

The background of the cover features a blurred crowd of people with their fists raised in a gesture of solidarity or protest, set against a warm, golden light. The top of the image has a solid blue horizontal band.

**WORLD
PEACE
FOUNDATION**

Annual
Report

2022 / 2023

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

Contact us



Phone :
(617) 627-2255



Email :
www.worldpeacefoundation@tufts.edu



Location :
World Peace Foundation at the Fletcher School
Tufts University
169 Holland Street, Suite 209
Somerville, MA 02144



*The graduate school
of global affairs
at Tufts University*



TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOUT

Our Mission	_____	05
Our Board	_____	06
Our Team	_____	07
Essay	_____	08
No Peace Without Collective Action	_____	08

RESEARCH

Peace and Conflict in Africa	_____	16
Peace in Africa	_____	16
Peace and Global Trends	_____	20
Revitalizing the Debate on the Arms Trade	_____	20
Traumatic Decarbonization	_____	22
Political Marketplace	_____	24
Protecting Vulnerable Groups	_____	26
Mass Incarceration Research Program	_____	26
Mass Starvation and Mass Atrocities	_____	28
Teaching and Student Support	_____	29
WPF at Fletcher	_____	29

ADMINISTRATION

Social Media	_____	30
Blog	_____	30
Website	_____	30
Finance	_____	02

About

World Peace Foundation

OUR MISSION

The World Peace Foundation was established by Edwin Ginn, a Boston-based publisher of educational texts and an advocate for international peace. Created initially as the International School of Peace on July 12, 1910, the WPF was tasked with educating a global audience about the ills of war and promoting international peace:

“...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.”

The World Peace Foundation aims to provide intellectual leadership on issues of peace, justice and security. Drawing on Ginn’s vision and legacy, the WPF program focuses on three interconnected forms of activity: research, education, and engagement with campaigners and policymakers.

OUR BOARD

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Anat Biletzki, Vice Chair

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Andy Evans, Treasurer

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Deborah Chasman

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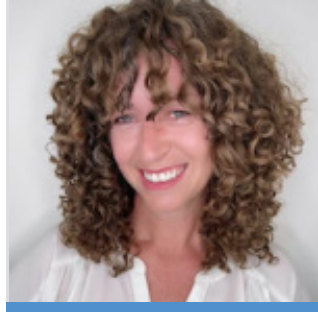
Melissa Nobles

Jeffrey Summit

OUR TEAM



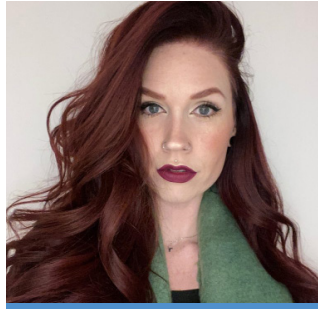
Alex de Waal
Executive Director



Bridget Conley
Research Director



Lisa Avery
Associate Director



B. Arneson
Program Director
Global Arms Trade and Corruption



Aditya Sarkar
Lead Researcher
Political Marketplace



Elizabeth Smith
Research &
Communications Assistant

NO PEACE WITHOUT COLLECTIVE ACTION

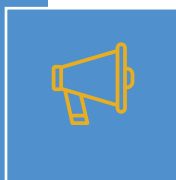
Peace needs collective action.

Whether interpreted as ending international or internal armed conflicts, transforming conditions that sustain systematic harm against civilian populations, or curbing militarism, the work of peacemaking begins with an invitation to act on what is shared, versus what pulls people apart. It is also always a compromise – an accommodation that marries what is possible with the promise of what may yet come to pass.

Today, peace is threatened on all sides. The return of major power war to Europe, the re-ignition of atrocity-laden conflicts in Africa, new arms races in the United States, Europe and Asia, the tightening grip of anti-democratic forces, backlash against advances in human and civil rights, and failures to address the increasingly warming planet -- all seem to confirm that what pulls us apart is stronger than what unites us.

Facing global, existential challenges such as nuclear weapons, climate crisis and mass extinction, there are hard limits on what kinds of social organization are compatible with human survival on a livable planet. Our common future requires new and newly invigorated collective action for peace. Our challenges are many and intersecting.

As a foundation set up to change the world, our starting point is that we can choose our future. Over the course of history, people have made and remade decisions that determine who belongs to what community, group or other collectivity, and what peaceful coexistence looks like. But it's remarkable how elusive is a theory of change that would bring together these two terms.



What is collective action for peace?



The big political philosophies of the Enlightenment see human destiny as locked in the grip of historical forces, predestined to take a particular shape. Even ideas of peace and democracy take on an abstract form, leaving theories of citizens' agency at the margins.

We can be, and need to be, more ambitious. We can collectively decide whether we want to live according to the logic of capitalism or another form of economy. It's a choice whether we govern ourselves according to the rules of liberal democracy or its alternatives. We can decide whether

to live according to the diktat of militarism or not. And whether we live in war or peace is a collective choice.

Over the span of human history and into modern times, societies have ordered themselves in extraordinarily diverse ways. That simple observation lies at the heart of historical, archeological and ethnographic scholarship. According to the metrics of riches and domination, some systems classify themselves as more successful than others. **Race and ethnicity have too often set rigid rules. Money and guns will prevail, if they are allowed to do so.**

None of these decisions are predetermined. If we make use of alternative judgements based on (for example) environmental sustainability, equitable human fulfillment, or respect for the spiritual world as manifest in living things and landscapes, other ways of organizing society emerge as preferable. This has always been hard. In today's world, it seems especially so.

The “end of history” was the doctrine that the key questions of social, political and economic organization had been solved, definitively. The theory was that even while events unfolded, there was only one viable form of running society, namely a fusion of social liberalism, economic neo-liberalism and politics as determined by powerful states that were either neo-conservative (leaning right) or liberal-hawkish (leaning left), using multilateral institutions to impose order on rogue and failed states. The only existential challenge recognized within this way of organizing the world was a rogue state or terrorist group in possession of weapons of mass destruction.

Ironically, the “end” was accompanied by the very factors that undermined its viability as a model, even within the very countries that had inaugurated the triumph. What followed was massive transnational corporate growth, concentration of extreme wealth (even within ‘developed’ nations), financialization of economies, military interventions intended to impose discipline on rogue states and eliminate terrorists, accelerated global warming, and expanding threats of pathogenic spillovers as human populations encroached into nature. The material world groaned and ached under the weight of what ‘progress’ achieved.

And none of these factors play within the lines. They spill over and aggravate each other. Our work on the “political marketplace framework” has sought to unmask the financialization

of politics: what does it mean when money drives politics? This goes deeper than corruption as conventionally understood. Instead, the central concept is political finance—the money needed for a politician to conduct the transactions of day-to-day politicking. Our output is a toolkit, in the sense of a series of questions, for those who want to challenge political systems run on this basis. This is a contribution to collective action by, among others, civil society organizations and non-violent civic campaigners.

Money from oil and gas sales is a prime case of political finance. Hydrocarbons provide copious funds that are easily diverted into political budgets. So, what happens when these funds are squeezed, as will surely happen with the energy transition? How will the middle-income, conflict affected, fragile countries manage? If the political elites don't have so much money to grease the wheels of patronage and corruption, is this a chance for a democratic opening? What our research finds is that in cases such as Iraq, Nigeria, Sudan and Venezuela, popular movements sense the opportunity, but the rules of the political game have proved to be stickier than they expected.

This is one example of how our ways of conceptualizing challenges and responding to them are locked into outdated models for change that were born at “the end of history.” This worldview dominated America and the world at the turn of the Millennium, it is no longer sustainable, but nothing has taken its place.

In part, this is because knowledge production has supported the worldview. Economics, security studies, business administration and quantitative political science ranked—in roughly that order—as the premier disciplines. In turn they were rewarded with prestige and resources. These ways of knowing reduce experience to metrics, correlations and

rules. They reduce choice to a technical matter. When political leaders want to make decisions or assess policy, it's experts in these fields to whom they turn.

Social anthropology and the humanities didn't make the policy-makers' cut. These are fields of study that draw on richer sources of data, most of which aren't amenable to measurement or algorithms. These disciplines school their students in the possibility that social orders might be imagined differently. Unfortunately, there's not much evidence today for Percy Shelley's dictum that poets are "the unacknowledged legislators of the world."



Demonstrator holding a sign with the message "Wake up humans, you're endangered too" at a protest against climate change and destruction of nature, Ivan Radic (CC BY 2.0)

Instead, governments, international institutions, corporations and the established media still convey a storyline that predetermines our direction of travel. Human freedoms are narrowed to consumer choice and voting every few years for candidates for office who, when in office, have almost no latitude to decide anything at all.

Much of the appeal of today's right-wing populist movements is that they reject determinism. Instead, they celebrate the capability of political power to say "no!"

Whether that populism is charismatic or militarist, it doesn't have real solutions to real problems. It deals in dangerous, racist and nationalist imaginaries. **But what it does have is a theory of disruptive change, of how rules can be broken.**

Right wing populism resonates with so many because it forges an imagined community, an exclusive “us” set against any convenient “them”. It also generates the thrill of power, or rather the illusion of it. Their stratagem is brilliantly effective: its proponents own whatever particular agenda allows people to believe they are taking “back” control by going forward to an invented past or riling up an “other” who is said to be relishing their privileges. They delight in subverting norms, breaking rules and dismantling institutions. The key that opened the political door for the populist right is culture—the insight, in their words, that culture is upstream of politics. **Angry constituencies, regardless of how they are mobilized, are building blocks for plutocrats and would-be despots to take and hold power.**

Progressives struggle to generate this kind of energy, although the history of struggles for democracy, gender equality, civil rights, and decolonization drew upon populist sentiments and methods, many of them radically disruptive. But, during the recently-past era in which progressive social change seemed to the natural order of things, too many liberals and progressives neglected to nurture the skills and tactics for mobilizing. It was as though the motors for transformative change had become the impersonal trends of the spread of Enlightenment values such as better education and communication. This worldview implied that stoking imaginaries of a different better future -- what anti-colonial activists called “the political work of revolution”

-- was no longer needed. In parallel, neo-liberal economics sees austerity, recessions and the devastation of communities as merely the short-term hardships of capitalism’s ‘creative destruction’, on the road to a richer future. Together, they made an accommodation with the end of history.

We learned to define solutions within these frameworks. We held to the comforting illusion that everything was on its way to being fine, ignoring the fact that the world’s most pressing problems permitted no such illusions.

From the 1970s to roughly 2010, the mainstream American political consensus advanced a story of



deepening democracy through racial progress in terms of affirmative action. At the same time, it largely ignored the massive use of state violence involved in caging Black people, especially boys and young men. By 2000, Black adults were incarcerated at 8.2 times the rate of Whites. Twenty years later and despite increasing 'reform,' Black people were incarcerated at 4.9 times the rate for white people.¹ During decades when the social safety net became more holes than rope, security structures increasingly served as the catchall response. Carceral and military Keynesianism went hand in hand, sharing logic and vendors. The 'war on drugs,' akin to the 'war on terror' that followed, crossed the boundary between domestic and international conflicts: deepening policing and mass incarceration domestically, while fueling civil wars and militarization of social problems across borders.



Efforts to monitor the global arms trade, like the Arms Trade Treaty and national 'ethical' and political oversight, all advanced following the end of the Cold War. However, as our work has demonstrated, the promises on the books never altered patterns of sending arms to habitual human rights abusers and conflict zones. The massive build-up in Ukraine, while in support of national self-defense, was conducted without even a pause to consider these controls.

Rising multilateralism in Africa starting in the mid-1990s, proving the crucial importance attached to the norms, principles and institutions of multilateral organizations, notably the African Union. The lessons apply to the United Nations as well. These

organizations were each forged in the aftermath of calamitous wars and genocides, when leaders and peoples had stared into the abyss. The *raison d'être* of these organizations wasn't just to convene states but to hold them to account to principles. It's true that the UN and AU (and for that matter, the European Union, Arab League, World Health Organization, World Trade Organization, etc.) cannot take action without the consent of member states. But they can set an agenda and call out those who aren't conforming.

What we see at the moment is moral cowardice at the top of the UN and AU, following when they could

¹ Sabol, William J. and Thaddeus L. Johnson. *Justice System Disparities: Black-White National Imprisonment Trends, 2020-2022*. Washington, D.C.: Council on Criminal Justice, September 2022, p. 2.

be leading. Collective action among states, even at the minimum level, demands that international civil servants have the courage of principle. This is asking a lot of bureaucrats—and it happens only when they and their organizations have their feet held to the fire by civic activists. Many things have conspired to undermine the UN and eviscerate the AU. Among them are the militarization of western nations' aid and diplomacy, the eclipse of civil society engagement with them, and institutional reforms intended to make them more 'efficient' and less political.

In the Horn of Africa, the UN and AU had become the key players in a complex multilateral peace and security architecture, with underlying goals of promoting democracy and development. That all fell apart in tragic fashion when a liberalizing transition in Ethiopia descended into a war of mass atrocity and starvation, and in Sudan when a beautiful non-violent civic revolution was reversed by military takeover and civil war. The citizens' collective action that initiated political transitions in both countries was not given considered and sustained international support. When populist or military leaders in the two countries directly challenged that carefully-crafted multilateral peace and security architecture, the UN, AU and their international 'partners' simply surrendered to the wreckers' ball.

Shaping solutions to suit narratives of progress has left us caught in a scissors trap: as our problems escalate our capacity to grapple with them diminishes. This is most acute for the biggest challenges, such as the climate crisis, pandemic threats and mass extinctions, socio-economic inequality and its fellow-travelers including precarity and distress migration, along with the corruption of government by political money.

Individual states cannot solve the problems and institutions for global governance aren't doing what's

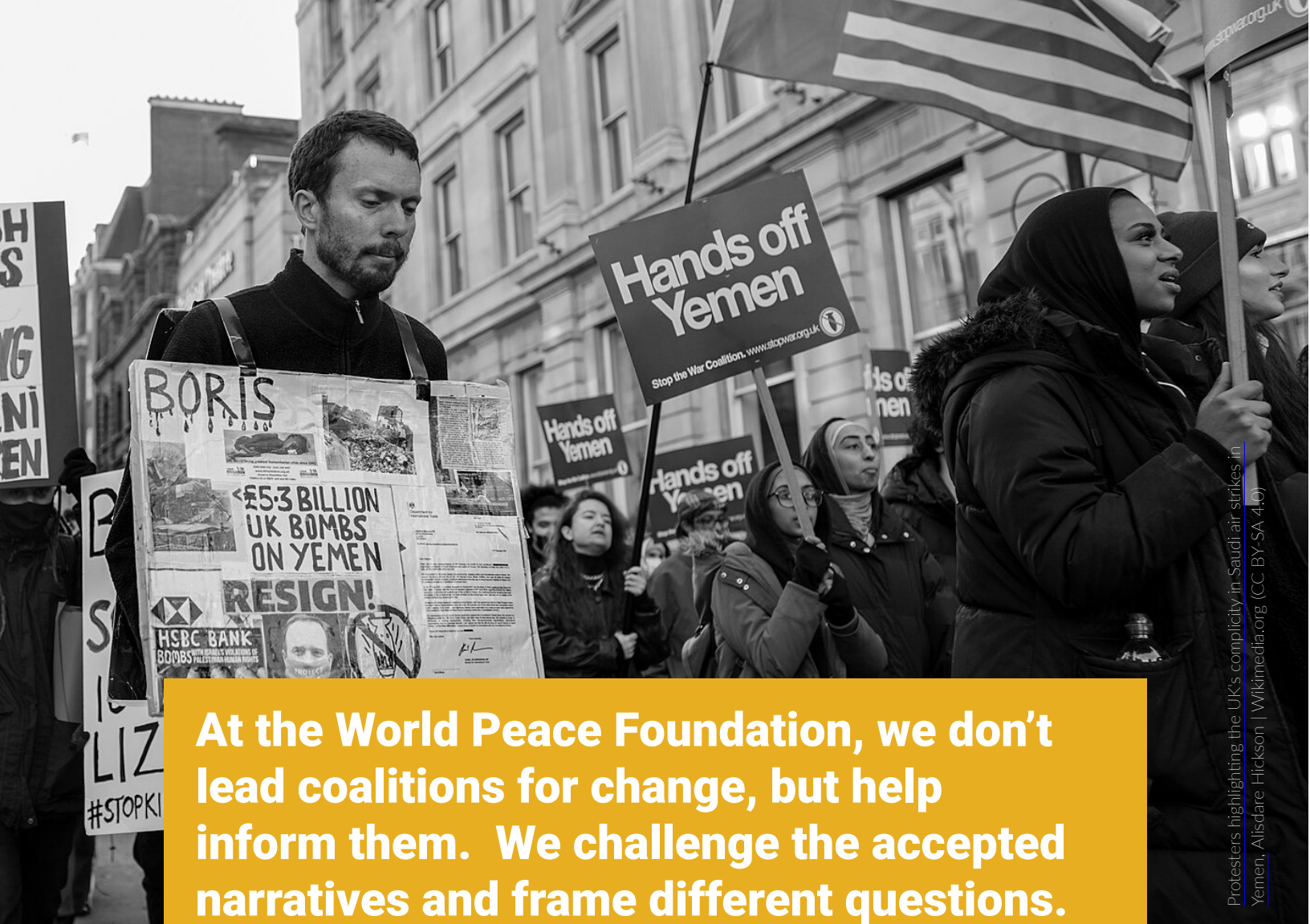
needed. Each step regarded as a triumph, such as the recent high seas treaty at the United Nations, is also a signal for how the pace of finding solutions is so much slower than the rate at which the crises are worsening—and powerful states and corporations are finding ways to veto, forestall and cheat.

Closer to the ground, material conditions actively disabuse communities of the illusion that the answers just need more time. There, one finds a wealth of leaders who are already enacting change.

Progressive movements and activists know the stakes and realize the scale challenges. It's precisely because they are aware of the daunting facts of the real world and know how the best intentions can go awry, that they are slower to move and reluctant to descend to playground-style sloganeering and mud-slinging. Making the norms and methods of progressive politics work is much more demanding than the tactics of their adversaries.

There's a lot of experience in analyzing problems, changing narratives, building civic coalitions, using non-violence, and making complex institutional systems function. **The first task is posing the right questions.**





At the World Peace Foundation, we don't lead coalitions for change, but help inform them. We challenge the accepted narratives and frame different questions.

Our research and program, address peace in a variety of forms: resolution of armed conflict, addressing underlying issues that produce or sustain conflict and repression, anti-militarism, and advancing democratization and minority rights. Across the board, it is united by critique of the systems that enable the powerful to deploy force rather than trying to resolve political, social and economic challenges. In so doing, we address those – at the grassroots, or embedded within institutions – who are seeking to chart new courses, posing familiar questions in new ways, providing them with lenses for understanding their predicaments and their choices.



Protesters highlighting the UK's complicity in Saudi air strikes in Yemen, Alisdare Hickson | Wikimedia.org (CC BY-SA 4.0)

RESEARCH OVERVIEW

PEACE AND CONFLICT IN AFRICA

How can conflicts in Ethiopia and Sudan be resolved?

Peace in Africa

Analysis of the civil wars in Ethiopia and Sudan have been Alex's major preoccupation during the last year. Not only are these two wars unusually brutal, but they also raise issues that are central to WPF's enduring research agenda, including: the implications of armed conflict for famine and use of starvation as a weapon of war; the devastating impact on the civilian population, notably though widespread sexual violence; the shortcomings of multilateral organizations (the United Nations and African Union) and international diplomacy more widely in formulating conflict-resolution processes; the erosion of governing institutions and political norms in the face of monetized transactional politics (the 'political marketplace'); and, relatedly, the question of whether states are viable under current economic, political-security and environmental-climatic conditions.

In the Fall of 2022, Alex's main focus was Ethiopia and efforts to find an end to the war in Tigray that would thereby stop the prospect of mass starvation and genocidal violence. The 'Permanent Cessation of Hostilities' signed by the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) in Pretoria, South Africa, in November, was a truce that met the minimal conditions of ending the conflict, but failed to address the core political issues.

Our former senior fellow, Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, convened civil society groups and researchers in Tigray with the goal of addressing humanitarian needs and advancing political dialogue. Through PeaceRep (see below), Mulugeta is documenting an approach to humanitarian aid and reconstruction based on direct support to community organizations.

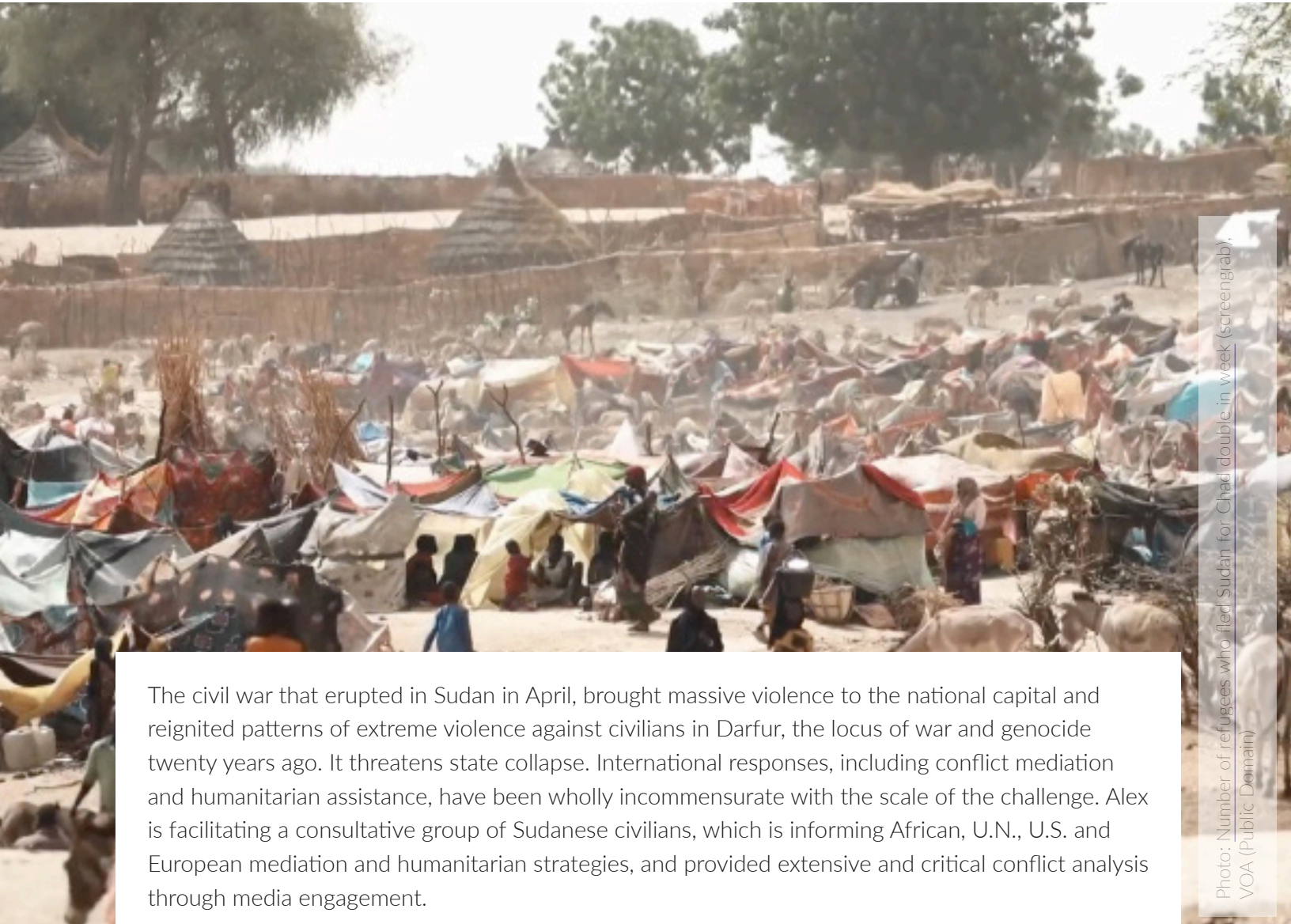


Photo: Number of refugees who fled Sudan for Chari double in week (screengrab), VOA (Public Domain)

The civil war that erupted in Sudan in April, brought massive violence to the national capital and reignited patterns of extreme violence against civilians in Darfur, the locus of war and genocide twenty years ago. It threatens state collapse. International responses, including conflict mediation and humanitarian assistance, have been wholly incommensurate with the scale of the challenge. Alex is facilitating a consultative group of Sudanese civilians, which is informing African, U.N., U.S. and European mediation and humanitarian strategies, and provided extensive and critical conflict analysis through media engagement.

“ Mediation efforts in Sudan are a low-level traffic jam without a traffic cop.

Alex de Waal, “Sudan’s New War and Prospects for Peace,” blog post, April 19.2023

Partners

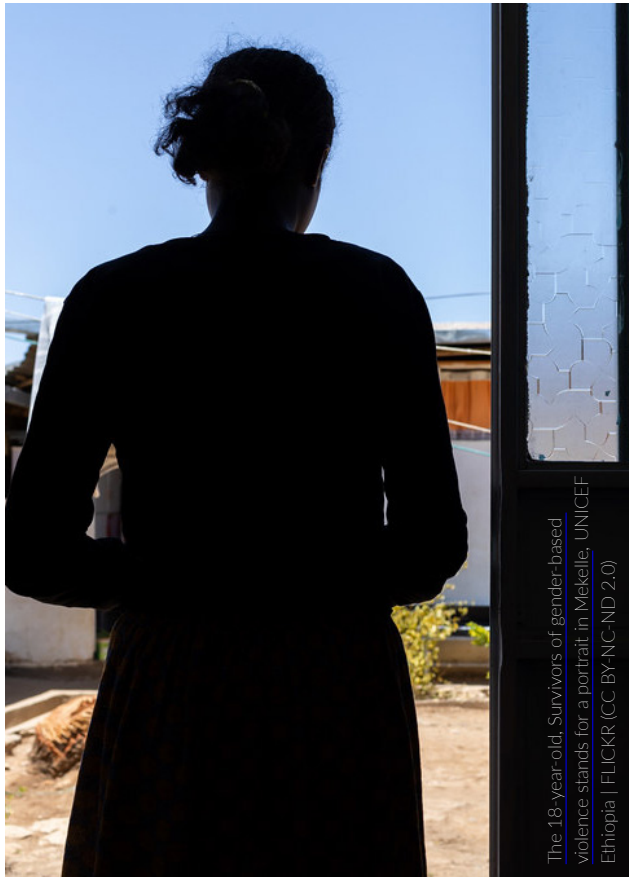
Through a grant from the US Institute for Peace, Alex continues to analyze the lessons from the African Union High-Level Panel for Sudan (2009-2013), including co-authoring a book, *Negotiating the Sudans* (due out in 2024) with [Willow Berridge](#) (Newcastle University), and advising Thabo Mbeki (former South African President and Head of the African Union High Level Implementation Plan for Sudan) on a shorter article summarizing the findings of the book.

[Mulugeta Gebrehiwot](#), formerly a senior researcher with WPF, is providing analysis of the political and humanitarian situation on the ground in Tigray.

Longtime associate and independent African peace and democracy advocate and practitioner, [Abdul Mohammed](#), continues to collaborate closely with Alex, generating insights on the politics of peacemaking.

We have funded Fletcher students [Chepkorir Sambu](#) and [Eliab Taye](#), who are serving as a secretariat to a consortium of Sudanese civil society organizations focused on ensuring that civilian voices are heard in the mediation process. This group formulated the only document signed by the warring parties, namely a commitment to respect civilians (which hasn't been respected).

Activities and Outputs: [Ethiopia](#)



BLOG POSTS

4

MEMOS

1

REPORTS

1

PUBLIC EVENTS

1

ARTICLES

9



Activities and Outputs: **Sudan**



Alex appeared on numerous radio and TV channels including **Aljazeera**, the **BBC**, **CNN**, **NPR**, **VoA**, **5-Live**, **Fox News** and a number of Middle Eastern and African outlets, including an extended interview on the **BBC's Briefing Room**. He has been widely quoted by journalists.

6

BLOG POSTS

9

ARTICLES

Revitalizing the Debate on the Global Arms Trade



Turkish made Bayraktar TB2 UCAV. Wikimedia (CC BY 4.0)

Across the globe, the arms trade fuels militarism, war, and corruption: why aren't more people talking about it?

Our Objectives

This program aims to integrate the arms trade into other areas of policy, research, and activism, while re-energizing discussions through the engagement of a younger generation.

- ✓ First, with Emma Soubrier, we are creating a network of policy analysts (both scholars and practitioners), who are exploring how to challenge the place of the arms trade as a proxy for the United States' and European countries' bilateral and multilateral relations in and with the MENA region. We are building a community for vibrant debate, drawing on established and emerging thought leaders. PRISM's first project, "Sustaining Alternative Links beyond Arms and the Military" (SALAM) consists of four round-table debates from which 24 memos and four synthesis papers will be produced.
- ✓ Second, with our former WPF colleague, Sam Perlo-Freeman, emerging scholar, Nico Edwards (working with Dr. Anna Stavrianakis), and the Corruption Tracker (which WPF has helped fund for several years), we are infusing the issues of the arms trade into dynamic areas of research and policy debate, notably the role of industry influence on policy, climate change and civil society investigations of corruption. This program sponsors new research -- scholarly, activist-led and policy-relevant -- and connects these groups with each other.

✓ Third, we are investing in the future of knowledge production, policy debate and activism, ensuring that the current intransigence of the issues is not bequeathed to future generations. Across our programs, above, we are recruiting a group of emerging leaders -- prioritizing diversity of gender, race, ethnic, class and geographic origin -- and providing them with mentoring and professional opportunities to enhance their ability to engage on the issues of the arms trade across research, policy and civil society interests. Funded in part by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, this program has completed its first of two years.

Partners:

Pathways to Renewed and Inclusive Security in the Middle East (PRISME), led by Emma Soubrier, fosters interactions between academics and practitioners who are broadening the concept of security in the MENA region.

The Corruption Tracker, a youth and women-led organization that documents corruption in the arms trade.

Nico Edwards, ESRC-funded International Relations PhD student at University of Sussex, and active volunteer at Youth Fusion and Scientists for Global Responsibility.

Sam Perlo-Freeman, Research Coordinator at Campaign Against Arms Trade and Associate Researcher of the World Peace Foundation.

Anna Stavrianakis, Professor in International Relations at the University of Sussex, U.K.

JAC, Founder of PlayDeadPixel, with over a decade of experience in multidisciplinary design and visual communication.

“**Challenging the militarization of sustainability by foregrounding people-centered nonmilitary security frameworks and just social and environmental transition experiences and solutions, is our only hope.**”

No, Arms Dealers Don't Count as 'Environmentally and Socially Responsible' Investments," Nico Edwards

Activities and Outputs:

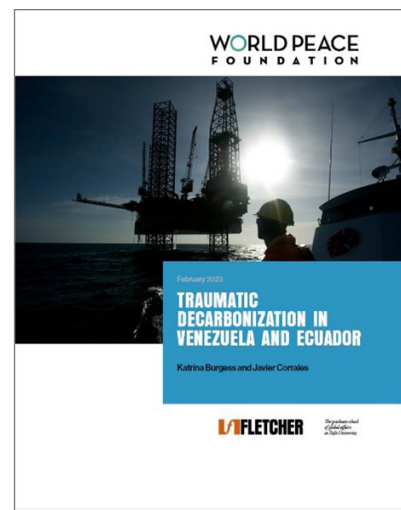
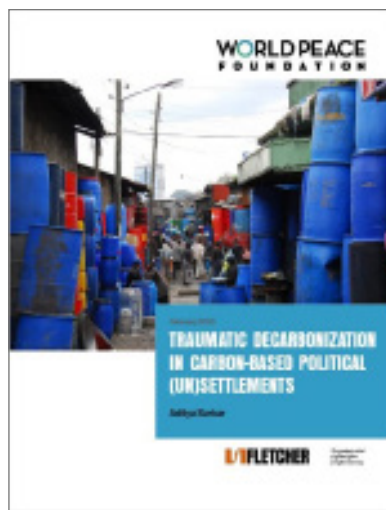
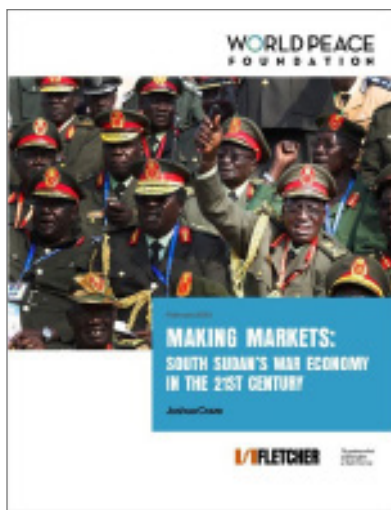
- 13** **SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS**
- 11** **MEDIA MENTIONS**
- 8** **MEMOS & SYNTHESIS PAPER**
- 5** **CASES ON THE CORRUPTION TRACKER DATA BASE**
- 3** **WORKSHOPS**
- 3** **BLOGS**
- 2** **OP-EDS**

Traumatic Decarbonization

What will happen to middle- and low-income oil producing states, especially those that are fragile or prone to conflict, as the world transitions away from hydrocarbons?

Richer oil producing countries can plan for the transition to post-carbon economy, but fragile and conflict-prone ones face unplanned, perhaps abrupt, loss of the revenues that have sustained their economies, public employment, and political systems. We call this ‘traumatic decarbonization.’ Our research has focused on country case studies (Ecuador, Iraq, Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan and Venezuela, with additional studies of Indonesia and Libya in the works), an extensive literature review, and a comparative analysis of the role of oil and gas revenues that shows how hydrocarbon revenues relate to peace processes and outcomes. Our findings are that these countries don’t fare well when oil revenues decline: the ruling elites continue to use the same methods of monetary patronage and coercion, seeking additional sources of rents (e.g. from minerals or from predatory economic practices), and using force to suppress resistance and dissent.

Phase one of this program, funded by the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), is concluding with the publication of essays in an academic journal and a special report with USIP. Research continues with funding through the PeaceRep consortium.



Partners:

Shahla Al-Kli, non-resident scholar, Middle East Institute, Fletcher School PhD

Katrina Burgess, Director of the Henry J. Leir Institute and Associate Professor of Political Economy, The Fletcher School, Tufts University

Javier Corrales, Dwight W. Morrow 1895 professor and chair of Political Science, Amherst College

Joshua Craze, Researcher, Ph.D. in socio-cultural anthropology, University of California, Berkeley

Tarun Gopalakrishnan, Researcher, Ph.D. candidate, The Fletcher School at Tufts University

Luke Patey, Senior researcher, Danish Institute for International Studies, Lead Senior Research Fellow at the Oxford Institute for Energy Studies, University of Oxford

Jared Miller, Ph.D. candidate in International Relations, The Fletcher School at Tufts University

Jan Pospisil, Associate Research Professor, Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations, Coventry University

Aditya Sarkar, PhD student, The Fletcher School at Tufts University

Benjamin J. Spatz, scholar-practitioner focused on conflict, sanctions, corruption, and African politics, Fletcher School PhD

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

7

EVENT

1

SYNTHESIS PAPER

1

Photo: Oil Drum Composition, Carsten ten Brink, 2010 | FLICKR (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

“Cash income from oil production lubricates many peace processes... without that money we are entering unknown political territory.”

Alex de Waal, Symposium on Traumatic Decarbonization, Fletcher School, April 6, 2023

Political Marketplace



As transactional politics increasingly dominate fragile states, what is the future for state-building, peacemaking and democratization?

The political marketplace framework is the overall approach informing our research and policy engagement on the politics of conflict, peacemaking, democratization and state building in Africa and other parts of the world characterized by state fragility and protracted turmoil. It emphasizes the central role of ‘political finance’ in increasingly transactional political systems in the Horn of Africa. Alex led a research team working on conflict resolution, the war in Tigray (Ethiopia), the war in Sudan and clean energy transitions, and civic mobilization.

This work was funded by the **UK Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office** (FCDO), through a research consortium, **PeaceRep** (Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform). We are in year three of a four year program.

Partners:

PeaceRep is a research consortium, headed by the University of Edinburgh, we are affiliated through our partnership with London School of Economics, LSE Ideas.

The WPF research team includes **Mulugeta Gebrehiwot** (based in Ethiopia) and Fletcher PhD students, **Aditya Sarkar** and **Jared Miller** and Fletcher Student **Eliab Taye**.

Activities and Outputs:

3 BRIEFINGS FOR FCDO

1 REPORT

1 POLICY BRIEF

1 MEMO

1 WORKING PAPER

“ “ We envision the political marketplace framework as a set of diagnostic lenses for civil society to challenge its logic in pursuit of peace, democracy, and human rights.

Alex de Waal, Benjamin Spatz and Aditya Sarkar, “Situating the Contribution of the Political Marketplace Framework to Peace Processes,” World Peace Foundation, PeaceRep Report, July 2023



Photo: Money exchanger displays Somali shilling notes on the streets of the Somali capital Mogadishu, AMISOM (Public Domain)

Mass Incarceration Research Program

In a country where nearly a third of the population has a family member who has been sent to jail or prison, how are directly impacted people changing debates about mass incarceration in the U.S.?

This program focused on centralizing the voices of directly impacted people this year. We did this in several ways:

- ✓ First, Research Director, Bridget Conley completed a first draft of her book, *COVID Diagnosed the System*, and is revising with emphasis on interviews with directly impacted people. Final draft expected early in FY 24. It has two primary goals. It seeks to document what happened behind bars during the pandemic. Drawing on data and policies produced by prison systems, news coverage, and firsthand testimony of people inside prisons and advocates for change, it tells stories of the pandemic in prison. It also asks whether the pandemic has made any lasting impacts on policy and activist debates about the future of American mass incarceration.
- ✓ Second, Bridget and Program Director B. Arneson collaborated with several organizations led by directly impacted people, with the goal of using our platform and skills to help amplify the impact of their lived expertise on discussions about prison policy.



Photo: Prison, Meesh | FLICKR (CC BY 2.0)

- ✓ Third, this Spring, Alex, Bridget, B., and Lili Dalton, a Fletcher MA student, team-taught “**African Narratives in Political Contexts**” at MCI-Concord, a medium security prison, with a group of TUPIT students. We are also beginning to elaborate connections between the global arms trade as a foreign policy practice and mass incarceration as a domestic policy concern. To this end, Bridget and B. published a short piece in Inkstick Media arguing that the theory and practice of prison abolition offers a conceptual and practical model for those advocating for demilitarizing foreign policy. Additionally, we outlined conceptual and historical continuities between the two areas in an academic essay focusing on the prisoner swap of Russian arms deal Viktor Bout and American WNBA player Brittany Griner, which they delivered at a conference this summer and are revising for publication.

Partners

We have several on-going collaborations with local groups led by formerly incarcerated people, including **Transformational Prison Project**, **New Beginnings Re-Entry**, **Families for Justice as Healing** and the **Massachusetts Coalition to End Solitary**. We also collaborated with the **Tufts University Prison Initiative** of the Tisch College of Civic Life (TUPIT).

Prisons are unaccountable and counterproductive. They are systems for transferring vulnerability to violence and abandonment from the public at large to a contained, smaller population. Prisons do not reduce harm, they concentrate it.

“On a Request for an Emergency Prison Intervention,” by Bridget Conley, Reinventing Peace, April 28, 2023

Activities and Outputs:

10 ORGANIZATIONS RECEIVED FUNDRAISING TRAINING

8 BLOG ESSAYS

4 ORGANIZATIONS RECEIVED RESEARCH AND SOCIAL MEDIA TRAINING

1 OP-ED

4 PRESENTATIONS

1 UNDERGRADUATE COURSE TAUGHT INSIDE MCI-CONCORD



What atrocities beyond direct violence scar entire civilian populations?

Mass Starvation and Mass Atrocities

Our project focused on the law and accountability has now ended, but other work on the use of hunger and starvation continues. Having been on the point of becoming consigned to history, famine is re-emerging as a major threat in the contemporary world. Our legal, political and military analysis of starvation continues to generate a high level of interest and demand, especially Alex’s analysis of the food crisis associated with the Russian invasion of Ukraine and hunger caused by the intersection of climate crisis and state failure. Additionally, Bridget’s work this past year focused on expanding the scope of ‘atrocities’ to include children born of rape and ethical treatment of human remains.



Photo: Operation Timeline Helps Displaced in Southern Sudan, Eskinder Debebe, www.unmultimedia.org/photo/ (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0)

Activities & Outputs:

BOOK CHAPTERS

6

JOURNAL ARTICLES

4

EVENTS

2

Teaching and Student Support

WPF at the Fletcher School

Teaching on campus:

Bridget taught her course, 'Contemporary Critical Theory on International Issues' this spring, and supervised 4 Capstone Projects, 2 independent studies and served on the committee for one PhD candidate (Lima Ahmed).

Alex taught 'Conflict in Africa', supervised 3 capstones, 2 independent studies and served on the committee for 5 PhD candidates (Ben Naimark-Rowse, Andrea Walther-Puri, Jared Miller, Aditya Sarkar and Roba Jilo). He worked with former Fletcher student, Sophia Dawkins, who transferred to Yale, and successfully defended her PhD this year.

Student Programs Support:

Fletcher Migration Policy, two events Oct & Nov.
Conference on Gender and International Affairs (CGIA): Challenging for Change: Amplifying Voices into Action, November 18-19, 2022

Fletcher Political Risk, "The Great Transition: Shift Towards Economic Self-Sufficiency", March 9-10, 2023

Fletcher Religion, Law and Diplomacy, "Conservation, Crisis, and Cultural Heritage", February 10, 2023

Africana Conference, "Africa 2050: Making Growth Work"

Fletcher School Summer Interns Sponsored:

Ariel Fanger with the United Nations, Office of the Secretary General

Diana Hartford with Reichman University

Wescott Yeaw with US European Command

Dana Abdulhay with United Nations Department of Safety and Security

Allton Vogel-Denebeim with Human Rights Measurement Initiative (HRMI)



Leir Institute PhD support awarded to Aditya Sarkar



ADMINISTRATION

Social Media

APRIL 2023
295,000 Impressions

SEPTEMBER 2022
110,000 Impressions

MAY 2023
72,600 Impressions

NOVEMBER 2022
65,500 Impressions

JANUARY 2023
53,800 Impressions

Due to the changes at Twitter ('X'), several of the quantitative analytic metrics that we typically use to analyze social media trends over time are either unreliable or no longer available at the same level of detail. For this reason, we offer more qualitative analysis this year. We currently have **14.9k** followers, a significant increase from **11.8k** in July 2022. The increase can partially be attributed to the news cycle and relevance of Alex's conflict analysis, with a record of **1,874** new followers finding our page in April after the start of the war in Sudan. However, we have also seen spikes in both engagement and followers after consciously developing new and engaging content.

Beginning in January 2023, we undertook two broad changes to our social media strategy. First, we decreased our Facebook presence, given the platform's general declining relevance. Second, we revamped our Twitter presence to create more consistency in our posting patterns and image/brand.

We created three hashtag pillars, each with a different focus: **#DisarMondays**, for posts highlighting research on arms trade and corruption, **#WorldPeaceWednesdays**, for posts related to conflict and conflict resolution, and **#Freethem-Fridays**, for posts about the prison system and abolitionism. In April, we debuted a fourth hashtag pillar, **#ThrowbackThursdays**, which highlights WPF's historical work and relying heavily on archival imagery. This strategy is developing a clearer, more distinct "voice" for our page, and more consistent schedule for posting. Additionally, the release of the **#DisarMonday** pillar coincided with a social media campaign to promote the Revitalizing Debate on the Arms Trade project. This provided an opportunity to experiment with new forms of interaction with our followers.

For example, our **#takeonthearmstrade** campaign, in which we invited followers for their "take" on the arms trade, received **22.4k** engagements.


In the past fiscal year, our most active month was **April 2023**, with **295,000 impressions**, followed by **September 2022** with **110,000 impressions**, **May 2023** with **72,600 impressions**, **November 2022**, with **65,600 impressions**, and **January 2023**, with **53,800 impressions**. In between these peaks, engagement dropped to approximately the 15k-40k range. While most of these peaks coincided with current events that drew attention to Alex's work, the January spike was due to response to the **#takeonthearmstrade** campaign. The success of this post and the campaign surrounding it, demonstrates that the success of our content does not have to rely on the news cycle.

Blog

In FY23, our blog, **Reinventing Peace**, had a total of **230,134** visits (July 1, 2022– June 31, 2023), with an average time on each page 3:16, just slightly lower than last year. Nine of the top ten most viewed posts concern the war in Ethiopia, including some essays originally published during the last fiscal year.



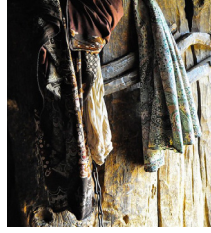
78,577 Views
Plagiarism in Abiy Ahmed's PhD Thesis: How will Addis Ababa University handle this?
de Waal, et al
April 12, 2023



5,528 Views
Abiy Ahmed—PhD?
Alex de Waal
May 4, 2022



21,407 Views
How the International Community is Betraying Tigray—and its Principles
Alex de Waal
September 26, 2022




4,146 Views
Addressing Narratives Normalizing Weaponized Sexual Violence: The Case of Tigray
Saba Mahderom
October 19, 2022




11,718 Views
Tigray's Micro-Managed Siege
Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe
May 2, 2023



3,436 Views
Sudan's New War and Prospects for Peace
Alex de Waal
April 12, 2023



8,162 Views
Days under Siege
Birhan Gebrekristos
August 29, 2022



2,625 Views
Five Scenarios of State Collapse in Ethiopia
Alex de Waal
July 26, 2021

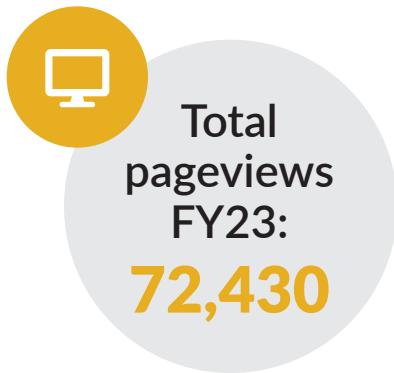


7,426 Views
The African Union "Peace Talks" for Ethiopia: Unmasking the Pretense
Alex de Waal
October 11, 2022



2,524 Views
What 'Rape as a Weapon of War' in Tigray Really Means
Dyan Mazurana
April 12, 2023

Website



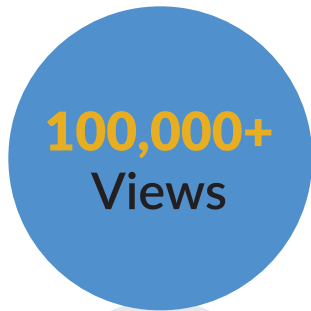
Top 10 Webpages FY23	Unique Pageviews
via Google analytics	

Homepage	21,077
Famine	6,483
Starving Tigray (report)	5,907
Staff	2,762
About	1,681
WPF publications	1,625
Alex de Waal publications	1,584
Student Opportunities	1,157
WPF History	1,146
Revitalizing the Debate/Arms Trade	1,101

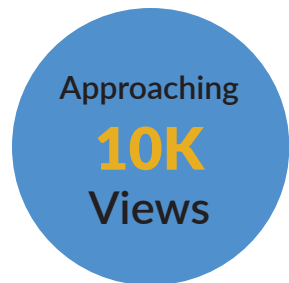
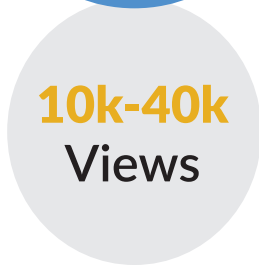
Top Webpages of all time

via Wordpress views

Famine Trends dataset	246,271
Starving Tigray	153,543



Board	41,479
Staff	23,803
de Waal publications	17,063
History & Future of Famine	12,739
WPF History	12,454
WPF Publications	11,750
Global Arms Business	10,962



Revit. Debate/Arms Trade	9516
Def. industry & Foreign Policy	9392

Finance

We have the following funding partners in FY23:

The **Carnegie Corporation of New York** is funding our work on the Revitalizing the Debate on the Arms Trade. We are nearing the end of the first year of a two year grant totaling **\$350,000**.



United States Institute of Peace (USIP) has a long-standing partnership with WPF. USIP has recently extended its grant to our work on traumatic decarbonization with an additional **\$20,000**. We are finalizing an additional grant to cover Africa-related work for the remainder of this year.



The UK Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) is funding the Peace and Conflict Research and Evidence Programme (PeaceREP), based at Edinburgh University. PCREP is a multiyear grant with each year's budget approved individually. The Kingdom of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through our partner Global Rights Compliance, funded our Accountability for Famine project. This program concluded in December 2022.

