

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION



ANNUAL REPORT

2020 / 2021



THE FLETCHER SCHOOL
TUFTS UNIVERSITY



Tufts
UNIVERSITY

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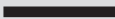
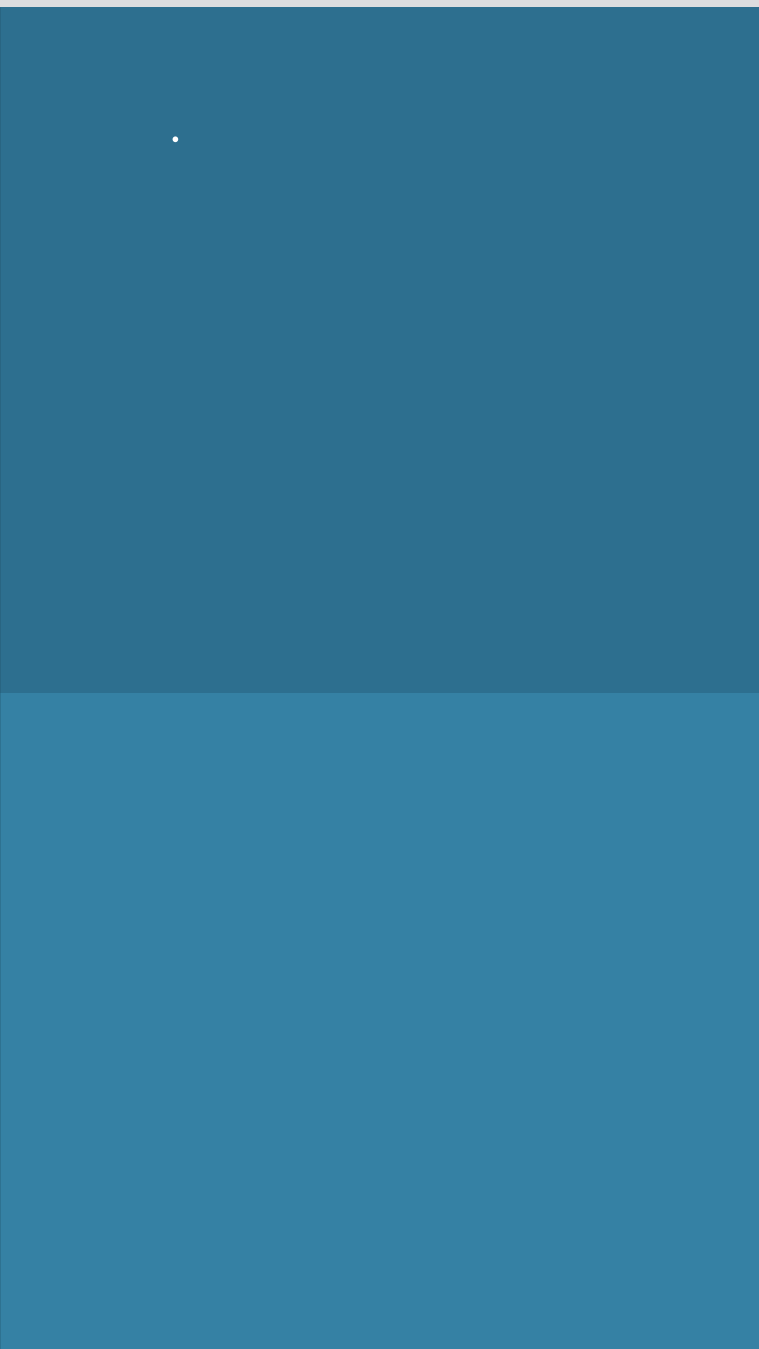
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OUR MISSION

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

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.



ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION 1910:

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of educating the people of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destructiveness of war and of preperation 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 goodwill among all mankind.

2020/2021:

INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

What is the work of peace in a disordered world?

A range of analysts, from the [Council of Foreign Relations](#) and [Carnegie Endowment](#) to [Deutsche Bank](#), are speaking of an “age of disorder,” that preceded the Covid-19 pandemic and the climate crisis, but has been accelerated by them. For most of those concerned with human and planetary wellbeing, the intensification of [radical uncertainties](#) in economics, technology, the natural environment, and politics is a cause for worry. For [a minority](#), this disruption is an opportunity to embrace.

Among the challenges of our time is that a new breed of autocratic leaders are adept at reaping the political benefits of disorder. They have been skilled at crafting new political narratives or adapting old ones, seemingly unencumbered by the requirement of reflecting on complex realities. They have promised enclaves of order and illusions of security while embracing disruption. Meanwhile, liberal political establishments appear out of touch and cumbersome.

The last twelve months have provided some succor to those who believe in science, democracy and global cooperation. In the Fall of 2020, prospects for Covid-19 vaccines seemed remote, the American Presidential election pitted the irrationality and anti-democratic tendencies of the incumbent Donald J. Trump against the potential of a return to a *status quo ante* represented by Joseph Biden. The election results promised a change from Trump's regular threats of war, embrace of dictators, and withdrawal from the Paris Agreement on climate change. The subsequent months have offered glimmers of hope, but the political discourse is still debased, the virus is not going away, the climate crisis steadily worsens, the arms business is prospering while the tools for cooperation and negotiation have fallen by the wayside.

We ask: what will peace look like moving forward? What is the work of peace in a disordered world?

Democracy in America survived—but that outcome wasn't foreordained and despite the reassuring normalcy of the Biden White House, it still isn't. And neither is the Biden Administration proving to be a vigorous, principled and effective champion of democracy around the world.

The January 6, 2021 lynch mob, incited by the outgoing President to overturn the constitution, didn't succeed - neither did it fail. The leaders of the Republican Party deny the facts of what happened and punish their own party members who seek truth and challenge impunity. Supported by some parts of a partisan media and vigorous shadowy conspiracy theories that thrive online, the insurrectionists

are too often portrayed as patriots.

In the struggle between authoritarianism and democracy, the new autocrats have some high cards to play. One trump card is that they don't care about facts or logic—they care about power. The rules of the game don't count, all that matters is winning. The norms and principles of constitutional democracy at home are fraying. So too is the ethic of multilateral peace and security around the world.

The attempted coup in Washington, D.C. has many echoes from history. It is also contemporary and innovative, using slogans and sentiments of liberty in order to achieve its opposite. Authoritarianism has reinvented itself, democracy hasn't yet. The rise of the Black Lives Matter movement and widespread, multiracial protests against George Floyd's murder, among other state sanctioned assaults against minorities in the U.S., holds the potential to reinvigorate national discussions of the distribution of wealth, justice and power. The movement was also met by a harsh backlash from white nationalists, fueling anti-democratic commitment to revanchist policies. The civic norms of respect for truth and equality are as relevant as ever, needing to be reinvigorated for the future, while they command less assent than ever before.

After taking office, the Biden Administration shifted back towards governance as normal in America, both at home and abroad. People who care about peace, human rights and democracy—not to mention public health and climate crisis—need no longer wake each morning in a state of anxiety anticipating the outrage of the day from the highest office in the land. But inside-the-beltway business

as usual has its more familiar problems and dangers, and the Biden Administration is seemingly incapable of commanding the instruments of statecraft—unilateral or multilateral—to resolve the crises it and the world are facing.

Each of those problems is singular, erupting from its particular circumstances and history. What they have in common is that the tools to resolve them have been blunted by neglect or misuse—and the problems themselves seem more intractable.

America's disorderly, violent and humiliating withdrawal from Afghanistan is the crisis of the day. The evacuation was shockingly mismanaged; hundreds of thousands desperately tried to join a traumatic exodus. The bigger issue is how America continued blindly to believe that it was in control of a losing war. The military-media-congressional complex failed to recognize that Afghanistan was unwinnable before the Taliban became confident in the final outcome. They thereby lost the chance to negotiate an exit before the generals repeatedly



Photo: Trump Rally at Lower Senate Park near C Street between Delaware Avenue and First Street, NE, Washington DC on Wednesday morning, 6 January 2021 by Elvert Barnes Photography. (CC BY-SA 2.0)

tried out their “one more surge” mantra. When a general sees a diplomat as “[my wingman](#)” it’s a warning sign that politics is in service of war, not vice versa. History shows that invariably leads to what Barbara Tuchman called “[the march of folly](#)” — polarization and quagmire, and the argument that more soldiers must be committed to battle to justify those who have already died. The blame game over the tactical errors of the American withdrawal masks the reality that for years and years the military establishment, and all the pundits in its orbit, have not had a feasible strategy except hanging on and hoping for the best, and have not told the truth to the public or to their political masters. And the political masters for twenty years never claimed the responsibility that is theirs: to define a political solution. War does not belong to the Pentagon, it must be owned by the White House and Congress, and hence a nation, or is it simply an exercise in shooting for shooting’s sake. We rightly deplore the alternative reality bubbles in which certain groups of people deny scientific facts about Covid, climate or electoral arithmetic, but the security establishment groupthink about the efficacy of America’s use of force is no less real and just as problematic. The lack of interest in moving beyond military groupthink is a tragedy of national scale, whose burden is shouldered by Afghans desperate to escape the consequences.

Three discomforting elements recur in the *post mortems* on the U.S. operations in Afghanistan. One is corruption. The vast quantities of money poured into the country were more problem than solution. Not only was the occupation itself run on the basis of contracting for profit that became a spectacle of waste and

fraud, but the short-cut to local alliance building was paying cash to powerbrokers for their cooperation, including paying off provincial Taliban commanders time and again. As [Sarah Chayes repeatedly warned](#), the corruption fostered by the U.S. and its clients generated resentment and played into the hands of the Taliban.

The second troubling element is that the thorough-going attempt to “[humanize](#)” [war](#), through the application of technologies for remote, targeted killing and the refinement of protocols for minimizing troops’ violence against civilians. Brown University’s “Costs of War” project estimates that 46,000 Afghan civilians died in the 20-year conflict – a figure notably smaller than over 185,000 civilian deaths during the war in Iraq (with roughly a similar population size) and over 400,000 in Syria (with a much smaller population). While the Afghan losses are no less painful and traumatic for those who suffered them, it is significant that the American military and its allies adopted low civilian death tolls as a goal. The resulting military *tactics* of civilian protection were measured in statistics and provided an alibi for the lack of a political *strategy* grounded in principles of civilian protection, such as might contribute to sustainable government by and for the people.

And the third is the long list of missed chances for a serious negotiation with the Taliban that could have brought them into a coalition government. The 2020 deal struck in Doha was, from a simple negotiation tradecraft point of view, shoddy. The Afghan government, neighboring states, and other Afghan stakeholders—such as civil society—were all excluded. There were no joint monitoring

mechanisms and procedures for resolving disputes between the parties. Perhaps this was to be expected from a Trump Administration that scorned the profession of diplomacy. It was probably too late for the Biden Administration to do anything other than set the timetable for the collapse of the Afghan government, but it is nonetheless striking that no effort was made to consider what kind of peace and security architecture might be negotiated for the central Asian region, and that America's NATO allies were scarcely consulted about the decision and its implementation. Pushing forward a discussion on such a multilateral order would have been a suitably farsighted and realistic parting gift.

In every continent,
democracy is
struggling and the
rule of the gun
is rising, and the
norms, principles and
institutions of conflict
resolution are shown
wanting—but ever
more needed.

The war in Yemen is out of the headlines after the Biden Administration made it clear that it would not support the military operations—especially air attacks—mounted by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. But the ground fighting among Yemeni forces continues and that

most silent of weapons—hunger—is still deployed as a strategy of choice. The only regional organization for the Arabian Peninsula—the Gulf Cooperation Council—is more of an Arab defense pact against Iran than a conflict resolution forum, and was itself the cover for the Saudi-led coalition to make war on the Houthis. The United Nations lost its neutrality in the war with Security Council resolution 2216 (April 2015) which demanded that the Houthis withdraw from Sana'a and relinquish the arms they had seized as a precondition for negotiation—a politically unrealistic demand. Its humanitarian operations were further compromised by reliance on funds from the Saudis and Emiratis. Unsurprisingly the UN has had little impact. As with Afghanistan, the Biden policy is to shift towards what they hope will be benign neglect, rather than imagining an all-inclusive regional peace and security system for the region.

The war in Ethiopia has intensified. It erupted because Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed—earlier heralded as a democrat and reformer—lost patience in negotiating with his political rivals. His turn away from dialogue and towards autocracy began with the disavowal of ethnic Oromo leaders of the popular uprising that swept him to power in 2018. He then turned against the leaders of Tigray, who had stepped down from central power but were driving a hard bargain on autonomy for their region. Abiy took the advice of the neighboring autocrat President Isaias Afewerki of Eritrea, that a military solution to his challenges would be quicker and more decisive. It was a ruthless and destructive gamble. Today, Abiy is facing military crisis and state failure, his forces accused of mass

atrocities—massacres, widespread and systematic use of rape as a weapon of war, and starvation crimes on a vast scale. Another disturbing feature of the war has been the intensive social media propaganda onslaught, inciting ethnic hatred and mass mobilization to the front line at home, and seeking to intimidate journalists and critics abroad.

Even more than Yemen, Ethiopia has dramatically shown the weakness of multilateral institutions. Speaking at the [UN Security Council on August 26](#), the Kenyan permanent representative insisted that Africa had the principles and mechanisms for resolving the conflict, and eloquently summarized that the Ethiopian govern-

ment should end its public demonization of its adversaries, accept offers of mediation and talk immediately with the Tigrayan leadership. The problem is that this comes far too late, when the warring parties see the conflict as an existential matter, and even the simplest requirements for political negotiations are not in place. For example, the Ethiopian government has [cut off phone and internet from Tigray](#), prohibits aid agencies to take any secure communications equipment there, and allows no diplomats to visit—which means that talks aren't even logistically feasible. The African Union set aside 25 years of hard-earned principles and practices to fall in line with the Ethiopian government line and its mantras



Photo: [Aerial bombardments on Sana'a, Yemen from Saudi Arabia](#), Fahd Sadi (CC BY 3.0)

about sovereignty and non-interference. The UN Security Council held its first meeting on the Ethiopia war in July, eight months after the fighting started.

Like other groups that have emerged from what they see as a genocidal onslaught, and feel let down by the international community, the Tigrayans will be seeking permanent security based on their own military capabilities, trusting no-one else. Neighboring groups in Ethiopia and Eritrea will in turn feel threatened by such security hegemony. It is precisely this kind of mutually-destructive scenario that a multilateral peace and security order should be able to prevent.

The conflict at and over the borders of Israel and Palestine is the paradigm of a dispute that for many on both sides has long been an existential issue. It again burst into violence in May. Notable was the Israeli campaign of air strikes at civilian targets in Gaza, including the mostly-residential buildings that housed the studios of Aljazeera and other media. There appear to be shifts in how the violence is perceived, both from Arab-Israelis and within the United States, with an increasingly critical eye to the asymmetry of the violence and its seemingly unending character. But it is far from clear that these shifts will move the politics to a more sustainably peaceful solution.

A coup in Myanmar on February 1 ended the civilian-led government of Aung Sang Suu Kyi, already discredited and in crisis because of its violent repression and expulsion of the ethnic Rohingya and the exercise of real power by a mafia-style army-commercial cartel. This too is a disturbing case in which largely unregulated social media amplified hate

speech and promoted ethnically targeted violence. The regional organization ASEAN has neither mandate nor interest in protecting democracy and human rights, and the UN did not have the appetite to engage.

Europe's last dictator, Alexander Lukashenko of Belarus, has shown astonishing audacity. A commercial plane from Greece to Lithuania was diverted to Minsk on May 23, to arrest a dissident journalist on board. That Lukashenko should be most fearful of a journalist is no coincidence: he, like Putin, sees control over public narrative as an essential strategy of autocracy. A vigorous international response to this—and to the ongoing crackdown on the country's democracy movement—has been hampered by European disunity over a host of issues, and Russian efforts to deepen divisions within Europe.

Jovenel Moïse, the president of Haiti, was assassinated on July 7. The immediate culprits appear to be foreign mercenaries, but their sponsor and the political motive for the killing remains obscure, not helped by the way in which the Haitian authorities have manipulated the investigation to serve as a pretext for cracking down on political opposition. The earthquake which struck the country on August 22 has diverted attention. Too many in Latin America and the Caribbean are, it seems, resigned to the interpenetration of politics and organized crime.

Hanging like a pall of smoke over these quotidian conflicts and crimes are the Covid-19 pandemic—which we now recognize as an emerging endemic—and the floods, fires and heatwaves of the climate crisis, now incontrovertibly with

us. These are global public ills that can be addressed only by collective public action, beginning with consensus on the science. Acting against falsehood mongering and hate speech in the digital sphere, which creates parallel worlds of claims to truth and corrosive epistemological insecurity, is another global crisis. One nagging fear is that inclusive, democratic social contracts were premised on ever-increasing affluence, and as the hardships of the Anthropocene become evident, those contracts are fraying.

A year ago, we outlined [a vocabulary for understanding different varieties and logics of disorder](#): lawlessness, chaos, incommensurability, disorder by design,

and (revolutionary) disruption. This provides a starting point for moving beyond dismay and nostalgia to thinking through how established norms, principles and practices of peace should be rethought for the new challenges. Huge obstacles to the necessary global public action are the sheer number of armed conflicts and political crises around the world, which overwhelm the limited resources and attention of liberal peacemakers and diplomats, and the short-termism of transactional politics, which forecloses the patience required for finding solutions based on democratic norms. The challenges to world peace never been more formidable.

In 2020/21, the World Peace Foundation sought to respond to immediate challenges, drawing upon our established **track record and expertise** while orienting our programs to **wider challenges** as we see them.

Almost every issue raised, and all the networks and capabilities built up, over the last ten years of our programmatic work on **peace and security in Africa**, came into sharp and timely focus with the war and atrocities in Ethiopia. We responded rapidly and with a high profile to a crisis that included the breakdown of the norms and principles for peace and security, a challenge to conflict resolution, mass atrocities and civilian protection including sexual and gender-based violence, and man-made starvation. Other research and advocacy continues, including on the Horn of Africa more broadly, especially the faltering democratic transition in Sudan.

We have consolidated the **domestic turn** in our research and advocacy. This program, initiated last year, adapts insights and methods of civilian protection and human rights advocacy to the challenges of the United States, starting with intensive work on the rights of incarcerated people. The program is premised on the belief that a foreign policy that aims for peace requires a firm grounding in human rights and democratic values. These values are only kept alive when they are re-invigorated in ever-greater depth and breadth.





Photo: Prison Fence barbed wire, courtesy of www.JobsForFelonsHub.com (CC BY 2.0)

At the same time, our activities on **protecting vulnerable groups internationally** have continued. These include a focused project “dignity for the dead”, on the ethics and practices of preserving human remains for the purposes of memorialization. The project on accountability for mass starvation, focusing principally on developing legal and other mechanisms for challenging the perpetration of starvation crimes, is in its final stages.

Our programs under **peace and global trends** have continued with several strands. The issue of global arms and corruption remains central to our mission and ongoing activities. The topic is under-supported by mainstream, large-scale donors, though we continue to press for greater interest and commitment and have had some success with the Carnegie Corporation. Our work on pandemics draws on the history of infectious disease and its control to chart the need for an emancipatory politics of public health for the Anthropocene. Our work on the “political marketplace” is proceeding, drawing together research from Africa and the Middle East. This has expanded with a project that delves into the implications of “traumatic decarbonization”—what happens to fragile oil-producing states when their revenues from hydrocarbons collapses. It also includes research on humanitarian crisis and response under the logic of transactional, monetized politics.

PROGRAMS

PEACE AND SECURITY IN AFRICA

The program of peace and security in Africa builds upon the WPF engagement with the African Union, including our 2016 report [African Politics, African Peace](#), which framed the core challenges of deepening respect for the norms, principles and institutions of multilateral peace and security, and Alex de Waal's expertise and engagement on a broad range of issues related to African peace and security, bringing in other elements of our expertise on mass atrocity, civilian protection, famine and the political marketplace. The WPF sponsors research, programming and outputs when we can make an impact on discussions about African peace issues.

War and Atrocities in Ethiopia

Our Africa peace research has been dominated by the intensifying Ethiopian crisis in Tigray, and its wider implications for the Horn of Africa.

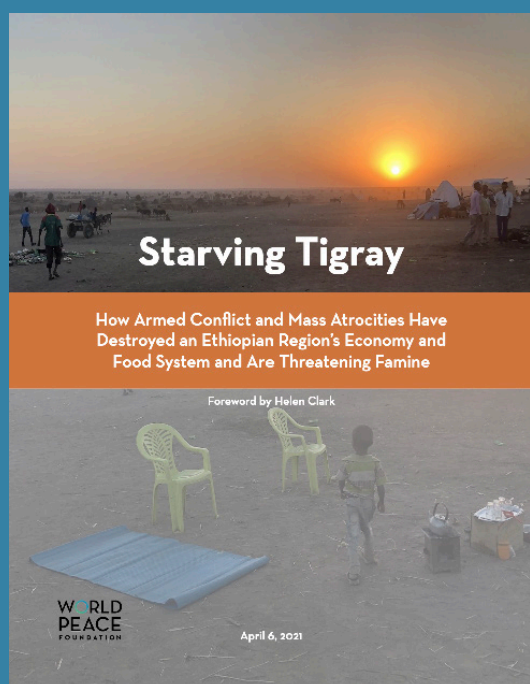
War began in Tigray in November 2020. Culpability for the outbreak of hostilities is shared among the belligerents—a coalition of the Ethiopian federal government, the Eritrean state, and militia from neighbouring Amhara region, ranged against the regional authorities in Tigray led by the former ruling party in Ethiopia, the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The coalition military offensive became, within days, a campaign of massive human rights violations perpetrated against the civilians of Tigray. Widespread and systematic killings of civilians; widespread and brutal rape and other forms of sexual violence; wanton pillage; devastation of the civilian infrastructure including hospitals, universities, factories and farms; and deliberate destruction of the objects necessary for life such that the region collapsed into famine; and relentless obstruction of humanitarian assistance – the war was fought with ethnic animus that took on genocidal proportions. There was a near-total blackout of communication from Tigray. The gravity of the abuses became self-defeating, driving Tigrayans to mobilize militarily to defend their community from annihilation, and organize an effective armed resistance. In June the Tigray Defense Forces drove the Ethiopian and Eritrean armies out of Tigray, and then—attempting to break the starvation siege and turn the military tables—advanced into the neighboring regions of Amhara and

Afar. If their aim was to spark the government's collapse, that failed, and by September the prospects of protracted war were looming. Instead of uniting Ethiopia, the current government led by Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed is presiding over deepening divisions, a widening civil war and a deep humanitarian tragedy.

Drawing on Executive Director Alex de Waal's broad connections and longstanding history of working in Ethiopia, WPF immediately began the work of documenting atrocities and producing unique insights into what was happening, why and possible outcomes. This drew on regular contacts with Ethiopians on all sides, of whom Mulugeta Gebrehiwot (a past WPF Senior Fellow who joined the Tigray Defense Forces after the outbreak of the war) has been the most prominent. During the months from December 2020 until June 2021, when the Ethiopian government proclaimed that it was just one small military step away from final victory, the handful of phone calls that Mulugeta was able to make provided an alternative account of the crisis—and one that proved accurate. This in turn also became a link for a rudimentary and informal coordination mechanism between the civilian authorities in the TDF areas and international humanitarian actors. But it is extraordinary that in an era in which the U.S., U.N. and others have been able to provide humanitarian assistance across battle lines in Afghanistan, Syria and Yemen, even while fighting continues, they have not been able to do so in Tigray. Although public statements by humanitarian agencies refer to "inse-

curity,” the real reason for the failure is that the Ethiopian government has prevented it.

Our work on Ethiopia has been conducted entirely through WPF’s resources. We assembled a research team to assist in documenting atrocities and began a steady flow of essays, blogs, and interviews intending to help shape international conversations about the conflict. Alex has been in regular contact with senior humanitarian officials and policymakers at the U.N., U.S., European Union and African Union. These activities positioned WPF as among the most important sources of conflict analysis, and led to a year of ballooning social media impact, where our blog has become a crucial source of information and analysis (see below, on our outreach impact this year). This has also made us the target for hostile social media campaigning by the Ethiopian government and its supporters.



Activities and Outputs

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

WPF occasional report

April 2021

By Alex de Waal, with Chris Newton, Delia Burns and Chris Brew, with foreword by Helen Clark, former Prime Minister of New Zealand and former administrator of the UN Development Program. We held a launch event, chaired by Dean Rachel Kyte, in which we presented the report. This drew a live audience of over 350 and the [video is posted on our website](#). We estimate that the report was seen by as many as 1 million people.

Follow up activities to this included that Fletcher Dean Rachel Kyte and Helen Clark co-authored an article, [‘In Tigray, Sexual Violence Has Become a Weapon of War,’](#) (*Foreign Policy*, April 27); and Fletcher Prof. Tom Dannenbaum published an important blog, [‘Famine in Tigray, Humanitarian Access, and the War Crime of Starvation’](#) (*Just Security*, July 26). Alex regularly briefed senior officials in the U.N., U.S., Europe and Africa on the issue.

We published 24 blog pieces on [Ethiopia](#). Those with the highest traction (measured through a combination of pageviews and influence, as noted by engagement from influential people) were:

[What “Rape as a Weapon of War Really Means,”](#)

August 10, 2021

A report by WPF fellow Dyan Mazurana and others, including the director of the main hospital in Tigray, on the scale and implications of sexual violence.

[In Memoriam: Seyoum Mesfin, Ethiopian Peacemaker and Patriot](#)

January 14, 2021

An obituary of the former foreign minister, murdered by a death squad during the conflict.

[“They Have Destroyed Tigray, Literally”](#)

January 29, 2021

A recording of a rare phone call from the war-stricken region that broke the government-imposed blackout of news.

[Eyewitness to atrocities in Axum](#)

April 12, 2021

Testimony of a woman who witnessed a massacre perpetrated primarily by Eritrean forces in Tigray, interviewed by Bridget Conley.

[‘Who Will Call out Eritrea’s War Crimes in Tigray?’](#)

December 23, 2020

A piece that drew much-needed attention to the secret Eritrean war and atrocities.

[Abiy Ahmed, “Employee of the Month”](#)

July 19, 2021

A critique of the Ethiopian prime minister’s hubris and bellicosity.

Media:

- [‘As Ethiopia’s army declares daily victories, its people are being plunged into violence,’ *The Guardian*, Nov 24, 2020.](#)
- [“Violence in Ethiopia Doesn’t Stay There,” *Foreign Policy*, Nov 19, 2020.](#)
- [‘Viewpoint: How Ethiopia is Undermining the African Union,’ *BBC*, Nov 29, 2020.](#)
- [‘Viewpoint: Why Ethiopia and Sudan have fallen out over al-Fashaga,’ *BBC*, Jan 3, 2020.](#)
- [‘Tigray Crisis Viewpoint: Why Ethiopia is spiralling out of control,’ *BBC*, Nov 15, 2020.](#)
- [‘From Ethiopia’s Tigray region to Yemen, the dilemma of declaring a famine,’ *BBC*, 7 February 2021.](#)
- [‘Ireland must speak up for the starving in Tigray,’ *Irish Times*, 15 February.](#)
- [‘We Can No Longer Deny the Atrocities in Ethiopia,’ *Boston Review*, March 2.](#)
- [‘From Pariah to Kingmaker,’ *Foreign Policy*, March 3.](#)
- [‘Tigray Is Being Deliberately Starved to Death,’ *World Politics Review*, April 6.](#)
- [‘Biden’s Brewing Problem in Ethiopia,’ *Responsible Statecraft*, April 9.](#)
- [‘The World Bank should not fund Ethiopia’s war in Tigray,’ *Financial Times*, April 12.](#)
- [‘Abiy Ahmed’s Counterrevolution,’ *The Baffler*, April 26.](#)
- [‘The Ethio-Eritrean Hunger Plan for Tigray and the Failure of Resolution 2417,’ *Opinio Juris*, May 18.](#)
- [‘Steal, Burn, Rape, Kill,’ *London Review of Books*, June 17.](#)
- [‘Tigray Region “A Vast Death Trap,” *Daily Telegraph*, June 25.](#)
- [‘Gen Tsadkan Gebretensae: Ethiopia’s Tigray rebel mastermind,’ *BBC*, July 1.](#)
- [‘Ethiopia is falling apart, but Abiy still has a choice,’ *Aljazeera*, July 1.](#)

Other Activities:

The US Institute for Peace (USIP) is funding an analysis of the work of the African Union High-Level Implementation Panel in Sudan, during the years 2009-13, drawing on WPF's Sudan Peace Archive. The output will be a book by Willow Berridge, professor of History at the University of Newcastle (UK), and Alex de Waal.

Research program with the Horn of Africa Economic and Social Policy Institute (HESPI) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Goldsmiths, University of London; and the Center for Policy Research and Dialogue (CPRD) in Addis Ababa, in support of the African Union High Level Implementation Panel mandate to convene a conference on peace, security and stability in the Horn of Africa.

Other Outputs:

Alex de Waal, 'Concluding Reflections: Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement and Theories of Change,' in Sarah Nouwen, Laura James and Srinath Srinivasan (eds), [*Making and Breaking Peace in Sudan and South Sudan: The Comprehensive Peace Agreement and Beyond*](#), London, British Academy, 2021.

The journal *Nations and Nationalism* published a themed collection co-edited by Alex de Waal and former WPF Fellow Sarah Nouwen on nationalism and self-determination in the Horn of Africa.

- Alex de Waal & Sarah Nouwen, '[The necessary indeterminacy of self-determination: Politics, law and conflict in the Horn of Africa](#),' *Nations and Nationalism*, 27.1 (2021): 41-60.
- Peter Chonka and Sally Healy, 'Self-determination and a Shattered Star: Statehood and national identity in the Horn of Africa,' *Nations and Nationalism* 27.1 (2021): 61-79.
- Alex de Waal, '[The ambiguities of self-determination: IGAD and the secession of South Sudan](#),' *Nations and Nationalism*. 27.1 (2021): 80-95.
- Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Fisseha Habtetsion Gebresillassie, '[Nationalism and Self-determination in Contemporary Ethiopia](#),' *Nations and Nationalism*. 27.1 (2021): 96-111.

Also published:

- Paulos Tesfagiorgis, '[Vanguardist Nationalism in Eritrea](#),' WPF occasional paper no. 23, June 2020.

From July 2020 to January 2021, we hosted a ten episode podcast series, entitled [African Voices, African Arguments](#) in which Alex de Waal interviewed leading African public intellectuals on topics relating to the African voice in the academy and global debate, including African views on the Black Lives Matter protests.



Photo: Afewerk Tekle Glass, Africa Hall, Alan Johnston, June 6, 2010 (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0)

Additional publications by Alex de Waal include:

- 'The Red Sea: "[A vital artery for the world economy](#)"', *Africa Report*, Nov 13, 2020.
- '[Why Trump Wants Sudan to Befriend Israel](#),' *BBC*, Oct 8, 2020,
- "Development Partnerships or Transactional Politics?: An insight into the Continent's Struggle for Economic Transformation," *African Arguments Blog*, May 12, 2021.
- "We did this Ourselves: Which way should peacemaking work – top-down or bottom-up?" *Times Literary Supplement*, 6172, July 16, 2021.

Book in progress: [Sudan's Unfinished Democracy: The promise and betrayal of a people's revolution](#), co-authored by Alex de Waal, Willow Berridge, Justin Lynch and Raga Makawi, (forthcoming 2022).

PEACE AND GLOBAL TRENDS

We aim to chart global drivers of peace and conflict, revealing how emergent trends require us to reimagine policy, scholarship and activism. WPF projects examine the politics of how corruption, public health, and the law intersect with conflict, the threat of conflict, and peace.

Global Arms and Corruption

For almost ten years, the WPF has sponsored research and public education on issues related to corruption in the arms trade and the corruptive influence of the trade on democratic practices. Today, this program is composed of two projects: the Carnegie Corporation-funded research project, "[Defense Industry, Foreign Policy and Armed Conflict](#)," and the research-activism endeavor, the [Corruption Tracker](#).

Defense Industry, Foreign Policy and Armed Conflict

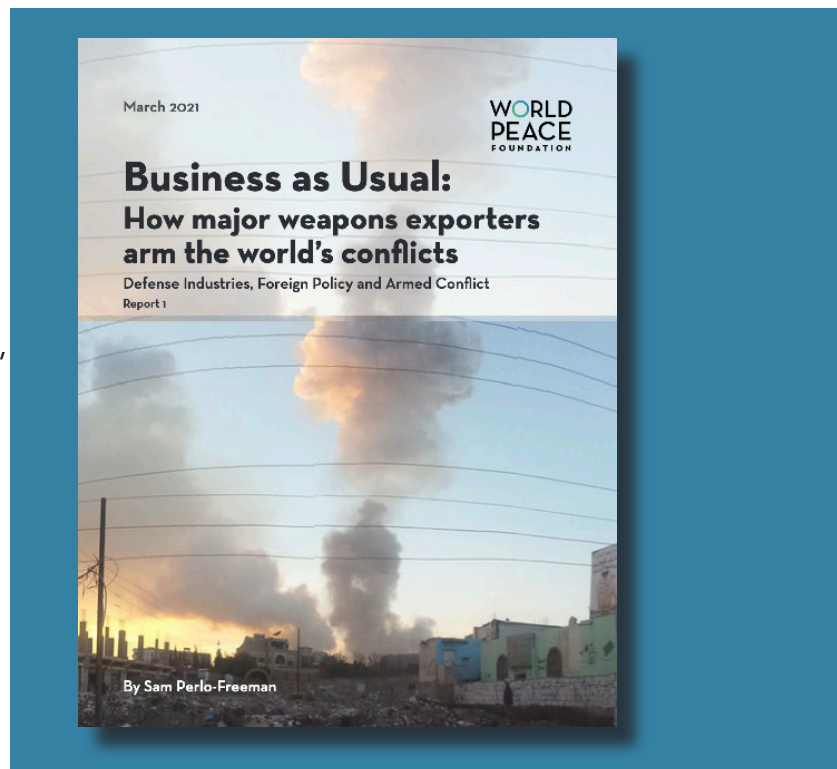
This two year program began January 2020 which focuses on the direct impact of the arms trade to conflict zones. Globally and within many countries, there are control systems designed to limit the trade of weapons to places experiencing conflict and widespread human rights abuses. And yet, as WPF-sponsored research has demonstrated, these controls have little to no impact on actual sales deals. Case studies of the US, UK and France will explore the national political, security and economic dynamics that help us understand why controls do not work.

Funded by the Carnegie Corporation, the research team includes Sam Perlo-Freeman (Campaign Against the Arms Trade), Jennifer Erickson (Boston College), Anna Stavrianakis (Sussex University, UK), and Emma Soubrier (Arab Gulf States Institute, DC), and is in partnership with the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP), the project uses quantitative and qualitative research methodologies to provide a global overview and case studies of the U.S., UK and France.

Activities and Outputs

[Business as Usual: How major weapons exporters arm the world's conflicts](#)
WPF occasional report
March 3, 2021

By Sam Perlo-Freeman
Available: Executive Summary (in English, French and Arabic); [Video](#) of the launch event (March 3, 2021), hosted by the Forum on the Arms Trade and sponsored by the World Peace Foundation, Center for Responsive Politics, and Program on Civil-Military Relations in Arab States at the Malcolm H. Kerr Carnegie Middle East Center.



The Corruption Tracker

This resource allows the public to access quick, well-researched facts on an individual corruption case, and provides the raw material for assessing patterns across deals. It is a collaborative project established in 2020 between the World Peace Foundation, Shadow World Investigations (London, UK), and the Global Net Stop the Arms Trade at the Arms Information Centre (Freiburg, Germany). The tracker's initial set of cases builds on the work of SWI and data collected by the WPF's *Compendium on Arms Trade and Corruption*. Priorities moving forward are to continue adding cases and conduct additional outreach and training to support the project. WPF will continue to serve on the Advisory Board and to use some of our programmatic funds to support the project.

The Corruption Tracker (CT) seeks to shine a light into the shadows of this world's most secretive and most deadly industry by providing a site where corrupt deals are detailed on a single site.

Activities and Outputs

The Tracker launched in December 2020, the primary cases it showcased were drawn from WPF's *Compendium on the Corruption and the Arms Trade*; this project gives new life to that research.

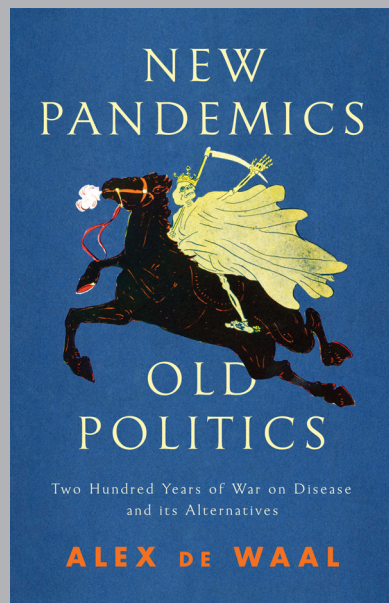
Tracker staff conducted a series of workshops (partially funded by WPF) to train young researchers on how to contribute cases to the Tracker: with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Germany; with SOAS University students, and with SCRAP Weapons UK on Corruption in the Arms Trade.

Politics and Pandemics

Alex de Waal's new book, *New Pandemic, Old Politics: Two hundred years of the war on disease and its alternatives* (Polity Press, 2021), was published in June, having been completed in November.

Rather than writing about the unfolding Covid-19 pandemic—which would inevitably be incomplete and out-of-date by the time of publication—this book reflects on the issues raised by studying prior historic pandemics, and their impacts on politics, society and philosophy. The chosen diseases are cholera, influenza and HIV/AIDS, plus “pandemic X” which since the 1990s has been the feared next infectious disease disaster.

One of the central arguments of the book is that what characterizes a pandemic is less the virulence of the pathogen but its newness. It is a time of confusion and disorder. By definition, the new pathogen must be new to epidemiology and microbiology (or else it would have been controlled), and in the time it takes for science to understand the disease and its agent, we take comfort in narratives that give a familiar meaning to the event.



The storyline is often old and predictable, frequently drawing on the trope of “war on disease”.

These narratives are crucial in determining public policy, and thereby social and political impacts. The “war on disease” narrative distracts attention from the need for public health measures to be inclusive and equitable, and for them to engage with the deeper causes of vulnerability to pathogens making the zoonotic jump to humans (disruption of ecologies) and for human populations to be prone to such new infections become potentially pandemic (the structure of global economy and society). The book calls for a discussion on the emancipatory politics of public health for the Anthropocene.

Activities and Outputs

- Alex de Waal, '[War on Disease is a Self-fulfilling Prophecy](#),' *Foreign Policy*, June 13.
- Alex de Waal, '[The Unwinnable War on Disease: Pandemics and the Ecology of Armed Conflict](#),' *The Baffler*, June 21.
- Alex de Waal, 'Die Schönheit der Viren,' *Lettre Internationale*, 133, Summer 2021.

Podcasts and videos

- Alex de Waal, on [Politics, Theory, Other](#), April 23, 2021.
- Alex de Waal, on [Cambridge Centre for Global Innovation](#), June 10, 2021.

Reviews of the book

- Joyzine, '[Book Review: New Pandemics, Old Politics by Alex de Waal](#),' April 24, 2021.
- Hannah Harrimond, '[Book Review: New Pandemics, Old Politics: Two Hundred Years of War on Disease and its Alternatives by Alex de Waal](#),' *LSE Review of Books*, May 10, 2021.
- Heather MacDougall, '[Old Politics in Pandemic Management](#),' *The Lancet*, July 1, 2021.
- Crawford Killan, '[All Plagues are Political](#),' *The Tyee*, July 9, 2021.
- Ylva Söderfeldt, 'Alex de Waal, *New Pandemics, Old Politics: Two Hundred Years of War on Disease and Its Alternatives*,' *Social History of Medicine*, 2021; <https://doi.org/10.1093/shm/hkab089>



Political Markets and Conflict Research

The concept and framework of the political marketplace developed by Alex de Waal contained in his book *The Real Politics of the Horn of Africa*, has gained wide currency among policymakers and academics, especially in Africa but also elsewhere including for example Afghanistan. It continues to be a focus of WPF research and writing.

The [Conflict Research Programme](#), based at the London School of Economics (LSE), concluded on March 29, 2021, with a handful of final activities concluding during the remainder of the year. There is a follow-on grant, awarded to the University of Edinburgh, in which we will continue certain activities over the next four years. Those activities include (a) publishing an academic volume that distills and synthesizes the outputs of all our research on this topic, and (b) locating the political marketplace within the wider phenomena of state disassembly and the politics of disruption.

Activities

CRP held end-of-project events for the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO) in London, for members of the incoming Biden Administration foreign policy team in Washington DC (convened by the Carnegie Endowment) and an open event hosted by the LSE.

The partnership with LSE enabled us to have a role in designing and reviewing field research in difficult places, without having to manage the burdensome requirements of direct supervision, duty of care for staff, etc.

In the coming year, our major work on this will be an academic volume that pulls together the different research strands undertaken on the political marketplace over the last five years. This will be jointly edited by Alex de Waal, Aditya Sarkar, Ben Spatz, and Jared Miller. It will be funded by the follow-on grant from the FCDO.

We commissioned a series of studies of how the political marketplace drives humanitarian crisis and affects humanitarian response. This includes case studies of D.R. Congo, Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Syria and Yemen, and cross-cutting analyses of humanitarian information systems and accountability mechanisms. These papers are in process of publication in the *Journal of Humanitarian Affairs*.

Outputs

- Alex de Waal, '[No End State: Exploring Vocabularies of Political Disorder](#),' WPF Occasional Paper no. 26, October 2020.

- Jean-Baptiste Gallopin, Eddie Thomas, Sarah Detzner and Alex de Waal, '[Sudan's Political Marketplace in 2021 Public and Political Finance, the Juba Agreement and Contests over Resources](#),' London School of Economics and World Peace Foundation, May 2021
- WPF research assistant Chris Newton co-authored [a paper on South Sudan's 'hunger courts'](#) based on extensive field research.

We published two papers on the question of the political marketplace and identity politics in a special issue of the journal *Conflict, Security and Development*.

- Mary Kaldor & Alex de Waal, 'Identity formation and the political marketplace,' *Conflict, Security & Development*, 20:5, (2020), 519-538.
- Alex de Waal, 'Somalia's disassembled state: clan unit formation and the political marketplace,' *Conflict, Security & Development*, 20:5, (2020), 561-585.

The full array of CRP [publications](#) is available on the LSE website.



Photo: A local farmer harvests sorghum produced from seeds donated by the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) through the "[Improving Seeds](#)" project. 11/12/2006. Nyala, Sudan. UN Photo/Fred Noy. unmultimedia.org/photo/

Traumatic Decarbonization

The political marketplace framework is highly relevant to countries dependent on revenues from oil and gas production, especially those classed as “fragile”.

Political agreements that end armed conflicts in these countries commonly include provisions for wealth sharing among belligerents, that boil down to the allocation of oil revenues to different segments of the elite. This implies that the political systems and peace settlements in those countries are likely to seize up when the funds available for political budgets—the discretionary spending by political leaders to secure power—dry up. The sharp, unplanned loss of such revenue—what we call “traumatic decarbonization”—has been observed in South Sudan and Sudan, and anecdotal observations from political crises there suggest that the political marketplace framework has explanatory power. Consequently, we established an exploratory, comparative project, [Carbon Compacts, Decarbonization, and Peace in Fragile States in Africa and the Middle East](#), funded by the U.S. Institute of Peace and WPF. The project asks: how will traumatic decarbonization affect peace processes and political settlements in fragile oil-producing states, especially in Africa and the Middle East?

The program includes case studies of Nigeria, South Sudan, Sudan, Iraq, Venezuela and Ecuador; two cross-cutting papers, one a quantitative analysis of oil revenues and peace agreements around the world, and the other a comparative analytical overview; a workshop, and special journal issue.

Activities and Outputs

Research commenced this year; publication of papers will follow.

Spatz, Benjamin, Alex de Waal, Aditya Sarkar and Tegan Blaine, [“Can the World Go Green Without Destabilizing Oil-Pumping Nations?”](#) USIP June 23, 2021.

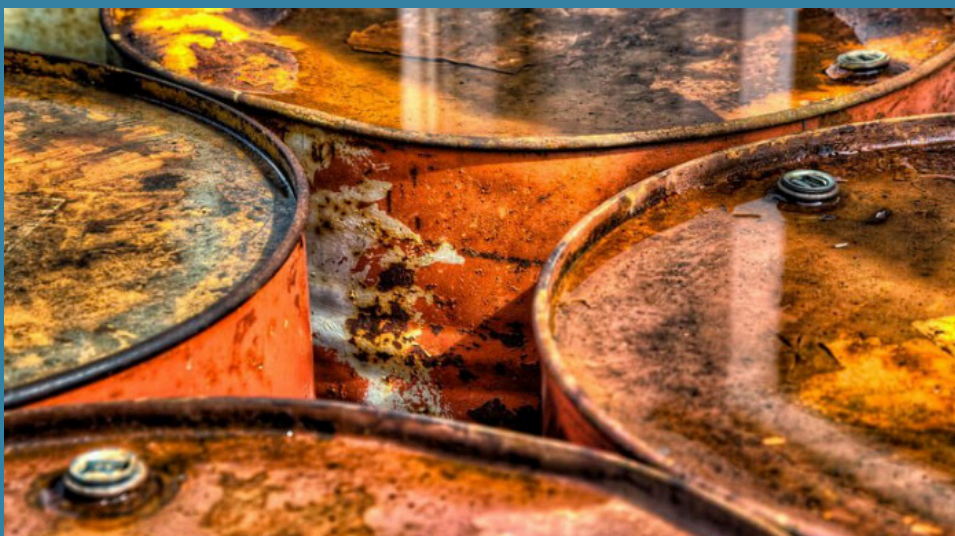


Photo: Oil Barrels
Baron Reznik
January 13, 2015
(CC BY-NC-SA 2.0)

Protecting Vulnerable Groups

Over the course of the twentieth century, one of the most dramatic changes to the concept of peace was the idea that it must include the experiences of civilian populations, not just interstate relations. One outcome of this shift was the development of a civilian protection paradigm, that has both made significant contributions and been sorely tested. Important tactics of protection have been developed and contributed to decreasing civilian deaths in some areas. However, our analysis is founded on the idea that operational tactics are insufficient; what is needed is a doctrine of civilian protection grounded in political engagement that redistributes power more equitably. A key challenge today is applying a critical lens to the politics and activism around protection policies, with the goal of invigorating new approaches.

Our work this last year contributes by expanding the reach of protection paradigms to include groups within the United States, notably, people in prison during the pandemic. It adopts the rights-based, triage approach of international protection policies, identifying groups with higher risk and histories of inequality, but embeds them within local and national political dynamics. While tracking Covid-19 in prison was our primary research focus, we also sponsored programs that questioned the limits of protection in other ways. One program tested whether and how the dead might be included; and the other involved continued writing and editing for publications related to our program, Accountability for Mass Starvation, which aims to move beyond killing as the primary measure of harm, to examine the broader context of lethal policies and their impacts on civilians.

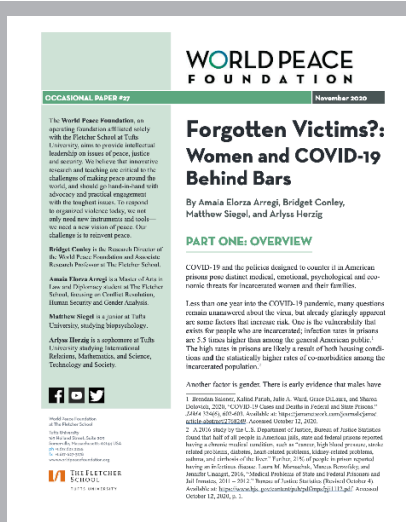
Covid-19 in American Prisons

The American experiment with mass incarceration has resulted in the largest global population of people held within prisons and jails, and a criminal justice system rife with biases and injustices. While there is a growing consensus on some areas of reform, at present, change is insufficient to make a serious dent in the total population numbers and in the social, economic and political webs that reinforce the system. This project focuses on one area of challenge: human rights abuses inside detention centers. The inherent challenges of preventing and responding to abuses behind bars came to head with deadly force when the Covid-19 pandemic broke out. This program researches the impacts of Covid-19 on incarcerated people, with national scope and in-depth research on Massachusetts' prisons. As part of our activism, WPF joined the [Massachusetts Coalition to End Solitary Confinement](#) (MASC), hosted by the United Universalists Mass Action. Bridget Conley was a Tisch College Faculty Fellow (AY 2020 – 2021), with a grant to support her work contributing to a public outreach program for the Tufts University Prison Initiative of Tisch College.

Activities and Outputs:

["Forgotten Victims?: Women and COVID-19 Behind Bars,"](#)
WPF Occasional Paper
November 2020.

By Amaia Elorza Arregi, Bridget Conley, Matthew Siegel, and Arlyss Herzog



Bridget Conley and Matthew Siegel, [*"96 Deaths in Detention: a view of COVID-19 in the Federal Bureau of Prisons as captured in death notices,"*](#) World Peace Foundation Occasional Paper 23, August 26, 2020.

Bridget Conley, [*"No New Prisons in Massachusetts,"*](#) Testimony in support of S.2030, [*"An Act establishing a jail and prison construction moratorium,"*](#) July 23, 2021.

Five-part blog interview series, focused primarily on formerly incarcerated activists.

Series of blog essays on Covid-related deaths in the Massachusetts prison system ([September 1, 2020](#); [September 8, 2020](#); and [May 20, 2021](#)).

Other Activities and Outputs:

Five-part zoom speaker series, Dignity for the Dead: [*"In Their Presence"*](#) co-organized with Diane O'Donoghue (Public Humanities, Tufts University) and funded by a grant through Tufts University.

Bridget Conley. [*"Slippage: Bones, intentions, and the construction of memorial meaning"*](#) *Violence: An international journal*, 1–19, 2021.

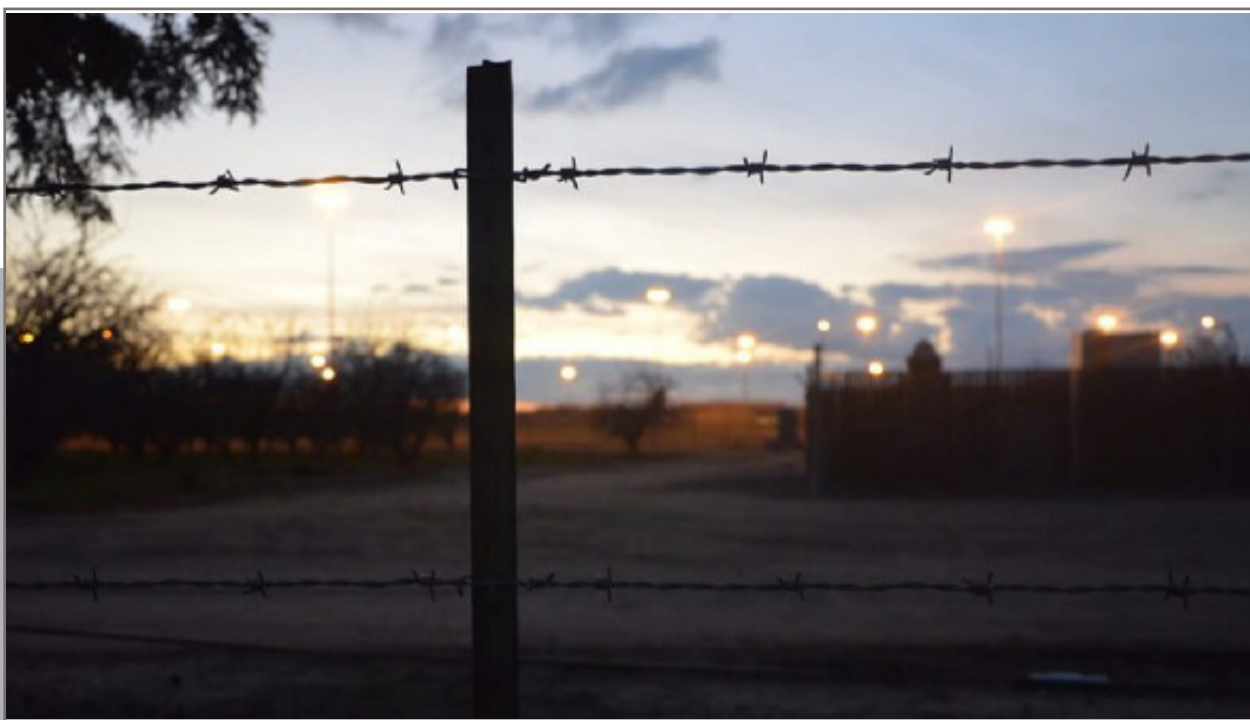


Photo: [Chowchilla Valley State Prison for Women](#), Daniel Arauz (CC-BY-SA-2.0)

Accountability for Mass Starvation

Activities and Outputs:

Alex de Waal is a member of the advisory group for the “Friends of 2417”, which consists of the governments that were involved in supporting that resolution (on armed conflict and hunger, in May 2018) and UN Security Council members engaged in the issue. On the anniversary of the adoption of the resolution, he participated in a panel and contributed a [blog post](#).

We have completed editorial work on *Accountability for Starvation* (Oxford University Press, 2022). It is edited by Bridget Conley, Alex de Waal, Catriona Murdoch, and Wayne Jordash.

Alex de Waal and Bridget Conley, ‘What Justice for Starvation Crimes?’ in Jacqueline Bhabha, Margareta Matache, Caroline Elkins (eds.) *Time for Reparations: A global perspective*, Univ. Pennsylvania Press, 2021.

Dan Maxwell and others, ‘[Hunger deaths aren’t simply about famine or no famine](#),’ *The New Humanitarian*, February 3, 2021.

Alex de Waal for Center for Strategic and International Studies, ‘[Reset the Table](#)’ podcast, August 21, 2021.





| ADMINISTRATION

Board Matters

Board of Trustees Meetings were held on September 16, 2020, February 10, 2021 and May 26, 2021. All meetings were held virtually via Zoom due to Covid-19 protocols.

The Ginn Trustees meetings were also convened over Zoom, on November 19, 2020 and May 19, 2021.

Trustees:

The World Peace Foundation Board welcomed two new Trustees in 2020-2021: Andy Evans and Monik Jimenez.



Andy Evans



Monik Jimenez



Ken Oye

Trustee Ken Oye retired from the Board after **25** years of thoughtful and dedicated support.

WPF at The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy

World Peace Foundation activities are fully integrated within The Fletcher School, where we continue to be a valued partner. The WPF program at The Fletcher School is governed by an Affiliation Agreement, renewed every five years. The current agreement has been extended for an additional year (until July 2022) due to unavoidable delays associated with Covid-19.

Our office has been closed since March 2020. Each of us is working from home, with very occasional visits to the office. As per university policy we cancelled all travel and in-person events. Fletcher resumed some in-person classes in the Spring (Bridget taught a hybrid class). The cancellation of travel and events continues to result in financial benefits, in that our spending beyond salary remains reduced. Both last year and this year, we have increased our PhD student research grants in response and we have taken on additional research assistants.



Decolonizing IR Conference 2020
November 6-7 @ The Fletcher School

Teaching

Alex taught online in Fall 2020, his regular “Conflict in Africa” course as well as co-teaching (with Prof. Sulmaan Khan) a course on the history of pandemics.

Alex is on the committee for the following four Fletcher PhD students: Ben Naimark-Rowse, Andrea Walther-Puri, Julie Zollmann and Jared Miller, as well as one former Fletcher PhD who transferred to Yale, Sophia Dawkins.

One of his students, Ben Spatz, received his PhD in 2020.

Alex supervised three capstones and five independent studies.

Bridget taught a new course this Spring, Contemporary Critical Theory and International Relations. It was hybrid course, with students attending both in person and online.

Bridget served on two Tufts search committees this Spring: one for the new Dean of Tisch College and one for an International Human Rights Law position at Fletcher.

Bridget is supervising one MALD capstone project: Rosie Berman.

Other forms of student support

World Peace Foundation supported student-led initiatives:

- Decolonizing International Relations Conference 2020: *Decolonization(s): From the Ground-Up*
- The Fletcher School’s Conference on Gender and International Affairs (CGIA): *Bodies of Power*

WPF funding through The Fletcher School Office of Career Services supported Fletcher students internship at several commendable organizations: The Advocacy Project, International Rescue Committee, Upland Advisors, Women for Women International, and UNICEF Malaysia.

We supported two PhD students:

Alex McAuliff, “The Good Friday Agreement and the limits of inclusion: A structural rethinking of peace negotiations.”

Aruni Jayakody, “Commitments and Compliance: Impact of cooperation with international human rights institutions in Sri Lanka and Nepal.”

World Peace Foundation is fortunate to work with Tufts University, Fletcher School students and Fletcher School alumni. This year WPF employed several students on multiple projects:

- | | |
|---|---|
| ○ Amaia Elorza Arregi: AY Research Assistant, Tracking Covid-19 in places of Detention | ○ Xiaodon Liang: Compendium of Arms Trade Corruption |
| Chris Brew: Horn of Africa, Conflict in Ethiopia | Lyndon Sam: Accountability for Starvation |
| Delia Burns: Starvation Crimes, Conflict in Ethiopia | Matthew Siegel: Tracking Covid-19 in places of Detention |
| Ella Duncan: Covid-19 in Africa, Starvation Crimes | Ben Spatz: Political Marketplace, Accountability for Starvation, Carbon Compacts, Decarbonization and Peace in Fragile States |
| Taurin Gopalakrishna: Carbon Compacts, Decarbonization and Peace in Fragile States | Kinsey Spears: Protection framework in the U.S |
| Pearl (Arlyss) Herzig: Tracking Covid-19 in places of Detention | Aaron Steinberg: Communications, Corruption Tracker |
| Jared Miller: Political Marketplace, Carbon Compacts, Decarbonization and Peace in Fragile States | Vikram Vinod: New Pandemics, Old Politics |
| Chris Newton: Political Marketplace, Starvation Crimes | |

Fellows

The Fletcher School has introduced a new policy on fellows, including criteria and processes for appointment, privileges of fellows, and fees. Our existing fellows will not be affected by these changes, but new fellowship awards will follow the School policy.

World Peace Foundation Fellows:



Willow Berridge



Sarah Detzner



Dyan Mazurana



Sam Perlo-Freeman



Aditya Sarkar



Emma Soubrier



Paulos Tesfagiorgis



Noel Twagiramungu

Employees of the Month

In 2018, we began publishing a monthly blog series, “Employee of the Month.” The ‘employee’ of the month is someone who keeps the Ginn Trust funds dedicated to supporting the WPF—that is, someone who has made a distinct contribution to preventing the achievement of world peace which would result in the transfer of the Ginn Trust income to the Charlesbank Home.

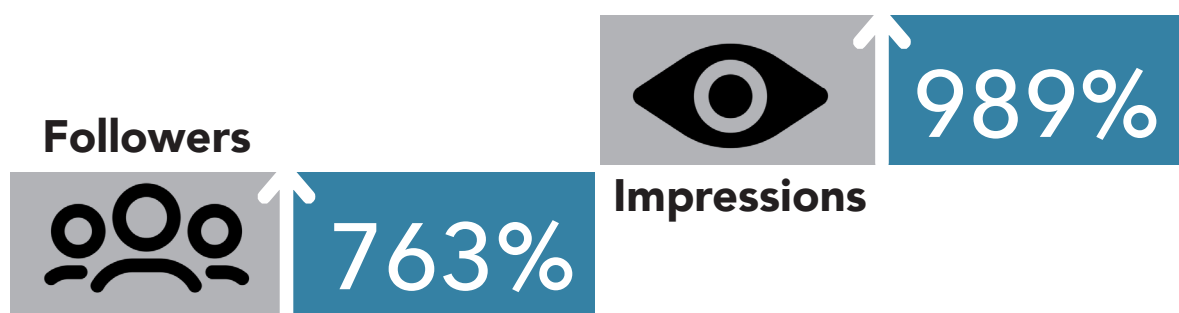
On this basis, the employee of the month is the person who has done most to hinder peace that month and thereby assure that we remain solvent. We have sought to make the award globally representative.

| | | | |
|---|--|--|--|
| 2021 Employees of the Month | July/August 2020 <u>Joe Apaio & David Clark</u> By Aaron Steinberg & Sarah Lewinger | September 2020 <u>Mike Pompeo</u> By Alex de Waal | October 2020 <u>Lasalle Correctional</u> By Bridget Conley |
| November 2020 <u>Ilham Aliyev & Nikol Pashinyan</u> By WPF | December 2020 <u>Nigeria's Special Anti-Robbery Squad</u> By Jared D. Miller | January 2021 <u>Insurrection</u> By WPF | February 2021 <u>Israel's Vaccine Rollout</u> By Amaia T. Elorza Arregi |
| March 2021 <u>British Defense Policy</u> By Alex de Waal | April 2021 <u>The War on Disease</u> By Alex de Waal | May 2021 <u>Narendra Modi</u> By Aditya Sarkar | June 2021 <u>African Leaders</u> By Alex de Waal |

Blog & Social Media

During FY 2021, WPF social media experienced unprecedented growth, primarily due to our work related to the war in Ethiopia. We gained nearly 6,000 new followers across our platforms, which is a 763% increase compared to the number of followers that we gained during FY 2020. We garnered 2,698,943 cumulative impressions, which is a 989% increase compared to FY 2020.

Our growing online presence has brought greater visibility to all of WPF's projects, publications, and events.



 **Twitter**
8,000

Twitter:

We ended the fiscal year with nearly 8,000 followers and are on track to reach 10,000 by September 2021. Beginning in November 2020, all of our most popular posts were about peace and conflict in the Horn of Africa. Before November, podcast-related posts were our best performing.

 **FaceBook**
5,000

Facebook:

While our Twitter page was the main driver of our online growth, our Facebook page has also gained greater popularity. It has over 5,000 followers, bringing our cross-platform follower count to around 13,000 at the end of June 2021. Like our Twitter, our most popular Facebook posts were about the war in Ethiopia.

Our top Facebook post earned 22,300 impressions and was the same post as our top Twitter post, making for a useful comparison of our difference in reach on the two platforms. Going forward, we can expect continued growth on our social media platforms, especially as we remain an important source for analysis on the war in Ethiopia.



Finance

Development and Fundraising

Grant funding for the Conflict Research Program (\$540,443.66 total), Accountability for Mass Starvation (\$176,909.99 total) and Yemeni Voices (\$2714.34 total) ended in fiscal year 2021.

We have external support ongoing for the following programs:

- *Defense Industry, Foreign Policy and Armed Conflict*, funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York (\$300,000). This is a two-year grant beginning January 1, 2020.
- *International Mediation and the Secession of South Sudan: The Role of the AUHIP*, beginning January 2021 and ending June 2022, funded by the US Institute for Peace (\$85,000).
- *Carbon Compacts, Decarbonization, and Peace in Fragile States in Africa and the Middle East*, one year program that began in October 2020 and is also funded by USIP (\$95,000).
- *Connecting people to resources: A proposal to support the Tufts Educational Re-entry Network*, Faculty Fellowship awarded to Bridget Conley by the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life (\$5,000)

Finance portion of annual report to be completed when Edelstein & Co. complete the FY21 audit.

Icons :

"Followers" by Wahyu Adam Pratama from the Noun Project

"Thumbs up" by Adrien Coquet from the Noun Project

"Impression" by Kantor Tegalsari from the Noun Project

"Twitter" by Fengquan Li from the Noun Project