

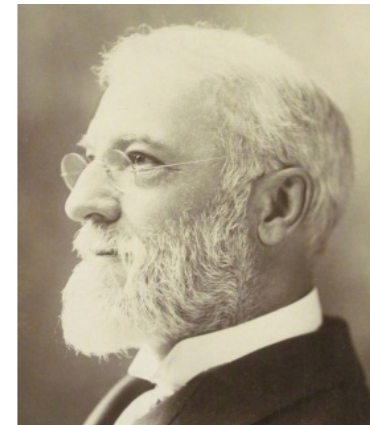


Annual Report 2019

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Our Mission:

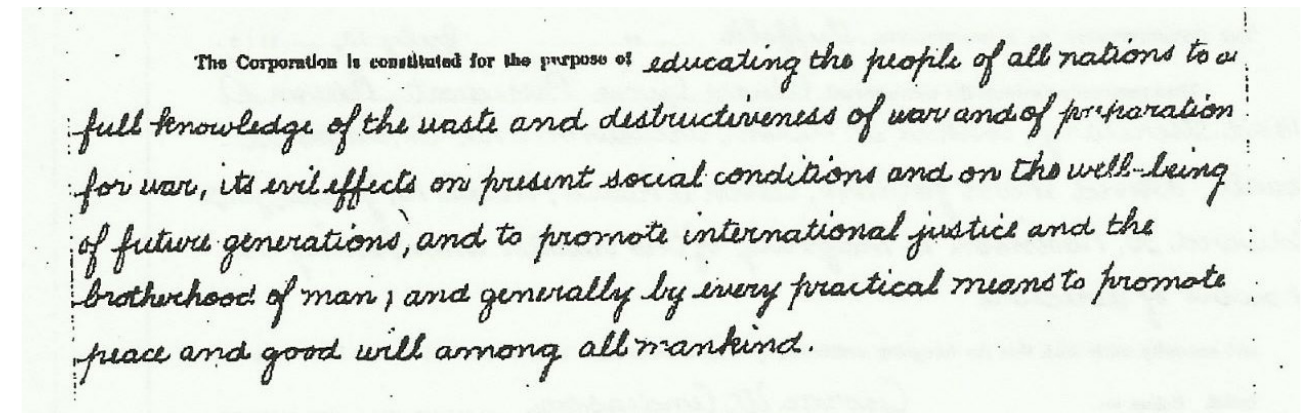


The World Peace Foundation (WPF) is an operating foundation affiliated solely with The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. It provides financial support only for projects that the Foundation has initiated itself.

WPF aims to provide intellectual leadership for peace. Our view is that the world needs a debate about world peace, drawing rigorously on evidence and theory.

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.

The original 1910 articles of incorporation state:



Our Board:

Peter Blum, Chair	Anat Biletzki
Barbara Stowe, Vice Chair	Deborah Chasman
Nawal Nour, Secretary	Bryan Hehir
Matthew Henshon, Treasurer	Catherine Henn
Elizabeth Adelman	Melissa Nobles
Eileen Babbitt	Kenneth Oye
Jacqueline Bhabha	

OVERVIEW: World Peace 2018/2019:

What Mass Starvation Tells Us about World Peace

By Executive Director, Alex de Waal

Mass starvation is rare, but terrible. How, where and why it occurs also tells us about the bigger political and economic trajectories of our time. Famines arise from political and moral choices: the powerful decide whom should be allowed—or forced—to die and why. The reasons for those choices are usually disguised, hidden or left unspoken, which makes the power politics all the more telling.

Starvation, in its everyday usage, means deprivation of food. In international law—notably, Article 8(2)(b)(xxv) of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court which lists war crimes—it means depriving people of objects indispensable to their survival, which can include medicine, clean water, shelter, sanitation or maternal care. This definition is closer to the empirics of famine.

At the end of the 19th century, at the zenith of European imperialism, ‘Late Victorian Holocausts’ devastated East and South Asia, as well as parts of Africa and Latin America, and starkly showed the inhuman calculus of imperial conquest and expropriation of wealth. The ‘short 20th century’ from 1914-89 was an age of hunger as much as one of state violence. Mass starvation was a favored method in total wars; and a tool of genocide and titanic social transformation in totalitarian systems. Hitler’s ideology of racial hierarchy, with ‘useless eaters’ at the bottom, was a program of starvation. Stalin, Mao and Pol Pot saw human beings as the raw material for utopian societal transformation, and regarded famine as a price worth paying, or even a helpful tool of control. Since the end of the Cold War, the ‘complex humanitarian emergencies’ of sub-Saharan Africa and the Balkans dramatically revealed the human deprivation that follows in the wake of failing states—and also the humanitarian impulses, albeit sometimes contradictory and confused, of the international community. Over the last generation, as the death toll of these crises diminished, there was at last a genuine prospect of eliminating famine for good.

Today, a new round of crises of mass starvation show a different pattern. Without question they demand humanitarian relief and condemnation of those responsible. But what do they tell us about our global political system and our values?

Climate Crisis

Will global warming bring new famines? We haven’t yet seen a climate crisis famine, and when it comes it’s not likely to resemble the food crisis apocalypse of popular imagination. The problem is more insidious than that.

Let’s begin with the imagined famine calamity that has haunted the western world since Thomas Malthus published his *Essay on Population* in 1798, as adapted by more recent prophets of global ecological disaster. The core idea is that climate change plus population growth is driving us towards an inevitable food supply crisis that will cut down human population in swathes; in one blow, bringing it to

a level commensurate with the planet’s much-diminished capacity to grow food.

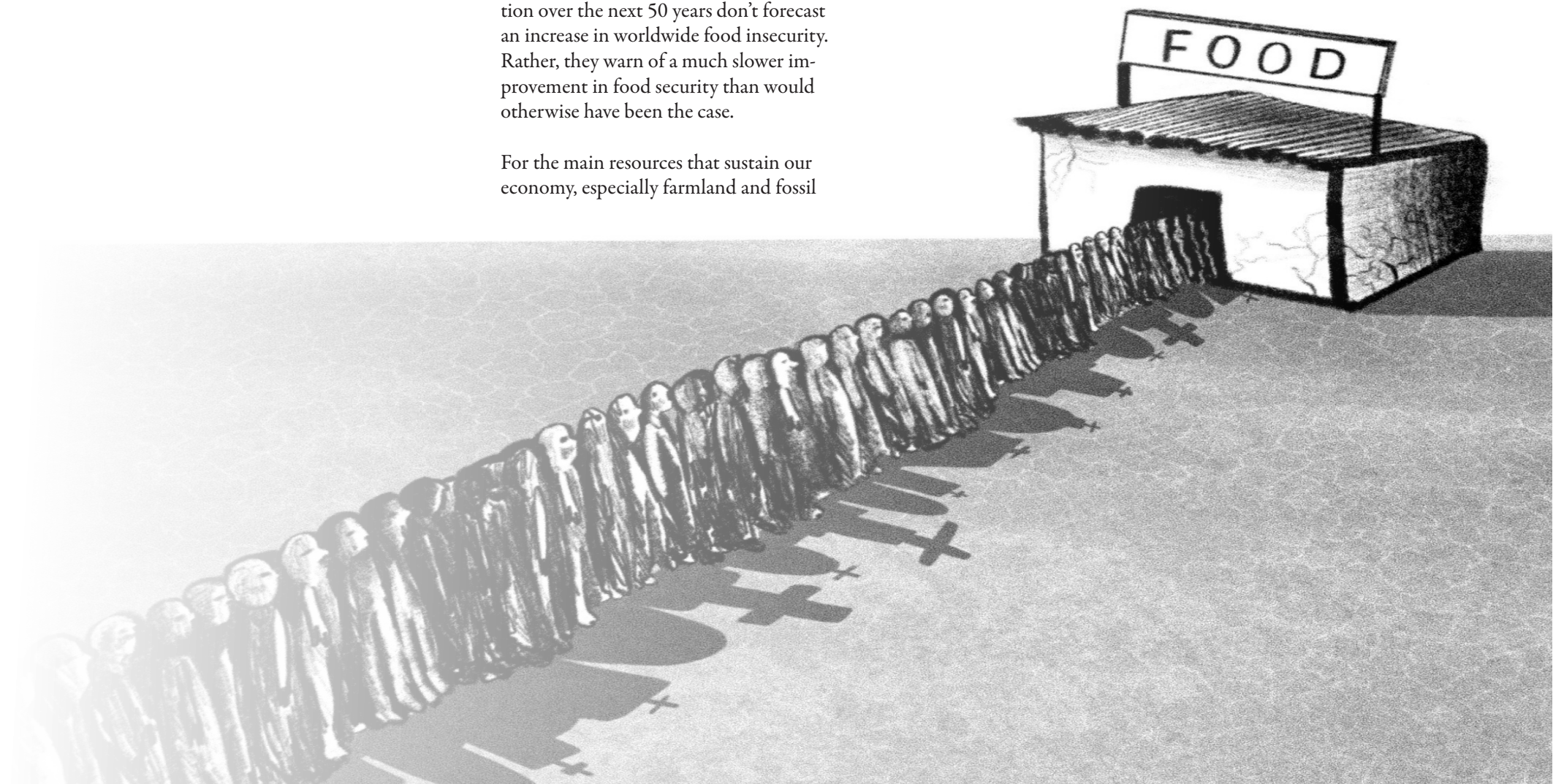
The story of over-population and ecological crisis in pre-colonial Easter Island is a compelling metaphor for how we are overexploiting the resources of the planet. But—even if it’s true, which is debated—that auto-ecocide is not a model that can be scaled from the experience of an isolated population with rudimentary technology to our contemporary global economy. For the time being, we are far within our global food production limits—the world can feed many billions more, especially on a less carnivorous diet. Even the most pessimistic predictions by the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and the UN’s Food and Agriculture Organization over the next 50 years don’t forecast an increase in worldwide food insecurity. Rather, they warn of a much slower improvement in food security than would otherwise have been the case.

For the main resources that sustain our economy, especially farmland and fossil

fuels, the limits to expansion are not imposed by absolute scarcity or even price. They are imposed by policy. What we require is enlightened, ecologically-sensitive policy—the realization that we cannot continue on this trajectory without doing irreparable harm to the fabric of the planet. For the coming decades, our capitalist political economy is sufficiently resilient and resourceful that it can ride out climate crisis. There will be disasters (storms, storm surges, droughts, floods) and climate refugees—but not famines as we have known them in the past. Yet, it cannot last. This points to the core climate policy challenge today: the market-based system for managing natural

resources is economically efficient, but it will be environmentally disastrous in the span of a generation.

Just five years ago, we could confidently hope that famines had been consigned to history. But, mass starvation has returned. The cause was not climate crisis, at least not in an immediate or straight-forward way. The four famines that the UN warned were imminent in 2017—north-eastern Nigeria, Somalia (where starvation was actually averted), South Sudan and Yemen—were all war-related. So too the starvation in besieged cities in Syria. Political repression was the source of starvation in Venezuela and of the Ro-



hingya in Myanmar. More broadly, every major famine over the last hundred years is primarily a collapse in *effective demand*—people’s ability to buy food—not a collapse in *food supply*, and that isn’t changing. The so-called global food crisis—the 2008-09 doubling of the price of basic foodstuffs on international markets—wasn’t an absolute scarcity of food. Even the *peak* of food prices in 2009 was about the same as the *average* food prices twenty years earlier (adjusting for inflation), and was a fraction of the levels of the 1970s, let alone the 1940s. The volatility in food price has much more to do with markets than with weather.

For the foreseeable future, we need to be concerned that people who are either very poor, or who are targeted by military campaigns, will face starvation because they don’t have any income, or food is being deliberately denied to them.

“Global warming will create new hardships, but where that burden of hardship falls, is a political choice.”

It’s the slide from poverty into absolute destitution that we need to monitor.

Some famines—Somalia and Yemen, for example—have hit in countries badly affected by environmental degradation. But nearby countries, equally affected by drought, soil erosion and water shortage, escape. People starve in these countries because bad policy, especially war, transforms manageable stress into a disaster that costs lives.

The sharp edges where climate crisis bleeds into starvation lie elsewhere. One scenario is the intersection of a climatic hazard (drought, floods), an economic crisis (food price spike or large-scale unemployment in a particular industry), and a political crisis (war, crackdown on poor labor migrants, shut off in aid flows), all occurring at the same time and

striking a vulnerable country. It was such a convergence of events that combined to create famine in Somalia in 2011. Another scenario is climate panic: the fear, real or exaggerated, of what environmental crisis might mean for a country’s food security, leading to actions that actually exacerbate the problem, either at home or abroad. An example is Middle Eastern countries buying land in East Africa, as a bank against future food shortages—and in doing so, dispossessing local villagers. Another version of this is the slowly-rising fear of migration from poor, climate crisis-affected countries, such as hunger migrants from north-east Africa and Yemen trekking to Europe, or from Central America to the United States, and rich country policies to keep them out, even to the extent of using hunger as a deterrent. Just as 19th century British administrators considered ‘excessive’ public spending on relief

as a greater evil than famine, so too governments in Washington DC, London or Rome may portray immigration as worse than starvation. And there are also possible unanticipated consequences of climate adaptations. For example, the rush to invest in biofuels disrupted global food supply chains and contributed to the food price spike in 2008.

Global warming will create new hardships, but where that burden of hardship falls, is a political choice. Disturbingly, the emerging default setting for ‘political choice’ is a zero-sum political calculus in which the lives and livelihoods of poor, vulnerable people, especially those who are readily labelled ‘outsiders’, don’t count for much.

The Politics of Inhumanity
As we turn to the politics of starvation,

the lines of cause-and-effect and the contours of vulnerability become much clearer. If we take the starvation crises of today, we see that cynical and inhumane politics are at work, in each case in a different form.

One face of inhumanity is racism taken to the point of denying entire people’s rights as citizens, or even as human beings. This is the case in the violent expulsion of the Rohingya from Myanmar. Another manifestation is the ethical degradation that eats away at the men who pursue protracted civil wars, to the point at which they think nothing of condemning entire communities to perishing by hunger, as is the case in Syria and South Sudan. Alternatively, there is the remote, reckless and inhuman design of a war that will, through economic blockade and the relentless destruction of objects indispensable for the survival of civilian populations—farms, fishing boats, markets, water wells, health centers—create nationwide famine. Such is the case of Yemen.

Another version of inhumanity is restriction on humanitarian aid in the cause of fighting terrorism. Nine years ago, when Somalia was facing the perfect storm of drought, a hike in global food price, the depredations of an extremist insurgency, and the corruption of a feckless and fractured government, the U.S. administration cut the country’s food aid lifeline because it feared humanitarian supplies falling into the hands of a terrorist group, which was illegal under the PATRIOT Act. A humanitarian ‘work around’ was hammered out only after the United Nations declared ‘famine’ ten months later, by which time hundreds of thousands of lives had been lost. Since then, chastened humanitarian workers have adopted a ‘no regrets’ aid policy in Somalia, which undoubtedly helped prevent a repeat of the calamity last year. But, where the calculus of national security versus humanitarian action is weighed differently, as in Syria,

the same logic has deprived many of humanitarian aid.

In Syria and Iraq, extremists reject not only western aid, but the very idea of international charity. This ‘counter-humanitarianism’, seen in the practices of ISIS and Al-Qaeda, as well as Al-Shabaab in Somalia, is the most frightening manifestation of a broader devaluing of human rights and humanitarian values. The idea that there is an overriding imperative for humanitarian assistance has faded: other priorities such as military security overrule it.

The conditions under which the U.S. authorities detain migrants at the southern border, depriving them of essentials such as blankets, soap and medicine, and separating families, count as ‘starvation’ in the spirit of international humanitarian law. Such violations are justified by fear of an ‘invasion’ of immigrants. Starvation policies long pre-date Trump, but the current administration ratcheted up such policies to their current levels. Deaths in crossings have been steadily increasing since 1994, when ‘Operation Gatekeeper’ began a process of intensifying scrutiny at populous points of the border, channeling undocumented crossings into the most dangerous parts of the desert. But under Trump, U.S. Border Patrol agents have been videoed destroying water supplies put out by volunteer groups, some of whom were prosecuted for providing humanitarian aid for migrants.

Of course, the manufactured crisis at the U.S. border is not an international armed conflict, so the Rome Statute of the ICC and its definition of starvation as a method of war, does not apply. Nonetheless, there is a policy to deny objects indispensable for survival that resonates. Equally revealing is the fact that large numbers of farm workers from Central American countries work in the U.S. for contractors to agricultural corporations

under conditions of extremely low wages and exploitative labor practices. Their employers have ensured that these food industry laborers aren’t subject to the same restrictions as individual migrants and aren’t labelled as ‘invaders’. Their conditions of life are so precarious that they may also approach ‘starvation’ in the broader sense.

Cruelty, exploitation and hunger are nothing new. In fact, global poverty and hunger levels are at historically low levels, including in the home countries of migrants such as Guatemala and Guinea. What has changed is political culture. What has become pervasive is a blatant form of transactional politics in which political loyalties and services are traded for material rewards. Electorates are voting for leaders who don’t conceal their personal immorality and political amorality, whose crimes are their credentials, who argue that because politics is a jungle, it’s best to have the biggest alligator as your chief. The law of this political jungle is that of the political marketplace: a material calculus reducing the lives, livelihoods and dignity of human beings to small change that cannot buy much.

A graphic illustration is Yemen, which is a well-entrenched political marketplace where allegiances are constantly transacted. The economic blockade of the Saudi-led coalition, designed to starve the Houthis into submission, has mutated into a war economy of smuggling and profiteering, where bribery and larceny dominate politics and commerce. Traders bring in food across the front lines, but ordinary people can’t afford to buy it and starve. In Yemeni towns, black marketeers and militia commanders grow rich. The Saudi and Emirati ruling families who have been running this war don’t care: their backs are covered by the lucrative contracts that they have with American and European arms suppliers and oil companies, and because they buy

political influence in western capitals.

Mass Starvation and World Peace

A century ago, advocates for world peace could take the planet’s health for granted: the challenge was to get human beings, organized into nation-states, to resolve their differences by peaceful means. Our predecessors such as Edwin Ginn and Andrew Carnegie could assume that forced mass starvation would be banished to history along with war, and the perils of natural calamities would subside on account of economic growth. Today these assumptions no longer hold.

For more than a hundred years, the social contract for western states has been taxation for democracy, against the backdrop of a growing economy that brings material benefits for all. Western nations have not yet faced absolute scarcities, but many people feel *relative* deprivation—their entitlement to future prosperity is snatched from them, their position in the social hierarchy is threatened. When people feel insecure, that they have become losers, that democratic social contract no longer holds.

What replaces hopeful, expansive democracy is all-too-easy to see. One element is exclusivist ethno-nationalism: preserving the status of those whose rank on the ladder is endangered. Those small degrees of privilege cannot be *objectively* sustained—the global capitalist economy won’t permit it—but their *subjective* perception of personal wellbeing can be protected by pushing others down the ladder.

A second element is corruption. The core feature of the new authoritarianism isn’t ideology, it’s *kleptocracy*. Those with private fortunes buy power—they may run for office themselves or, more commonly, buy influence with presidents and ministers. Office holders use their public positions to become rich too. In corrupt systems of government, prosperity is an

unearned windfall, and politics is a zero-sum game in which force, money and bargaining skill determine who is a winner and who is a loser. Kleptocrats rule by deceit, disguise and distraction. Corrupt rulers cannot be honest or transparent: they must conceal their real activities and delude their constituents.

Starvation isn't at the core of these malign political developments. But it's clear that xenophobia, corruption and dishonesty are the enemies of humanitarian action and advocacy in the short term, and in the longer term they will impede sustained action to mitigate climate crisis and its traumas. The people who are deprived of what is indispensable for sustaining life, whether in Yemen or South Sudan, in refugee camps in Bangladesh or in detention facilities on the U.S.-Mexico border, are not only the victims of starvation crimes in need of our aid and advocacy, but are the wind chimes that warn of approaching storms.

Research and Policy Engagement

FAMINE RESEARCH PROGRAM



In the seven decades since World War II, the numbers of people who die from famines fell spectacularly. The drumbeat of 10 million starving every decade faded to a small fraction of that toll, and the near-elimination of famine mortality is one of the great achievements of our time. Today, however, the global decline in famines and famine deaths has suddenly halted and is being reversed. The increase is not due to climate or natural disaster; it is driven by war, blockade, and hostility to humanitarian principles, in the context of a volatile global economy.

This WPF research project, led by Alex de Waal and Bridget Conley, presents a history of modern famines: their causes, dimensions, and why they ended. Political decision or political failing is an essential element in every famine, while the spread of democracy and human rights, and the ending of wars, were major factors in the near-ending of this devastating phenomenon. This year our work focused on the possibility for increasing legal, political and moral accountability for what we call “starvation crimes”.

Key Activities:

The primary vehicle for our work this year has been the project, [Accountability for Mass Starvation](#), in partnership with [Global Rights Compliance](#) (GRC), a law firm based in The Hague that specializes in international criminal law. The impetus for this project is follow-up on UN Security Council resolution 2417 on armed conflict and hunger, passed in May 2018, and sponsored by the Netherlands. The aim is to advance the prevention, prohibition, and accountability for mass starvation.

We held a series of ‘stakeholder consultations’, with humanitarian aid, policy professionals and legal experts (at The Hague, Geneva, New York, and Washington, DC). We also commissioned and drafted detailed case studies of contemporary South Sudan, Syria and Yemen, with shorter research studies of Bosnia-Herzegovina (during 1991-95), Cambodia (under the Khmer Rouge 1975-79), Ethiopia (under the military regime in the 1980s), Gaza (Israeli restrictions on food supplies), and Venezuela (the current situation), and convened the research team for a workshop (London, October 25-26). Other commissioned research has focused on issues related to nutrition and famine, and early warning systems. GRC is taking the lead in developing an analysis of the legal dimensions.

We participated in meetings at the Assembly of States Parties to the International Criminal Court in The Hague in December, focused on a proposed amendment to the Rome Statute that would correct an anomaly in the prohibition of starvation in armed conflict, by extending the same prohibition that exists for international armed conflict to non-interna-

tional armed conflicts. We hosted or participated in several public panels in which we and GRC discussed our project.

A unique contribution of the WPF is developing and promoting the concept of ‘starvation crimes.’ This draws on the concept ‘atrocities crimes’, coined by former US Special Envoy for War Crimes David Scheffer. It does not refer to a legal category as such, but rather brings together a range of crimes under different provisions of international criminal law, in a manner that gives them political salience.

We are also looking beyond the narrow objective of prosecuting those responsible for starvation, to bringing to bear the broader remit of transitional justice tools, notably around truth telling and memorialization, material reparations and guarantees of non-recurrence. This begins with recognizing the crime as such: treating mass starvation as a harm inflicted, not just a hardship experienced. Even the modest beginning of discussion in this way is emancipatory for the victims and survivors, who have often tended to blame themselves for their own failures to provide food for their families, rather than seeing the broader victimization that their entire communities have undergone. This broader agenda may have greater impact than the narrower, albeit more dramatic one, of seeking prosecutions.

The program will continue through the end of this calendar year (2019), during which time we are preparing a seminar with humanitarian, legal and policy experts, and are compiling and editing an academic book (with GRC) that intends to provide the first comprehensive exploration of issues related to increasing accountability for starvation crimes. Oxford University Press has expressed interest in publishing it.

Alex has also continued to give lectures and talks on his book, albeit at a slower pace, in London, Dublin, The Hague, Yale and at the Naval War College, Rhode Island.

We also worked with Yemen expert, Martha Mundy, to publish her research on patterns of the coalition bombing in Yemen (October 2018). Mundy’s work provided critical documentation of how the bombing campaign has destroyed the country’s food, water and agricultural infrastructure, while mass starvation and a cholera epidemic ravished the population.

Outputs:

Occasional Papers, Memos & Reports:

(WPF/GRC project publications)

“[Accountability for Starvation Crimes: Syria](#),” by Mohammad Kanfash and Ali al-Jasem (Damaan Humanitarian Organization), Policy Brief No. 3, June 2019.

“[Accountability for Starvation: South Sudan](#),” by Tong Deng Anei, Alex de Waal and Bridget Conley (World Peace Foundation), Policy Brief No. 2, June 2019.

“[The Crimes of Starvation and Methods of Prosecution and Accountability](#),” by Global Rights Compliance, Policy Paper No. 1, June 2019.

“[Movement Towards Accountability for Starvation](#),” Project Briefing Paper, February 2019.

“[Accountability for Starvation Project Overview](#),” Global Rights Compliance and the World Peace Foundation, Project Overview, October 2018.

(WPF)

“A Role for Social Nutrition in Strengthening Accountability for Mass Starvation?” by Susanne Jaspars (WPF Occasional Paper #18), June 24, 2019.

“The Strategies of the Coalition in the Yemen War: Aerial bombardment and food war,” a report by Martha Mundy (*distributed by the World Peace Foundation, October 9, 2018*).

“Commemorating Starvation in the 21st Century,” by Alex de Waal. Address at Quinnipiac University October 11, 2018.

Educational Materials:

“What Everyone Should Know about Famine” (World Peace Foundation, March 2019)

“What do we see of famine?” Political Cartoon series.

Publications:

“What Justice for Starvation Crimes?” in Jackie Bhabha et al., eds. *Time for Reparation? Addressing State Responsibility for Collective Injustice*. forthcoming.

“The Purposes of Starvation: Historical and Contemporary Uses of Starvation,” *Journal of International Criminal Justice*. forthcoming.

“Genocide and Famine,” in Ben Kiernan et al., eds. *Cambridge World History of Genocide*, forthcoming.

Batul Sadliwala, has a paper on famine and migration accepted for publication in the journal *Disasters*.

News, Interviews & Media:

Authored pieces

“Monuments to Famine,” by Alex de Waal, *London Review of Books*, March 7, 2019.

“Mass Starvation is a Crime: It’s time we treated it that way,” Alex de Waal, *Boston Review*, January 14, 2019.

“Mohamed bin Salman should be prosecuted over the Yemen conflict,” Alex de Waal, *The Guardian*, December 4, 2018.

Other Media:

January 19, 2019 Nurith Aizenman *What Today’s Headlines About Famine Get Wrong*, NPR (*interview*).

March 3, 2018 PBS Newshour: *How political and military conflict caused the return of famine*, podcast.

In addition, our work was referenced and we were quoted in 8 news articles and broadcasts including the BBC, The Independent, The Guardian, PBS, CNN, The Real News Network and the American Conservative.

Lectures & Presentations:

Alex de Waal, keynote address, International Humanitarian Studies Conference, The Hague, August 27, 2018.

Alex de Waal, presentation at Concern’s 50th Anniversary Event, “Resurgence of Humanity: Breaking the Cycle, Dublin Castle Ireland, September 7, 2018.

Alex de Waal Lecture on the memorialization of famine at Quinnipiac, October 11, 2018.

Alex de Waal lecture, “The End of Famine? Prospects for the elimination of mass starvation by political action,” October 25, 2018, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. After the program, Alex was presented with the Elsevier Atlas award for ‘research for a better world’ for a paper, ‘Prospects for the Elimination of Famine through Political Action,’ in *Political Geography* (2018).

Alex de Waal, ‘Starvation Crimes,’ Annual Humanitarian Policy Group lecture, London, December 11, 2018.

Alex de Waal, Mass Starvation book talks:

Addis Ababa (April 15); Washington, D.C. (May 8). The DC event included two talks, one for heads of humanitarian agencies participating in a closed-door workshop, and the other a public forum.

Events:

The below events are only those that WPF participated in as part of the project. Our project partners, GRC, have participated in additional events.

“Accountability for Mass Starvation: Testing the Limits of the Law,” The Hague, 28 August 2018 4pm – 6pm at The International Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. In conjunction with the International Humanitarian Studies Association annual conference.

“Accountability for Starvation: Testing the Limits of the Law,” Humanity House, The Hague, The Netherlands, December 11, 2018.

February 18, 2019, Talks with the International Committee of the Red Cross and food policy donor consortium, Geneva.

CONFLICT RESEARCH AND THE POLITICAL MARKETPLACE

The political marketplace is a framework for analyzing monetized transactional politics. It was developed by Alex de Waal to explain the mercenary logic of shifting political allegiances in Sudan and Somalia, but can be adapted and applied more widely across Africa and the Middle East, to examine how patronage-based political systems have changed with the advent of globally-integrated cash economies, new communications technologies, and the ubiquity of violence and coercion within governing systems. The idea that political power is becoming a commodity that can be bought and sold on a market, its price determined by the laws of supply and demand, also has traction across the world.

The Conflict Research Programme, funded by UK DFID through the London School of Economics launched its research activities in 2017 and became fully operational in 2018/19. It is led by Alex de Waal, who is co-principal investigator with LSE’s Mary Kaldor. The program further develops the political marketplace framework and applies it to key policy initiatives in conflict-affected countries, focusing on the Middle East and Africa, specifically: Iraq, Syria, Somalia, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, with additional work on regional dynamics especially across the Red Sea.

Key Activities

Within the CRP consortium, Alex is primarily responsible for the intellectual work of developing the political marketplace framework and directing research in South Sudan and Somalia; WPF’s portion of the grant covers a proportion of Alex’s salary, as well as few other researchers, with the primary research and meeting budgets managed through the LSE.

One of the main deliverables for the project is policymaker-friendly diagnostic toolkit that can allow for a quick ascertainment of how best to assess a country within the political marketplace framework, and the possible impact of policy interventions (such as sanctions, a peace agreement, an infusion of money). Our former research assistant, Aditya Sarkar has returned on a part time basis to coordinate this project.

The program held workshops on the political marketplace in Syria and Iraq (February) and Somalia (April). Another focus, was to further deepen the analysis of South Sudan, including producing a timely memo detailing the likely negative impact of a ‘payroll peace’ strategy that puts very large numbers of soldiers on the official payroll, ostensibly as a means of encouraging them to agree to a peace deal. In addition, Alex produced a political marketplace analysis of Sudan in the immediate aftermath of the April revolution. The framework is also being applied to security sector reform, local peace-making efforts, and decentralization.

Alex is also co-editing (with Mary Kaldor) a special issue of the journal *Conflict, Security and Development*, on identity politics and the political marketplace in each of the program’s countries of focus. Alex has written the theoretical background and drafted the Somalia paper which addresses how clan units were formed by the processes of military organization of factions and peacemaking efforts, in which mediators sought equitable power-sharing among different communities. The South Sudan paper, by Naomi Pendle, is a case study of how certain political-military leaders from the Nuer ethnic group have opportunistically switched sides in response to material incentives.



On South Sudan, the project is currently engaged in the following activities:

- **The ‘South Sudan Research Panel’.** This is a group of South Sudanese academics that the CRP convened last July and allowed to set their own agenda. The immediate outcomes of this are: (a) a short policy paper on humanitarian policy in South Sudan; and (b) a research project into how the higher education sector in South Sudan serves as a refuge for ‘civicness’ amidst the armed conflict and polarization. Notably, students of different ethnicities and political alignments are ready to study together and protect one another in the university setting.
- **Political marketplace analysis.** Political-military actors in the security arena in South Sudan and their dynamics of fission, fusion, absorption, integration, bargaining and rebellion under the changing circumstances of peace and conflict. Alex and South Sudan research director Naomi Pendle published a chapter on decentralization of administration in South Sudan in an edited volume on the South Sudanese crisis, edited by Luka Biiong Deng.
- **Mediation and conflict resolution.** We are drawing on the earlier WPF ‘Sudan peace archive’ project to investigate the processes of reaching peace agreements, and implementing them, and the relationships between high-level initiatives and local level conflict mediation. Two researchers working on the Sudan archives are interested in collaboration on this.
- **‘Law from below’.** The CRP has several research projects looking into the functioning of local courts. These include the ‘hunger courts’: ad hoc mechanisms set up communities facing famine to ensure that food is provided to the hungry; the innovations of customary courts to deal with the stresses of forced displacement; and grassroots legal activism. Researchers in the program are exploring ways of rethinking transitional justice in the context of chronic political turbulence: how does one develop accountability for grave abuses when there is no ‘transition’ as such?

On Somalia, the CRP is engaged in the following:

- **Political marketplace analysis.** Re-analyzing state-building in Somalia as an exercise in which the formal government institutions are a minor actor in a field of operators, who share a set of ‘rules of the political game’.
- **Analysis of how ‘clan’ identities were shaped by the civil war and consolidated by peacemaking mechanisms.** Alex published an occasional paper on this topic: “[The Prairie Fire that Burned Mogadishu](#)” and will be publishing an academic paper in the coming year;
- **The role of the business community in politics and philanthropy:** based on detailed life histories of leading business-people.
- **‘Law from below’:** research into how local courts and dispute resolution mechanism function in the absence of a state, and how the norms and principles evident in these courts provide alternatives to state-building programs designed and implemented ‘from above.’

In addition, Alex is leading on the analysis of security interventions in the five CRP countries with a view to identifying ‘what works’ in terms of international policies. This will be a major challenge to the conventional set of security sector reform packages, insofar as it will show how their premise of a nationally-bounded, institutionally coherent security sector does not hold, and how these packages are invariably coopted into strategies for consolidating political power. The re-framing focuses on the concept of the ‘security arena’ of multiple military, paramilitary and security agencies and units, each under its own autonomous command. The agenda that follows focuses on stabilizing the security arena, as well as identifying the processes whereby plural, hydra-headed security arenas have become consolidated and downsized, in the absence of such interventions. We have taken on recent Fletcher PhD graduate Sarah Detzner to work on this.

Alex has made presentations and presented papers at a number of CRP events, many of which will translate into publications.

Outputs:

Occasional Papers, Memos and Reports

‘[The Prairie Fire that Burned Mogadishu: The Logic of Clan Formation in Somalia](#)’ by Alex de Waal, (December 2018).

Book Chapter

‘Power’, by Alex de Waal, in Didier Fassin and Veena Das, ‘Words and Worlds’, forthcoming.

de Waal, Alex and Naomi Pendle. “Decentralisation and the Logic of the Political Marketplace in South”, [The Struggle for South Sudan: Challenges of Security and State Formation](#), Edited by Luka Biiong Deng Kuol and Sarah Logan, 172-194. London: I.B.Tauris. 2019.

Lectures & Presentations:

‘Fragile Paradigm: From ‘Fragile States’ to a Theory of Disorder’, Alex de Waal, London School of Economics, September 2018.

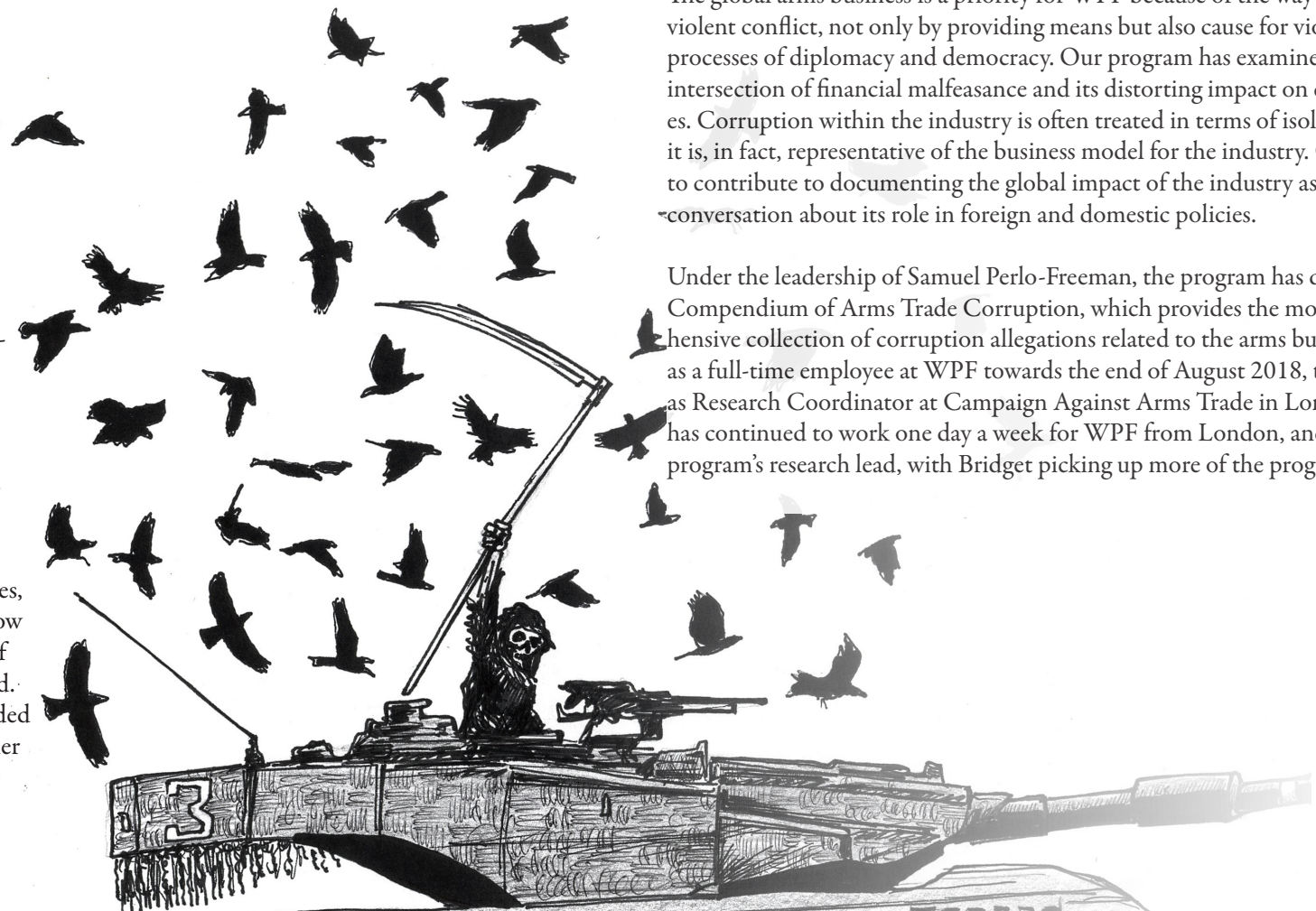
‘Wild Power: Exploring Vocabularies of Political Disorder,’ Alex de Waal, Geneva Graduate Institute, April 2019.

‘Kleptocracy’, Alex de Waal, Seminar XXI: National Economies & Transactional Factors in a Globalized World, February 2019.

GLOBAL ARMS AND CORRUPTION PROGRAM

The global arms business is a priority for WPF because of the way the industry fuels violent conflict, not only by providing means but also cause for violence, by distorting processes of diplomacy and democracy. Our program has examined the industry at the intersection of financial malfeasance and its distorting impact on democratic processes. Corruption within the industry is often treated in terms of isolated incidents, when it is, in fact, representative of the business model for the industry. Our program aims to contribute to documenting the global impact of the industry as a way to change the conversation about its role in foreign and domestic policies.

Under the leadership of Samuel Perlo-Freeman, the program has developed the online Compendium of Arms Trade Corruption, which provides the most globally-comprehensive collection of corruption allegations related to the arms business. Sam finished as a full-time employee at WPF towards the end of August 2018, taking up a position as Research Coordinator at Campaign Against Arms Trade in London, England. He has continued to work one day a week for WPF from London, and has remained the program’s research lead, with Bridget picking up more of the program management.



Key Activities

Sam has focused on producing a report that encapsulates insights from our research program over the past two years, ‘Red Flags and Red Diamonds: The Warning Signs and Political Drivers of Arms Trade Corruption.’ The program also employs Fletcher PhD student Xiaodon Liang at 10 hours per week, as a Research Assistant on the Global Arms and Corruption program. Xiaodon updates and expands the cases in the Compendium.

During the summer and Fall, Sam and Xiaodon worked on a re-launch of the [Compendium of Arms Trade Corruption](#). This included adding: new cases (there are now a total of 42, compared to the 18 when it was originally launched in May 2017), a redesigned website, images (photos, cartoons, graphics etc.) to the posts, a Resources page and a reference table of the cases to the website. Updates were also done on the site’s interactive map, designed by Tufts Technology Services. The website redesign was launched in the beginning of December 2018, accompanied with a Twitter and Facebook campaign (which continued through early 2019).

WPF’s annual research convening this year, “Politics and economics of the global arms trade,” was held on May 29-30, 2019. The seminar focused on Sam’s draft “Red flags” report, case studies of the role of the US in the arms trade, and panels on the Middle East (two), the arms trade in Brazil, and the role of offsets in arms deals.

In May, we were invited by the Carnegie Corporation of New York’s International Peace and Security program to submit a proposal for a new program investigating research on major arms deals and their connection to armed conflict. Our proposal passed the first round of reviews and a final proposal is in development, for which funding would begin January 2020.

Outputs

Occasional Papers, Memos & Reports

“[How big is the international arms trade?](#)” by Samuel Perlo-Freeman (July 19, 2018).

“[Arms trade corruption and political finance](#)” by Xiaodon Liang and Sam Perlo-Freeman (July 9, 2018).

Publications:

Perlo-Freeman, Samuel. “How big is the international arms trade?” Defence and Peace Economics Status: revisions pending.

Perlo-Freeman, Samuel. “Corruption in the International Arms Trade”, chapter in Research Handbook on the Arms Trade, ed. Andrew Tan, to be published by Edward Elgar in 2020. Status: first draft in preparation.

News, Interviews & Media:

The WPF Compendium of Arms Trade Corruption was mentioned in the NPR article, “[Heckler & Koch Fined \\$4.2 Million Over Assault Rifle Sales In Mexico](#)”.

Videos:

“[Introducing the Compendium of Arms Trade Corruption](#)” (December 14, 2018, 2:00 minutes). Sam Perlo-Freeman provides an overview of new cases and features of the Compendium.

“[How Weapons Wound Democracy](#)” (January 2, 2019, 8:21 minutes). Drawing on footage from Shadow World, this short video features Andrew Feinstein discussing his role in the South African arms deals.

MASS ATROCITIES RESEARCH PROGRAM



Large-scale campaigns against civilians inflict egregious harm upon entire populations, destabilize societies and disrupt international relations. The unmitigated moral repugnance of such campaigns, however, does not produce equal clarity when it comes time to prevent, respond to or recover from such violence. Yet much of the research and policy on mass atrocities starts from and is uncritical of the assumption that exceptional violence justifies exceptional means. Our approach has been to turn to empirical cases and ask *how*: how do atrocities end; and, our current focus, how does memorializing past violence impact efforts to change a society?

There is strong evidence that mass atrocities most often occur in places that have previously experienced large-scale targeting of civilians. The field of transitional justice was founded on the belief that large-scale violence repeats because the past was left unaddressed: unpunished and inadequately acknowledged by the public and state institutions. Several decades of work attempted to operationalize this insight through the adoption of techniques of truth-telling and legal accountability. Today the record of these policies is uneven and increasingly questioned. Rather than defend or dismiss it, however, WPF, in its program led by Bridget Conley, seeks to add fine-grain insights into both the limits and potential of memorialization.

Key Activities

Bridget’s book, *Memory from the Margins: Ethiopia’s Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum* was published in April 2019. The book is the first book on the Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum (RTMMM), and it is among the few studies that address the Ethiopian experience in a comparative transitional justice framework. It arrives at a timely moment both for efforts re-considering the record of transitional justice contributions to democratization, and in Ethiopia’s political evolution. Tracing momentous political and global transitions through the life of one institution, theoretical issues concerning what memory is and what role it can play in democratic transitions are contextualized and embodied in the lived experiences of survivors, advocates and visitors.

With Diane O’Donoghue, of the Program for Public Humanities, Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life at Tufts, Bridget submitted and was awarded a Tufts Collaborates! Grant, ‘In their Present: Displaying Human Remains’ (for FY 2020). The grant aims to develop ethical and practical guidelines governing the public treatment of the physical remains of people killed in state-sponsored violence or oppression, or those posthumously displayed by genocidal regimes. Bridget is working with the International Sites of Conscience, a global coalition of memorial museums, to test the guidelines with some of their member sites.

Outputs

Publications:

Memory from the Margins: Ethiopia’s Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

“Genocide and Memory” in *A Cultural History of Genocide in the Modern World*, edited by Deborah Mayersen (forthcoming, Bloomsbury, 2019).

Lectures & Presentations:

“Ways Forward on Mass Atrocity Prevention,” at “The UN Genocide Convention at Seventy: The Politics of Mass Atrocity Prevention, 6 – 7 September 2018. Norwegian Center for Studies of Holocaust and Religious Minorities.

News, Interviews & Media:

Cited by Daniel Immerwahr. ‘The Lethal Crescent: Where the Cold War was hot.’ *The Nation*, December 20, 2018.

CHILDREN AND YOUTH STAYING SAFE IN VIOLENCE CONFLICT

In many places, childhood represents a formative vulnerability to the ravages of war. Given the cycles of violence that occur in many conflict-affected countries, yesterday's war children become tomorrow's war commanders and foot soldiers—or, they can become those who choose a different direction for themselves and their communities. Many international interventions into conflict aim to shift the balance towards the latter possibility. Creating a deeper understanding of what contributes to positive outcomes for children can change not only the ways that individual children are supported, but also broader social changes that forge a more peaceful future.

This program is led by Dyan Mazurana and builds on her 20 years of research with young people in conflict and post-conflict zones. Her aim is to bring nuanced, child-focused research to a broad, public audience, with the goal of impacting how children in war are perceived and supported in building long-term resilience.

Key Activities:

Dyan has completed the manuscript for her single-authored trade book, *We Have Hope: Adversity, Violence and Resilience Among Youth* (working title). Focused on the voices and experiences of young people, the book documents and explores how they manage and at times thrive under very difficult conditions and how their resilience can be strengthened or undermined. Dyan worked with an editor to tighten the entire manuscript, and is submitting materials to seven literary agents with relevant expertise and who can help her position the book for a general public audience. She expects to hear back from them in the Fall.

When Dyan's book is published, we anticipate facilitating a range of events and media activities that promote it. Dyan will write a series of blog posts, opinion pieces, and short articles for popular magazines, print media and multiplatform media. She will have these pieces ready for publication in conjunction with the release of the book.



Dyan and Professor Kimberly Theidon (Fletcher) and were awarded a Tufts Collaborates! grant for their project, “Challenging Conceptions. Children Born of Wartime Rape and Sexual Exploitation.” Funded separately, this intersects with Dyan’s WPF-supported activities. The goal of this project is to generate empirical evidence about the realities faced by children born due to conflict-related sexual violence and their families, and to seek knowledge to help ensure that children and their families are no longer stigmatized and are treated as equal and valued members of their societies. This has involved a workshop and is leading to an edited academic volume, submitted to Rutgers University Press. Bridget is contributing a chapter on imaging children born of war rape. Dyan wrote a chapter covering her work in Mozambique and the experience of Yazidi women who returned with children from ISIS captivity, a topic she covers in part in *We Have Hope*.

Additionally, inspired and informed by her intensive research for the ‘*We Have Hope*’ book project, Dyan is designing a new graduate course at the Fletcher School on “Children, Crises and Resilience” (working title). The course will be submitted for approval in Spring 2019 to be taught in Spring 2020 (to alternate with her spring course “Gender, Human Security and States and Societies in Transition”). The course will cover a range of topics regarding children, including: legal and socio-cultural understanding of ‘children’ and ‘childhood’ and ‘adolescents’; development, including physical, reproductive and cognitive development; violence, abuse and trauma; adaptation, wellbeing and resilience. The course then looks thematically at experiences of a range of children in different challenging and adverse situations, drawing on different case studies around the world: street children; child migrants; child brides and grooms; child parents; war-affected children; unaccompanied children seeking refuge; children associated with fighting forces; children under siege; and child activists.

This will be the only course at Fletcher that focuses on children and youth, and among the very few taught at other universities in the Boston area or among APSIA schools (notably, this short list includes WPF Board Member Jacqueline Bhabha’s course at Harvard University). There is already strong student interest, and faculty support, for the course.

Outputs

Publications:

Dyan Mazurana, PhD, Anastasia Marshak and Kinsey Spears, “Child Marriage in Armed Conflict,” *International Review of the Red Cross* upcoming edition on ‘Children and war’ to be published in late 2019.

Dyan Mazurana, “The Role of Spirituality and Ritual in the Acceptance of Children Born of Conflict Related Sexual Violence,” in *Challenging Conceptions. Children Born of Wartime Rape and Sexual Exploitation*, editors Kimberly Theidon and Dyan Mazurana (Rutgers University Press, forthcoming)

Bridget Conley, “Triptych: Seeing Children Born of Wartime Rape and Sexual Exploitation,” in *Challenging Conceptions. Children Born of Wartime Rape and Sexual Exploitation*, editors Kimberly Theidon and Dyan Mazurana (Rutgers University Press, forthcoming)

AFRICA PEACE PROGRAM

Africa remains beset by conflict. The Horn of Africa alone is particularly conflict prone; it is host to forty percent of the world's peacekeepers; it has generated some of the largest refugee flows of recent years; and is the locus of two recurrent war-famines. Two of the countries of the Horn—Sudan and Ethiopia—are in the midst of momentous and fraught political transitions. It is also becoming a fulcrum of the spillover of Middle Eastern political rivalries and mercenary transactional politics, with intense engagement by Gulf monarchies in Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan.

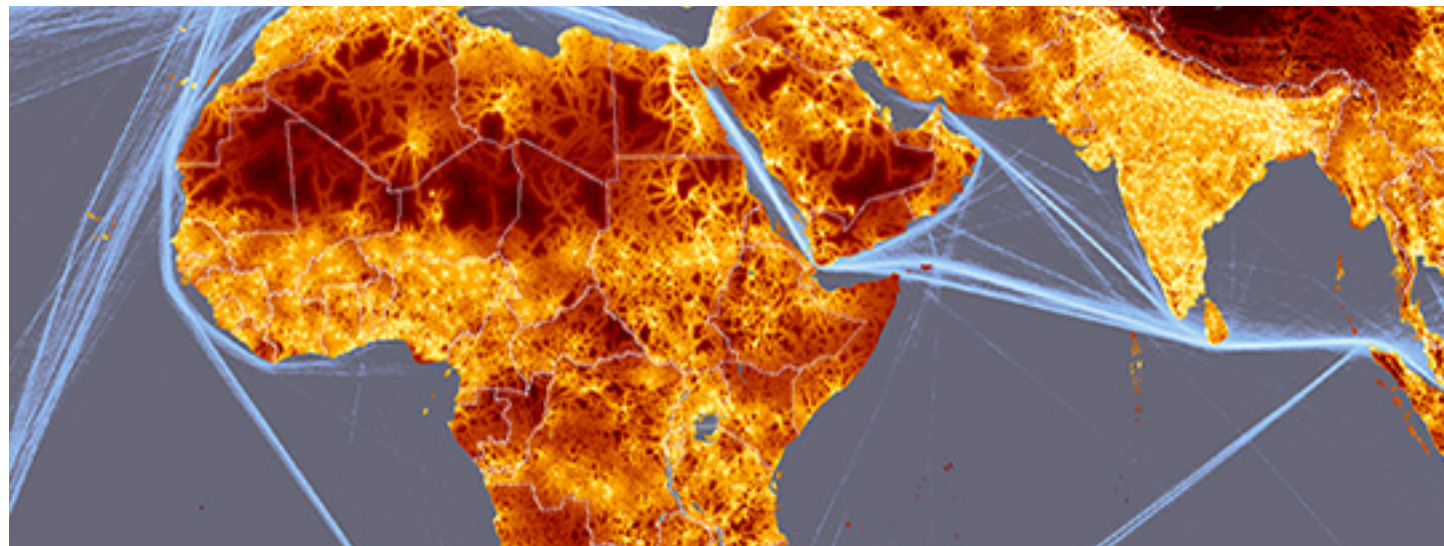
The Africa peace program builds upon the WPF engagement with the African Union, including our 2016 report *African Politics, African Peace*, and Alex de Waal's expertise and engagement on a broad range of issues related to African peace and security including an ongoing informal advisory role to the AU High Level Implementation Panel (AUHIP) headed by former South African president Thabo Mbeki. The WPF continues to sponsor research, programming and outputs on an ad hoc basis when we can make an impact on discussions about African Peace issues.

Key Activities:

Events in Sudan occupied much of Alex's time in April and subsequently. He has done a large amount of media related to the overthrow of President Omar al-Bashir and the subsequent dynamics. The logic of power in Sudan has, rather uncomfortably, confirmed his political marketplace hypothesis.

Alex provided confidential briefings to the African Union, U.S. Dept. of State and U.K. Foreign Office. He co-authored the draft of the AU Peace and Security Council communiqué on Sudan, which demanded that the Transitional Military Council hand over power to a civilian administration within 15 days. (Ten days later, Egypt convened a meeting at which it gave the army 3 months to hand over; and on the expiry of the AU deadline on 30 April, the AU compromised on 60 days, with a stern warning that military regimes are not acceptable.) He provided an analysis of Sudan's political economy to the leaders of the forces for Freedom and Change. Alex's main Sudanese interlocutor, Abdalla Hamdok, was subsequently sworn in as prime minister on August 20.

We produced an occasional paper entitled *Pax Africana or Middle East Security Alliance in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea?* in January. This summarizes the history of peace and security in the Red Sea, focusing on the co-occurrence of maritime safety with on-shore turmoil, and the absence of any overarching security mechanism that encompasses both shores of the Red Sea. This paper has been influential in helping frame a fast emerging debate on the Red Sea as an arena of strategic contestation.



Outputs:

Occasional Papers, Memos & Reports

Alex de Waal. [Pax Africana or Middle East Security Alliance in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea?](#) January 2019.

Alex de Waal. [The Future of Ethiopia: Developmental State or Political Marketplace?](#) August 2018.

Alex de Waal. Prospects for Democracy in Sudan series: [January 26, 2019](#), [March 13, 2019](#), [April 11, 2019](#), [May 16, 2019](#).

Publications

Book Chapter

de Waal, Alex. "Sudan." In *Comparing Peace Processes*, edited by Alpaslan Özerdem and Roger Mac Ginty, Routledge, April 2019.

News, Interviews & Media

Authored pieces in: [NYT](#), [Foreign Affairs](#), [London Review of Books](#) blog, the [BBC](#), and the [Times Literary Supplement](#).

Interviewed for and cited in additional articles: [NYT](#), [AP](#), [BBC radio](#), [Bloomberg](#), [Foreign Policy](#), [BBC TV](#), [NPR](#), and [al Jazeera](#), among others.

Authored pieces:

[BBC News: What next for Sudan and its 'master manipulator' Omar al-Bashir?](#), Alex de Waal, April 11, 2019.

[New York Times, Opinion, In Sudan, Omar al-Bashir Is Out and the Army Takes Over](#), Alex de Waal, April 11, 2019.

[BBC News: Omar al-Bashir: How Sudan's military strongman stayed in power](#), Alex de Waal April 12, 2019.

[London Review of Books: Sudan after Bashir](#), Alex de Waal, April 18, 2019.

[Foreign Affairs: What's Next for Sudan's Revolution](#), Alex de Waal, April 23, 2019.

[Times Literary Supplement: 'Don't shoot us, dad': Sudan's uprising in context](#), Alex de Waal, May 7, 2019.

[Foreign Policy: From Camel Herder to Dictator](#), Alex de Waal, July 2, 2019.

[BBC News: Sudan crisis: The ruthless mercenaries who run the country for gold](#), Alex de Waal, July 20, 2019 (this piece had 240,000 pageviews)

Podcast & Interviews

[BBC News\The Real Story: What's keeping Sudan's Omar al-Bashir in power, October 30, 2018?](#)

[Al Jazeera\Inside Story: Can the protests in Sudan succeed? January 20, 2019.](#)

[Al Jazeera: Sudan army 'not against' protesters' demands, won't allow 'chaos' April 8, 2019.](#)

[WBUR\Here and Now: What Might Come Next In Sudan After Power-Sharing Agreement Reached, July 11, 2019.](#)

Quoted in [Bloomberg](#), [The Economist](#), [New York Times](#), [Al Jazeera](#), [Foreign Policy](#), [AP News](#) and others.

Teaching and Student Support

TEACHING

Alex taught his regular course “Conflict in Africa” in the Fall semester, with 30 students and four auditors. His formula is to frame the course content around real world contemporary African conflicts and crises, chosen to highlight selected cross-cutting issues (democratization, ethnic conflict, state failure, etc.). He requires the students to produce concise policy memos, such as a staffer would write for a mediator, ambassador or special envoy, along with annotated bibliographies to show that they have done their homework and understand the core themes. It was encouraging to see the students on a steep learning curve. In the Spring, he supervised four independent studies, all focused on applying the political marketplace framework to specific countries (DRC, Nigeria, South Africa and Yemen); and one on famine in Ethiopia.

Alex is on the committee for the following seven Fletcher PhD students: Sarah Detzner (who successfully defended in August 2019), Roxani Krystalli (scheduled to defend in November 2019), Ben Naimark-Rowse, Ben Spatz, Andrea Walther-Puri, and Julie Zollmann. Andrea and Julie are the first Fletcher PhD candidates to have a comprehensive exam in African studies. He is also on the committee for Sophia Dawkins who transferred to Yale last year, for one new PhD student, Jared Miller, who is joining the Fletcher PhD program in the Fall, and for Mulugeta Gebrehiwot’s PhD at the University of Victoria (British Columbia, Canada) which he successfully defended on April 24.

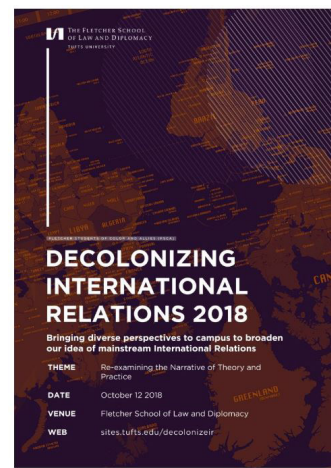
Alex supervised three MALD Capstone theses, and one MA in Humanitarian Affairs capstone on famine in South Sudan by Tong Anei, the sole MAHA candidate this year who is South Sudanese.

STUDENT SUPPORT

WPF supported several student event initiatives and summer research grants for two PhD students.

This year the WPF provided financial support to five student-organized events: “Decolonizing International Relations Conference” (October 2018); Africana Club Speaker Series, “Ethiopia: the future of Abiy’s reform agenda” (November 2018); the Conference on Gender and International Affairs, “Gender, Justice and Politics: movements from the margins”(November 2018); the Diplomacy Club’s “4th Annual Peace Games” (February 2019); and “Human Rights in North Korea” (April 19).

The two dissertation support grants for summer 2019 were awarded to Roxani Krystalli for her submission ‘We are not good victims, Hierarchies of suffering and the politics of victimhood in Columbia,’ and Polina Beliakova for ‘Explaining Erosion of Civilian Control: A Policy-focused Theory.’



Organizational Developments

GOVERNANCE AND BOARD MATTERS

World Peace Foundation Board of Trustees meetings were held on September 17, 2018; February 6, 2019; and May 19, 2019 and one Governance Committee meeting was held July 28, 2018. The WPF Finance Committee met with the Ginn Trustees October 17, 2018, April 30, 2019 and November 14, 2019.

New board members

World Peace Foundation brought on two new Board members in FY19:



Elizabeth Adelman



Melissa Nobles

Retired board members

In February 2019, three veteran board members retired after long and distinguished service to the WPF. Each of them gave generously of their time and insights to strengthen the work of the World Peace Foundation and ensure its long-term security. Their exceptional contributions to the Foundation were recognized at the annual meeting.



Philip Khoury



Thomas O'Reilly



James Shannon

Staffing

Core Staffing: Alex de Waal is Executive Director, Bridget Conley is Research Director, and Lisa Avery is Associate Director. Sam Perlo-Freeman has part-time status.

Fletcher Students Research Assistants: Scott Hoag, Julie Zollman (Teaching Assistant), Xiaodon Liang (Global Arms and Corruption), Nanaho Yamanaka (CRP), Ben Spatz (CRP) Kinsey Spears (Civilian Protection), Patrick Maxwell (Political Marketplace), Senai Abraha and Tong Anei contributed papers to the Accountability for Mass Starvation program.

Fellows: Dyan Mazurana (Fellowship paid through WPF funds), and Fellows paid through the CRP program included Mulugeta Gebrehiwot (Africa peace program) and Fletcher School graduate Aditya Sarkar (political marketplace). Catriona Murdoch (unpaid Fellow).

Development and Fundraising

We have the following external support ongoing or in process:

- Conflict Research Programme: with the London School of Economics (donor: UK Department for International Development). This program is scheduled to continue until March 2021 with a possibility of a 24 month funded extension.
- ‘Accountability for Starvation’: with Global Rights Compliance (donor: Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs). This project concludes in December 2019.
- ‘In their name’: with Diane O’Donoghue of Tisch College, Tufts University (donor: Tufts Collaborates!). One year from grant inception.

Communications and Outreach

Website: We had an increase in pageviews from 66,829 (FY 2018) to 76,859 (FY19). Our five most popular pages were the homepage, Strategies of the Coalition in the Yemen War, Famine, Staff, de Waal Publications.

Blog: Our blog statistics likewise show increased visitation. The main WPF blog, Reinventing Peace received 70,354 pageviews (FY 2019) up from 56,731 (FY 2018). And the separate blog that houses the Compendium of Arms Deals received 33,304 page views (FY 2019), up from 29,799 (FY 2018).

As of August 2019, the most popular blog essays on **Reinventing Peace** newly published in FY 2019 are: [Famine in Venezuela](#) by Rhoda Howard-Hassman; [The Future of Ethiopia: Developmental State or Political Marketplace?](#) By Alex de Waal; [Recommended Reading: U.S. Military Support for Saudi Arabia and the War in Yemen](#) (report by William Hartung) by WPF; [Genocide in Yemen](#) by Jeff Bachman; and [Omar al Bashir: Employee of the Month January 2019](#) by Alex de Waal.

Last year, we began publishing a monthly blog series, “Employee of the Month.” The funds that support the WPF program are contingent on world peace *not* being achieved, because this would cause the Ginn Trust to cut off our funding and direct it instead to the Charlesbank Home for working women. On this basis, the [employee of the month](#) is the person who has done most to hinder peace that month and thereby assure that we remain solvent. We have sought to make the award globally representative WPF 2019 Employee of the Month:

July 2018: FIFA by Alex de Waal	August 2018: BOARDERS by Sam Perlo-Freeman	September 2018: STARVATION by Catriona Murdoch and Annie Fairchild	October 2018: BRETT KAVANAUGH (a.k.a privilege) by Alex de Waal
November, 2018: JAIR BOLSONARO by Scott Hoag	December 2018: BASIL ZAHAROFF: the archtypal arms dealer by World Peace Foundation	January 2019: OMAR AL BASHIR by Alex de Waal	February 2019: AUSTRALIA'S KYRIARCHICAL IMMIGRATION SYSTEM by Bridget Conley
March 2019: CHARLES KOCH by Alex de Waal	April 2019: JEREMY CORBYN by Alex de Waal	May 2019: ELIOT ABRAMS by Bridget Conley	June 2019: KAY IVEY Bridget Conley and Lisa Avery

Twitter: Among our most popular tweets, were posts announcing Alex’s talks in DC; Alex discussing Sudan on al Jazeera, and new cases on the Compendium of Global Arms Trade Corruption. We ended the FY with 2461 followers.



Top Tweet earned 3,131 impressions

Alex de Waal to @AJENews on the protests in #Sudan: “The army would like to come out of this as the people who saved Sudan from chaos.” Read more here: aljazeera.com/news/2019/04/g...

Facebook: We ended the year with 3185 “likes” (up from last year’s 2776) for our Facebook page. Among our most popular posts were ones addressing famine, Global arms business, Sudan, and Ethiopia. The real stand-out was a post about Alex’s paper, [The Future of Ethiopia: Developmental State or Political Marketplace?](#), which reached 11,653 people. Our other popular posts reached between 1,000 – 5,000 people.



Finance and Administration

FINANCE

The following is a summary of the WPF finances for the financial year 2019 (July 1 to June 30). Income is from the following sources: endowment (Ginn Trust) and WPF investments (Massey Quick Simon); grants and subcontracts; book sales and royalties; temporary income from room rental of suite 201. The majority of the WPF expenditure is managed through Fletcher/Tufts and is accounted for under the WPF Program at Fletcher. This is subject to Fletcher/Tufts overhead costs of 13%. A smaller amount, including rent, Board expenses, legal and audit costs and other miscellaneous costs, are handled directly through the WPF’s own account.

Endowment and investments

WPF receives disbursements from Ginn Trustees and investment managers Massey Quick Simon. WPF did not request distributions from Massey Quick Simon for the first, second and fourth quarters as there were sufficient funds available in the Eastern Bank account.

Grants to WPF Program at Fletcher

The Conflict Research Programme (CRP) grant is a subcontract awarded as part of consortium at the London School of Economics (funded by UK Department for International Development) and continues through March 2021. This subcontract covers a portion of the Executive Director’s salary and benefits, research support and contractor salaries. Funding over the entire grant period should total approximately \$592,862.

The Accountability for Mass Starvation: Testing the limits of the law grant is a subcontract through Global Rights Compliance (GRC) and is funded by Kingdom of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The program began in fiscal year 2019 and will continue through year end 2020. The grant funds a portion of both the Executive Director and Research Director salary, as well as travel expenses and a project end of phase symposium. The total award is approximately \$176,900.

In January 2018, The Fletcher School, Center for International Environmental Resource Policy (CIERP) moved into Suite 201 in the Tufts Administrative Building and remained until July 2019. FY19 will be the last year for room rental income.

Expenses

Spend on the World Peace Foundation operating budget at the Fletcher School was less than the previous year, with a portion of expenses covered by the CRP and Accountability grants. Governance expenses were slightly higher due to increased audit costs.

Revenue

Endowment & Investment	\$971,154
Grants	\$206,092
Royalties & Book Sales	\$2,120
Donations & Other	\$16,957
TOTAL	\$1,196,323

Expenses

WPF Program at the Fletcher School	\$675,041
Grant Expenses	\$206,092
Governance Expenses	\$69,079
TOTAL	\$950,212



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