

SOUNDING THE ALARM



PROJECT PLOUGHSHARES ANNUAL REPORT 2022

THEY SHALL BEAT THEIR SWORDS INTO
PROJECT PLOUGHSHARES is the peace research institute of The Canadian Council of
Churches. Our work focuses on disarmament efforts and international security. Key
concerns include the arms trade, emerging military and security technologies, nuclear
weapons, outer space governance, and the protection of civilians from the effects of
armed conflict.

Project Ploughshares operates out of the Kindred Credit Union Centre for Peace
Advancement (CPA) at Conrad Grebel University College on the University of Waterloo
campus in Waterloo, Ontario. The CPA is home to University of Waterloo faculty and
graduate students, as well as peace-oriented entrepreneurs and local peacebuilding
organizations.

WORKING TOGETHER TO MAKE AN IMPACT

As a small Canadian organization, Project Ploughshares often finds it beneficial to collaborate with other members of civil society – both Canadian and international.

Project Ploughshares belongs to the following coalitions/networks:

- Campaign to Stop Killer Robots
- Canadian Council for International Co-operation (CCIC)
- Canadian Defence and Security Network (CDSN-RCDS)
- Canadian Network to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (CNANW)
- Control Arms
- International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA)
- International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)
- International Network on Explosive Weapons (INEW)
- Peacebuild.

In 2022, Project Ploughshares worked with many civil society and nongovernmental organizations. Among them were the following:

- Canadian Pugwash Group
- Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention
- Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI)
- Group of 78
- Human Security Network in Latin America and the Caribbean (SEHLAC)
- North American and Arctic Defense Security Network
- Outer Space Institute
- Peace and Conflict Studies Association of Canada (PACS-Can)
- Research Network on Women, Peace and Security
- SpaceWatch.Global
- The Simons Foundation
- Various United Nations bodies, including UNESCO, UNIDIR, and the Open-Ended Working Group on Space Threats
- Canadian universities, particularly the University of Waterloo and Wilfrid Laurier University.

The years 2020 and 2021 were dominated by COVID. By the beginning of 2022, public health measures were having an effect and the world was starting to reopen. We hoped for a return to some form of normality.

And then, in February, Russia invaded Ukraine.

At Project Ploughshares, we quickly came to view much of our work through the lens of this critical conflict. The threat of nuclear weapons seemed greater than ever, as a nuclear-armed invader was confronted by a state that, without nuclear weapons itself, had powerful nuclear-armed friends. We cast a new eye on Canadian arms transfers to Ukraine. We saw the battlegrounds in Ukraine as testing grounds for new technology and developing weapon systems. We noted how satellite communications and observation capabilities offered tactical military advantages for both sides. And we observed an invading state deliberately and shamelessly attacking civilians and civilian infrastructure, in defiance of international humanitarian law and the protestations of much of the world.

In all these and other ways, examples from this conflict seemed to reflect paradigms that related directly to our work and reinforced our belief that an effective system of international governance is critical if humans are to live in peace on this planet.

And so we, with our global partners and many others, worked to secure some measure of peace and security in the face of serious existential threats. Project Ploughshares attended a significant number of international events related to nuclear weapons, outer space security, autonomous weapons, explosive weapons in populated areas (EWIPA), and the international arms trade. We wrote and delivered statements intended to influence policy and international governance, and participated in sessions with other civil-society organizations. On some occasions, Ploughshares represented civil society coalitions that bring together organizations and individuals from around the world. As well, I was honoured to serve as a member of the official Canadian delegation to the Review Conference of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty that took place in August at the United Nations in New York City.

Early in 2022, before the invasion, I was asked to identify the main threats to global security. Putting the pandemic to one side, I pointed to environmental degradation and the existence of approximately 14,000 nuclear weapons. I will say more about the first threat a little later. First, I want to concentrate on the critical danger that nuclear weapons pose to our world.

The Russian invasion of Ukraine brought home to all of us the real possibility of nuclear war and annihilation. It also revealed the absence of effective mechanisms to contain that threat or control the outcome once a nuclear weapon is used.

Opportunities to improve international governance of such weapons were showcased in 2022. The first meeting of states parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) was held in June; it successfully adopted the Vienna Declaration and a 50-point action plan. While more states signed on to this international treaty, Ploughshares continued to encourage Canada to come to the table. Like all other NATO members, Canada has not signed the TPNW.

As I noted earlier, the NPT RevCon was also held in 2022. Almost all the world's states are members of this treaty and so it should offer the opportunity for real change. However, for the second RevCon in a row, the parties failed to reach agreement on an outcome document.

At the same time, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) openly adheres to a nuclear deterrence policy. Canada, a member of this alliance and a state party to the NPT, accepts this policy while also, supposedly, working for the abolition of all nuclear weapons.

Clearly, something is not working. Project Ploughshares produced reports, letters, statements, articles, and webinars to persuade the Canadian and other governments to see the urgency of the situation and to work to build a new global order that could effectively eliminate this threat.

And now back to the other existential danger: environmental degradation or climate change. It should be obvious to everyone that climate change poses real human security risks to the world's population. It is not hard to link climate disruption with all the files we cover. In 2022, we began to explore how we could most effectively take up this new thread and weave it into the work we do to build peace and human security. We hope to present our plans and a program in 2023.



Ploughshares was active on both national and international stages. Beyond the events and publications mentioned in the following pages, Ploughshares staff produced blogs and articles for *The Ploughshares Monitor*, our quarterly flagship publication.

Executive Director Cesar Jaramillo, Ploughshares founder Ernie Regehr, Senior Researcher Jessica West, Researcher Kelsey Gallagher, Policy Advisor Kenneth Epps, and Senior Researcher Branka Marijan. *Photo by Matt Korda*

CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS CONTROL

- Ploughshares was present at the Eighth Conference of States Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty in August, as well as preparatory meetings earlier in the year. As board chair of Control Arms, Executive Director Cesar Jaramillo presented remarks at an event in April.
- After the Russian invasion of Ukraine, we created a list of Canadian military aid to Ukraine, which continues to be periodically updated.
- Canadian arms exports for 2021 were analyzed in *The Monitor*.
- We produced a Briefing, *Restoring Canada's arms control and disarmament credentials*.
- In June, Researcher Kelsey Gallagher attended a conference in Armenia put on by the Center for Truth and Justice. As part of a panel on "The fight for human rights in Canada," he spoke on the use of Turkish Bayraktar TB2 drones or uncrewed aerial vehicles (UAVs) by Azerbaijan in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and how Ploughshares had determined that Canadian-made Wescam sensors were on the 23 Bayraktar UAVs used in that conflict. These sensors were necessary to fly a combat operation.
- Ploughshares produced a blog, *Canadian armoured vehicles in Haiti*.

EMERGING MILITARY AND SECURITY TECHNOLOGIES

- Ploughshares was an active contributor to initiatives on autonomous weapons hosted by the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI), including a workshop, "AI and Semi-autonomous Systems." Senior Researcher Branka Marijan was commissioned to produce essays for CIGI, including "New and old technologies and future warfare" and "Russia's war on Ukraine is a test case for future conflict."
- Branka's article, "AI-influenced weapons need better regulation" appeared in *Scientific American*.
- Ploughshares contributed to discussions on the responsible uses of AI in an Engineering class at the University of Waterloo and at a Fireside Chat put on by the University of Guelph's CARE-AI (Centre for Advancing Responsible and Ethical Artificial Intelligence).
- Ploughshares participated in informal virtual sessions on lethal autonomous weapons systems hosted by Brazil, then chair of the United Nations Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW).
- Ploughshares also contributed to meetings of the CCW Group of Governmental Experts on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems.

OUTER SPACE GOVERNANCE

- Ploughshares attended virtual and in-person meetings of the United Nations Open-Ended Working Group (OEWG) on Reducing Space Threats. Senior Researcher Jessica West made a statement on behalf of Project Ploughshares and Canadian Pugwash Group. Jessica also live-tweeted during presentations by states.
- As the host of Space Café Canada, Jessica interviewed former Canadian Ambassador to the UN and the Conference on Disarmament Paul Meyer; President and CEO of Maritime Launch Services Ltd. Stephen Matier; and Ram Jakhu and David Kuan-Wei Chen, co-editor and managing editor, respectively, of the *McGill Manual on International Law Applicable to Military Uses of Outer Space*.
- Jessica spoke about space threats at panels presented by the Outer Space Institute at the University of British Columbia and McGill University's Institute of Air & Space Law.
- Jessica made significant contributions to the CIGI online essay series *Cybersecurity and Outer Space*.
- Jessica spoke at the inaugural Space Canada conference and at an event hosted by the Canadian Global Affairs Institute.

THE PROTECTION OF CIVILIANS

A focus of this file is the development and implementation of international humanitarian law (IHL) that will protect civilians from the worst consequences of military action and ensure that civilians and civilian infrastructure are not seen as military targets.

- Cesar participated in a panel discussion at a University of Manitoba student conference on IHL. He focused on the impact on civilians of explosive weapons in populated areas and autonomous weapons.
- Participating in the development of an international instrument to protect civilians was the focus of this file in 2022. This tool, the *Political Declaration on Strengthening the Protection of Civilians from the Humanitarian Consequences Arising from the Use of Explosive Weapons in Populated Areas*, was adopted in Dublin, Ireland in November. Cesar was in Dublin for the occasion and attended earlier meetings that pushed forward the development of the instrument. He delivered statements on behalf of Ploughshares and SEHLAC.
- The day before the Dublin Signing Conference, Ploughshares participated in the INEW (International Network on Explosive Weapons) and Dóchas Civil Society Forum, also in Dublin.



Cesar Jaramillo

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

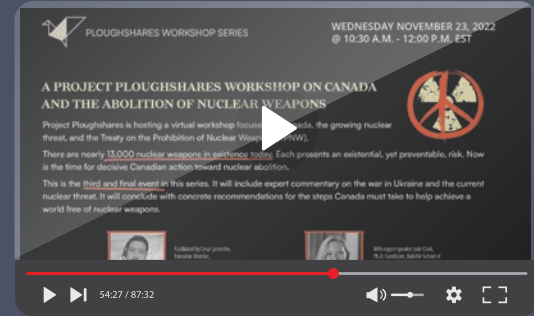
Nuclear weapons were front and centre for Ploughshares in 2022, partly because two major nuclear agreements had conferences of states parties and partly because of the war in Ukraine, which brought with it the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons.

- The Director's columns in three of the four issues of *The Ploughshares Monitor* for 2022 were about nuclear weapons.
- Ploughshares held a forum on "Russia's invasion of Ukraine: Nuclear risks and humanitarian implications."
- Cesar participated in a Group of 78 webinar "What Ukraine tells us about nuclear deterrence and common security" with Peggy Mason of the Rideau Institute and Robin Collins of the World Federalist Movement.
- In May, Cesar joined Dr. Jennifer Simons of The Simons Foundation and Ernie Regehr, former executive director of Ploughshares and chair of the Steering Committee of Canadians for a Nuclear Weapons Convention, in Ottawa meetings with "senior government and political figures" to discuss the nuclear-weapons crisis that had worsened with war in Ukraine.
- Ploughshares was present at the First Meeting of States Parties to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.
- Cesar was a member of the official Canadian delegation to the Review Conference of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

NEW VIDEOS



Early in the year, Ploughshares sponsored a webinar, *Ukraine, NATO and the future of transatlantic security*, featuring Pavel Podvig of UNIDIR, Peggy Mason of the Rideau Institute, and Ploughshares Executive Director Cesar Jaramillo, with Senior Researcher Branka Marijan as moderator. The event was recorded and later put online.



Ploughshares also produced a series of three virtual workshops in eight modules/videos on Canada and the abolition of nuclear weapons. Featured speakers were Ray Acheson of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Julie Clark of the Balsillie School of International Affairs, Erin Hunt of Mines Action Canada, Matt Korda of the Federation of American Scientists, and Cesar. A report on this series can be found on the Ploughshares website.

All videos can be found on the Ploughshares YouTube channel.

PLOUGHSHARES STATEMENT ON CANADA'S PROVISION OF ARMS TO UKRAINE

February 15

This statement reflects the steadfast position taken by Ploughshares, even as more and more weapons poured into Ukraine.

On Monday, February 14, Prime Minister Trudeau announced that Canadian officials had authorized \$7.8-million worth of arms transfers, described as “lethal equipment and ammunition,” to Ukraine. The transfers were to include “machine guns, pistols, carbines, 1.5 million rounds of ammunition, sniper rifles, and various related equipment.”

Article 7.1 of the Arms Trade Treaty, to which Canada is a party, requires that all arms transfers be subjected to a standardized risk assessment. If such transfers pose a substantial risk of facilitating negative consequences under the ATT—such as undermining peace and security, or violations of international human rights law or international humanitarian law—the transfers cannot be authorized.

Canada's obligations under the Treaty are universal and extend to all organs of the Canadian government involved in the transfer of weapons systems, including the Department of National Defence. As such, any transfer of Canadian military goods to Ukraine—even in the form of military aid—must be assessed against ATT criteria.



Besides *Monitor* articles and blogs, Ploughshares researchers produced substantial reports, book chapters

JANUARY



Restoring Canada's arms control and disarmament credentials: A 2022 to do list for the federal government

Authors: Cesar Jaramillo, Jessica West, Branka Marijan, Kelsey Gallagher

FEBRUARY



What kinetic ASAT testing tells us about space security governance

Author: Jessica West

MARCH



Space Dossier 7: Norms for outer space: A small step or a giant leap for policymaking?

Authors: Jessica West and Almudena Azcárate Ortega (UNIDIR)

Publisher: United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research

MARCH



Arms control in outer space: Status, timeline, and analysis

Authors: Jessica West and Lauren Vyse (intern)

MARCH



Regulating new tools of warfare: Insights from humanitarian disarmament and arms control efforts

Authors: Jessica West, Branka Marijan, and Emily Standfield (intern)

ters, and monographs in 2022. They include:

MAY



Developing norms for enhanced security in outer space: Process and priorities

Submission by Project Ploughshares to the Open-Ended Working Group on Reducing Space Threats

SEPTEMBER



Death by a thousand red lines: The colossal failure of the 10th NPT Review Conference

Author: Cesar Jaramillo

SEPTEMBER



The Open-Ended Working Group on Space Threats: Recap of the first meeting, May 2022

Authors: Jessica West and Mehnaz Hossain (intern)

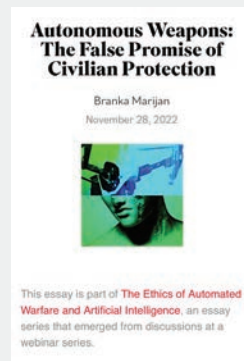
OCTOBER



A security regime for outer space: Lessons from arms control

Authors: Jessica West and Gilles Doucet (Spectrum Space Security)

NOVEMBER



Autonomous weapons: The false promise of civilian protection

Author: Branka Marijan

PROJECT PLOUGHSHARES IN THE NEWS: A SELECTION

The Vox logo, featuring the word "Vox" in a stylized, bold, black serif font.

LESSONS FROM THE WAR IN UKRAINE

In late February, Jen Kirby published a piece entitled “4 unanswered questions about the future of the Ukraine war” on the Vox website. Ploughshares Senior Researcher **Branka Marijan** was one of the experts who responded to “What has the Ukraine war taught us about conflict now?”

She said: “This is a war of incremental, not dramatic, transformation. I think everyone expected perhaps a transformation, or replacement of conventional warfare with new cyber means and using AI [artificial intelligence] and new technologies. What we’re actually seeing is, all of that is happening alongside conventional warfare.”

CANADIAN MILITARY TECH IN USE IN UKRAINE

In early March, only days after Russia invaded Ukraine, *The Globe and Mail* published an article by Steven Chase under the title “Canadian air-strike tech appears to be playing important role in Ukraine’s fight against Russia.” The tech was a targeting system made by Ontario-based L3Harris Wescam, used in Turkish-made Bayraktar TB2 military drones. According to Chase, Ploughshares researcher **Kelsey Gallagher** “said he is certain that Turkish drones being employed in Ukraine are outfitted with Wescam sensors,” pointing to the unique graphic overlay on footage of drone strikes released by the Ukrainian military. Kelsey also provided more detailed information on recent Canadian arms transfers to Ukraine.

This focus on Canadian tech in drones used by Ukraine was taken up again in “‘The drone problem’: How the U.S. has struggled to curb Turkey, a key exporter of armed drones,” by Umar Farooq, published on the ProPublica website in July. Although there was a concern that the drones, with their Wescam sensors, had originally come from Turkey, the analysis provided by Kelsey indicated that “the equipment had likely been exported to Ukraine instead of Turkey.”

The logo for The Globe and Mail, featuring the words "THE GLOBE AND MAIL" in white serif font on a red rectangular background, with a small white maple leaf to the right.

A NEW PEACE LEADER FOR CANADA?

In October, the Hon. Douglas Roche, O.C. published an opinion piece in *The Hill Times* under the title “Peace movement in Canada has a new leader, it’s **Cesar Jaramillo**.” It contends that Cesar “has emerged as a dynamic peace activist” who “has the ear of the Government of Canada. When Jaramillo speaks, as he has at the United Nations several times, he projects a rare combination of vision and practicality.” It concludes: “Jaramillo’s mission is to speak truth to power. If he speaks the full truth, the government might not like him so much.”



KEEPING SPACE SAFE

In November, Nathaniel Basen published “Meet the Ontario researcher who’s working to keep space safe” on the TVO Today website. In an extensive interview, Senior Researcher **Jessica West** explained her focus on outer-space security and why keeping space safe for all to use is so vital. The interview concluded with these words by Jessica: “I know astronomers will tell you to look up at the stars to value space, and I would say we also need to value our ability to use space. Our work is on behalf of everybody who needs to use space. Space for all is a key fundamental principle of the Outer Space Treaty and something we have to work on all the time. So that’s why we continue to do our work — whether or not space is in the news.”

The logo for TVO Today, with "tvo" in red lowercase letters and "today" in dark blue lowercase letters.

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Training the next generation of peace researchers

In 2022, we mentored a student from the Global Studies program at Wilfrid Laurier University and employed three interns with support from Canada Summer Jobs and other sources. These interns and research assistants aided Ploughshares Researchers in their projects and pursued independent research, earning publishing credits as author and co-author. One intern also assisted in preparing the final report that was presented to the funder of the virtual workshop series that Project Ploughshares presented in 2022. All these efforts can be found on the Ploughshares website.

2022 INTERNS AND RESEARCH ASSISTANTS

Winter

Alaa Allouh

Summer

Maya Campo

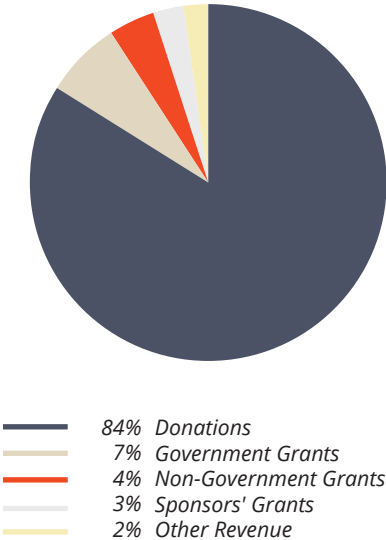
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Project Ploughshares is audited each year by an independent accounting firm and accounts are maintained in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles. The audited financial statements are available on request.

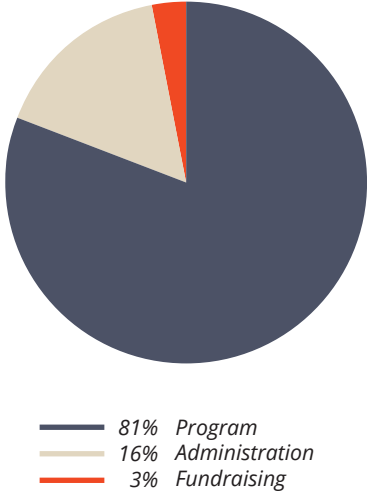
SOURCE OF FUNDS



TOTAL

\$944,708

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\$944,312

In 2022, thousands of individuals, organizations, and churches, including those listed in the following pages, generously provided more than **80 per cent of our funding**.

We are also grateful to our sponsoring churches and to The Simons Foundation Canada in Vancouver for its generous financial support.

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Ploughshares has a new website!

After a lot of consultation and dedicated work by our team, Ploughshares unveiled a new website in the autumn. At the same time, we introduced our new logo.

Tweaks continued for the rest of the year, but the site was generally up and running. On it can be found *The Ploughshares Monitor*, major reports, blogs, and other analysis for 2022.

What hasn't changed? Our address: www.ploughshares.ca.

Check it out

Project Ploughshares is the peace research institute of The Canadian Council of Churches.
Charitable Registration Number 11883 0512 RR0001



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