

Professor Plesch's Impact Case Studies prepared for the REF 2021

This document includes the three ICS prepared by Professor Plesch of which that on war crimes (page 1) was submitted by the History Unit of Assessment. The other two on the diplomatic history of global feminism (page 6) and on the UN and disarmament (page 12) were externally assessed as potentially excellent. Unfortunately, individuals are restricted to one ICS in one Unit of Assessment, although in this case the three ICS exemplify Professor Plesch's research not only in History but also in International Relations and International Law. This document contains useful links to the research impact.

Institution: SOAS		
Unit of Assessment: UoA 28 History		
Title of case study: Secret History of War Crimes trials: lessons for ending impunity today.		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2008 to date		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Dr Dan Plesch	Director of Centre for International Studies and Reader	2005 to date
Shanti Sattler	Research Assistant, Deputy Director War Crimes Project	2013-14
Leah Owen	Research Assistant	2015
Dr Hanns Kendall	Research Assistant	2018
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 2014 - date		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N		
1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)		
<p>Research conducted at SOAS has altered public understanding of the wartime Allied response to Nazi crimes and used this new understanding to develop present day approaches to ending impunity for those who commit gross violations of human rights. The research focused on the role of the 1943-1948 United Nations War Crimes Commission (UNWCC) in the trials of war criminals in Europe and East Asia, which has otherwise been largely forgotten, and whose historical records have previously been inaccessible to lawyers, scholars and the public. It has raised public awareness of these elements of wartime history and led to the disclosure of the UNWCC's archival records – sealed for over 65 years – which are now accessible to the public through partnerships with Holocaust education networks and museums. It has featured in a Netflix documentary on the Holocaust. The research is “a new and positive paradigm in international criminal law” according to Richard Goldstone - a leading international jurist, and has built the capacity of law students and practitioners. It has informed the approach and the work of the UN</p>		
2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)		

WWII war crimes prosecutions are typically thought of as involving a few dozen high-level perpetrators at Nuremberg and elsewhere, but this is an incomplete and misleading history. It omits the role of the 1943-1948 UNWCC, which worked in parallel to the more famous Nuremberg and Far-East trial processes, identifying, classifying, and assisting national governments with the trials of war criminals in Europe and East Asia. It supported thousands of prosecutions and tens of thousands of indictments for war crimes and crimes against humanity, including the Holocaust. After the war, Western leaders decided to stop legal processes against the Nazis in order to rebuild Germany in the early Cold War. The UNWCC files were kept classified as part of this process, a move that impeded subsequent trial processes. During the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (1993-2017) for example, the lack of access to precedents and case law on rape as a war crime severely hindered prosecutorial efforts.

Research conducted since 2008 by Dr Dan Plesch (Director & Reader, SOAS Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy since 2005) with the support of research assistants Shanti Sattler (2013-24), Leah Owen (2015) and Hanns Kendall (2018), has focused on bringing to light the role of the UNWCC as well as to presenting it as a model for international cooperation on prosecuting war crimes.

Plesch undertook detailed research using UNWCC archives, identifying new key historical, legal, and political findings. This involved consulting the archives, and other archival contextual sources, to produce a more accurate historical record. The research led to gradual and successive declassification of the UNWCC archives between 2011 and 2014. However, the original archives were often illegible, and their limited indexing and finding aid were difficult to use. As part of these efforts to increase their accessibility, Plesch and Owen also digitally cleaned, sorted, and made the UNWCC archives searchable using OCR (optical character recognition) software. By making full-text search possible, breaking up the archive thematically (by type of document and by country), and producing an augmented archival guide, the 455,000-page digital archives have been made more accessible **[3.1]**.

As detailed in Plesch's book *Human Rights After Hitler* **[3.2]**, and elsewhere with co-authors including Professor Thomas G Weiss of the City University of New York, **[3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6]**, he developed the following major findings:

- The UNWCC assisted with over 30,000 indictments – far more than Nuremberg, UN-supported, and International Criminal Court caseloads combined. These indictments were secured using an innovative system of case review and international cooperation **[3.2, 3.3]**;
- These trials were well-researched, and directed against individual soldiers and units for 'low-level' crimes, rather than just against general and heads of state **[3.2, 3.4, 3.5]**;
- The UNWCC broke new ground in pursuing a wide range of war crimes, including routine prosecutions of sexual violence, torture (including waterboarding), and large-scale massacres that are today recognized as genocide and crimes against humanity. Many of its founding staff went on to become key figures in fields like human rights and international law **[3.4, 3.5]**;
- The model offered by the UNWCC has direct relevance to contemporary discussions about international criminal justice, particularly regarding legal precedents and the concept of 'complementarity' in international courts – meaning that international courts should be complementary to national courts and address

very specific cases. Complementarity bolsters the expertise and capacity of national courts to try their own national, where appropriate [3.5, 3.6].

Thus, this research makes publicly accessible a rich trove of revolutionary material on the Allied response to the Holocaust, and offers a radical re-understanding of international cooperation on prosecuting war crimes.

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

- 3.1. Plesch, Dan (2016). *UNWCC Archives Online*, <http://www.unwcc.org/unwcc-archives/>
- 3.2. Plesch, Dan (2017) – *Human Rights After Hitler: The Lost History of Prosecuting Axis War Crimes*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press. [Positive academic reviews from authoritative sources; 1] Witkowski, Victoria (2018) - *European Review of History* 26:2, pp.365-366; 2) Buchanan, Tom (2018) - *Comparative Legal History*, 6:1, 154-156] [eBook available at [SOAS library](#)]
- 3.3. Plesch, Dan (2010) *America, Hitler and the UN: How the Allies Won World War II and Forged a Peace*. London: I.B.Tauris.[Positive academic review from an authoritative source can be found in Brown, Kerry (2012) - *International Affairs* 88:2, pp.420-422] [eBook available at [SOAS library](#): <https://library.soas.ac.uk/Record/10386702>]
- 3.4. D. Plesch and S. Sattler (2014) "*New Paradigm of Customary International Criminal Law: The UN War Crimes Commission of 1943–1948 and its Associated Courts and Tribunals*". In: *Criminal Law Forum* June 2014, Volume 25, Issue 1–2, pp 17–4 [peer reviewed]
- 3.5. Plesch, Dan (2015) '*Building on the 1943-48 United Nations War Crimes Commission*.' In: *Wartime Origins and the Future United Nations*. Oxon; New York: Routledge, pp. 79-98. (Global Institutions. [Positive practitioner review from an authoritative source can be found here (by Georgios Kostakos for ACUNS)] [eBook available]
- 3.6. Weiss, Thomas G. and Plesch, Dan and Owen, Leah (2016) '*The UN War Crimes Commission and International Law: Revisiting World War II Precedents and Practice*.' In: *Global Community: Yearbook of International Law and Jurisprudence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press [peer reviewed]

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

The research engaged with and influenced a wide range of actors, including practitioner groups like the International Bar Association and 9 Bedford Row, international bodies like the UN, museums and educator networks such as Yad Vashem and the Wiener Holocaust Library, popular media, and the public. While it has raised awareness and understanding among practitioners – including lawyers and policy makers - and the general public on the history and role of the UNWCC, it has also informed a new paradigm for international criminal law. Justice Richard Goldstone, first chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia, suggested in his foreword to [3.4] that he “*would have benefited immeasurably from access to this rich material*” in his legal practice, particularly on gender-related war crimes, had this been accessible earlier. This material thus represents an important resource for historical and contemporary legal understanding, that had been largely concealed prior to Plesch and his team’s research.

4.1. Improving awareness and engagement with the history of the UNWCC

Thanks to the research project, the UNWCC archive were made available to the public in April 2017, hosted by the Wiener Holocaust Library (WHL) in London. Information on the archives and their content, how to access them, as well as guidance on how to

navigate the dense and complex archives have been made available on Plesch's public website. Between July 2019 and July 2020, the website had 83,582 visits [5.1].

To increase the use of the archives, the project has engaged Holocaust education institutions and networks. The research team ran several events with the WHL, including a book launch for [3.2] in May 2017. The team also helped WHL staff address reader inquiries, culminating in an archives training event in October 2017 with 7 Wiener Holocaust Library staff and 9 interested members of the public. The WHL director, remarked that *"The WHL has continues to promote access to the UNWCC archive for the purposes of academic research via a dedicated terminal located its Central London Reading Room. Currently, it is being consulted for a diverse array of projects"* [5.2]. Eight researchers are accessing the archives to pursue projects that will lead to further awareness raising of related topics. The director notes *"Examples include: re-emigre jurists and their impact on war crimes trials and the German Constitution; cross border fighting in the East and West zones of postwar Europe, female perpetrators in Auschwitz and war crimes in Poland and Southern France"* [5.2].

The Yad Vashem Archives – managed by the Jerusalem-based Yad Vashem - The World Holocaust Remembrance Center -requested a copy of the UNWCC archive in 2019. Upon receipt, Emmanuelle Moscovitz, one of Yad Vashem's head archivists wrote to Dr. Plesch in July 2019, stating that *"the archival documentation of the UN commission, presented publicly for the first time, in your book "Human Rights After Hitler", provide a unique perceptive to such an important part of our history. This material will greatly enrich our own collections and enable a future research on this important topic"* [5.3].

The project has also engaged with documentary programme makers. Plesch had considerable screen time as an expert in Netflix's *Greatest Events of World War II in Color* (Episode 09: 'Liberation of Buchenwald') produced by a partnership between UK based Eord Media Rights and Germany based ZDF Enterprises. While it is not possible to get viewership figures from Netflix, the distribution deal covers 190 countries including the US [5.4]. Plesch was also consulted as an expert for Guerilla Film's documentary film *Getting Away with Murder*. Principal photography was carried out in 2019 and the film is due for release in 2021. Director and Chairman of Guerilla Films, David Wilkinson wrote: *"Dr Plesch conveys imperative evidence that is unknown to most people. For example, Hitler was an indicted war criminal at the time of his death; the Americans pulled back regarding a rigorous legal process in the prosecution of the Nazis for fear that the same legislation would be used in the USA to prosecute American citizens for lynching African Americans in the southern States."* [5.5].

Media has coverage has been extensive [5.6f] and helped the project to engage with the general public in the UK and US and increasing their awareness of the missing history of international law; the release of the UNWCC archives in April 2017 was covered by national news sites including US National Public Radio's *Morning Edition* [5.6a] and *The Guardian* [5.6b]. The article *"Opening of UN files on Holocaust will 'rewrite chapters of history'"*, gathered over 7,000 engagements on Facebook alone and was shared more than 500 times [5.6c]. It was covered by the (UK) *Times* [5.6d] and the *Associated Press* [5.6e]. Together, these have allowed the project to promote more awareness and dialogue about the archive's contemporary significance. One Facebook commentator stated: *"Maybe this could be given to that group that is allegedly moving around Melbourne wearing those Nazi arm bands and teach them a little history lesson"* [5.6c p3].

4.2. History informs a new paradigm of international criminal law

The UNWCC project has also contributed to thinking both on specific legal cases, and on institutional design and thinking around practice in international criminal law more broadly. This research shows clearly how national and regional courts can be objective and effective: this was shown repeatedly by UNWCC and can legitimise valuable legal justice processes in Africa, instead of assuming that cases can only be tried justly in the Hague

Engagement lawyers in training and legal practitioners

Maddie Boyd and Kim Thuy Seelinger - UC Berkeley's Human Rights Centre (HRC) – have been leading the *Sexual Violence Program*, which has supported national trials in which the crystallization of sexual violence as a war crime has arisen. They have incorporated UNWCC material related to sexual violence into *amicus briefs* (advisory legal opinions proffered by “non-litigant” – persons with string interest in or views on the subject matter of an action, but not a party to the action) provided in relation to two cases: 1) in Senegal's case against Hissène Habré, and 2) in Uganda's case against Thomas Kwoyelo. In June 2017, Boyd cited material in Plesch's book as a key component of their legal thinking – claiming “*your work has been monumental in this area*”. He also expressed his and HRC colleagues' desire to “*build off your academic findings in order to develop concrete tools for practitioners grappling with the principle of legality with respect to sexual crimes*” [5.7]. Following this, in January 2018, Kim Thuy Seelinger approached Plesch requesting his assistance as an advisor on the Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) Customary International Law Project. Through this appointment, 150 indictments and 14,600 pages of trial transcripts were made available for the Human Rights Centre's currently under-construction SGBV toolset [5.8].

Plesch has also engaged with various legal firms; he delivered presentations to Doughty Street Chambers (June 2019, with Justice Richard Goldstone - 40 attendees) and to 9 Bedford Row (9BR) – two leading Chambers, in the UK and internationally, with specialist barristers in international criminal, extradition, financial and regulatory law (September 2019, 30 attendees). Barrister Joshua Kern – leader of international criminal law at 9BR - described the latter event on Twitter as “*fascinating*” and offering “*unique insights*” into international law concepts such as complementarity [5.9]. In February 2020 9BR's invited Dr Dan Plesch to join as 'A Door Tenant' – to bring his research into the modern relevance of the 1943-1948 UN War Crimes Commission to strengthen the chamber's work on complex international cases [5.10].

Justice Richard Goldstone, Former Chief Prosecutor of the United Nations International Criminal Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda and chair of the 2020 official review of the International Criminal Court co-authored a blog with Plesch and SOAS's Prof. Clark in which they jointly developed the impact trajectory based on Plesch's research. [5.11] Goldstone later wrote to Plesch, “*Dr. Plesch and his research team rediscovered the history and work of the UNWCC. When they invited me to comment on their work in 2014, it made a profound impact on my understanding of customary international law and on my outlook on the past and future of international criminal justice. Change is not swift but I see an increased awareness of the use of these historic precedents and practice to help face today's problems*” [5.12].

Engagement with policymakers

In March 2018, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UN-OHCHR) held a workshop for Dan Plesch to brief a group of 20 internal staff. The meeting was hosted by Assistant Secretary General for Human Rights Andrew Gilmour and Head of Rule of Law, Mona Rishmawi. Gilmour had previously described the UNWCC as ‘absurdly neglected’. In relation to Plesch's work and discoveries on the Commission, Mr. Gilmour wrote “*I recognize [their] tremendous potential importance ... because of*

the lessons it contains for future investigations of war crimes and crimes against humanity. At a time when we are discussing "hybrid courts" in places like South Sudan and Central African Republic; joint investigation of war crimes in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Yemen and Mali; and have begun work on an accountability mechanism (IIM) for Syria, I am convinced that there is a lot that could be gained by the United Nations in obtaining a greater understanding of the absurdly neglected UNWCC. I would like my office to have greater interactionin order to take this further, and see how we can use the lessons learned from the UNWCC in our efforts to achieve accountability for war crimes in many places where they are currently being committed" [5.13].

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

1. Screenshot of visitor data on Dan Plesch's public website
2. Email from Ben Barkow director at the Wiener Library
3. Testimonial from Emmanuelle Moskowitz - July 2019
4. Netflix Picks Up 'Greatest Events of World War Two in Colour' Documentary Series – Variety Oct 29, 2019
5. Email testimonial from David Wilkinson, Director – *Getting Away with Murder(s)*
6. Media file
 - a. [War Crimes Archive Reveals Early Evidence Of Holocaust Death Camps – NPR 18.04.2017](#)
 - b. [Opening of UN files on Holocaust will 'rewrite chapters of history' – The Guardian 18.04.2017](#)
 - c. [Facebook statistics and comments:
https://www.facebook.com/theguardian/posts/10155325540806323](#)
 - d. [UN had secret crime sheet on Hitler – The Times 19.04.2017
https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/un-had-secret-crime-sheet-on-hitler-x6m2b0gmg](#)
 - e. [London library makes World War II war crimes searches easier – AP 21.04.2017](#)
 - f. A sampling of UNWCC media coverage can be found here:
<http://www.unwcc.org/unwcc-in-the-news/>
7. Email from Maddie Boyd to Dan Plesch, June 2017.
8. Email from Kim Thuy Seelinger to Dan Plesch, January 2018.
9. [Tweet by Josh Kern \(@joshkern\)](#) - 25 September 2019.
10. <https://www.9bedfordrow.co.uk/our-team/door-tenants-and-pupils/dr-dan-plesch/>
11. <http://9bri.com/justice-for-war-criminals-and-human-rights-abusers-beyond-the-nuremberg-icc-model/>
12. Email from Justice Goldstone 19 October 2020
13. Email from Andrew Gilmour ASG UNOHCHR, to Dan Plesch

Institution: SOAS University of London

Unit of Assessment: History

Title of case study: "Revising UN origins: How Latin American Women Enshrined Equal Rights in the UN Charter".

Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: from 2004 to present

Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:

Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:

Dan Plesch	Professor and Director, Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy	2005 – present
Elise Luhr-Dietrichson	Research Assistant then Associate, Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy	2016 - present
Fatima Sator	Research Assistant then Associate, Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy	2016 - present
Prof.Thomas G Weiss	Visiting Professor (salaried)	2013 - 2015
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 1 st August 2013-31 July 2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? No		
<p>1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words) The research at SOAS University of London has raised awareness and improved training at the UN about the organisation’s own origins – particularly that of the key role of women from Latin America – among them Brazilian feminist Bertha Lutz - in the establishment of gender equality in the UN Charter. The key finding on gender is now included in mandatory training for 37,000 UN staff and brought to a wider audience through a feature-length documentaries by the international TV channel HBO. Among the Brazilian diplomatic corps and diplomatic trainees, it has also led to more awareness of their history contribution to gender equality in the UN.</p>		
<p>2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words) The San Francisco Conference on International Organization in 1945, which brought together delegates from 50 nations, created the United Nations Charter. Until recently, it was commonly assumed that it was Western women (such as Eleanor Roosevelt and US delegate Virginia Gildersleeve), along with white South African Field Marshal Jan Smuts, who played the decisive roles at the conference in making sure that equal rights for men and women were enshrined in the Charter. The role of women delegates from the global South was largely overlooked, even within the UN itself.</p> <p>The research team led by Dr Plesch (Reader and Director of CISD, 2005 to present) included Professor Thomas G. Weiss (Visiting Professor, 2013-2015) leader of the UN Intellectual History Project at the City University of New York and two Research Assistants, Elise Luhr-Dietrichson and Fatima Sator (both 2016-present). The research built on Dr Plesch’s over 15 years of work on the UN and its history.</p> <p>The underpinning research involved extensive archival work. This included formal archives of the UN, its predecessor organisations, and overlooked secondary sources including books, periodicals, newspapers and newsreels. The Carnegie Corporation of New York funded this research in 2013-2016 and resulted in an edited volume [3.6] that addressed the gaps in the UN’s own history that required further research, with direct policy implications for the present day. For example, a key finding from the work was that the UN alliance created in the UN Declaration of January 1942 encompassed a commitment to human rights and led to UN multilateral organisations and conferences with significant non-Western agency, culminating in the UN Conference on International Organisation (UNCIO) at San Francisco in 1945 [3.6]. The rare use of this formal title or acronym UNCIO opens up the research question: how could the UN could hold a conference when it did not yet exist? In what principles was this proto-UN grounded? In other words, did it open up spaces for other histories of the UN’s egalitarian principles that have been previously overlooked? How did gender equality became enshrined in the UN Charter in 1945?</p>		

Sator and Lur-Dietrichson conducted research in the minutes of the debates in the Committees where the issues of gender equality were debated and decided at the conference at San Francisco, and analysed contemporary reports in newspapers. Among the findings from the archival research was the key roles played by Bertha Lutz from Brazil, Minerva Bernadino from the Dominican Republic and Senator Isabel P. de Vidal from Uruguay in establishing gender equality in the UN Charter [3.2].

The gender equality norm is central to a US-liberal self-image of global leadership. Yet the research demonstrates that from the outset it was non-US delegates working in opposition to the US female representative that was responsible for establishing gender equality norms [3.3, 3.4, 3.5]. This led to a publication produced jointly by Plesch with Acharya (American University, Washington, DC) [3.1] that integrates the issue of Latin American founders of gender equality into an argument that posits a universalist UN in contrast to a narrower US liberal order.

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

[1] Acharya, Amitav and Plesch, Dan (2020) 'The United Nations: Managing and Reshaping a New World Order.' *Global Governance*, 26 (2). pp. 221-235. [peer reviewed] <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/id/eprint/32431>

[2] The forgotten of San Francisco, Luhr Dietrichson, Elise and Sator, Fatima, *Le Monde Diplomatique* (2016) *Les oubliées de San Francisco*, *Le Monde diplomatique*: https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/mav/150/LUHR_DIETRICHSON/56861

[3] Plesch, Dan and Weiss, Thomas G. (2015) '1945's Forgotten Insight: Multilateralism as Realist Necessity.' *International Studies Perspectives*, 17 (1). pp. 4-16. [peer reviewed] <https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/id/eprint/21329>

[4] Plesch, Dan and Weiss, Tom (2015) '1945's Lesson: 'Good-Enough' Global Governance Ain't Good Enough.' *Global Governance*, 21 (2). pp. 197-204 [peer reviewed] <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24526161>

[5] Plesch, Dan and Weiss, Tom, eds. (2015) *Wartime Origins and the Future United Nations*. Oxon; New York: Routledge. (Global Institutions) [peer reviewed]

[6] Plesch, Dan (2011) *America, Hitler and the UN: How the Allies Won World War II and Forged a Peace*. London: I.B.Tauris. ebook. [peer reviewed]

Item 2 is from the elite quality *Le Monde Diplomatique* and the book listed at item 6 carries endorsements of its research quality from both Sir Michael Howard the founder of War Studies at Kings College London & from Sir Brian Urquhart former UN Under-Secretary General.

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

The global impact of the research, included: a fuller awareness within the UN of its own history; changes to mandatory UN training for staff and managers, greater awareness within the media of this history, including among newspaper reporters and documentary makers; greater engagement of the Brazilian influence on UN history in Brazil. 20,000 subscribers to a new Coursera module shaped by the research also benefited from this material.

Raising awareness of the gendered and racial history of the UN within the UN

The detailed quotes below from Chikvaidze and Momal-Vanian below refer to the body of impact work that follows which have been ordered by type rather than chronology. Had at any point the research findings had had a neutral or negative impact then the subsequent activities would never have been created and supported by the UN or nation states. Each of them were engaged as organisers, audience members or network interlocutors of the activity from 2015-2020. Each wrote these texts to be cited in the REF process. David Chikvaidze, a senior UN official with a managerial role across the UN system and at one

point Director of the library in Geneva wrote, *“The work of [Dr. Dan Plesch and his] SOAS colleagues has been instrumental in raising the awareness of many in the United Nations system and, importantly, in the diplomatic corps and the research community, and deepening our understanding of the origins of the United Nations. Our views -- certainly mine -- and those of an expanding body of colleagues in and around the United Nations have been substantially influenced by the understanding, indeed, revelation, that the United Nations began as a political-military alliance, with the aim of defeating the dark forces of an evil ideology that had engendered devastation and human misery on an unprecedented scale. Over several years, I have facilitated or witnessed numerous public events where audiences have benefitted from understanding for the first time that several years before the ...the signing of the UN Charter..., the United Nations was a rallying cry for freedom, human rights and peace. The work of Dr. Plesch takes on special meaning in the centenary years of modern multilateralism and the 75th anniversary of the United Nations itself. Today, when we hear facile criticism ...of multilateralism and of the United Nations..., it would behoove these critics to learn more about the object of their criticism, its origins and its raison d’être. For this, the work of Dr. Dan Plesch is key.”* [5.1].

The Kofi Annan Foundation’s Director and former head of UN Information Services Corinne Momal-Vanian commented, *“I am happy to confirm that the wonderful and exhaustive work conducted by Fatima Sator and Elise Dietrichson on the origins of gender equality at the United Nations had a significant impact in terms of raising awareness among secretariat staff and representatives of Member States of the important role played by South American female delegates at the San Francisco conference Their talks on the subject (including as speakers at a TEDxPalaisdesNations conference in 2018, watched by over 3000 viewers at the Palais des Nations and on-line) coincided with -and gave additional momentum to- a significant push for gender equality in the multilateral sphere in Geneva. There were other concrete marks made by the research team. UN Women, for instance, amended a publication entitled “A short history of the Commission on the Status of Women” to include a special reference to Bertha Lutz and Minerva Bernardino. Likewise, two training modules widely used in the UN system (entitled respectively “I know Gender” and “UN Human rights Responsibilities”) now feature references to Bertha Lutz etc.”* [5.2]. Momal-Vanian attended the 2016 event in Geneva as a member of the audience and was moved to facilitate subsequent impact activity detailed below.

Impact on UN staff training and on official histories.

UN Women amended their paragraph on “A short history of the Commission on the Status of Women” to include a special reference to Bertha Lutz and Minerva Bernardino [5.3]. In 2019 the authors of the history added a concluding sentence to this paragraph, *“Of the 160 signatories, only four were women— Minerva Bernardino (Dominican Republic), Virginia Gildersleeve (United States), Bertha Lutz (Brazil) and Wu Yi-Fang (China). **Two of them, Bertha Lutz and Minerva Bernardino, had proposed to add “women” to the founding document of the United Nations.**”* (emphasis added) [5.3 p4].

Mandatory training for 37,000 UN staff on gender and on human rights now includes the role of these women, and in particular the UN system-wide education modules; “I Know Gender” and; “UN Human Rights Responsibilities” [5.4, 5.5]. A UN staff colleague reached out to Sator and Dietrichson to include material from advocacy on Bertha Lutz for general introduction training for UN staff and to celebrate UN at 75 years. This learning portfolio manager in charge of UN leadership and management training has also updated courses for senior people within the UN system. The staff stated “I came across a podcast and YouTube and articles on Women and the UN Charter research project.” And stated “Trailer is so impactful” when viewing the Bertha Lutz HBO documentary.

In Sept 2019 Plesch and Sator presented their further research findings at the UN in Geneva to an audience of ninety diplomats and UN officials as part of series on the

research on the UN before the UN. This accompanied the launch of an exhibition of artefacts on the UN before the UN produced by Plesch for the UN Library in Geneva. The artefacts and discussions presented a new history of the leadership of Southern Women from 1942 to 1945 during the years of the proto- UN. The exhibition was opened by the Director General of the UN in Geneva, Tatiana Valovaya, who praised the importance of the research to understanding the essential nature of the UN in global affairs. *Many of you perhaps did not know prior to registering for the event that in many ways, the UN existed before the UN. And yet, the values and ideals that our Organization defends on a daily basis for almost 75 years now, were already present in many minds following the outbreak of the World War....in the Declaration signed by the United Nations in 1942. A declaration which marked the contours of the modern UN, and of the multilateral system as we know it today. The ultimate goal when signing this document and establishing the premises of multilateralism based on the respect of internal law was to avoid war among nations. But not only. Because multilateralism already was, and still is today, much more than that* [5.14 p1-2].

Impact on UN core staff and national diplomatic corps.

In 2015 Plesch and Weiss presented their research to some 70 UN staff and diplomats at the Library of the United Nations in Geneva [5.6]. As a follow-up The “Women and the UN” project was launched at a special panel event at the Library in February 2016 to 200 participants, including the leadership of UN women and UN public information in Geneva, and Ambassadors. Dr Plesch initiated this panel and invited Dietrichson and Sator, then Master students at CISD to present along with a diplomat from Brazil – Lutz’s home country.

In August 2016, Plesch arranged for Dietrichson and Sator to travel to the UN in New York to expand outreach through meeting with Brazilian officials and officials from UN Women. They also held a press conference at which Brazil was again represented. Ambassador Patriota, following up from his statement to the AP [5.10] facilitated the sponsorship of sequence of activities. Brazil then invited to researchers to speak in the country at the Rio Branco Institute, a diplomatic school of Brasilia, to 25-30 future Brazilian diplomats. They also spoke at the Brazilian foreign ministry institute (FUNAG) meeting with more than 50 current diplomats [5.11]. United Nations Brasil (UNO Brasil) produced a video featuring the findings of the research which has been viewed more than 1,200 times [5.7].

As a result of these interactions Brazil decided to host a major UN conference on the role of Southern women in the foundation of the UN. The conference was held at the Trusteeship Council chamber in the UN in New in May 2018. Sator and Deitrichson sat alongside panelists including the Chef de Cabinet of the UN Secretary-General, Mrs. Viotti. More than 300 people, UN Staff, diplomats, NGOs, press and academics, attended the conference. More than 12 ambassadors also attended, including the Indian and Pakistani ambassadors who together spoke on their own contribution to gender equality. The conference was organized in the Trusteeship Council

Raising awareness and understanding through media engagement

The Home Box Office (HBO) documentary [5.8] whose film crew accompanied the SOAS researchers, tracking their interactions with stakeholders and research material in London, Geneva and New York. HBO approached the researchers following their 2016 press conference in New York. TV includes an award-winning news feature from the South African Broadcasting Corporation on this press conference [5.9]

The project team raised the awareness of an Associated Press (AP) reporter Edith Lederer who organised the team’s press conference at the UN Correspondence Association in the UN building in New York. Lederer, one of the first women reporters in Vietnam and closely engaged in the development of UN Women since the landmark

Beijing conference, wrote a far more detailed and knowledgeable piece. The AP reported, ***'Eleanor Roosevelt gets the credit for championing women's rights at the United Nations but two researchers have found that the real heroines responsible for getting women into the U.N. Charter are from Latin America, led by a little-known Brazilian. Fatima Sator and Elise Luhr Dietrichson, researchers from the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, said it's important to set history straight because the U.N. Charter was the first international document to inscribe the equal rights of men and women as part of fundamental human rights.... Contrary to what the world thinks, "this idea of gender equality is not coming from the West," Sator said.... According to Luhr Dietrichson, Lutz wrote in her memoir that delegates from the United States and Britain told her "not to ask for anything for women in the Charter since that would be a very vulgar thing to do." But Lutz refused to back down, stressing that the rights of women needed to improve radically because they didn't have equality with men anywhere, she said. "The mantle is falling off the shoulders of the Anglo-Saxons and we the Latin American women shall have to do the next stage of battle for women," Lutz wrote, according to Luhr Dietrichson. Brazil's U.N. Ambassador Antonio Patriota said "this is about setting the record straight. Lutz is not very well known in Brazil, he said, and her 'pioneer role' in promoting women's equality needs to be highlighted along with the role of other Latin American women.***" (emphases added) [5.10a]. This was reprinted widely including the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Daily Mail [5.10b] and more than 20 other media outlets. Patriota acted on this public commitment to enable all the subsequent activity involving his country.

Impact on worldwide adult education.

In 2016 Plesch produced a Massive Open Online Course on the United Nations [5.12a] that highlights the research findings. According to the host organisation Coursera – a world leader in this form of education - more than 30,000 people have engaged with the material [5.12b]. In 2018, Dietrichson and Sator spoke at TEDxPalaisdesNations in the Human Rights Room at the UN in Geneva. [5.13]. Former head of UN Information Services Corinne Momal-Vanian stated that the talk was *"watched by over 3000 viewers at the Palais des Nations and on-line) coincided with - and gave additional momentum to - a significant push for gender equality in the multilateral sphere in Geneva"* [5.13b].

5. Sources to corroborate the impact (indicative maximum of 10 references)

1. Testimonial – Chef de Cabinet, UN Office of Geneva
2. Testimonial – Former Head of UN Information services
3. <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2019/02/a-short-history-of-the-commission-on-the-status-of-women>
4. I Know Gender UN Women training module.
<https://agora.unicef.org/course/info.php?id=11245>
Screenshot and audio on file
5. UN Human Rights Responsibilities training module.
<https://agora.unicef.org/course/info.php?id=2128>
Screenshot and audio on file
6. UN Library exhibition and event The UN before the UN
<https://multilateralism100.unog.ch/UN-Before-UN>
7. UN Brazil <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wJUEWOEDfoo>
8. HBO Documentary trailer: Bertha Lutz – Women and the UN Charter
<https://vimeo.com/364633451>
9. SABC news: "Research challenges role played by women in the UN Charter":
<https://www.dropbox.com/s/gwpcfljlydmfyu5/Research%20challenges%20role%20played%20by%20women%20in%20UN%20Charter.mp4?dl=0>
10. a Researchers: Latin American women got women into UN Charter:
<https://apnews.com/049889e630b748229887b91c8f21e3d2>

- b Sept 2016 Reprint Example of Associated Press Article Daily Mail
<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/wires/ap/article-3771675/Researchers-Latin-American-women-got-women-UN-Charter.html>
11. FUNAG promotes lecture about Bertha Lutz and Women's Rights in the UN Charter
<http://funag.gov.br/index.php/en/news/2388-funag-promotes-lecture-about-bertha-lutz-and-women-s-rights-in-the-un-charter>
 12. a) Global Diplomacy: the United Nations in the World, Coursera Mass Open Online Course. <https://www.coursera.org/learn/global-diplomacy-un> and b) statistical report
 13. TEDx Palais des Nations: "These women changed your life and you never heard of them": <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-cPkvqb2qi0&t=349s> and b) testimonial - former head of UN Information Services
 14. Talking Points - Tatiana Valovaya - Director General of the UN in Geneva,

Institution: SOAS University of London		
Unit of Assessment: History		
Title of case study: Influencing Disarmament Strategies: The Strategic Concept for Removal of Arms and Proliferation (SCRAP)		
Period when the underpinning research was undertaken: 2005 to 2020		
Details of staff conducting the underpinning research from the submitting unit:		
Name(s):	Role(s) (e.g. job title):	Period(s) employed by submitting HEI:
Dr Dan Plesch	Director, Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy (CISD)	2005 to present
Kevin Miletic	Research Assistant, CISD	2015 to 2019
Dr Olamide Samuel	Research Assistant, CISD	2019 to present
Period when the claimed impact occurred: 2014 – 2020		
Is this case study continued from a case study submitted in 2014? N		
<p>1. Summary of the impact (indicative maximum 100 words)</p> <p>The rubric "General and Complete Disarmament" fell into disuse in UN policy debates from 2000-2015, although it had been present in diplomacy for more than fifty years beforehand. The SOAS-led research project <i>Strategic Concept for Removal of Arms and Proliferation (SCRAP)</i> reignited use of the term and reintroduced the global control of all weapons into such debates, focusing on both global controls of major conventional weapons, and the elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. This led to a joint SOAS- UN Office of Disarmament Affairs publication in 2016: "Rethinking General and Complete Disarmament in the 21st C". The recommendation for general and complete disarmament was incorporated by 122 states in the 2017 treaty banning nuclear weapons, and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (representing the parliaments of 170 states) adopted the comprehensive disarmament approach into its long-term work plan. Two NGOs, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy and Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, have also used SCRAP to further their goals.</p>		
2. Underpinning research (indicative maximum 500 words)		

War and the fear of war permeates the past and present of international affairs. The control of weapons of war is part of this - is control desirable, is it practical? The sustained modernisation and accumulation of weapons by states, their subsequent use in war and in destabilising shows of military power through military exercises, and inadequate communication among conflicting parties are symptomatic of insufficient policy responses in global arms control and disarmament frameworks. There is renewed concern that developments in emerging and established technologies are outpacing our ability to ensure effective control, as the disarmament and arms control framework has disintegrated into loosely connected initiatives (such as “step-by-step” agenda, “stepping stones approach” and “partial measures”) designed to micro-manage conventional weapons governance and Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) control in silos, thus giving disarmament a riskily narrow and fragmented focus. This ignores the scale and connection of arms-related issues.

The *Strategic Concept for Removal of Arms and Proliferation (SCRAP)* research project was conducted by Dr Dan Plesch, Director of the Centre for International Studies and Diplomacy (2005 – present), Kevin Miletic and Dr Olamide Samuel, both research associates from 2017-2019 and 2019 to present, respectively. SCRAP looked back past the recent decades of diminishing weapons controls. The aims of the research were two-fold. Firstly, to identify past achievements and practices in global arms control. Secondly, the research provided findings to influence current global arms control practices at the international level, focusing on international organizations such as the UN where arms control practitioners converge.

The methodology of the project was a combination of archival research, and an iterative research and advocacy model. Archival work, interviews and observations identified best past and current practice in the global controls of conventional weapons that was used to better inform ongoing advocacy on General and Complete Disarmament (GCD) and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, to provide a framework for re-energizing fragmented and stalled disarmament processes. Research and advocacy approaches were supplemented by Michael Spies, Political Affairs Officer, United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, and Tariq Rauf of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.

The research found potential for a renaissance in weapons controls. Dr Plesch questioned the omission of the role of civil society and the Non Aligned Movement (NAM) in advancing General and Complete Disarmament (GCD) within the United Nations [3.1]. Plesch and Miletic found that GCD had been a core demand of many states and civil society since at least the 1950s, arguably since 1915 [3.1, 3.4]. In particular, NAM was and continues to be the biggest forum for political coordination and consultation after and within the United Nations, composed by 120 Member States from the developing world). The rediscovering of NAM and civil society’s contributions highlights the centrality of GCD to intergovernmental work and ends the silence in historical and international studies of key actors and their work of previous eras, and thereby changes the paradigm of the possible in the field of disarmament.

Plesch and Miletic also engaged in detailed historical research among contemporaneous policy makers and diplomats into disarmament techniques during the Cold war, identifying new key historical, legal, and political points. Weapons control was a practical cornerstone of international security during the cold war, helping to defuse tensions [3.3, 3.4]. The Cold War Treaties appear to provide *prima facie* evidence that GCD may be technically feasible and draws upon the rediscovered disarmament techniques of the Cold War in order to reintroduce GCD in policy debates [3.2, 3.3].

3. References to the research (indicative maximum of six references)

1. Dan Plesch (2016) The South and disarmament at the UN, *Third World Quarterly*, 37:7, 1203-1218 <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/22111/> **[Peer-reviewed]**
2. D. Plesch, M. Spies, K. Miletic, eds., *“Rethinking General and Complete Disarmament in the 21st Century”*, United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, New York, 2016
<https://www.un.org/disarmament/publications/occasionalpapers/no-28/>
 - Informed UN Secretary General’s Disarmament Agenda
3. D. Plesch, T. Rauf, K. Miletic, eds., *“Disarmament & Cooperative Security”*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Sweden, 2017
<https://www.sipri.org/publications/2017/other-publications/reintroducing-disarmament-and-cooperative-security-toolbox-21st-century-leaders>
 - Informed UN Secretary General’s Disarmament Agenda
4. D. Plesch and K. Miletic, “The Relationship between Humanitarian Disarmament and General and Complete Disarmament”, in M. Bolton et al., *“Global Activism and Humanitarian Disarmament”*, Palgrave, 2019 **[Peer-reviewed]**

4. Details of the impact (indicative maximum 750 words)

This project had impacts with a wide range of actors, including States, such as The Vatican, parliamentary groups such as the Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the Arms Trade Treaty secretariat (ATT), which used the research to pursue a disarmament agenda among nation states. NGOs such as Oxfam and the Quaker United Nations Office (QUNO), civil society groups such as the Control Arms Coalition, also benefited, as well as institutes such as Geneva Centre for Security Policy and Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), and through social media engagement, members of the public.

Improving awareness, generating activity and changing attitudes of Parliamentarians and Diplomats in the IPU and UN.

As a result of briefings on Plesch’s research by the project team in 2015-16 to the secretariat of the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), a global forum of parliamentarians, the IPU decided to put general and complete disarmament on the agenda of their 135th General Assembly in 2016 **[5.5.a, b]**. To support the debate the IPU invited Dr Plesch to present his research in a UNODA/SOAS joint publication **[5.1]**, which was positively received **[5.5.c]**. 170 states represented by the IPU - adopted the comprehensive disarmament approach at the 138th IPU General Assembly in March 2018 **[5.5.d p63]**, and into its long-term work plan. Following a project-led panel discussion on Comprehensive disarmament and non-proliferation during the 139th IOU assembly (October 2018) the impact of the research on the IPU was formally recognised by the IPU Secretary General. He states: *“Your contribution...not only provided parliamentarians with valuable insights into the issue, but also helped inform them of the best ways to contribute to comprehensive disarmament and non-proliferation in their respective parliaments.”* **[5.13]**. Noting the project’s tangible impact on the IPU parliamentarians defence of lower military spending during the COVID-19 pandemic he stated *“we are already seeing in some countries good signs of cuts in military spending to reallocate those funds to the health sector and to economic recovery”* **[5.5c]**

The momentum generated by the joint publication **[5.1]** and the IPU’s long term commitment **[5.5d p63]** helped to engage UN member states and UN officials with the issue of GCD when previously they had not done so. After the then UN High Representative for disarmament affairs decided to speak at the launch of the joint publication in 2016 the governments of Chile and Timor Leste sponsored the launch of the publication.

The project has gathered support from a group of other like-minded states with whom it cooperates to introduce the policy research agenda laid out in the joint publication into various UN forums such as the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conferences and the First Committee of the UN General Assembly in 2017. Chile took the lead of a small group of member states (Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Jamaica, Indonesia, Philippines, Uruguay, Venezuela, Guatemala, Peru) in supporting general and complete disarmament, and delivered a joint statement for the inclusion of a preambular clause on general and complete disarmament in the recently negotiated Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons **[5.13, para 16 and 5.12.a particularly at 02:33:20 – 02:36:00]**. General and Complete Disarmament has become a recurrent feature in several speeches made by the successive UN High Representatives for Disarmament Affairs **[5.8a, b, c, d and e]** Speaking in 2017 current incumbent Nakamitsu stated *“The concept of general and complete disarmament...needs to be better understood and perhaps to be redefined in the 21st Century security environment. I am...glad to see that this event is organized around UNODA Occasional Paper 28...particular thanks are owed to Dr. Plesch for continuing to promote this paper as a basis for discussions on bringing general and complete disarmament into the 21st Century”* **[5.8a p2]**. The concept has been adopted by Antonio Guterres, the UN Secretary General in his Disarmament Agenda: *“General and complete disarmament”, a term coined nearly a century ago, remains the ultimate objective of the [UN] in the field of disarmament. It is now critical for the international community to reconceptualise this fundamental goal...making use of all the measures available.”* **[5.10, p12]**

UNOG is a central venue for international diplomacy in disarmament, home to the Conference on Disarmament - the sole multilateral disarmament negotiating body and provides a wide range of multilateral disarmament agreements. Annual SCRAP focused panels at the UNOG Conference on disarmament has allowed policy makers to work through practical problems of implementation. Between 2015 and 2019, various permanent missions (Sweden, Canada, Switzerland, Kazakhstan, UK) have kept SCRAP on the disarmament agenda of the United Nations Office in Geneva (UNOG) **[5.6]**.

The first panel (2015) discussion raised awareness of best practice **[5.6a]**. The second (2016) made practical recommendations to operationalise disarmament mechanisms **[5.6b]**. The third (2017) looked at mainstreaming the disarmament agenda in the UN and its work on security, development and human rights **[5.6c]**. The fourth (2018) tackled the challenge posed by new armament technology **[5.6d]** and the fifth (2019) Introduced means to operationalise the UN Secretary General’s Disarmament Agenda **[5.6e]**. The Sixth (2020) introduced technical approaches to advancing GCD among two groups of states within the Conference on Disarmament, The New Agenda Coalition (NAC) and the NAM. Both NAC and NAM states are in consultation to finalise a draft working paper for submission in the 2020 Review Conference of State Parties to the Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty.

Improving the advocacy work of civil society actors

In a joint statement in behalf of the project team, the Committee for SCRAP and OXFAM, the then OXFAM International Executive Director Winnie Byanyima published an official statement supporting the SCRAP research: *“This SCRAP Treaty is a template to use disarmament and arms control to save lives, uphold international law, and to allow development and human security to flourish.[It] can be a pathway to prosperity...for every woman, man and child in place of human suffering and inequality”* **[5.3. p2]**

Two NGOs, the Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP) and Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) took the policy decision to work with the project team to use the SCRAP approach to further their policy impact and outreach goals. Geneva Centre for Security Policy's Senior Programme Advisor and Arms Proliferation Cluster Leader, now Head of Arms Proliferation, Marc Finaud, together with the IPU, Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament and the SCRAP team have developed educational material about disarmament agreements and parliamentary practices. This is to support effective monitoring of existing treaties of arms control and disarmament at national level **[5.9a and b]**.

In December 2019, the SCRAP team, GCSP and the Quaker United Nations Office organised a public discussion on General and Complete Disarmament, at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. This was attended by high-ranking officials from over 20 states **[5.7]**. As a result, SCRAP held private consultations with Ambassadors from Russia, France, The Netherlands, Germany, Japan and the United Kingdom. Subsequently, in February 2020, SCRAP held private consultations with the Ambassadors of Ireland and Indonesia, focusing on garnering New Agenda Coalition, and Non-Aligned Movement support for the SCRAP treaty when it due to be introduced in the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference in April and May 2020. This was postponed until August 2021 due to COVID-19.

Also in December 2019, 6 SCRAP student representatives were invited by the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) to participate in the UK Project on Nuclear Issues (UKPONI) conference on the future of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), ahead of the NPT review conference. Dan Plesch had the honour of delivering the opening statement and introducing SCRAP's technical and legal approaches to implementing GCD. The public discussions, private consultations and the UK conference led to the establishment of effective commitments from key stakeholders and institutions to advancing towards our objectives. These include Introducing the SCRAP working paper on GCD at the 2020 Review Conference of State Parties to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

In light of unforeseen disruptions to the 2020 Review Conference of State Parties to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty due to the Covid-19 pandemic, SCRAP launched the '*Global Freeze Weapons Now*' initiative in May 2020 as a response to the pandemic, highlighting the discrepancies in health care expenditure vs military expenditure. This has garnered renewed support and commitment from the United Nations **[5.8 f]**, The Vatican **[5.11]**, the IPU **[5.5c]** Parliamentarians for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (PNND) (a global network of legislators working on a range of initiatives to prevent nuclear proliferation and to achieve a nuclear weapons free world.) **[5.9 b]**, and The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Organisation (CTBTO) **[5.2 a, b]**. Cardinal Peter Turkson, with whose office governing peace policy for the Vatican we had been working for some time, wrote, '*I wish also to renew my sentiments of esteem and appreciation to you and your team for your work on the "Freeze Weapons Now" initiative, launched by the SCRAP Weapons program. In the midst of the global COVID-19 pandemic, your engagement to freeze weapons production represents a crucial step towards the foundation of a nonviolent and just world.... Our Dicastery highly recommends the Freeze campaign and the SCRAP project to all Catholic leaders, decisions-makers and associations as they campaign for a weapon-free world.*' **[5.11]** The SCRAP website (37,821 visitors) and social media presence (2,749) followers across Facebook and Twitter) developed by the team received international has also been used to generate impact amongst the general public, to enable different audiences to encounter and use the research findings in varying ways **[5.12 a, b and c]**

- 5. Sources to corroborate the impact** (indicative maximum of 10 references)
- 1) UNODA 2016 Rethinking General and Complete Disarmament in the 21st Century <https://www.un.org/disarmament/publications/occasionalpapers/no-28/> (see Preamble v-vi, particularly page vi and last chapter pages 87-94)
 - 2) **Post-COVID Multilateral Cooperation - A Chance to Achieve a Nuclear-Weapons-Free World?** <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dXEgHax1hfo>
b) Transcript
 - 3) Official statement by Winnie Byanyima (Executive Director, Oxfam International) <https://www.scrapweapons.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/SCRAP-OXFAM-STATEMENT.pdf>
 - 4) **Chile reads out joint statement at 2:33:20** <http://webtv.un.org/watch/12th-meeting-un-conference-to-negotiate-a-legally-binding-instrument-to-prohibit-nuclear-weapons-leading-towards-their-total-elimination/5474075547001>
 - 5) **IPU general assembly** a) IPU 135 agenda <http://archive.ipu.org/conf-e/135/1cmt-agnd.pdf>; b) IPU 135 Panel Discussion on Comprehensive Disarmament – concept note; c) Letter from IPU president Gabriela Cuevas Barron and Secretary General Martin Chungong; d) adoption at 138th IPU General Assembly (Mar 2018) <https://www.ipu.org/file/5099/download> (see page 63)
 - 6) **UNOG Director General speeches:** a) Feb 2015; b) Feb 2016; c) Feb 2017; d) Feb 2018; e) Feb 2019
 - 7) <https://www.gcsp.ch/global-insights/why-new-treaty-general-and-complete-disarmament-and-npt>
 - 8) **UN High Representatives remarks** (2014-2017, 2020) a) Oct 2017; b) Jun 2017; c) Apr 2017; d) Dec 2014; e) Nov 2014; f) Testimonial - High Representative
 - 9) GCSP Joint Project with the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), University of London (SOAS) and Parliamentarians for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Disarmament (PNND) <https://www.gcsp.ch/News-Knowledge/Publications/World-table-Monitoring-Arms-Control-and-Disarmament-Agreements-2018>
a) Table of Arms Control, non-proliferation and disarmament instruments and regimes
b) Assuring our Common Future: A Guide to Parliamentary Action in support of Disarmament for Security and Sustainable Development. https://disarmamenthandbook.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/disarmament-handbook-2020_v05.pdf (see page 73)
 - 10) UN Sec General's Disarmament Agenda <https://www.un.org/disarmament/sg-agenda/en/>
 - 11) Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons Treaty <http://disarmament.un.org/treaties/t/tpnw/text>
a) 15 Jun 2017 (12th meeting) United Nations Conference to Negotiate a Legally Binding Instrument to Prohibit Nuclear Weapons, Leading Toward their Total Elimination (English) <https://www.un.org/disarmament/tpnw/webcast-english.html> [2:33:20 -2:36:00]
 - 12) Letter from His Eminence Peter K.A. Cardinal Turkson
 - 13) Letter from Martin Chungong, Secretary General of the Inter-Parliamentary Union
 - 14) Online and Social Media Presence a) Facebook (1,537 Followers as of 10 March 2020) <https://www.facebook.com/scrapweapons/> b) Twitter (1,212 Followers as of 10 March 2020) <https://twitter.com/SCRAPweapons> c) Website (31,790 engagements [hits and visits] as of 10 March 2020) <https://scrapweapons.com>