



ANNUAL REPORT 2018

**WORLD
PEACE
FOUNDATION**



Tufts
UNIVERSITY



**THE FLETCHER
SCHOOL**
TUFTS UNIVERSITY

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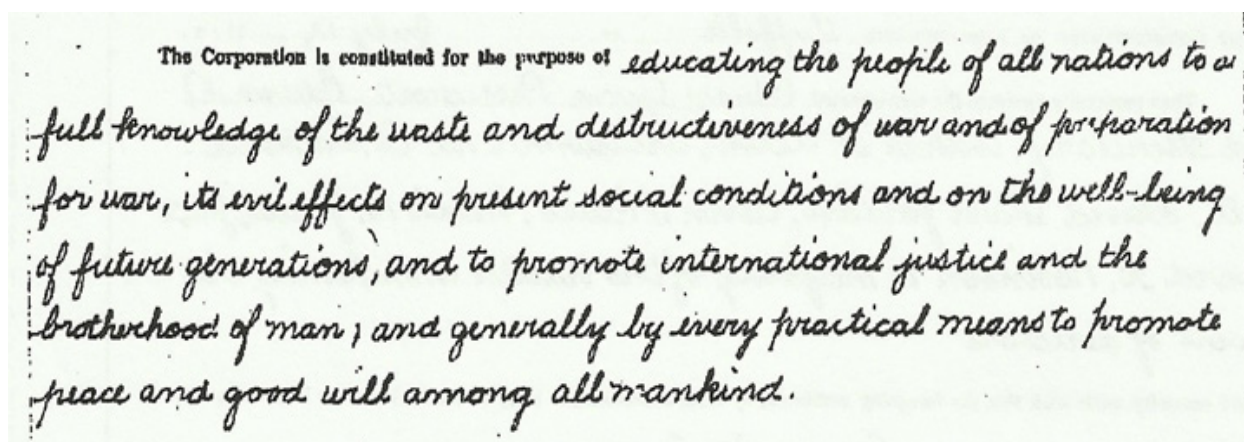
Introduction

The World Peace Foundation (WPF) is an operating foundation affiliated solely with Tufts University's The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. 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:



The 20th century was scarred by war, but nonetheless, two of the three pillars of world peace that Ginn identified were constructed: inter-state cooperation through the United Nations and other bodies, and mechanisms for the lawful and nonviolent resolution of international disputes. By contrast, his third goal of disarmament was not achieved. Meanwhile, especially in sixty years following World War II, the number and intensity of violent conflicts fell, and their nature changed. In the 21st century, war is often pursued by non-state actors, including informal globalized networks, and most violence takes place within countries, with blurred boundaries between

armed conflict, crime and the enforcement of government will.

The very progress that was made in tackling the scourge of war compels us to recognize the complexities of sustaining that progress, while the nature of armed conflict is itself being transformed, and the world order that promoted peace is being challenged. This is the challenge of "reinventing peace": recognizing the achievements of the enlightenment and liberal internationalist vision of a peaceful world, that has contributed so much, while also challenging it and fashioning a new vision of peace appropriate for the new century.

For these reasons, the World Peace Foundation is positioning itself as a fulcrum for intellectual leadership on issues of peace, including justice and security. Drawing on Ginn's vision and legacy, the WPF has

embarked on a pioneering founded on three interconnected forms of activity: research, education, and policy engagement.

In 2011, the World Peace Foundation established a program at the first graduate-only school of international affairs in the United States, Tufts University's The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, under Executive Director Alex de Waal.

Overview:

World Peace 2017/18

World peace means something different for each generation. When the World Peace Foundation was established in 1910 its aim was to end conventional wars between nation states. Over the course of a century of transformational changes in world politics, economy, technology and ecology, the challenge of world peace has become significantly more complicated.

In June 1963, President John F. Kennedy, in his commencement address to American University, spoke about what he called ‘the most important topic on earth: peace.’ He continued:

“ *Not a Pax Americana enforced on the world by American weapons of war. Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking about genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living, and the kind that enables men and nations to grow, and to hope, and build a better life for their children—not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men and women, not merely peace in our time but peace in all time.*

President Kennedy’s concern was ‘the new face of war’. He said that war, ‘makes no sense’ in a nuclear era in which the United States or Soviet Union had what amounted to essentially unlimited capacities of destruction. He continued:

“ *I speak of peace, therefore, as the necessary, rational end of rational men. I realize the pursuit of peace is not as dramatic as the pursuit of war, and frequently the words of the pursuers fall on deaf ears. But we have no more urgent task.*

Just eight months beforehand, Kennedy had brought the United States closer to a nuclear war than at any other point during the Cold War. Perhaps only he and Secretary General Nikita Khrushchev understood, in a personal and immediate way, humankind’s potential for self-immolation.

Kennedy’s thinking during the October 1962 Cuban missile crisis was famously influenced by historian

Barbara Tuchman’s book, *The Guns of August*. It recounts how miscalculations by the leaders of Europe’s Great Powers during the summer of 1914 led to a war that brought the European political and economic order to a calamitous collapse. Conducting political and diplomatic business as usual paved the road to self-destruction. For Kennedy, the stakes were higher still: while World War One condemned millions to die of violence and starvation, and unleashed toxic ideologies, a nuclear war threatened to make much of the planet uninhabitable for a million years.

Another half century on, our challenges are more complex. There are no readily available models or parallels from which to draw lessons. The hot summer of 2018 may be the point at which global warming becomes an immediate and personal experience for many people around the world. Climatologists warn that this year’s extremes will be normal for our children, and perhaps even on the cool side for our grandchildren. Yet, with the exception of the small island states that are doomed to disappear beneath the waves, governments have not made the world’s biggest challenge their overriding priority. Alongside other epochal changes such as the mass extinction of species, the pollution of the oceans, and the unknown implications of autonomous artificial intelligence systems, we are now in the position of the managers of the biosphere, but without a manual.

The summer of 2018 is equally notable for the growing realization in America that the flaws of President Donald J. Trump may lie deeper than his habitual lying, racism, misogyny and demagoguery. The president may have been associated with a whole host of criminals over the years, particularly Russian oligarchs and their facilitators. Russia’s economic year zero occurred in 1993, marking the transformation of the USSR’s state-owned oil and gas industries into the world’s biggest mafia honeypots. This not only created a kleptocratic political economy in most of the former Soviet Union, but also bred a cadre of cynical political entrepreneurs ready to use their dark money to engineer takeovers of state office for personal gain. The bosses of these criminal enterprises captured the Russian government so as to seize the

incalculable advantages of self-regulation as well as parliamentarians' immunity from criminal prosecution. They then turned to exploiting the weaknesses of democratic systems—candidates' need for money for campaigning, elected officials' readiness to use their positions for patronage payoffs, the possibility of influencing votes through biased media. The slow-burning revenge of the Cold War losers has been that the former Soviet Union's political marketplace has penetrated and undermined mature democracies in Europe and America. One payoff, almost certainly unanticipated, may have been that a bankrupt New York real estate developer became indebted to Russian finance and enmeshed in the business practices of the post-Soviet kleptocracy.

These two developments are connected. First: oil and gas plutocrats have a vested interest in climate change denial. Even though oil companies may belatedly be diversifying and adapting, they leave a poisonous legacy. The obfuscations they stirred up contributed to dangerous delays in reducing CO2 emissions, and deliberately blurred the line between healthy critique of scientific findings and cynical discounting of scientific expertise.

Second: the zero-sum transactional politics practiced by the oligarchs-turned-political entrepreneurs are the antithesis of the kind of multilateral, evidence-based and rational policymaking that is essential if the most urgent challenges of today are to be met. If leaders are concerned with grabbing what they can—for themselves, for their constituents—regardless of what this means for others, or for future generations, then collective action to ensure that our planet is habitable becomes impossible.

Transactional politics is the politics of the jungle, and in a jungle it makes sense for a country to choose the biggest alligator as its leader. In Liberia, for example, electoral candidates have bragged about the numbers of people they killed in the war, on the basis that their crimes are their credentials for office, and if elected they will be the biggest bully on the block. Unfortunately, some western voters succumb to this same logic: they are ready to vote for candidates who aver that the system is rotten, and candidly admit that they are too.

The challenge of peace in the coming century cannot be confined to Edwin Ginn's vision of ending wars

and paranoid militarized rivalries between states. But this task remains essential, because of (in the words of the constitution of the World Peace Foundation) “the waste and destructiveness of war and of preparation for war, and its evil effects on present social conditions and on future generations.” Among those “evil effects,” truth is famously the first casualty of war, and trust the second.

We still blunder into wars, as did European leaders a century ago. Witness the way in which Saudi Arabia's recklessness has led it into an unwinnable war in Yemen. Promising victory within six weeks, the Saudi Crown Prince Mohamed bin Salman has embroiled his country, along with the United Arab Emirates, in a war that is over three years old, and in a stalemate of bloodshed, famine and turmoil. We are still vulnerable to relapse from democracy into dictatorship, fueled by polarizing and xenophobic propaganda, as were European electorates 75 years ago. Witness the ways in which democracies have been so readily undermined on both sides of the Atlantic. On top of these long-standing dangers, we face epochal challenges for how to manage a fragile planetary ecosystem in which human activities and political decisions will determine how it is habitable, and for whom. If the politics of corruption, manipulation and coercion dominate, then our decisions will surely be less than optimal; and unless wars and fears of wars are laid to rest, such noxious politics will remain potent.

The World Peace Foundation program, which we call “the big peace”, aims to articulate the biggest challenges of our era, which we see as the following. First, “the marketization of everything”: the logic whereby the market turns all aspects of life, including political power, into tradable commodities. Second, “the enduring theology of sovereignty”: the way in which the idea of a nation state shapes identities and commands loyalties. Third, “the reckless anthropocene”: our domination of the planet's ecosphere with scant regard to what this entails. Last, “transactional hybrid social intelligence”, which is part-human, part-artificial intelligence, networked and increasingly autonomous. In each case, the particular means of organizing economics, politics, ecology and technology, has yielded enormous social goods including unprecedented prosperity, human welfare and peace, but each also has the potential to wreak havoc, and may already be doing so.

Research and Policy Engagement



The Four Horsemen, from The Apocalypse, Dürer, 1498

Famine Research Program

Alex de Waal's *Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine* (Polity Press) was published this year; the ideas and research contained therein form the basis of our on-going famine program. In the book, Alex advances three key ideas. The first is that famines lie on a spectrum from natural disaster to mass atrocity, and in modern times the overwhelming majority of them fall towards the atrocity end of the spectrum. It is a myth that famine is directly caused by crop failure, population growth or climate change. Alex's work posits mass starvation is the result of distinct and often criminally intentional policies that target discrete populations in the service of political and military goals. While pressures such as climate change increase the risks of global hardship, it is political decisions that determine whether, where and how such hardship will translate into mass hunger.

Second, famine can be ended and the world came close to doing so. The data developed and detailed in the book demonstrate historic variation in famine patterns, including the overall decline to almost zero. However, and the third point of emphasis in our program, famine has returned. Since 2016, there has been an increase in the number of famines, all of which are associated with national governments and world powers pursuing an agenda that overrides humanitarian concern. These overriding imperatives

include winning wars and fighting terrorism.

The WPF program aims to make famine politically intolerable. Famine will be conquered when it is made so morally toxic that it is universally publicly vilified. If mass starvation becomes unthinkable, political and military leaders in a position to inflict it or fail to prevent it, will unhesitatingly ensure that it does not occur, and the public will demand this of them. Widespread interest in *Mass Starvation* has catalyzed our ability to forge new partnerships, engage policymakers, and to develop new projects over the past year.

Key Activities

Mass Starvation book events: Alex has spoken at over 15 book events in seven countries (see below). We have held briefings with policymakers at the UN and African Union, and government officials in the U.S., Europe and Japan, humanitarian professionals, and scholars. He has also done more than a dozen radio and TV interviews, has written or contributed to news articles.

Alex's "[The end of famine? Prospects for the elimination of mass starvation by political action](#)" published in the journal *Political Geography* was selected from thousands of recently published articles to be awarded the [Elsevier Atlas prize](#). There will be an

award ceremony at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in October.

We established a **partnership with [Global Rights Compliance](#)**, a Hague-based law firm, to develop a policy-oriented research program, ‘Accountability for Mass Starvation: Testing the Limits of the Law,’ which will be funded by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It consists of an ambitious program designed to engage with policy-makers and legal experts in an effort to clarify and enhance existing legal prohibitions on starvation, and to find ways to bring prosecutions for starvation crimes. Our target countries are Yemen, Syria and South Sudan.

We met with and **advised representatives from the Dutch, Swedish and Swiss Missions to the United Nations, while the Dutch held the UNSC Presidency** in March and focused on access to food as a major issue. Upon their request, we drafted a memo with Global Rights Compliance to inform their messaging with the UNSC on this issue. On May 24, 2018, the UN Security Council Resolution passed Resolution 2417 condemning the use of starvation as a method of warfare and setting up a reporting requirement for the UN on this topic.

With our Tufts colleagues at the Feinstein International Center (FIC) and the Provost’s Office, we co-hosted a **one-day conference on famine, “[The Return of Famine](#),”** held on May 4, 2018 (videos of the panels are available online). Together with FIC, we also drafted a statement on ending famine signed by the conference participants.

We hosted a **meeting for the World Bank**, reviewing a draft paper regarding a famine risk mitigation program.

As part of the conference, we hosted Martha Mundy, a Beirut-based scholar of Yemen, who has been working with Yemeni investigators to document the impact of coalition bombing on agricultural and fishing industries. Following the conference, we sponsored her participation in two events in New York (at City University of New York (CUNY), and the UN, sponsored by Action Against Hunger, also featured Alex), and we facilitated a briefing for her in Washington, DC with the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Outputs

Publications:

- *Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine* (Polity Books, 2017) by Alex de Waal.
- Policy briefing with Global Rights Compliance, “[Can we prosecute starvation](#)” (May 7, 2018).
- “Statement on Ending Famine” (drafted with Feinstein International Center and signed by Tufts faculty and researchers involved in the conference).

Alex de Waal published additional articles on famine, including in *The Guardian*, *New York Times*, *The New Internationalist*, *World Nutrition Journal* and the *Irish Examiner*. He finalized a forthcoming article in the *London Review of Books* on famine memorials, arguing that there should be a memorial in London to commemorate the victims of British-made colonial-era famines in Ireland and India.

Media:

Alex has done numerous media interviews on this topic, including with BBC, PBS, NPR, *TuftsNow*, The Real News Network, *The Guardian*, *New Yorker* and Al Jazeera.

Events:

- “The Return of Famine”: A one-day conference co-hosted with the Feinstein International Center and Tufts Provost’s Office on May 4, 2018.
- Book events promoting *Mass Starvation*: in the US (Washington, DC, New York, Providence, Boston), Holland (The Hague); Denmark (Copenhagen), Ireland (Galway, Dublin, Cork); the UK (London); Japan (Tokyo); and Kenya (Nairobi).

Video:

“Alex de Waal on Mass Starvation” [4:36 minutes]
Produced by the World Peace Foundation



Mogadishu Life, AMISOM, Flickr, 2013

Conflict Research and the Political Marketplace

The Conflict Research Programme, funded by UK Department for International Development (DFID) through the London School of Economics launched its research activities this year. 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. In this project, Alex supervises the research in the Horn of Africa (which is conducted by teams organized through the LSE) and developing the political marketplace framework of analysis.

Key Activities

This year's activities that aimed to further refine the political marketplace framework:

A theory-building workshop in Oxford on May 30-31 on the political marketplace, applying analytical frameworks from economic organization and decision theory, and bringing together specialists on three case studies: Somalia, South Sudan and Ethiopia.

A re-analysis of security sector reform (SSR) and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs using the analytical framework of the 'security sector arena'. This identifies the central challenge to be aligning the political interests of multiple

security actors (local militias, different state security organs, the armed forces and proxy forces of neighboring countries, peacekeeping troops, etc.) rather than the reform of state institutions. On this, Alex is working with researchers from all five CRP focus countries in project led by the leader CRP security researcher, Mulugeta Gebrehiwot.

Research on the political dynamics of the 'Red Sea Arena', with a special focus on how Middle Eastern rivalries and political practices are penetrating Africa and changing the dynamics of conflict and the norms and practice of peacemaking. The rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran, and between the emergent Middle East Strategic Alliance (Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt) and the Qatar-Turkey axis, has markedly affected the Horn of Africa. A scramble for military bases on the Red Sea in the context of the war in Yemen and competition for control over the sea lanes is rapidly militarizing the region. This dynamic is destabilizing Somalia while contributing to a peace deal between Ethiopia and Eritrea and a bargain between Sudan and Uganda as the basis for a political settlement in South Sudan. An overall concern is that these peace agreements are based on short-term calculations of financial and security interests rather than shared norms and principles along with institutionalized processes of democratization.

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

- Analysis of decentralization and the way in which

it is utilized for political gain under the dynamics of the political marketplace. Jointly with CRP South Sudan researcher Naomi Pendle, Alex has completed a paper on this for publication.

- Analysis of the 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. This includes case studies of the aftermath of the 2005 peace agreement and the efforts to settle the current civil war (with WPF RA Nanaho Yamanaka and CRP researcher Alan Boswell).
- Research on the strategies of local humanitarian and rights activists, and how they utilize many of the same kinds of networks and methods as political entrepreneurs.
- Convening a panel of leading South Sudanese academics and public intellectuals to review the research and reflect on the situation in South Sudan. (July 4-6, 2018).
- Alex has written a paper on peace agreements in Sudan and South Sudan, and how they have different meanings for different actors, for publication in a volume on peacemaking theory, edited by Roger Mac Ginty.

On Somalia, the CRP is engaged in the following:

- Research spearheaded by Nisar Majid, co-author with Dan Maxwell of the recent book *Famine in Somalia*, and Claire Elder, a postdoctoral fellow who has worked on the business sector in Somalia.
- Developing life histories of leading businesspeople, monitoring courts in Somali cities, investigating the financial-political links between Somali political leaders and neighboring countries in Africa and the Middle East, and researching the networks and methods used by local humanitarian activists. We are planning a series of “peace exchanges” at which Somali peace activists will

share experiences.

- Analysis of the political-military actors in the security arena in Somalia applying the political marketplace framework to the interactions among these actors.

Presentations:

- “Fragile Paradigm: What’s next after fragile states?” London School of Economics, June 2018.
- “Clan Formation in Somalia: Legacies of the Militarized Political Economy of the Civil War,” London School of Economics, June 2018.
- “Into the Zone of Abandonment: Citizenship in South Sudan,” Boston University, December, 2017.
- “Power” for seminar, “Words and Worlds,” Yale, September 22, 2017



War secrets, Ares, 2012

Global Arms and Corruption Program

Historically, disarmament was an issue of focus for the global peace movement, including the WPF in its early years. In updating our approach to this issue, the WPF framed its program in relation to how the global arms business fuels violent conflict, not only by providing means for violence, but also in how it undermines diplomatic and democratizing processes and open markets. Our program is informed by a broader view of corruption, as both classic bribery, fraud and embezzlement (that accompany arms procurement deals) as well as the corrosion of democracy, transparency and the rule of law. Corruption within the industry is often treated in terms of isolated incidents, when it is, in fact, intrinsic to its business model. Our program began in 2013, with the aim 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. The work expanded considerably with the addition of Sam Perlo-Freeman to the WPF staff (full-time from October 2016 – August 2018). Over the past year, the program generated substantial research output, but has not been able to expand in the manner that we had earlier hoped as it has not fitted with the funding and programmatic priorities of outside donors.

Key Activities

Under Perlo-Freeman, the program focused on

documenting cases of arms deal corruption and analysis of trends across cases. To this end, he created the [Compendium of Arms Trade Corruption](#), which currently provides information on thirty-two cases of corruption. Very few cases of corruption are ever thoroughly investigated and fewer still result in legal action, making the field remarkably difficult to research. Nonetheless, the Compendium illustrates that even given the paucity of information, important trends are clear. The cases demonstrate the ubiquity and depth of corruption in arms production, procurement and transfers, and the variety of forms that this corruption takes. The research enabled us to identify military corruption within ecologies of corruption particular to distinct countries, related to practices in the wider commercial arena (including the common phenomenon of military-owned companies operating in non-military sectors), and in the political sphere (including funding political parties and patronage systems).

Perlo-Freeman's research also delved into the question of the financial size of the global arms trade. His research in this area is one of the very first exercises in reaching a reputable estimate, separately examining different datasets and how they are compiled, and the information for each of the major exporting countries. The final figure is within the range \$86 billion to \$104 billion with a median figure of \$95 billion, although this excludes an unknown volume of US commercial military service exports.

The Program Manager position was funded through Board-approved, supplemental funds, with the

understanding that we would raise additional funds to enable the program to continue. Despite devoting energy to fundraising in support of this program, we were unsuccessful. Perlo-Freeman has accepted a position with Campaign Against the Arms Trade (UK), however, he will be able to continue part-time work with us, dedicating one day a week to continuing research on our program for another twelve months.

Outputs

Occasional Papers:

- “Corruption in the Russian Defense Sector”, by Polina Beliakova and Sam Perlo-Freeman, May 11, 2018.
- “Arms Trade Corruption and Political Finance”, by Xiaodon Liang and Sam Perlo-Freeman, July 9, 2018.
- “Corruption in the Indonesian arms business”, by Xiaodon Liang and Sam Perlo-Freeman, December 2017.
- “How big is the international arms trade?” by Sam Perlo-Freeman, October 2017 (revised and updated July 2018.)

Publications:

- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. 2017. “Introduction,” Defence and Peace Economics Special Issue,” SIPRI’s New Military Expenditure Data,” 28: 4, 401-403. SIPRI’s New Military Expenditure Data.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. ‘SIPRI’s new long data-set on military expenditure: the successes and methodological pitfalls’, Defence & Peace Economics, Vol. 28 no. 4 (2017), pp 404-421.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. ‘The backdating of SIPRI’s military expenditure data’, section IV in ‘Military expenditure’, in SIPRI Yearbook 2017: Armaments, Disarmament & International Security, Oxford: OUP, 2017.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. forthcoming 2018. “Arms, corruption, and the state: understanding the role of arms trade corruption in power politics” Economics of Peace and Security Journal

(October 13: 2).

- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. “How big is the international arms trade” has been submitted for publication to Defence and Peace Economics.

Media:

Sam has had a number of media interviews or references, including contributing to a German television report on corruption involving German arms company Rheinmetall, an interview for PBS’s The World magazine program on arms supplies to Yemen, and Vice and Huffington Post articles. His February 28, blog post, “Who is arming the Yemen war? (And is anyone planning to stop?)”, was translated and published by the French foreign affairs magazine *Diplomatie* (No. 92, May-June, 2018).

Presentations:

Perlo-Freeman spoke at Festival for New Economic Thinking and Tufts’ Fourth Annual Civil Military Affairs Conference. He presented as part of a panel on President Trump and International Security, organized by Economists for Peace and Security at the American Economic Association annual conference. He delivered a keynote paper “The political economy of arms trade corruption” at the 21st International Conference on Economics and Security and a paper “How big is the arms trade?” at the 22nd Annual International Conference on Economics and Security.

Events:

We co-organized “Tackling Corruption in the Global Arms Trade” with the Forum on the Arms Trade in Washington, D.C. (November 2017), at which Sam spoke.

We held a global arms and corruption workshop with a network of researchers and representatives from civil society organizations who work on defense sector and corruption (June 4-5, 2018).

Videos:

- “Vijay Prashad on the myth that we can control where weapons go” [2.30 mins] Produced by World Peace Foundation with Corruption Watch,

original footage produced for Shadow World. (May 29, 2018).

- “The arms trade and the war in Yemen, explained by Sam Perlo-Freeman” [3.44 mins] Produced by World Peace Foundation (March 29, 2018).
- “Trita Parsi on the military ‘option’ for Iran.” [1.28 mins]. Produced by World Peace Foundation with Corruption Watch, original footage produced for Shadow World. (March 20, 2018)



Countries that one might associate with high levels of transparency, including the USA, UK and Germany, fail to provide adequate data on their arms exports, even at a most basic aggregate level.

-- Sam Perlo-Freeman

From the World Peace Foundation Occasional Paper, “How big is international arms trade? “

Table 3. Figures and estimates for annual average financial values of arms deliveries 2012-2016 by country (US\$ billions).

Country	Official figure	ESTIMATES		
		Low	Middle	High
USA (FMS)	16			
USA (DCS)		10	12.5	15
Russia	15.1			
UK		8.5	9.75	11
Germany		6.5	7.5	8.5
Israel		5.4	6.4	7.4
France	5.8			
Spain	4.1			
Italy	3.7			
China		1.5	2.0	2.5
Canada		1.0	1.4	1.8
Turkey	1.6			
Sweden	1.3			
Belgium		0.5	0.6	0.7
Other EU	3.7			
South Korea		0.5	1.0	1.5
Australia		0.5	0.75	1.0
Ukraine		0.55	0.65	0.75
South Africa		0.2	0.25	0.3
Belarus		0.1	0.2	0.3
Norway	0.5			
Switzerland	0.55			
Serbia	0.3			
Others		0.5	1.0	1.5
Grand total		88.4	96.65	104.9



Oil painting by Naizgi Tewelde Kidane, displayed at Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum, Ethiopia

Mass Atrocities Research Program

Bridget's research on the Ethiopian Red Terror Martyrs' Memorial Museum (RTMMM) has resulted in a book, which will be published by Palgrave Macmillan, *Memory from the Margins: Ethiopia's Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum*. The book tells the story of how the RTMMM, a humble, but powerful museum, was created by survivors and the families of those killed in the "Red Terror" between 1976-78. You can see some photos of the Museum in a new online photo gallery on our website. The Museum displays a unique narrative of violence, guided by survivors of prison and torture; but the story of its creation and steadfast presence against the backdrop of an evolving national and international context reveals much more.

Drawing on in-depth interviews with the key actors involved in its creation and on-going operations (conducted November 2016, August 2017), in the context of changing national, international and global contexts over several decades, the story of this museum provides the vehicle for an exploration of the contributions of memorialization of mass violence, to emerging democratic practices. It is a study from the global margins. Largely overlooked in international assessments of transitional justice, Ethiopia's transition from military regime to illiberal democracy began in 1991, just as the transitional justice paradigm was

emerging, but before it was formulated by international actors. Memorials, often classified as symbolic reparations, have made important contributions to transitions, but are often treated as less relevant than truth commissions or prosecutions. Within Ethiopian political history, the Red Terror is also marginalized, as it neither condemns nor is the source of legitimacy for the current government.

Beginning from the margins, the book explores *how* memory is shaped and conveyed, eschewing a normative approach evaluating the character of memorialization. By tracing the path of discrete objects, relationships and the work of institution building, the study reveals that memory's contribution to democracy is not found in what it erects, but in how the movement of memory resists being converted into use-value.

Key Activities

Bridget has been focused on writing, and continued her participation in a working group on memory for a French initiative sponsored by the Fondation Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, "International Panel on Exiting Violence." This project met in Madison, WI (October 2017), Madrid (January 2018), and Beirut (May 2018), and culminated in a jointly authored (with Scott Straus, Ron Suny, Catherine Bestemann, Natan Sznaider, Baskara Wardaya, Paco Ferrandiz, and Molly Minden) report on memory in the wake of mass violence.

Outputs

Publications:

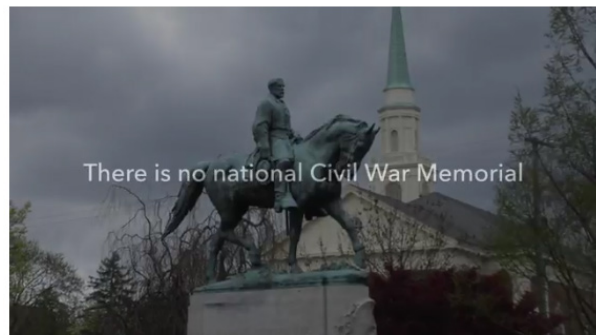
- “Memorial museums at the intersection of politics, exhibition and trauma: The study of the Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum” in *Museums and Activism* edited by Robert R. Janes and Richard Sandell (forthcoming Routledge 2018)
- “Genocide and Memory” in *A Cultural History of Genocide in the Modern World*, edited by Deborah Mayersen (forthcoming, Bloomsbury, 2019).

Presentations:

- “Utopia Lost: A study of the political aesthetics of memorial museums through Ethiopia’s Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum” at “Emerging Consequences: Aesthetics in the Aftermath of Atrocity,” Salem State University, November 4, 2017.
- “How Mass Atrocities End: Bosnia,” at National University of Ireland at Galway, Ireland February 26, 2018.
- “Atrocity Prevention in Africa,” at Yale University’s Genocide Studies Spring Seminar series February 13, 2018
- “Starting from the Conclusion: Prevention Lessons from Atrocity Endings,” at Frontiers of Prevention conference at Binghamton University, April 13-14, 2018.

Videos:

- “How a statue unveiled the President” [3.5 minutes], Produced by World Peace Foundation (September 19, 2017)



From “How a statue unveiled the President”, World Peace Foundation, 2017



L'omnipresent guerra/AFP Photo Abdulmonon Eassa Syria Conflict, Farrus, Flickr 2018

Children and Youth Staying Safe in Violence Conflict

This program, led by Dyan Mazurana, aims to make a unique contribution to understanding conflict-affected, at-risk children's and youth's efforts, priorities and goals to protect themselves and remain resilient. The primary research activity focuses on a thorough review of Dyan's primary research conducted with young people in situations of conflict over the last two decades, comprising approx. 4,800 pages of transcribed fieldnotes. In the book manuscript, she brings forward these findings and insights through the voices and stories of children and youth she interviewed. Dyan combines the young people's voices with the findings of other researchers in a lively and engaging manner. The results are important, hereto under-explored insights into the experience of children and youth staying safe and a deeper understanding of their resilience in violence contexts.

Dyan's research has produced some surprising, important and challenging initial findings. First, the violence associated with war (which is what we tend to focus upon in child protection work) is not what children and youth report as the most threatening or harmful in their everyday lives. Rather, it is the pervasive violence that comes from their parents (usually fathers), other family members and (for child brides) their husbands, along with poverty and insecurity that runs through their lives. To illustrate, a boy whose family is forced to leave their home because of armed

attack was excited rather than afraid because his father left behind the knotted rope he regularly used to beat the child. Second, the clear-cut distinctions that child protection workers often drew among different vulnerable categories of children and youth are unhelpful and obscure the reality that young people can occupy several of these identities at one time, or pass through these categories at different moments. Third, one important factor that warrants more discussion is that children's ability to cope or be resilient is closely tied to how they can make sense of the war and understand their role in it, even if that role is one of being a victim.

Dyan's goal for the book is to share what she has learned about children and youth staying safe and resilient in situations of extreme adversity. The intended audience for this book is an informed, general public, rather than an exclusively scholarly or policy readership (which has been the audience for her previous publications). Dyan believes that many people are concerned about the ways in which young people are affected by the conflicts and violence that they see on the daily news, and that many of them feel rather hopeless about the future for these young people and their communities. The book uses the voices of young people themselves and the latest research from a variety of disciplines to show that there are many things that children and youth, their families, peers and communities are doing and could do to help children and youth stay safe and build resilience.

Key Activities

To date, Dyan has carried out a detailed review and coding of transcribed research notes from her own original fieldwork with children and youth (spanning six countries and seventeen years of fieldwork); and a thorough literature review on the topics of conflict and civilian self protection, children and youth and armed conflict (in numerous iterations). She has completed three chapters and continues to focus on her writing.

Outputs

Publications:

- A book chapter in a forthcoming edited volume, “Children’s Self Protection during Political Violence,” *Handbook of Political Violence and Children: Psychological Effects, Intervention and Prevention Policy*, edited by Charles W. Greenbaum, Muhammad M. Haj-Yahia, and Carolyn Hamilton, Oxford University Press.
- Atim, Teddy, Dyan Mazurana PhD, Anastasia Marshak. 2018. “Women survivors and their children born of wartime sexual violence in northern Uganda” *Disasters* 42:1, 61 – 78.

Presentations:

- “Resilience and Child Soldiers,” *Burning Issues Series*, invited presentation at the YMCA of the Rockies, Estes Park Colorado, July 30, 2018. (General audience presentation to approximately 100 people).
- “Understanding the Acceptance of Children Born of War Related Sexual Violence on Joshina Machel Island, Mozambique,” presentation at *Challenging Conceptions: An international workshop on children born of war related sexual violence*, Medford MA, May 17, 2018.
- “A Thick Description of Stigma Against Children Born of War Related Sexual Violence: Conceptual and Empirical Understandings of Stigma.” *Stigma and Children Born of War*, presentation at the London School of Economics, London, September 25, 2017.



Low-rise neighbourhood in the outskirts of Addis Ababa, Ploughmann, Flickr, 2015.

Africa Peace Program

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 occasionally sponsors research, programming and outputs when we can make an impact on discussions about African Peace issues.

Key Activities:

Alex has been advocating for the AU (through the AUHIP) to develop its "external action" arm to engage with the Middle East, especially on issues relating to the Horn of Africa and Red Sea. The concern has been that the fractious and militarized politics of the Middle East will encroach upon Africa, and in doing so will introduce a "political market" manner of conducting business at the expense of the norms, principles and institutions for conflict resolution so painstakingly developed by the AU over the previous 25 years. In pursuit of this, Alex wrote the background papers and policy paper for a high-level meeting on the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea convened by the AU in Khartoum on October 3-4, 2017. These materials also served as briefing papers for a meeting on the Red Sea held by USIP in Washington DC and a conference in Copenhagen, both in January.

European governments are interested in funding the Horn of Africa/Red Sea research, which we would welcome as it would provide greater leeway in our budgeting.

Alex completed the manuscript of a short book for Polity Press entitled "*Can Africa be at Peace?*" that draws on the research of the African Peace Missions program. It makes the central arguments of that report more accessible to a general audience and it develops and updates them in the light of recent events, especially the impact of Middle Eastern politics as discussed above. This book will be published by Polity in 2019.

An edited collection of essays on nationalism and self-determination in the Horn of Africa is under peer review with the *Journal of Eastern African Studies*. This includes papers by Alex (Sudan), Sarah Nouwen (law on self-determination), Sally Healy and Peter Chonka (Somalia), Mulugeta Gebrehiwot (Ethiopia), and Paulos Tesfagiorgis (Eritrea).

Alex has been engaged in writing commentaries for the Ethiopian press on recent political developments in that country.

Presentations:

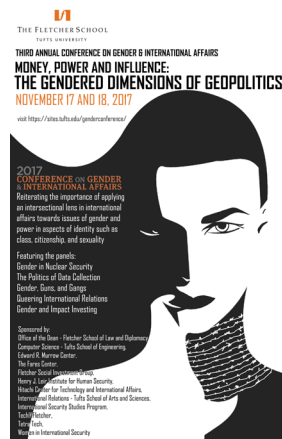
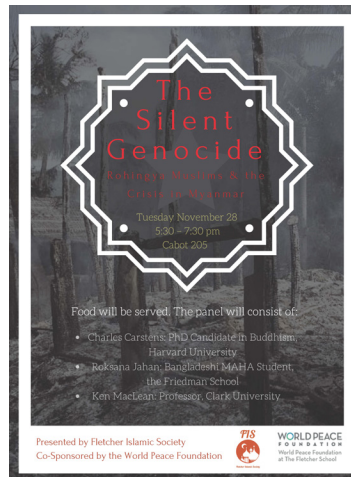
- "Peacebuilding in the Political Marketplace," Bonn International Center for Conversion, keynote lecture, October 18, 2017.
- "Sudan's ambiguous peace," London, February 2018.

Teaching and Student Support

CENTER for
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THE MACABRESQUE
19 APRIL 2017 HUMAN VIOLATION
AND HATE IN
6 6:00 PM MURROW ROOM GENOCIDE
MASS ATROCITY, AND
with DR. EDWARD WEISBAND ENEMY-MAKING
Virginia Tech Edward S. Diggs Endowed Chair in the Social Sciences
IHS Institute for Human Security
WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION



Teaching

Alex taught his regular course “Conflict in Africa” in the Fall semester, with 27 students enrolled. The course focuses on case studies of African conflicts (Somalia, Darfur, and Liberia), approaching them in an integrated manner across different disciplinary perspectives, and requiring the students to write policy memos as though they were officers at the UN, State Department or serving with a humanitarian agency. Students appreciate the integrated, problem-focused approach and the discipline of writing succinct analytical memos for a policymaking audience.

He is on the committee for the following seven Fletcher PhD students: Sarah Detzner, Roxani Krystalli, Ben Naimark-Rowse, Ben Spatz, Andrea Walther-Puri, Chris Williams (successfully defended August 2018) 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, and for Mulugeta Gebrehiwot’s PhD at the University of Victoria (British Columbia, Canada) which he successfully defended on April 24.

Alex supervised four MALD Capstone theses. Bridget supervised one.

Bridget did not teach her course at Fletcher this Spring, but participated in a new, three-year pilot program through Tufts University Prison Initiative

at Tisch College (TUPIT), which sponsored a lecture series by Tufts’ faulty at MCI Shirley medium-security state prison. The program is moving to MCI-Concord, and Bridget will teach a semester-long course as it develops.

In Fall 2017, Sam taught a module on “The political economy of the arms industry and trade.” It covered trends, drivers, and structure of military spending, arms industries, and arms trade, worldwide, their role in national economies, the idea of the military industrial complex and its role in different countries, and the issue of corruption in the arms industry and trade. It was the first course at Fletcher specifically devoted to the military economics.

Student Support

This year we changed our support for students from our previous practice of sponsoring a single seminar, to a larger number of small grants to support existing student speaker initiatives and research costs for PhD students. The total funds are similar to what WPF previously dedicated to the seminar, but the change allows us to amplify efforts that are already being pursued by students and to systematize our support for PhD candidates.

This year the WPF provided financial support to five student-organized events: the annual Conference Gender and International Affairs, with a theme this year on “Money, Power, and Influence: The Gendered

Dimensions of Geopolitics”, a program organized by the Fletcher Islamic Society, “The Silent Genocide: Rohingya Muslims and the Crisis in Myanmar”; “The Fletcher Food Symposium: Food and Conflict”; “Protracted Refugee Situations in sub-Saharan Africa”; and “Fletcher Initiative on Religion, Law and Diplomacy.”

The WPF awarded a research grant to Fletcher PhD candidates in 2017-18, for Brett McEvoy’s PhD project, “Decolonizing Hearts and Minds: White Anti-Racism and Racial Justice in the United States.”

We also supported additional events during the last Fall semester:

- “The Role of Media in the Rise of Populism”, a discussion with Haggai Matar, Israeli activist and journalist (October 30).
- “After Rape: Violence, Justice and Social Harmony in Uganda”, a presentation by Holly Porter (November 21)
- “The New Barbarianism”, a film and panel (which Alex participated in) at Tufts (November 27)
- “The Macabresque: Human Violation and Hate in Genocide, Mass Atrocity, and Enemy-Making” with Edward Weisband on April 19.

Organizational Developments

Governance and Board Matters

The WPF Board of Trustees Meeting met on September 13, 2017; February 7, 2018; and May 16, 2018. The Finance Committee met with the Ginn Trustees on November 15, 2017 and May 3, 2018. The new arrangement for our investments with Massey Quick Simon is working smoothly without any difficulties.

Staffing

Core staffing: Alex de Waal is Executive Director, Bridget Conley is Research Director, and Lisa Avery is Associate Director. Staff appointments and changes included the transition of Sam Perlo-Freeman from full-time to part-time status.

Fletcher Students employed by the WPF: Batul Sadliwala, Ben Spatz (Teaching Assistant), Xiaodon Liang (Global Arms and Corruption), Nanaho Yamanaka (Conflict Research Programme), Polina Beliakova (Global Arms and Corruption), Claire Wilson (Civilian Protection).

Fellows: Dyan Mazurana (paid Fellowship), and unpaid Fellows included Mulugeta Gebrehiwot (Africa peace program) and Aditya Sarkar (political marketplace).

Development and Fundraising

Our primary focus in terms of seeking new funds was to support the Global Arms Business program, as discussed above. Several other fundraising developments include: we submitted a grant to the Danish government to support a project, Working Group on the Horn of Africa in support of the African Union High Level Implementation Panel.

The Conflict Research Programme (CRP) with the LSE, funded by DFID is now underway and will continue through March 2021.

The Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs has agreed to fund, “Accountability for Mass Starvation: Testing the limits of the law”, a program we are undertaking with Global Rights Compliance, a law firm based in The Hague with financial support to begin FY2019.

Communications and Outreach

Website: Last Fall (2017), we launched our newly designed website. A significant benefit of the new site is the increased ease of implementing updates, which enables us to be more responsive as our work develops. The effort appears to have paid off: our pageviews increased from 34,777 (FY 2017) to 66,829 (FY 2018). Our five most popular pages were the homepage, famine program page, staff information, the book page for *Mass Starvation*, and the global arms program page.

Blog: Likewise, our blog statistics reflect the increased effort we have put into coordinating our website, blogs, twitter feed and Youtube channel. The main WPF blog, [Reinventing Peace](#) received 56,731 page-views (up from the previous high of 48,176 in FY 2016). And the separate blog that houses the Compendium of Arms Deals received 21,083 page-views from January 1 – July 20, 2018; and it received 21,083 page-views from January 1, 2017 – December 31, 2017.

The most popular blog essays on Reinventing Peace for this FY are: ‘Is Oxfam the best or the worst’ (Dyan Mazurana, 4,387), ‘Who is arming the Yemen war and is anyone planning to stop?’ (Sam Perlo-Freeman 736), ‘Employee of the month’: Hailemariam Dessalegn (Mulugeta Gebrehiwot, 578), ‘Famine and Epidemic disease in Africa’ (Alex de Waal, 411), ‘Lifting sanctions on Sudan long overdue’ (Alex de Waal 389), ‘Just how big is the international arms trade’ (part 1) (Sam Perlo-Freeman, 338), ‘Walking in the shadow of the state: A review of the joint World Bank - United Nations report’ (Aditya Sarakar, 212), ‘A year on, how has Trump affected global security?’ (Sam Perlo-Freeman, 139).

We have begun 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. FY2018 winners include: [Aung San Suu Kyi](#), [Rocket Man and the Dotard](#), [Paul Manafort](#), [Mohamed bin Salman](#), the [Israeli state](#), the [Presidential Speech](#), [Hailemariam Dessalegn](#), [Facebook](#) and [Cambridge Analytica](#), [Theresa May](#), and the arms company [Leonardo SpA](#).

Twitter: Our most popular Tweets over the past year all concerned famine. The highest impressions we received were for the tweet promoting the video of Alex de Waal introducing key themes from his book; next was an announcement of his talk in Nairobi, and the following 8 of our top ten all came from the May 4th conference.

Our in-house capacity for design and multi-media production was further developed this year. Bridget Conley took a course in video production this Spring, to facilitate our ability to produce short videos to promote our work; and Lisa Avery has pursued further training in Adobe design software. Together, they manage WPF’s website, blog, twitter, Facebook and Youtube channel.



Reinventing Peace, Rasadurai, 2012

Facebook: We ended the year with 2776 “likes” for our [Facebook page](#). Among our most popular posts were: Promoting the Return of Famine conference in reference to Yemen events; Posting the video of Alex de Waal on his book; de Waal’s NYT opinion piece on the assaults on al Hudaydah; de Waal’s NPR interview; de Waal’s Elsevier Award announcement; a shared al Jazeera article on the Israeli arms industry; de Waal’s essay on lifting of Sudanese sanctions; and a piece published elsewhere by Anna Stavrianakis on the Russian arms sector.

Finance and Administration

Finance

The following is a summary of the WPF finances for the financial year 2018 (which runs from July 1 to June 30). Income is from the following sources: endowment (Ginn Trust) and WPF investments (Massey Quick Simon); grants and subcontracts; and book sales and royalties. 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.

The FY2018 audit by Edelstein & Company is in its final stages and will be reviewed at the September Board of Trustees meeting.

Endowment and investments

WPF received \$506,408 in disbursements from Ginn Trustees in FY18, and \$454,755 (\$224,575 Q1 & Q2 reinvested) from investment managers Massey Quick Simon. WPF did not request distributions from Massey Quick Simon for the first and second quarters as there were sufficient funds available in the Eastern Bank account.

Endowment and investment funds: \$963,163

Grants to WPF Program at Fletcher

In FY18 World Peace Foundation received funding for the "implementation" phase of the Conflict Research Programme (CRP) having completed the "inception phase" previously:

Conflict Research Program (FY18 -\$113,917)

This is a subcontract awarded as part of consortium at the London School of Economics to fund the program through March 2021. This subcontract covers a portion of the Executive Director's salary and

benefits, research support and contractor salaries. As the funder allows for a maximum (10%) overhead, the balance of the overhead due to Tufts/Fletcher is paid from the WPF operating budget. Funding over the entire 4 year grant period should total approximately \$592,862 (inception & implementation).

The grant for African Peace Missions project, funded by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs ended FY17 however the remaining funds were utilized for donor requested audit of the financials. This audit was performed by Edelstein & Company and submitted to the donor with no further issues arising.

Total income from Grants and Subcontracts: \$113,917

We continue to have a modest income from books and royalties direct to WPF.

Royalties & Book Sales: \$3,210

In January 2018, The Fletcher School, Center for International Environmental Resource Policy (CIERP) moved into Suite 201 in the Tufts Administrative Building while construction of their new office is underway. Tufts will reimburse WPF the rent expense for use of that space.

Misc. Revenue: \$6,971

At the February 10, 2016 Board of Trustees meeting, the Trustees approved \$200,000 in supplementary funding to support the position of the Global Arms and Corruption Program Director. A majority of this supplement has been utilized with a small amount carrying into FY19 due to a late start date.

Board approved Supplement: (FY18- \$85,00)

Total Income: \$1,172,261

Expenses

WPF at The Fletcher School: \$792,091

WPF Governance expenses: \$64,641

Grant expenses: \$113,917

Total Expenses: \$970,649

Annex I: Publications

Books & Book Chapters

- de Waal, Alex. *Mass Starvation: The History and Future of Famine*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2018
- Conley, Bridget. *Memory from the Margins: the Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum*. Palgrave MacMillan. In process.
- Book chapter by Dyan Mazurana, “Children’s Self Protection during Political Violence,” in a forthcoming edited volume: Greenbaum, W. Charles, Muhammad M. Haj-Yahia and Carolyn Hamilton, ed. *Handbook of Political Violence and Children: Psychological Effects, Intervention and Prevention Policy*. Oxford University Press.
- Book chapter by Bridget Conley, “Memorial Museums at the Intersection of Politics, Exhibition and Trauma: The study of the Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum” in the forthcoming edited volume: Janes, Robert R., and Richard Sandell, ed. *Museum Activism*. Routledge
- Book chapter by Bridget Conley, “Genocide and Memory” for the forthcoming edited volume: Mayersen, Deborah. *A Cultural History of Genocide in the Modern World*. Bloomsbury, 2019
- Book Chapter by Alex de Waal, “A Human Security Strategy for the European Union in the Horn of Africa and Red Sea,”: Kaldor, Mary, Iavor Rangelov, and Sabine Selchow, EU *Global Strategy and Human Security: Rethinking Approaches to Conflict*. London, Routledge
- Book Chapter by Alex de Waal, “Famine and Epidemic Disease,” for the edited volume: *African Muckracking: 75 Years of Investigative Journalism in Africa*. Lugambi, George W. and Anya Schiffrin, eds, Jacana Media.

Journal Articles

- de Waal, Alex. “Social Nutrition and Prohibiting Famine.” *World Nutrition*, Vol 9 No 1 (April 19, 2018)

- de Waal, Alex. “The end of famine? Prospects for the elimination of mass starvation by political action”, *Political Geography* Volume 62 (January 2018): Pages 184-195
- Atim, Teddy, Mazurana, Dyan and Marshak, Anastasia. “Women survivors and their children born of wartime sexual violence in northern Uganda” *Disasters: The Journal of Disaster Studies, Policy and Management* Volume 42, Issue S1 (December 2017): Pages S61-S78
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. “Introduction: SIPRI’s New Military Expenditure Data”, *Defence and Peace Economics* Volume 28 Issue 4 (July 04, 2017): Pages 401-403
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. forthcoming 2018. “Arms, corruption, and the state: understanding the role of arms trade corruption in power politics.” *Economics of Peace and Security Journal* (October 13: 2).
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. ‘SIPRI’s new long data-set on military expenditure: the successes and methodological pitfalls’, *Defence & Peace Economics*, Vol. 28 no. 4 (2017), pp404-421
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. ‘The backdating of SIPRI’s military expenditure data’, section IV in ‘Military expenditure’, in SIPRI Yearbook 2017: Armaments, Disarmament & International Security, Oxford: OUP, 2017.

Newspaper and Magazine articles

- de Waal, Alex. [What Happens if Mass Starvation Takes Hold in Yemen?](#) *The New York Times*, June 14, 2018.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. [Qui fournit des armes à la guerre au Yémen ? \(Et quelqu’un envisage-t-il d’arrêter ?\)](#), *Diplomatie* No. 92, Mai-Juin, 2018 (translated from blog post, “Who is arming the Yemen war? (And is anyone planning to stop?)”
- de Waal, Alex. [We must never forget to remember.](#)

Irish Examiner, May 8, 2018.

- de Waal, Alex. [How can famines be ended?](#) *New Internationalist*, April 1, 2018.
- Alex de Waal. “[Politics of starvation](#)” review of The decline in humanitarian effectiveness review of Famine in Somalia: Competing imperatives, collective failures, by Dan Maxwell Nisar Majid, C Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd, March 24, 2016.
- de Waal, Alex. [Can Somalia Ever Win Against al-Shabab?](#), *Foreign Policy*, October 19, 2017.
- de Waal, Alex. [Beyond the Red Sea: A new driving force in the politics of the Horn](#). *African Arguments*, June 11, 2018.
- [expertise](#)”, Vice News, May 10, 2018
- “[How the crisis in the Gulf could spread to East Africa](#)”, BBC Africa, April 8, 2018.
- Synder, Stephen. “[Getting married amid airstrikes in Yemen](#)”, PRI’s *The World*, March 27, 2018.
- Grill, Philipp. “[Korruptionsvorwürfe in Indie: Rheinmetall in heikler Sache helfen](#).” Das Erste (“Report München”, First German Television), March 5, 2018
- de Waal, Alex. “[How political and military conflict caused the return of famine](#).” Interviewed by Megan Thompson, PBS News Hour, March 3, 2018.
- Conley, Bridget. “[Oversimplifying Conflicts Doesn’t Help Protect Civilians](#).” Interviewd by Andy Heintz. *Foreign Policy in Focus*, March 1, 2018
- de Waal, Alex. “[Understanding causes of famines of the past may help put an end to them](#).” Interviewed by Kendall Morgan, PhD. Elsevier Connect, February 1, 2018.
- Madgid, Pasha. “Turkey Plays Catch-up With Militarization in Red Sea.” *Al-Monitor*, January 24, 2018
- Aizenman, Nurith. “[What Today’s Headlines about Famine got Wrong](#)” NPR, January 19, 2018.
- Stephenson, Heather. “[Mass Starvation as a Political Weapon](#).” *TuftsNow*, January 18, 2018.
- Shahid Ahmed, Akbar. “[U.S. Politicians Can Afford To Grow A Spine On Saudi Arabia](#).” *Huffpost*, January 1, 2018
- de Waal, Alex. “[Can this generation end world hunger?](#)” Interviewed by Sharmini Peries. The Real News Network, December 25, 2017.
- “[The world in 2017: how much do you know? – quiz](#).” *The Guardian*, December 25, 2017
- Francis, Okech. “[Oil Deal May Win Back Sudan Some Influence Over Former Enemy](#).” Bloomberg, December 14, 2017

Reports, Occasional Papers & Policy briefs

- Liang, Xiaodon and Perlo-Freeman, Sam. “[Arms Trade Corruption and Political Finance](#)” July 9, 2018.
- Beliakova, Polina and Perlo-Freeman, Sam. “[Corruption in the Russian Defense Sector](#)”, May 11, 2018.
- World Peace Foundation and Global Rights Compliance Group. “[Can we prosecute starvation?](#)”, May 1, 2018.
- Liang, Xiaodon and Perlo-Freeman, Sam. “[Corruption in the Indonesian arms business](#)”, December 2017.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. “[How big is the international arms trade?](#)” October 2017 (revised and updated July 2018).
- de Waal, Alex. “[The Emerging Global Order, Multilateralism and Africa](#)”, background paper for African Union Annual Mediators’ Retreat, October 3, 2017.

Interviews, News & Press

- Walters, Greg. “[Trump’s lawyer got \\$150K from a Korean weapons company for “accounting”](#)

- Lamble, Lucy. "[British risk complicity in Yemen 'famine crime'](#)", says Alex de Waal." *The Guardian*, November 23, 2017
- Lamble, Lucy. "[Famine as mass atrocity](#)": in conversation with Alex de Waal." *The Guardian*, November 22, 2017.
- Conley, Bridget. "Atrocity Prevention in Africa," at Yale University's Genocide Studies Spring Seminar series, February 13, 2018.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. "Are Trump Administration Policies Improving International Security?" Economists for Peace and Security at the American Economic Association annual conference (January 5-7, 2018)

Presentations

- Mazurana, Dyan. "Resilience and Child Soldiers," *Burning Issues Series*, invited presentation at the YMCA of the Rockies, Estes Park Colorado, July 30, 2018.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. "How big is the arms trade?" at the 22nd Annual International Conference on Economics and Security, June 25-30 2018.
- de Waal, Alex. "Fragile Paradigm: What's next after fragile states?" London School of Economics, June 2018.
- de Waal, Alex. "Clan Formation in Somalia: Legacies of the Militarized Political Economy of the Civil War," London School of Economics, June 2018.
- Mazurana, Dyan. "Understanding the Acceptance of Children Born of War Related Sexual Violence on Joshina Machel Island, Mozambique," presentation at Challenging Conceptions: An international workshop on children born of war related sexual violence, Medford MA, May 17, 2018.
- de Waal, Alex. "On the Utility and Memory of Mass Starvation," University College, Cork, Irish national famine memorial commemoration, May, 2018.
- Conley, Bridget. "Starting from the Conclusion: Prevention Lessons from Atrocity Endings," at Frontiers of Prevention conference at Binghamton University, April 13-14, 2018.
- Conley, Bridget. "How Mass Atrocities End: Bosnia," at National University of Ireland at Galway, Ireland February 26, 2018.
- de Waal, Alex. "Sudan's ambiguous peace," London, February 2018.
- de Waal, Alex. "Into the Zone of Abandonment: Citizenship in South Sudan," Boston University, December, 2017.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. "Dynamics of the Defense Industry and Global Arms Trade" at Tufts' Fourth Annual Civil Military Affairs Conference, November 10-11, 2017
- Conley, Bridget. "Utopia Lost: A study of the political aesthetics of memorial museums through Ethiopia's Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum" at "Emerging Consequences: Aesthetics in the Aftermath of Atrocity," Salem State University, November 4, 2017.
- Perlo-Freeman, Sam. "Are Trump Administration Policies Improving International Security?" Festival for New Economic Thinking October 19-20, 2017
- de Waal, Alex. "Peacebuilding in the Political Marketplace," Bonn International Center for Conversion, keynote lecture, October 18, 2017.
- Mazurana, Dyan. "A Thick Description of Stigma Against Children Born of War Related Sexual Violence: Conceptual and Empirical Understandings of Stigma." Stigma and Children Born of War, presentation at the London School of Economics, London, September 25, 2017.
- de Waal, Alex. "Power" for seminar, "Words and Worlds," Yale, September 22, 2017

Videos:

- "[Alex de Waal on Mass Starvation](#)" [4.36 minutes] Produced by the World Peace Foundation. (May 14, 2018)
- "[Vijay Prashad on the myth that we can control](#)

[where weapons go](#)” [2.30 mins] Produced by World Peace Foundation with Corruption Watch, original footage produced for Shadow World. (May 29, 2018).

- [“The arms trade and the war in Yemen, explained by Sam Perlo-Freeman”](#) [3.44 mins] Produced by World Peace Foundation (March 29, 2018).
- [“Trita Parsi on the military ‘option’ for Iran.”](#) [1.28 mins]. Produced by World Peace Foundation with Corruption Watch, original footage produced for Shadow World. (March 20, 2018)

Annex II: Calendar

World Peace Foundation 2017-2018	
July 2017	
CRP Research planning meetings	Mogadishu
Political Marketplace presentation, Rift Valley Institute	Ethiopia
CRP Researcher meeting	South Sudan
CRP Research Planning meetings	London School of Economics
August 2017	
Department For International Development (DFID)	London School of Economics
Red Terror Museum research trip	Ethiopia
September 2017	
Four Famines: Fragility, Resilience, and the Role of International Development	Center for Strategic and International Studies, Washington DC
Board of Trustees Meeting	Tufts University
NATO Building Integrity conference	Washington, DC
WPF Board of Trustees Meeting	Tufts University
Words and Worlds workshop	Princeton University
DFID and Research Council Conference	London School of Economics
October 2017	
Centre for Public Authority and International Development Meeting (CPAID)	London School of Economics
International Conference “Dirty Peace”? The Political Economy of Peacebuilding	Bonn International Center for Conversion, Germany
Festival for New Economic Thinking	Edinburgh, Scotland
Divest from Arms Machine, Code Pink/Shadow World Event	Washington, DC
The Role of History and Memory in Exiting Extreme and Mass Violence workshop	Madison, WI
Haggai Matar: The Role of the Media in the Rise of Populism	The Fletcher School
November 2017	
Tackling Corruption in the Global Arms Trade, Forum on the Arms Trade	Center for International Policy, Washington DC
Emerging Consequences: Aesthetics in the Aftermath of Atrocity	Salem State University
CRP, Senior Management Team meeting	New York
Civil Military Affairs Conference, Dynamics of the Defense Industry and Global Arms Trade	Tufts University
Ginn Trustees Meeting	Loring and Walcott, Boston
Gender Conference - Money, power and Influence: The Gendered Dimensions of Geopolitics	The Fletcher School

Holly Porter book event, “After Rape: Violence Justice and Social Harmony in Uganda”	The Fletcher School
Political Marketplace Methodology Workshop	London School of Economics
New Barbarianism movie showing	The Fletcher School
The Silent Genocide: Rohingya Muslims and the Crisis in Myanmar	The Fletcher School
December 2017	
Famine workshop	The Fletcher School
January 2018	
ASSA/AEA Annual Meetings Economists for Peace and Security	Pennsylvania
Mass Starvation book lecture	Danish Institute for International studies
Horn of Africa seminar, MFA Copenhagen	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Copenhagen
Role of History & Memory in Exiting Extreme and Mass Violence, working group meeting	Madrid
February 2018	
Mass Starvation Book lecture Royal Irish Academy	Center for Strategic and International Studies, DC
Mass Starvation book lecture	United States Agency for International Development (USAID), DC
Seminar XXI	Washington DC, Senate Foreign Relations
Board of Trustees Meeting	Tufts University
The AU and Atrocity Prevention lecture	Yale University
CRP meetings	London School of Economics
Mass Starvation, book Lecture	The Grotius Centre at Leiden University, Haag Campus
The Return of Famine? Book lecture	KUNO: Platform for Humanitarian Knowledge Exchange in the Netherlands
International law/Starvation as a war crime	The Hague
Mass Starvation book lecture	National University of Ireland, Galway
Irish Aid Meeting	Dublin
March 2018	
Mass Starvation book lecture	International Rescue Committee (IRC), NY
CRP Uptake Workshop	London School of Economics
CRP Somalia Researcher interviews	London School of Economics
April 2018	
Jobs, Security, and Human Rights: Striking a Balance in U.S. Arms Export Policy	Forum on Arms Trade
Africa, Multilateralism & the Emerging Global Order, lecture	Tokyo University for Foreign Studies

Inaugural Conference: Frontiers of Prevention	Institute for Genocide and Mass Atrocity Prevention, Binghamton NY
“Fighting Famine: Hindering Hunger, Malnutrition, and Mortality”	United Nations University, Japan
Mass Starvation book lecture	National Defense Academy of Japan
Fletcher 2nd Annual Food Symposium	The Fletcher School
“Mass Starvation: The history and future of famine”, book lecture	Global Health Initiative, Brown University
May 2018	
World Bank/Famine Meeting	Tufts University
Ginn Trustee Meeting	Conference call
The Return of Famine, Famine Symposium	Tufts University
The War on Yemen and its Agricultural Center, with Martha Mundy	City University of New York (CUNY), NY
Starvation as Strategy: The War on Yemen	New York University, NY
Tufts University Prison Initiative at Tisch College (TUPIT):	Tisch College, Tufts University
Yemen Famine meeting with Martha Mundy	Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington DC
Mass Starvation: 21st Century Crime, lecture	Royal Irish Academy
The Memory of Utility and Starvation, book lecture	UCC Center for Global Development, Ireland
Board of Trustees Meeting	Chase Center, Tufts University
Tufts University Prison Initiative at Tisch College (TUPIT)	Tufts University
Annual Conference - Taking Aim: A Closer Look at the Global Arms Trade	Forum on Arms Trade, DC
Winchester High School, guest lecture	Winchester, MA
CRP Political Market workshop	Oxford Martin School, UK
June 2018	
Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum	CPPEF, NY
International Panel on Exiting Violence (IPEV)	Beirut
Comparative Peacebuilding in Asia: Liberal and Illiberal Transitions from Ethnic Conflict and Authoritarianism	London School of Economics
International Conference on Economics and Security	Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus.
CRP Annual Research workshop	London School of Economics
Protracted Conflict Conference	Arts and Humanities Research Council, London
Shadow World Premier on PBS	n/a



Hope for the Future, Derenne, 2017

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