



**WORLD  
PEACE  
FOUNDATION**

# World Peace Foundation

## Annual Report

Fiscal Year 2016-2017

August 2017

World Peace Foundation  
169 Holland Street, Suite 209  
Somerville, Massachusetts 02144  
T (617) 627-2255





# World Peace Foundation

## Annual Report

FY 2016/2017

*The World Peace Foundation annual report for 2016/17 covers the activities of the WPF and the WPF program at the Fletcher School for the period July 1, 2016-June 30, 2017, which is the sixth year of the WPF association with The Fletcher of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University.*

## Table of Contents

---

Overview: World Peace 2016/17.....	2
Research and Policy Engagement.....	5
Famine Research .....	5
Global Arms Business and Corruption .....	7
Political Marketplace and Conflict Research.....	9
African Peace Research.....	10
Mass Atrocities Research .....	14
WPF Supported Projects.....	16
Teaching and Student Support.....	17
Organizational Developments.....	18
Governance and Board Matters.....	18
Staffing .....	18
Communications and Outreach .....	20
Annex I: Student Employees.....	22
Annex II: Publications .....	23
Annex III: Calendar .....	26

## Overview: World Peace

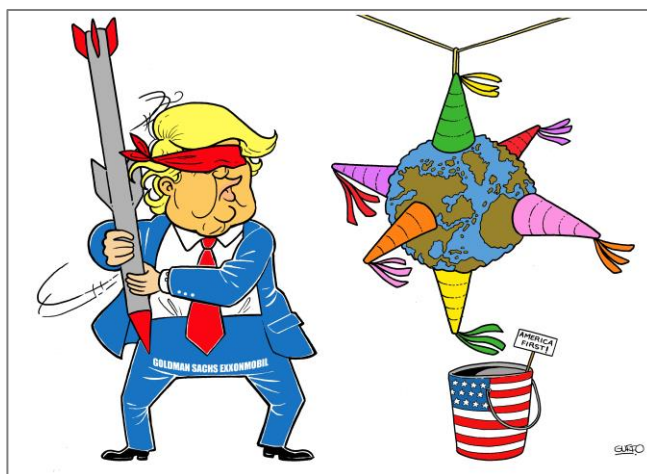
### 2016/17

This has been a difficult year for world peace. While every recent year has faced serious setbacks in a general advance towards a less violent world, the last 12 months have marked a clear and significant shift towards a world order that is more bellicose, authoritarian and violently conflicted. This report begins with reflections on what this means for the WPF.

The purpose of the World Peace Foundation is '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 on 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.' This objective is as relevant today as it was when Edwin Ginn wrote those lines in 1910. Shortly after the WPF established its association with the Fletcher School in 2011, we specified our aim of providing intellectual leadership for facing the challenges of peace, and identified a marker of success as the legitimization of world peace as a serious topic on political agendas.

Over recent decades, indicators of armed conflict and peace have often revealed serious setbacks, but these have been against a background of confidence that the multilateral world order and the leading western nations, notably the U.S., were at a

minimum ready to engage in a dialogue on issues of peace, and at maximum were committed to the institutions and processes that would bring world peace, democracy and justice closer. During 2016/17, this changed. Not only did the world appreciably shift away from peace, but the political arena has also become distinctly more belligerent, intolerant and xenophobic, notably with the election of President Donald Trump. The current



**Trump's Piñata, by Guffo**

Commissioned by World Peace Foundation upon the U.S withdrawal from the Paris climate accord

administration's most senior security and economic advisors have written, 'The president embarked on his first foreign trip with a clear-eyed outlook that the world is not a 'global community' but an arena where nations, nongovernmental actors and businesses engage and compete for advantage.... Rather than deny this

elemental nature of international affairs, we embrace it.’<sup>1</sup>

Like many organizations with comparable mandates, the WPF is seeking a distinct response to today’s challenge. At the February meeting of the WPF Board and for the first time since our move to Tufts University, the WPF authorized an official statement about U.S. political leadership, ‘U.S. President Donald Trump is a threat to world peace.’ Every passing week vindicates this position. The threat is, of course, much bigger and more complex than a single individual, however powerful. One distinctive response to the challenge, open to the WPF, is to bring to bear unique analytical frameworks and research networks, that link local-level issues to global challenges, helping identify new trend lines in global affairs. Some of the critical changes in the world order are seen most clearly from the global margins, from those apparently peripheral places where power relations play out in the starkest manner. In our study of places such as the Horn of Africa and other countries afflicted by mass atrocity, chronic violence and starvation, we gain an appreciation of the forces at work.

One of the WPF’s major activities over the last five years has been to develop the framework of the ‘political marketplace’, in which transactional politics for factional and/or private gain trumps the functioning

of institutions dedicated to public goods, including welfare, justice and peace. Framed initially on the basis of experience in highly dysfunctional and turbulent countries such as Sudan, the insights from the study of transactional politics are relevant to current dynamics in the U.S. and globally. The framework is particularly pertinent to understanding the functioning of the global arms business, which is often selling political money and influence, as much as it is selling weaponry. The political marketplace framework also challenges the dominant assumptions about the causes of armed conflict and state fragility, which is that they are driven by unresolved societal issues such as ethnic divides and scarce resources. Instead, it focuses on how conflict and fragility are driven from above—by factors embedded in the global order, though expressed through societal fault lines.

Other major WPF research programs, which have focused on the progress made in ending mass atrocities and famine, and identifying and refining the norms and mechanisms that have made progress towards peace in Africa, today appear in a different light to when they were originally fashioned just a few years ago. These programs originally sought to identify the tools for pursuing peace in a more effective and fine-tuned way, on the implicit premise that such progress was possible with the existing political institutions and trends. In

---

<sup>1</sup> H.R. McMaster and Gary D. Cohn, ‘America First Doesn’t Mean America Alone; We are asking a lot of our allies and partners. But in

return the U.S. will once again be a true friend.’ *Wall St. Journal*, 30 May 2017.

the current political context, these projects also serve the different function of charting the real progress made towards peace over previous decades, and how those achievements are now imperiled. This is particularly salient in the case of famine, where very substantial progress towards eradicating famine has suddenly stalled and is being reversed.

Our study of the memorialization of war and atrocity is unexpectedly relevant to today's domestic political landscape, in which statues of Confederate generals and other Civil War memorials have become the flashpoints for far-right political agendas. It is astonishing that the current Administration's sharpest political crisis erupted on the issue of statues in public places. We bring expertise to this issue.

We intend that our programming should shift in response to the changing global situation. Meanwhile, we seek to maximize impact through targeting our activities on areas where we have identified a strategic gap, and/or where we possess a comparative advantage due to our expertise, networks and record.

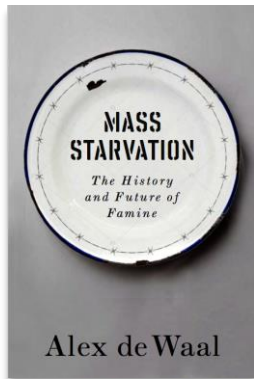
Our initiative to develop a program on the global arms business and corruption is a case where we have identified an important gap and in seeking to fill it we are facing the associated challenges that our framing of the issue does not match the conventional frameworks used by funders and policymakers. We are hopeful that, with persistence, we can change this. Our program on famine and forced mass starvation is also filling a gap, but in this

case, it builds on an established track record and network, so the impact has been more immediate. Our programs on African peace missions, political markets and conflict research, mass atrocities, and gender and the experience of war, have all built upon our established strengths and networks. In all cases, we are pursuing our goals through a mixture of research, writing, advocacy and coalition-building.

## Research and Policy Engagement

---

### Famine Research Program

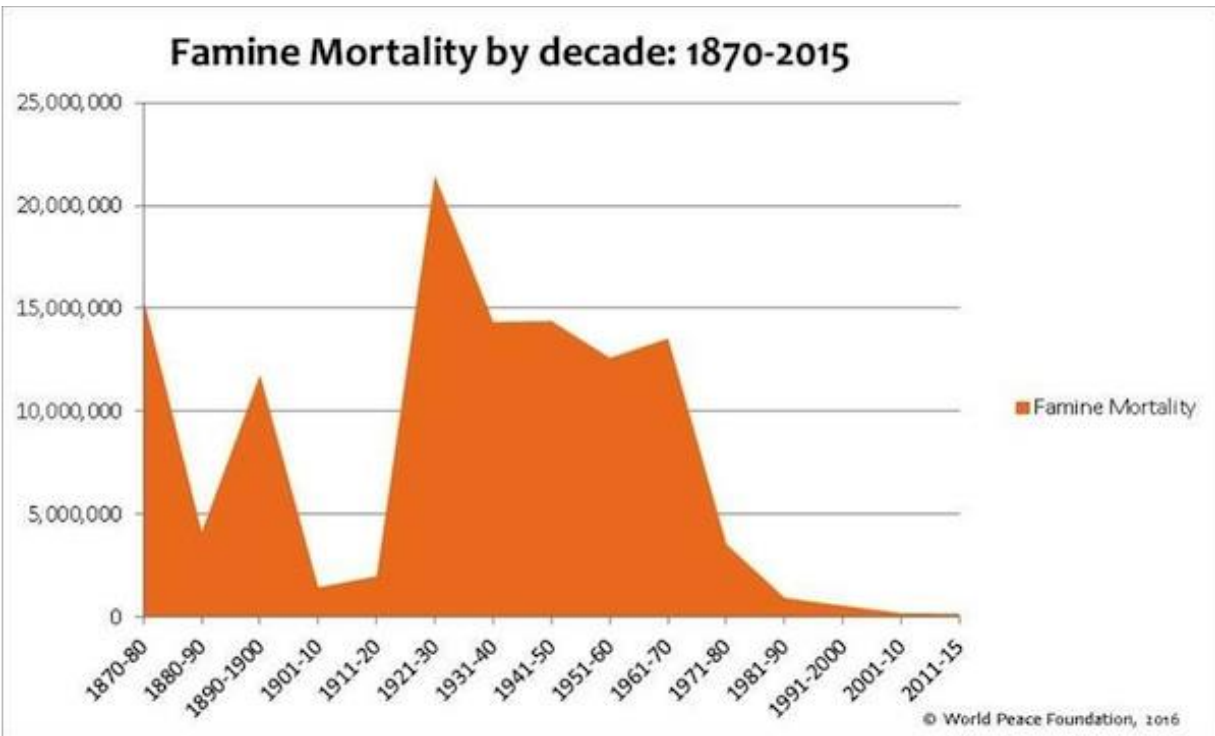


The famine research program began in 2015, documenting the way in which mass starvation had declined worldwide, and could indeed be abolished altogether if the right policies were adopted. Alex's book, *Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine* is in production with Polity Press, with a publication date of Fall 2017, demonstrates that famine in the contemporary world is not a problem explicable via crop failure, drought or other 'natural' causes, but rather is the result of political decision. Prominent among the measures needed for the elimination of famine is the criminalization of the act of forcible starvation. These insights are increasingly relevant to policy, as the trend of decline in famines is now reversing, magnified by policies of the War on Terror. During 2016-17, we developed an authoritative dataset of worldwide famines from 1870 to the current day, including an analysis of their causes and patterns. The dataset innovates by including instances of forced mass starvation, such as the Nazi Hunger Plan, among famines. There are formidable methodological challenges in compiling such a dataset, and ours is the only one of its kind. It has 58 entries

referring to episodes in which 100,000 people are more are known to have died.

### Key Activities (all on-going):

- Alex is widely cited in the media on this topic, due to the unfortunate fact that after a long period in which famines were vanishingly rare, mass starvation has made a dramatic return to the international arena in 2017, with crises in Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan and Yemen, as well as forced mass starvation as a method of war in Syria.
- We have an ambitious program of publicity around the publication of the book, including working with a documentary director to pitch the core ideas as a film (starting with Frontline, BBC and Channel 4), and also placing other articles in the coming months.
- Speaking engagements for Alex, requests for which have already increased: Alex gave the keynote address for the political geography track of the annual conference of the American Association of Geographers in April, and presented on the issue in London in May.
- Collaboration with the Feinstein International Center and senior staff there on their work on food security and humanitarian crises.

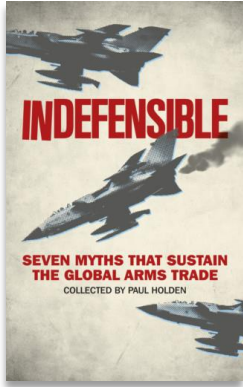


### Outputs (to date):

- [Dataset and charts](#)
- The regrettably titled, “The Nazis used it, we use it” *London Review of Books*, (39:12, 15 June 2017, pp. 9 – 12). Expanded and re-named, “Operation Starvation” [on our blog](#). A forthcoming essay in the *Times Literary Supplement* and other essays planned.
- Contribution to the 2015 Global Hunger Index, “Armed Conflict and the challenge of hunger: Is an end in sight?” Available at: <https://www.ifpri.org/publication/armed-conflict-and-challenge-hunger-end-sight>

The famine research program is likely to continue as an important element of the WPF program in the coming years, and will generate a significant public profile.

## Global Arms Business and Corruption



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 diplomatic and democratizing 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.

We are sponsoring two primary research streams: (1) “myths of the global arms business” disarms common misunderstandings about the industry functions and, led by our new program manager, Sam Perlo-Freeman, (2) research sets about to comprehensively document corruption charges, hence, dispelling the idea that corruption is only a limited problem in the industry. We are also in the process of detailing a civil society outreach component, so that our resources and research reach activists working on issues related to transparency, democratization and anti-militarism.

The program is led by Sam Perlo-Freeman, on leave from SIPRI for two years, joining us in October to develop the program.

### Key Activities:

- On-going promotion of resources, including the documentary film *The Shadow World*, based on Andrew Feinstein’s book of the same name and with WPF support (credited in the film), our online resources, and the WPF sponsored book, *Indefensible: The seven myths that sustain the global arms trade* (February 2017, Zed Books), edited by Paul Holden (with collaboration of the WPF “seventh floor group”);
- Sam’s elaboration of a database of corrupt arms deals; and
- Fundraising to support further development of the project.

### Main Outputs and Activities FY 2017

- Publication of *Indefensible: Seven myths that sustain the global arms trade* (February 2017, Zed Books)
- Book and Film launch events in the US and Europe. A full list of events is included in Appendix II. Event attendance ranged from about 20 to 80.
- A compendium of 18 arms trade/military corruption cases, and with the help of Tufts Data Lab developed a visual mapping tool to accompany the compendium.



- Our website documenting the myths, [www.projectindefensible.com](http://www.projectindefensible.com), went live at the same time as the film began public screenings in Fall 2016. It includes:
  - The [e-version of our book on this topic](#), entitled *Indefensible: Seven myths that sustain the global arms business*.
  - An interactive and searchable version of book manuscript.
  - The first of the short videos we will be posting.
- We commissioned cartoons to help illustrate the myths and are continuing to augment our multimedia resources to complement the main ideas of the book.

## Ongoing Activities

- In Fall 2017, we will join Paul Holden and Andrew Feinstein for an additional series of book and film events in the US.
- Sam has also spearheaded a project together with SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute), Transparency International Defence and Security, and Corruption Watch UK, to develop a comprehensive database of arms trade corruption, as part of a project lasting 2-2.5 years. The project envisions a range of publications based on the contents of the database, and a program of civil society outreach to convene relevant

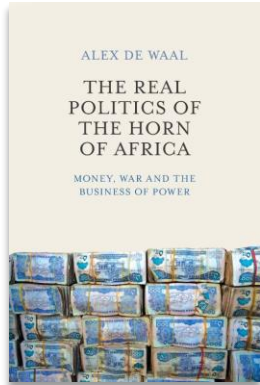
organizations from both arms producing and importing countries, to develop advocacy on the issue.

- We have begun the process of seeking funding. The total budget for the project is a little over \$1 million. This total includes a pilot project covering arms imports and procurement by India, and arms exports by Germany, which would last about 6 months, with a budget a little over \$100,000. Much of the initial fundraising effort is focused on the pilot project. Sam is taking the lead in identifying potential funding sources for sustaining and expanding this work.
- We have taken on an additional research assistant, Fletcher PhD student Xiaodon Liang, to help Sam with this program.



Sisyphus, G. Uber  
Commissioned by World Peace Foundation

## Political Markets and Conflict Research



The concept of a 'political marketplace', developed by Alex de Waal, is gaining currency among diplomats, peacemakers, aid workers and scholars concerned with fragile and conflict-affected

countries. It provides an alternative to the dominant state-building framework of political science; it is a lens that enables a focus on the transnationally-integrated processes of political bargaining that are increasingly prevalent in these countries; and it provides a vocabulary that is useful for understanding how monetized patrimonial politics operates in real time (e.g. terms such as 'political budget' and 'price of loyalty'). As transactional politics and deal-making becomes elevated in the governance of western countries including the United States, the 'political marketplace' also has resonance well beyond the locations in Africa and the Middle East where it has primarily been used.

Alex's book, *The Real Politics of the Horn of Africa: Money, war and the business of power* (Polity Press) was the major output of the research into this during the period 2011-15. The book can be described as a comparative political ethnography: it is a description of how the 'real politics' of elite bargaining works, including the important

roles played by corruption and violence, taking into account the perspectives of accomplished national and local practitioners of political business in the countries of north-east Africa. The analysis implies a general model for how transactional politics works, including the conditions under which a stable trajectory towards generating public goods including state-building might be possible.

### Key Activities:

This year has seen a transition from the Justice and Security Research Programme (JSRP) to the Conflict Research Programme (CRP). The JSRP was concluded in December 2016 with a few wrap-up activities until March. Elements of this transitioned to the new CRP, also funded by DFID, which began in April. Alex is the research director, with funds allocated to cover 40 percent of his time. The basic rationale for the CRP is to apply the framework of the political marketplace to five countries: Syria, Iraq, Somalia, South Sudan and DRC, plus the Horn of Africa/Red Sea region. The guiding idea is to investigate empirically how the logic of the political marketplace, and the subsidiary ideas of moral populism and civic politics, functions in each of the locations, and to see how policies to prevent and resolve violent conflict could be designed accordingly.

The CRP budget is £6.38 million over four years (with a possible extension for an additional two years). Of this, a relatively small proportion will come to WPF in the form of salary support, overheads and funds

for meetings. The rationale for this is that the main part of the administrative burden, including the management of field research, will fall on the LSE.

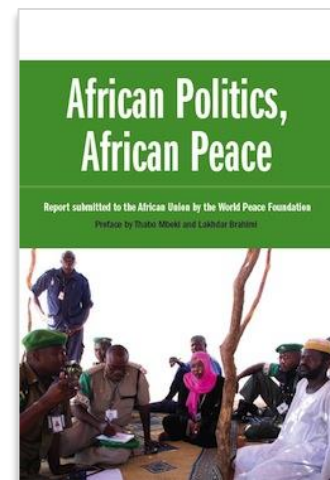
Activities in the first three months of the CRP (April-June 2017) included the preparation of synthesis papers on the literature relating to conflict, political markets, moral populism and civic politics in the five countries, and the Horn of Africa/Red Sea region, preparation of an agenda for developing data analysis, and meetings in Istanbul, London and Nairobi to discuss the agenda with researchers and DFID staff.

Alex's article in the *Boston Review* on the trends underlying the election of Donald Trump and what it portends for global politics and world peace [<http://bostonreview.net/war-security-politics-global-justice/alex-de-waal-garrison-america-and-threat-global-war>], is an example of the broader implications of the political marketplace analysis.

The framework of the political marketplace is increasingly current among researchers working on conflict and fragile states around the world. For example, the Asian Peacebuilding Network, involving scholars working across Asia, has made use of it to help frame its comparative research. Scholars studying conflicts in Afghanistan and Yemen are making use of the concept.

## African Peace Research

The African Peace Missions program, begun in 2015, completed its major task with the publication and launch of the report, *African Politics, African Peace* in July 2016. As part of the research, we completed the most thorough and rigorous review of all aspects of peace missions in Africa and published a report that is widely regarded as definitive, and an important complement to the UN High-Level Independent Panel on Peace Operations (HIPPO). The aim of the African peace missions project was to influence the policies of the African Union, with a particular focus on African-led political initiatives, especially those that would not require external financial support. To that end, we coordinated with the AU High Representative for the Peace Fund, Donald Kaberuka, who prepared in parallel a report on the sustainable financing of African peace operations. Kaberuka's report was itself tied to an initiative backed by the Obama Administration whereby, on a case-by-case basis following UN Security Council authorization, the African Union would be able to access UN Member States' assessed (mandatory) financial contributions. This would transform the sustainability of AU





operations, which up to now rely on discretionary payments by African governments and donors, which are neither sufficient nor reliable. While the Kaberuka report dealt with finance, ours dealt with politics.

We were particularly pleased that the preface to the report was jointly authored by former South African President Thabo Mbeki and Algerian/United Nations diplomat Lakhdar Brahimi, and the report was presented to the African Union Commissioner for Peace and Security, Smail Chergui, in July 2016.

Our program director, Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, left in January when the project concluded, but we hope to work with him again in future.

### Key Findings:

African conflicts today, after a period of decline, are again rising due to: contested

regime transitions, inter-state contestation, and violent extremism.

Centralizing the 'primacy of the political' within all AU responses is essential. This will help to ensure that the rising trend of resorting to militarized enforcement operations will not jeopardize Africa's hard-won peace and security norms.

This includes:

- Development and implementation of norms and principles;
- African ownership of the goals and strategies for peace and security;
- Emphasizing conflict prevention and resolution; and
- Ensuring that peace support operations (PSOs) are designed and implemented in accordance with political objectives, with financing considerations being ancillary to Mission objectives.

## Key Recommendations:

*The AU and its Member States should:*

- Strengthen commitment to the key AU norms: multilateralism, constitutional democracy and non-indifference and inclusivity.
- With the African private sector, demonstrate commitment to the African peace and security agenda by taking the responsibility to finance it, especially the core activities of the AU Commission.
- Strengthen the political instruments of the AU PSC and PSD as an integral element of enhancing peace missions.
- Increase their actions aimed at preventing and reducing border conflicts
- Appoint politically and managerially competent officials to lead peace missions, including peace support operations
- Enhance and strengthen the PSC, including requirements for membership, interface with the UN, regional organizations and transnational organizations.
- Increase resources for conflict mediation and prevention.
- Formally establish doctrine for peacekeeping, including separate guidance for 'coalitions of the willing' and peacekeeping missions.
- Fully integrate and prioritize protection of civilians into missions and enact a zero tolerance for sexual exploitation and abuse of civilians.
- Divide tasks with the UN on the basis of capabilities rather than capacities.

## Key Activities:

- Sponsored Research;
- Workshops, briefings and meetings;
- Media outreach and launch events in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Washington DC, Geneva, Boston, and New York;
- We also completed the elements of this project directed related to the Carnegie-funded project on state legitimacy funded and organized through the Institute of Human Security (Fletcher). The final products from this include:
  - [“Practical Security: Security Sector Reform in Stormy Waters”](#), a short video that summarizes the main findings on security sector reform.
  - Academic papers on security sector reform, state legitimacy and related issues, by Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, Solomon Dersso Sarah Detzner, and Alex de Waal.
  - We hosted two Research Fellows in Fall 2017.

## Outputs:

- Final report, *African Politics, African Peace* (July 2016)
- Video to accompany the launch of the report.
- Special issue of *African Security Review* (May 2017) with six scholarly papers based on research that supported the Report and written by Mulugeta Gebrehiwot (two), Sarah Detzner, Alex de Waal, Dawit Yohannes Wondemagegnehu and Daniel Gebreegziabher Kebede,

and Tatiana Carayannis and Mignonne Fowles. A launch event was held in New York.

- Special issue of *International Peacekeeping* (July 2017), with five scholarly papers, written by Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, Solomon Dersso, Bridget Conley, Allard Duursma and Ann Fitz-Gerald.

### Ongoing Activities:

- **Development of a dataset of inter-state and transnational armed conflicts and coercive politics**, led by Noel Twagiramungu and Allard Duursma. The principal finding is that once interstate sponsorship of rebellions, and covert military involvement in neighboring states are taken into account, the conventional story that depicts African conflicts as overwhelmingly internal rather than inter-state, is stood on its head. The great majority of armed conflicts have a significant element of inter-state military rivalry. We have presented the dataset at a workshop on conflict data, and are planning two publications: one on the patterns revealed by the data, and the other on the technical elements of the dataset itself. The dataset will further be developed, including expansion to the Middle East, as part of the Conflict Research Programme.
- We have a **discreet engagement with the Ethiopian leadership to**

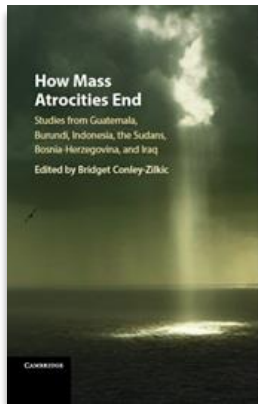
**help formulate a political reform program to resolve the crisis in that country.**

The first activity in this was to convene a small workshop on Ethiopia's foreign policy and national security strategy in Addis Ababa, in March 2017. This involved a two-day discreet discussion with the political leadership of the various governmental and party institutions involved in revising the strategy, plus independent experts and some civil society representation. The intent was both to stimulate internal discussion and reassessment within the Ethiopian leadership, as an entry point to a wider process of political reform, and to create an opening for a public discussion of these issues in Ethiopia. We are hopeful that the workshop represents a first step towards these two processes. This workshop was funded by DFID (through the Addis Ababa UK Embassy).

- We held a small **seminar on nationalism and self-determination in the Horn of Africa**, in Cambridge (UK) in May 2017. This covered all the countries of the Horn: Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan and Sudan. It will lead to an academic publication (special issue of the *Journal of Eastern African Studies*) and we also want to use this to leverage a public debate on ethnic politics in Ethiopia, and to facilitate discussions on the resurgence of nationalism in other countries, including Somalia.

- We are exploring the possibilities of a **Red Sea thought leaders' forum**, to involve thinkers from both the African and Arabian shores of the Red Sea.

## Mass Atrocities Research



We began work on mass atrocities endings in Fall 2011. The focus was determined by two interests: first, the impact of organized violence on civilian populations, and second, concern that conventional narratives of ending atrocities through military intervention were inadvertently lowering the bar for military intervention by adding a human rights based argument to buttress militarism. The program concluded this year.

### Key findings:

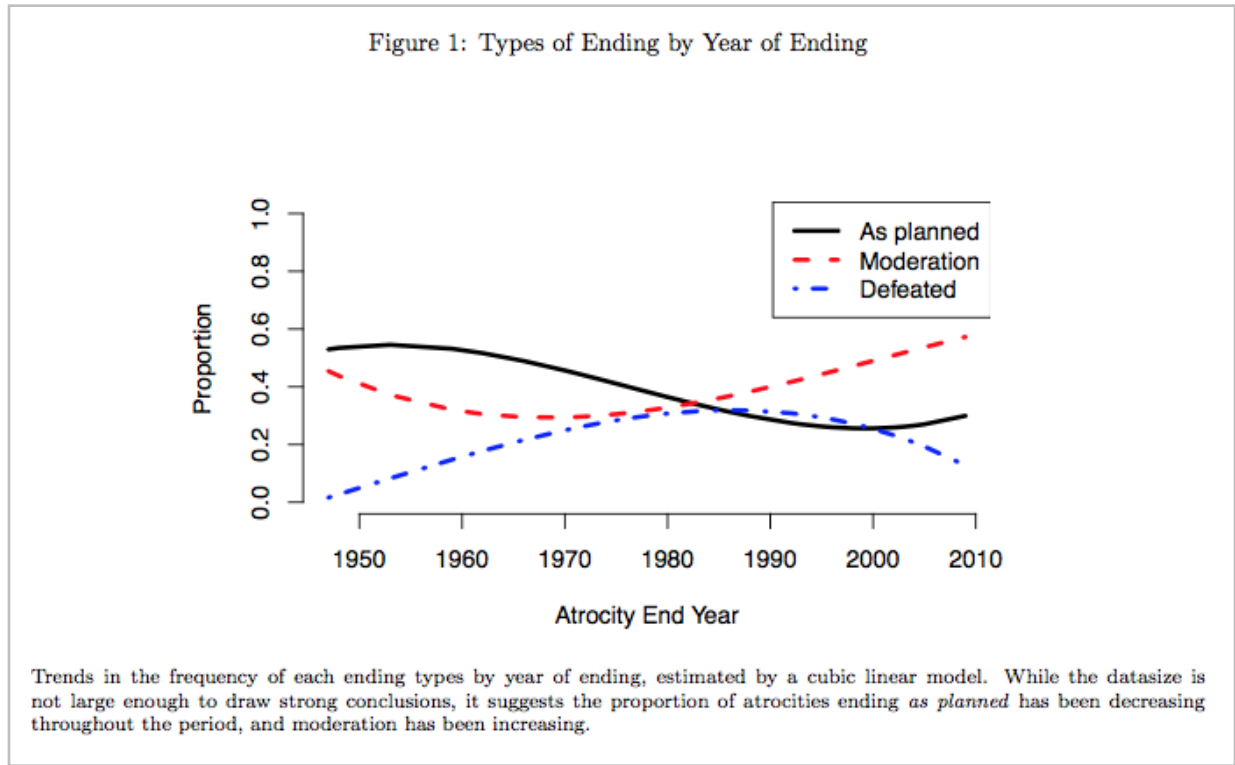
- Endings fall into one of three typologies: as planned, defeat (primarily by domestic forces), or moderation within the perpetrator regime. Since the mid-1980s, increasingly endings occur by moderation, whereas previously regimes pursued killing as planned.
- Mass atrocities primarily end through a political logic, determined by national political agendas, not international policy or

interventions—although these can and do have an impact on the dynamics of ending.

- In the post Cold War era, atrocity endings are more varied than previous periods. This is due to a wider array of influences impacting patterns of violence, such that endings are dependent on the convergence of multiple interests towards de-escalation of mass violence.
- Windows of opportunity to de-escalate violence can only be consolidated and maintained in places where a state has sufficient capacity (Iraq provides a counter-example).
- Ending atrocities is not synonymous and can be at odds with advancing democracy.

### Key Activities:

- WPF sponsored field research on Indonesia, Guatemala, Burundi, and additional research on Sudan, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq;
- Additional WPF-led or sponsored research on issues and themes related to atrocity endings;
- Presentations at scholarly conferences;
- Policy briefings.



Outputs:

- *How Mass Atrocities End: Studies from Guatemala, Burundi, Indonesia, the Sudans, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Iraq* (ed. Bridget Conley, Cambridge Univ Press, 2016), with chapters by Roddy Brett, Noel Twagiramungu, Claire Q. Smith, Alex de Waal, Bridget Conley-Zilkic and Fanar Haddad. Sponsored research also contributed to:

- Claire Q. Smith and Tom Jarvis, “Ending Mass Atrocities: An Empirical Reinterpretation of ‘Successful’ International Military Intervention in East Timor” (Journal of International Peacekeeping, <http://www.tandfonline.com/>

[doi/full/10.1080/13533312.2017.1322906](https://doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2017.1322906)

- Roddy Brett’s *The Origins and Dynamics of Genocide: political violence in Guatemala*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2016.
- Additional WPF publications include:
  - Two book chapters in other edited volumes (Bridget);
  - Five policy briefing or occasional papers (four published by WPF and one by Fletcher’s Institute for Human Security, four by Bridget and one by Solomon Dersso);
  - Op-ed in the *New York Times*, September 2013.



- Four scholarly journal articles; one additional article under review (Bridget).
- A compendium of endings in 40 case studies, at <https://sites.tufts.edu/atrocities/endings/>

process and due to be completed by November 2017.

### Ongoing Activities:

The atrocities ending program has concluded, but our efforts to examine the impacts of organized violence and other policies that result in harm to civilian populations continues in three developing areas:

- Famine, research led by Alex de Waal, which merges the study of mass atrocity with the study of famine;
- Memory and violence, research led by Bridget Conley;
- Civilian self-protection, research led by Dyan Mazurana.

### WPF Supported Projects

WPF provided a small amount of funding (\$11,700) to RwaBaho Platform, The Center for Interdisciplinary Research: Democracy, Institutions, Subjectivity (CRIDIS) for the project titled “The Memory of Genocide and its Consequences in Cyangugu (Rwanda)”. The project is run by a group of genocide survivors and aims to create and implement an online archive of testimonies of the 1994 genocide against Tutsis in Rwanda and its consequences in Cyangugu. The project is in

## Teaching and Student Support

---

Alex took a break from teaching this Spring and will return to his regular teaching schedule in Fall 2017. Bridget taught “Understanding Mass Atrocities” in Spring semester.

Alex has six PhD students, one of whom, Rebecca Tapscott, successfully defended her thesis, “States of (In)Security: Violence, Local Governance, and Institutionalized Arbitrariness in Northern Uganda” on April 5. Dyan was also a member of Tapscott’s committee. It is an excellent thesis based on fieldwork among diverse kinds of local security organizations in Uganda, that develops a framework of “institutionalized arbitrariness”—the strategy of a weak government of intervening in unpredictable ways with overwhelming violence in its poorly-governed peripheries. It is the kind of cross-disciplinary, problem-based and policy-relevant research that Fletcher likes, and which the WPF supports. Tapscott recently was awarded a three-year post-doctoral fellowship at the Geneva Institute’s Hirschman Centre on Democracy (2017-2020). She also won the following awards: Carl Beck Award for Best Graduate Student Paper, International Studies Association, 2017; Morris Abrams Award in International Relations; Institute for Human Security Dissertation Grant, Fletcher School. Another Fletcher PhD student for whom Alex is the committee chair, Ben Spatz, submitted his PhD proposal in April and it was approved. He will research the impact of sanctions on the Liberian political elite,

making use of the political marketplace framework. We have made a grant to the Fletcher PhD research program to cover Ben’s summer research trip to Liberia. Ben has been awarded the Eisenhower Roberts Graduate Fellowship for 2017/18.

Alex supervised four MALD capstone theses this year and Bridget supervised one. Sam is preparing to teach a module in the Fall.

## Student Seminar

This year’s seminar competition was won by a proposal on “Theorizing (Dis)order: Governing in an Uncertain World.” Held in March, it was a more theoretically-focused seminar than we have had in the past, examining the pervasive uncertainty and turbulence in the global order, and in governance at national and subnational levels, and how governments both adapt to this and reproduce it. We had a stimulating discussion over the two days and a well-attended open event with Veena Das. Seminar participants contributed memos from the session that were posted to the WPF blog, *Reinventing Peace*.

WPF supported additional Fletcher Student initiatives through the Africana Club, “Africana Conversation Series”, The Gender Initiative, “Conference on Gender and International Affairs”, and The Libya Policy Forum.

# Organizational Developments

---

## Governance and Board Matters

The Board of Trustees met on September 14, 2016, February 1, 2017, and May 10, 2017. The Ginn Trustees met November 16, 2016, May 3, 2017 and the Finance and Investment Committee met July 6, 2016.

Our investment fund, formerly managed by TIFF, was transferred to Massey Quick Simon on January 9. MQS was selected after interviewing multiple firms, in a process led by WPF Chairman Peter Blum. They were chosen because of advantages in the following areas:

- Ability/willingness to manage our portfolio as distinct from their other clients' portfolios;
- Their ability/willingness to be flexible as our investment mandate evolves, for example, without investments in companies involved in significant arms manufacturing;
- Their subsequent offer to discount their fee to 0.80% (normally 1.00%), which, on an "all-in" basis, compares favorably to TIFF's fees;
- Their direct approach and the value they place on a relationship with the WPF.

Blum noted one concern: MQS's performance for similar tax-exempt entities

was, at first blush, unimpressive relative to returns available in the stock market – i.e., they underperformed popular indices. Nonetheless, he noted that their relative underperformance was a result of their "protection of capital" investment philosophy, an approach that aligns with WPF's long-term investment priorities, and was a function of: a low allocation to equities during a seven year bull market (a high allocation to hedged vehicles); and a low allocation to long-duration bonds during a period when rates declined and bond prices rose.

The Ginn Trust continues to perform well and to provide the WPF with a regular income as stipulated. However, in an era of historically low interest rates and bond yields, the Ginn Trust is only able to meet its legal commitment to disburse 5 percent of its total value, by continually dipping into capital, maintaining its value because of the increased value of the stocks it owns.

## Staffing

### Core Staff

Alex de Waal is Executive Director, Bridget Conley is Research Director, and Lisa Avery is Associate Director. Several staff appointments and changes occurred this year, including:

- Sam Perlo-Freeman joined as Program Manager for our project on the global arms business.
- Aditya Sarkar joined as Researcher on the political markets and famine

projects in July 2016. Unfortunately because of restrictions on H1B visas he was unable to stay beyond June 2017.

- Mulugeta Gebrehiwot left at the end of 2016, when the African peace missions project concluded.

## Fletcher School Students Employed by the WPF 2016/17

**Allyson Hawkins**, World Peace Foundation  
Research Assistant

**Xiaodon Liang**, Research Assistant, Global  
Arms Business Program

**Rebecca Tapscott**, Teaching Assistant for  
Bridget Conley

## Fellows

Over the course of the past year, WPF hosted three Senior Fellows. As part of the African Peace Missions program we supported **Solomon Dersso**, Commissioner at the African Commission on Human and People's Rights, who is working on a book on the African Union Peace and Security Council; and **Abdul Mohammed**, Chief of Staff of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel for Sudan and South Sudan. Our third Senior Fellow is **Dyan Mazurana**, who has a five-year commitment with WPF (FY2015–FY2020).

As a Senior Fellow, Dyan Mazurana, dedicates 30 percent of her time to WPF, with the remainder divided between the Feinstein International Center and teaching at The Fletcher School. For WPF, she has

focused on discrete writing and research projects on topics related to her broader research agenda, including a study of experiences of violence by people in diverse locations in Syria, and research on gender and violent extremism, including on people living under violent extremist rule. In her writing she uses gender analysis to interrogate the role of identity political narratives within violent extremist organizations. She also contributed to the WPF programs, African Peace Missions and CRP.

This year, she is developing a research project on civilian self-protection, which will form a new WPF program. The program will study the efforts by groups and individuals who are at risk of violence and exploitation, to protect themselves, in contrast to the more common research and policy focus on how external actors can deliver protection. In September, she convened a workshop to develop the substantive and programmatic aspects of this, with the following agenda:

- Identify what is known about the practices of at-risk groups concerned with maximizing their safety, and that of their families, in situations of acute distress (this includes ongoing research concerned with civilian self protection);
- Review how 'external' (outsider) humanitarian actors relate to the agency and aspiration of those whose lives are at imminent risk; and

- Outline a potential research program on topics of significant concern.

## Communications and Outreach

In FY 2017, we concluded contracts with two public relations firms. The first, as noted last year, was DG&CO in support of the *African Politics, African Peace* report, contracted at \$20,000. The second was Kathy Daneman Public Relations in support of the launch of *Indefensible: The seven myths that sustain the global arms trade*, with a contract of \$15,000.

The results were mixed. While we would consider working with either contractor again given the right project and timing, we are not convinced that outside of such conditions this is a good use of our funds. Both contractors assembled a strong list of media contacts, helped us craft our outreach materials to try to maximize impact, assisted in disseminating materials, and pitched op-eds for us. As a result of the increased coordination, preparation and outreach, we did receive media attention beyond what we think we could have done on our own in both instances, but not exponentially so. For *African Politics, African Peace*, we struggled to gain access to media actors beyond those who traditionally cover Africa and with whom Alex already has a strong media profile. This is a measure of the generally weak media coverage of African issues and the fact that discussion of our report at the AU summit

was postponed due to the contested question of the AU Chair succession, de-linking the report launch from a media hook. Nonetheless, the coverage was decent and we learned much through the process:

- **Op-eds:** *The Guardian, International Business Times*, plus one pick up African, Arguments and Geeska Afrika.
- **News Articles on the APM alone:** Ethiopia, The Reporter, In Depth News.
- **Related to South Sudan:** Original articles: 29, Syndication: 76 (AP, al Jazeera).
- **Online press briefing:** 10 attendees, half of whom were from: RAS, IPI, Brookings, Stimson Center, Africa Progress Panel.

In February, DG&CO also circulated our Board statement, “President Trump is a threat to world peace” to the same list of contacts they had assembled for us previously, even though this was not part of the contract.

*Indefensible* was published in February 2017, and while [Paul Holden, our main author, was interviewed](#) on NPR-affiliate WNYC’s *The Takeaway* (April 24, 2017), which is outside our normal contacts, we had little success gaining media traction given the pace of events during the fall-out of the early Trump Administration decisions. We attempted to place several op-eds, but during this period all news was the daily Trump news, and the competition to get heard was fierce.

## Website

The WPF site had 34,777 page views, with visitors coming from, in order of volume: the US, UK, Philippines, India, Canada, The Netherlands, Sudan, Ethiopia, Australia and Kenya. Our website currently operates on a somewhat clunky operating platform that Fletcher was using when we moved here. They are now in the process of switching to a Word Press (more commonly used) platform, which means that our website is also moving. The end result is a re-design; thus far, with some requests for edits, we are happy with the new template, which we anticipate will be easier to work with and better adapts to mobile and tablet devices.

## Blog

We had 46,725 page views, which is down a bit from last year, which stood at 48,176. We will review our blog promotional efforts and see if we can increase the number for FY 2018.

Among our most popular blog posts from the FY were: “Donald Trump is a threat to world peace” (WPF); “Sipri release world military expenditure data for 2016” (Sam); “More than malnutrition: famine as social crisis” (Alex); “Partnering to make peace: the effect of joint African and non-African mediation efforts” (promotion of APM-sponsored research by Allard Durrsma); “Bankrupting kleptocracies is a dangerously bad idea” (Alex), “South Sudan’s corrupt elite have driven a debt-free and oil-rich country to ruin” (Alex), “Politics of fear in South Sudan” (Daniel Akech Thiong),

[“Interview with Fred Bauma and Sylvain Saluseke”](#) (Bridget), and [“On memory, coffee and an imperfect circle”](#) (Bridget).

## Annexes

### Annex I: Fletcher School Students Employed FY2016-2017

<b>Akua Agyen</b>	Student Seminar
<b>Allyson Hawkins</b>	World Peace Foundation Research Assistant
<b>Xiaodon Liang</b>	Research Assistant, Global Arms Business Program
<b>Protiti Roy</b>	Student Seminar
<b>Rebecca Tapscott</b>	Teaching Assistant for Bridget Conley, Student Seminar
<b>Juan Taborda</b>	Student Seminar
<b>Ben Spatz</b>	Student contractor, Conflict Research Program
<b>Emily Susman</b>	Student contractor, Gender Initiatives

## Annex II: Publishing

### Books

*Indefensible: Seven myths that sustain the global arms trade* (Zed Books, 2017) by Paul Holden, with Bridget Conley-Zilkic, Alex de Waal, Sarah Detzner, John Paul Dunne, Andrew Feinstein, William Hartung, Lora Lumpe, Nic Marsh, Sam Perlo-Freeman, Hennie Van Vuuren, and Leah Wawro.

### Reports

*African Politics, African Peace* (July 2016)

### Journal Articles

Alex de Waal “Introduction: Making Sense of South Sudan,” special issue of *African Affairs* on South Sudan, available at

[https://www.oxfordjournals.org/our\\_journals/afrafj/south\\_sudan.html](https://www.oxfordjournals.org/our_journals/afrafj/south_sudan.html)

Dyan Mazurana and Phoebe Donnelly “Sexual Violence in Conflict,” *Journal of Crisis Response* Vol. 11, No. 3, 2016 pp. 34-36.

Dyan Mazurana, Anastasia Marshak, Teddy Atim, Rachel Gordon and Bretton McEvoy, 2016, “Disability and Recovery from War in Northern Uganda,” *Third World Thematic: A Third World Quarterly Journal*, December, available at

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23802014.2016.1235469>

Dyan Mazurana, “Female Combatants in Conflict and Peace: Challenging Gender in Violence and Post-Conflict Reintegration by Seema Shekhawat.” *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy*. April 19, 2017, pp. 1-3. Available at

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/1554477X.2017.1309232>

Bridget Conley-Zilkic. “What Counts at the End? Questioning Consensus Questioning Consensus in the Construction of Mass Atrocity Narratives,” *Global Responsibility to Protect* 9:1, 15 – 37

*African Security Review*, May 2017, Special Issue: African Peace Missions and Security Sector Governance:

- Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Alex de Waal, ‘Editorial: Peace missions and the security sector in Africa.’



- Sarah Detzner, 'Modern post-conflict security sector reform in Africa: patterns of success and failure.'
- Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, 'Transition from war to peace: the Ethiopian disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration experience.'
- Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe, 'The Ethiopian post-transition security sector reform experience: building a national army from a revolutionary democratic army.'
- Alex de Waal, 'Peace and the security sector in Sudan, 2002–11.'
- Dawit Yohannes Wondemagegnehu and Daniel Gebreegziabher Kebede, 'AMISOM: charting a new course for African Union peace missions.'

#### *International Peacekeeping*, Special Issue, July 2017

- Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, 'The norms and structures for African peace efforts: The African peace and security architecture.'
- Bridget Conley, 'The 'Politics of Protection': Assessing the African Union's Contributions to Reducing Violence Against Civilians.'
- Allard Duursma, 'Partnering to make peace: The effect of joint African and non-African mediation efforts.'
- Ann Fitz-Gerald, 'Towards a common doctrine for African Standby Force-led peace operations.'
- Solomon Dersso, 'Defending Constitutional Rule as a Peacemaking Enterprise: The Case of the AU's Ban on Unconstitutional Changes of Government.'

### Book Chapters

Dyan Mazurana and Bretton McEvoy. "Enhancing Women's Access to Justice in the Transitional Phase." *Practitioner's Manual on Women's Access to Justice*, UN Women, New York, 2017

Alex de Waal, 'Inclusion in Peacemaking: From Moral Claim to Political Fact,' in Pamela Aall and Chester Crocker (eds.) *The Fabric of Peace in Africa, Looking beyond the state*, Waterloo ON, Centre for International Governance Innovation, 2017.

### Occasional Papers and Policy Briefings

Alex de Waal. "South Sudan 2017: A Political Marketplace Analysis," WPF: February 5, 2017.

---

## Newspaper and Journal Articles

Alex de Waal, 'The Nazis Used It; We Use It: The return of starvation as a weapon of war,' *London Review of Books*, 39/12, 9-12, June 15, 2017.

Alex de Waal, 'Garrison America and the Threat of Global War,' *Boston Review*, December 5, 2016. <http://bostonreview.net/war-security-politics-global-justice/alex-de-waal-garrison-america-and-threat-global-war>

Alex de Waal, 'Legend of Tarzan,' *Times Literary Supplement*, (Review of Andrew Harding, *The Mayor of Mogadishu*) October 12, 2016.

Alex de Waal, "The Big Man: A review of André Guichoaua, *From War to Genocide: Criminal politics in Rwanda 1990-94.*" *London Review of Books*, November 3, 2016.

Alex de Waal, "The End of Interventionism" *Boston Review*, October 13, 2016 available at: <http://bostonreview.net/world/alex-de-waal-iraq-libya-interventionism>

## Multimedia

"Explosive Dealings" [11:09], WPF: 2017.

"African Peace, African Politics" [9:41], WPF 2016.

## Interviews and Press

New Books Network, *How Mass Atrocities End: Studies from Guatemala, Burundi, Indonesia, the Sudans, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iraq*

Podcast available at <http://newbooksnetwork.com/bridget-conley-zilkic-ed-how-mass-atrocities-end-studies-from-guatemala-burundi-indonesia-the-sudans-bosnia-herzegovina-and-iraq-cambridge-up-2016/>

## Annex III: Calendar

<b>June</b>	
6/30-7/1	African Peace Missions (APM) Data Set meeting
<b>July</b>	
7/6	Finance Committee Meeting
7/20	APM Media Briefing, Addis Ababa
7/21	APM Report Launch, AU Summit, Addis Ababa
<b>August</b>	
<b>September</b>	
9/2	American Political Science Association Annual Conference, How Mass Atrocities End datasets
9/5-9/6	DFID Presentation
9/12	APM Report Launch, US Institute of Peace, DC
9/14	Board of Trustees Meeting
9/15	Book Lecture: Legacies of Political Violence in Latin America, Roddy Brett and Kimberly Theidon
9/20	American Friends Meeting, PA
9/22-9/23	Seminar: Staying safe in armed conflict contexts
9/23	Lecture: Staying safe in armed conflict contexts, Tufts University
9/27	Researcher workshop: Solomon Dersso presentation
9/29	APM Launch, Geneva
<b>October</b>	
10/4	APM Launch, Tufts University
10/17	Access to Justice, UN, Dyan
10/21	Conflict Prevention & Peace Forum: Eritrea, NY
<b>November</b>	
11/8-11/20	Red Terror Museum Research, Ethiopia
11/9	APM: UN Department of Political Affairs, NY
11/11	APM: Consultation on the Politics of Deploying the Regional Protection Force in South Sudan, Addis Ababa
11/16	Ginn Trustees Meeting
11/28	DRC & Elections: WPF Co-host w/Congo Democracy Project, CARR Center at Harvard Kennedy School
<b>December</b>	
12/12-12/13	APM: Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa, Nairobi
<b>January</b>	
1/17 - 1/19	Workshop: International Panel on Exiting Violence, Paris
1/23	DFID presentation
<b>February</b>	
2/1	Board of Trustees Meeting
2/3	Seminar XXI, DC

2/9	Lecture: Famine as Mass Atrocity: History and Prospects , McGill University
2/10	Lecture: The Real Politics of the Horn of Africa: Money, War and the Business of Power, University of Montreal
2/13	Indefensible book Launch, NY
2/15	Indefensible book Launch, Boston
2/23	Global Arms Program partners meeting, Stockholm
2/27	Indefensible book launch, London
<b>March</b>	
3/2-3/3	Student Seminar: Theorizing (Dis)Order: Governing in an Uncertain World, Tufts University
3/3	Lecture: Techniques of Power and the Rise of the Grotesque: A Conversation with Veena Das, Tufts University
3/21-3/22	CRP Senior Mgmt Meeting, London
3/30	APM/Political Marketplace lecture, Addis Ababa
<b>April</b>	
4/5	Indefensible Book Launch, DC
4/6	American Association of Geographers, 2017 Political Geography plenary
4/7	Boston University African Studies Program Key Note: Into the Zone of Abandonment: Citizenship in South Sudan
<b>May</b>	
5/3	Ginn Trust Meeting
5/3-5/5	CRP Meeting, Istanbul
5/10	Board of Trustees Meeting
5/15	CRP Meeting, Nairobi
5/16-5/18	Workshop: Arms Trade & Corruption, Brussels
5/18-5/19	CRP Data meeting, London
5/22-5/23	Nationalism and self-determination in the Horn of Africa, Cambridge UK
5/24	CRP Budget Meeting, London
<b>June</b>	
6/7	CRP Research meeting, London
6/13	Conflict Prevention & Peace Forum: Horn of Africa
6/14	APM journal article launch: AU – UN Cooperation in Peace Operations, Social Science Research Council, NY
6/14	Interview: 9/11 Museum Director, NY
6/18	Interview: Red Terror Museum, Ontario
6/22	International Conference on Economics and Security, Brussels, Sam Perlo-Freeman
6/26	CRP Researchers meeting, London
6/28	CRP Data workshop, London
6/29	CRP Budget Meeting, London
6/30	CRP Administrator meeting, London



**An End to War, R. Plástiko**  
Commissioned by the World Peace Foundation