecution and defense in a case at the ICC. Alex prepared an [expert report](#) and testified for three days ([the transcript is available here](#)).
- 1 book published:** Willow Berridge, Justin Lynch, Raga Makawi and Alex de Waal, [Sudan's Unfinished Democracy: The promise and betrayal of a people's revolution](#) (London, International African Institute and Hurst).
- 5 events**, including those hosted by the Royal African Society, Oxford African Studies Centre, London School of Economics, *Harvard Law's Human Rights Program* and the *Program on Law and Society in the Muslim World*, *Tufts Hillel* and the *WPF*.

1 book in progress, a comprehensive history of the peace process in Sudan (with Prof. Willow Berridge, University of Newcastle (UK)). Funded by USIP, it draws upon our archive of primary materials concerning work of the Panel in Darfur, during the secession of South Sudan and in seeking to resolve the conflicts between Sudan and South Sudan that followed.

27 essays on our blog. All of our ten most popular blog essays this year concerned Ethiopia, totalling over 100,000 pageviews. Of particular note is a series by Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, our former senior fellow, who is in the Tigrayan capital Mekelle. His contributions alone garnered **18,732 page views**.

1

essay
published by
Ha'aretz

4

essays
published by
al Jazeera

1

essay
published
by **Foreign
Affairs**

8

essays
published
with
**Responsible
Statecraft**

23

interviews on
**AL Jazeera,
BBC, NPR**
and others

4

essays
published by
the **BBC**

“Sitting in the coffee shops, you may find elderly men and women, decently dressed, standing on your side not looking into your eyes but mumbling a few words asking for support. You usually don't hear the exact words, as they don't know how to beg. They never before asked for alms in their entire life.

- Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, from *Mekele: A city under Siege*

PROTECTING VULNERABLE GROUPS

IS IT POSSIBLE TO PROSECUTE LEADERS WHO CREATE AND SUSTAIN STARVATION CONDITIONS?

ACCOUNTABILITY FOR MASS STARVATION

Over the last five years, one of our major focus areas has been mass starvation as a crime that demands accountability. This work has been both timely and influential, and is increasingly relevant to both the individual cases in which starvation crimes are perpetrated, and the global food crisis associated with climate change, COVID-related economic disruptions, and the Russian invasion of Ukraine and subsequent disruption to the world wheat supply.

In Yemen, South Sudan, Syria and now Ukraine – the world has witnessed violations of international law that create and sustain starvation conditions for civilians. These include starvation in detention sites, blockading ports, attacks on health facilities, destruction of agriculture and water systems, violence against humanitarian workers, and obstruction of relief aid. These acts might fall under an array of legal offenses, ranging from war crimes and crimes against humanity to genocide, and might enable a prosecutor to hold individuals to account for the deliberate starvation of civilians. However, there has been a dearth of investigations and accountability for those violating international law as relates to starvation.

The reasons for this neglect and the gaps between the black-letter law and practice are explored in our timely new volume **[Accountability for Mass Starvation: Testing the limits of the law](#)**, (Oxford University Press 2022), edited by Bridget Conley, Alex de Waal, Catriona Murdoch, and Wayne Jordash. This will be a definitive contribution to the scholarly literature which will be a standard reference on the topic. It contains 15 chapters that address key themes and cases required to catalyze a new approach to understanding the law as it relates to starvation. It also illustrates the complications of historical and ongoing situations where starvation is used as a weapon of war, and provides expert analysis on defining starvation, early warning systems, gender and mass starvation, the use of sanctions, journalistic reporting, and memorialization of famine.



Bridget was interviewed for the Ploughshares' podcast series, [Press the Button](#), about mass atrocities and the intersection between nuclear weapons and genocide.





Activities & Outputs:

- 1** edited volume – published at the beginning of FY 23.
- 2** occasional papers published by the WPF.
- 2** essays, published by **The Conversation** and **The Guardian**.
- 1** book chapter, ‘**What Justice for Starvation Crimes?**’ in Jacqueline Bhabha, Margereta Matache and Caroline Elkins (eds.) Time for Reparations: A global perspective, (Univ. Pennsylvania Press, 2021).
- 2** events, Alex and Bridget presented at the FXB Center for Health & Human Rights at Harvard University; and Bridget and Dyan Mazurana presented to a coalition of the **Health Professionals for Global Health, Women in Global Health and International Child Health Group**.
- 2** online policy seminars, organized in partnership with GRC.

Protecting Vulnerable Groups — additional activities:

COVID-19 IN AMERICAN PRISONS

Analyzing the impacts of the global pandemic in American prisons, this program asks how we might improve civilian protection within US domestic scene.

Activities & Outputs

- 1** occasional paper “Ending Solitary Isolation: Is it within reach in Massachusetts?”
- 1** event, featuring Board Member, Monik Jimenez and Leslie Credle (Justice4Housing), “Health and Housing: Obstacles for Re-Entry”, on Tufts campus with event sponsors

ENDING MASS ATROCITIES

This project studies how mass atrocities end, focusing on policies that cause violence to decline and the lingering impact of violence on the populations who survive.



1 publication, accepted and due out in FY 23



1 event

TEACHING AND STUDENT SUPPORT

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION AT THE FLETCHER SCHOOL

TEACHING

Alex took a break from teaching in Fall 2021. Bridget taught, **Contemporary Critical Theory and International Relations**. She was nominated for the **James L. Paddock Teaching Award** (nominations are submitted by students).

Alex is on the committee for the following four Fletcher PhD students:

- Ben Naimark-Rowse
- Andrea Walther-Puri
- Jared Miller
- Roba Jilu (admitted to the program in September)
- Sophia Dawkins (former Fletcher PhD who transferred to Yale)



Alex is supervising three capstones and three independent studies.

Bridget is on the committee for one PhD student, **Lima Ahmad** and supervised one MLD Capstone: **Isaac Tan**.

Support for campus events hosted by others at Fletcher and Tufts:

Movie screening
“**Revolution From Afar**”,
with the Tufts Center for the
Humanities, hosted by the
Fares Center

April 12, 2022

Refugee Integration
Conference and Arts
Festival, Henry J. Leir
Institute for Migration and
Human Security

March 4-5, 2022

The Fletcher School’s
Conference on Gender
and International Affairs
(CGIA): “Money, Power and
Influence: The Gendered
Dimensions of Geopolitics

November 19 – 20, 2021

Decolonizing International
Relations Conference 2021:
“Deconstructing Power”

October 28 – 30, 2021

Tisch College Solomont
Speaker Series: Jan
Grabowski

October 12, 2021



decolonizing international relations

THE FLETCHER SCHOOL

Support for Fletcher students beyond campus:

WPF provided **\$10,000** to The Fletcher School Office of Career Services in support of Fletcher students’ summer internships.

We transitioned our PhD research support program, so that it will be administered by the Henry J. Leir Institute for Human Security.

Bridget served on a Tufts search committee in the Spring for a new Vice-Provost for Research.

PROGRAM OVERVIEW

TEACHING AND STUDENT SUPPORT

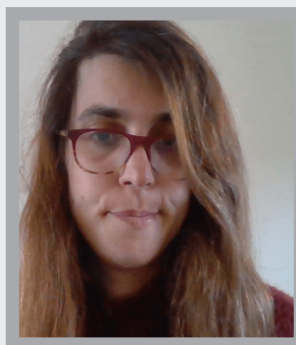
WPF FLETCHER STUDENT RESEARCHERS

- **Maria Corte del Carmen** (Communications)
 - **Delia Burns** (Ethiopia)
 - **Vikram Vinod** (Pandemic book promo)
 - **Jared Miller** (Political Marketplace, Carbon compacts and decarbonization)
-



FELLOWS

This year we had the following fellows:



Willow Berridge

University of
Newcastle, UK

Working on the USIP-
sponsored project
documenting the work
of the AUHIP



Dyan Mazurana

The Fletcher School,
Tufts University

Working on her book
on children and war

“ In a note made during a meeting with President Omar al-Bashir on November 21, 2011, as the crisis between Sudan and South Sudan over the oil pipeline and disputed borders reached its crescendo, Thabo Mbeki wrote in the margins of his meeting notes, in square brackets: ‘[Protracted negotiations – minimal results]’

— From *Negotiating the Sudans: The African Union High Level Panel 2009-2013*
by Willow Berridge and Alex de Waal



Sam Perlo-Freeman

Campaign Against the Arms Trade

Working on the global arms and corruption project



Aditya Sarkar

Independent Researcher

Working on the political marketplace



Emma Soubrier

Arab Gulf States Institute

Working on the global arms and corruption project

BOARD MATTERS

Board of Trustees Meetings were held on September 22, 2021, February 2, 2022, and May 18, 2022. The May meeting was our first in person meeting since the pandemic began.

The Ginn Trustees meetings were also convened over Zoom, on November 17, 2021 and May 11, 2022.

A FOND FAREWELL

Trustee **Barbara Stowe** decided to step down from the board after more than 15 years service. Board Chair Peter Blum nominated and the Board approved **Anat Biletzki** to take the position of vice chairperson in Stowe's place.



STRATEGIC PLANNING GROUP

SWOT TOWNS

WPF staff initiated strategic planning sessions which were facilitated by Trustee Jeff Summit and supported by Trustees Peter Blum, Anat Biletzki and Jackie Bhabha. The goal was to provide a space for reflection on past work and to focus our work moving forward. Informed by the discussions with Trustees, the WPF staff developed a revised work plan and budget for FY23. Trustees met on August 17, 2022, and approved the proposal.

During AY 2022 we operated under a one year extension to our previous affiliation agreement with the Fletcher School, during which time we finalized negotiations over the terms of our affiliation for the coming five years. We agreed to continue with the same arrangement, with an unchanged overhead rate.

WPF ON

SOCIAL MEDIA

WEBSITE, BLOG & SOCIAL MEDIA

Across our outreach platforms, our content on the conflict in Ethiopia garnered the most interest. Our next most popular program was the global arms business. Overall, we witnessed a year of impressive engagement, setting new records for our website and social media platforms.

WORLDPEACE.ORG

Website visits FY22

106,517

↑ +72.6%

UP FROM 61,690 VISITORS FY21

Most downloaded pdf's in FY22:

672 DOWNLOADS

[Starving Tigray: How Armed Conflict and Mass Atrocities Have Destroyed an Ethiopian Region's Economy and Food System and Are Threatening Famine](#)

161 DOWNLOADS

[Weaponized storytelling à la française: Demystifying France's narratives around its arms export policies](#)

111 DOWNLOADS

[On the Front Lines: Conflict zones and U.S. Arms Exports](#)

109 DOWNLOADS

[Chart: Famine mortality by region and decade: 1870-2010](#)

68 DOWNLOADS

[The Strategies of the Coalition in the Yemen War: Aerial bombardment and food war](#)

56 DOWNLOADS

[Famine Mortality by Decade : 1870 - 2010](#)

54 DOWNLOADS

[Business as Usual: How major weapons exporters arm the world's conflicts](#)

68 DOWNLOADS

[African Politics, African Peace](#)

ADMINISTRATION

WPF ON SOCIAL MEDIA

WPF BLOG

In FY 22, our blog, **Reinventing Peace**, has had a total of 262,232 visits (July 1, 2021–June 31, 2022), with average time on page 3:35. The top ten posts – all concerned with Ethiopia – are:

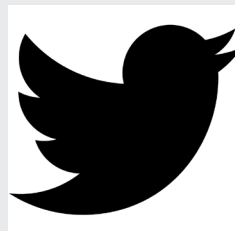
- 1** [‘Five Scenarios of State Collapse in Ethiopia,’](#)
Alex de Waal, July 26, 2021
22,055 PAGE VISITS
- 2** [‘July 2021 Employee of the Month: Abiy Ahmed,’](#)
Alex de Waal, July 19, 2021
18,676 PAGE VISITS
- 3** [‘The Tigray-Amhara Boundary Should be Resolved by Constitutional Means,’](#)
Dereje T. Assefa, July 16, 2021
16,864 PAGE VISITS
- 4** [‘What rape as a weapon of war in Tigray really means,’](#)
Dyan Mazurana with Hayelom K. Mekonen, Bridget Conley, Alex de Waal and Delia Burns, August 10, 2021
11,024 PAGE VISITS
- 5** [‘Reflection by concerned Ethiopians to Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Amhara state, and Tigray state,’](#)
Concerned Ethiopians, July 22, 2021
10,496 PAGE VISITS
- 6** [‘What Next for Ethiopia?’](#)
Alex de Waal, November 8, 2021
9639 PAGE VISITS
- 7** [“A Spark in the Midst of Darkness”](#)
Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, March 8, 2022
7097 PAGE VISITS
- 8** [‘The world watches as Abiy loses it — and risks losing Ethiopia, too.’](#)
Alex de Waal, September 12, 2021
6114 PAGE VISITS
- 9** [‘Mekelle: a city under siege,’](#)
Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, February 7, 2022
5943 PAGE VISITS
- 10** [‘The UNSC Should not Repeat its Yemen Errors in Ethiopia,’](#)
Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe October 25, 2021
5692 PAGE VISITS



SOCIAL MEDIA: TWITTER AND FACEBOOK



Between July and December 2021, **we hit social media engagement records across both platforms**, despite having substantially fewer postings overall. August 2021 was our most notable month in terms of viewership (i.e., post views, profile visits) across both Facebook and Twitter (combined), yet July 2021 had the highest engagement (i.e., post clicks and new followers). When looking at involvement on specific social media platforms, Facebook had the highest followers on July 2021 (518 followers) and immediately recovered to a more normal growth of 20-60 followers after that term. Twitter, however, witnessed an increase in post clicks (13,067) and followers (1,549). The monthly posting average during this period is 43 posts per month across both platforms.



The period of February - March 2022 generated more posts (210) and followers (360), but did not generate more user engagement (i.e., post likes). However, we did see an increase in profile views (80.7%) and followers (80.7%). This is likely a result of a shift in our content from focusing largely on Ethiopia/Horn of Africa regions to our Global Arms Business outputs.

Overall, the changes between 2021 and 2022 show a reduction in (though favorably more consistent) engagement despite an increase in content.

The number of posts in 2022 nearly doubled, and viewership skyrocketed, but engagement and followership has slightly declined.



FINANCE

RESEARCH FUNDING

We have received support from the following partners:



Defense Industry, Foreign Policy and Armed Conflict, funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This was a two-year grant beginning January 1, 2020 and ending June 30, 2022. Carnegie Corporation continues to fund Phase II of the program, Revitalizing debate on the global arms trade: new energies and perspectives which began in July 2022 and runs through June 30, 2024.



International Mediation and the Secession of South Sudan: The Role of the AUHIP, beginning January 2021 and ending June 2022, funded by the US Institute for Peace (USIP).

USIP provided funds to convene a five-day joint workshop with the African Union High- Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP), USIP senior staff and advisors, and experts. The grant began in May 2022 and ended July 2022.



Carbon Compacts, Decarbonization, and Peace in Fragile States in Africa and the Middle East, one year program that began in October 2020 and is also funded by USIP.

Accountability for Mass Starvation: Testing the limits of the law, Phase II continues with Global Rights Compliance (GRC) with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs NL as the primary funder. This one year grant began in December 2021 and will end December 2022.



The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PCREP) based at the University of Edinburgh is funded by the UK Foreign Commonwealth Development Office. WPF is part of the LSE IDEAS consortium and funds are administered through the London School of Economics. This grant began in October 2021 and funding is reviewed and approved yearly through March 2025.

Fiscal Year 2022 financial reporting will be added to the Annual Report when the final audit report is completed by Edelstein & Company.