

# Impact and Empowerment - the role of Gender in the NPT

Working Paper presented by Ireland to the Preparatory
Committee of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear
Weapons

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#### **Background**

- 1. In the Preamble to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), the States Parties to the Treaty, in its first paragraph, consider "the devastation that would be visited on all mankind by a nuclear war and the consequent need to make every effort to avert the danger of such a war and to take measures to safeguard the security of peoples". When the States Parties agreed in 1995 to the indefinite extension of the Treaty, the Decision on Principles and Objectives for Nuclear Non-Proliferation and Disarmament, included a reaffirmation of the preamble and provisions of the Treaty. The provision of regular reporting within the framework of the NPT strengthened review process, agreed in 1995, with respect to the implementation of Article VI was included in the thirteen practical steps in the Final Document of the NPT 2000 Review Conference. In 2010, the Review Conference Final Document expressed "its deep concern at the catastrophic humanitarian consequences of any use of nuclear weapons and reaffirms the need for all States at all times to comply with applicable international law, including international humanitarian law".
- 2. This clear and reiterated humanitarian impetus for our Treaty was reinforced by the terms of the 1996 Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice with regard to the legality of the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, which observed that "the destructive power of nuclear weapons cannot be contained in either space or time. They have the potential to destroy all civilization and the entire ecosystem of the planet...In order correctly to apply to the present case the Charter Law on the use of force and the law applicable in armed conflict, in particular, humanitarian law, it is imperative for the Court to take account of the unique characteristics of nuclear weapons, and in particular their destructive capacity, their capacity to cause untold human suffering, and their ability to cause damage to generations to come". The Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in this matter is also recalled in the Thirteen Practical steps adopted at the 2000 NPT Review Conference.
- 3. Ireland has engaged with determination and commitment in the NPT Review Process and does so again on this occasion. We believe firmly in the humanitarian impetus behind the Treaty and its commitment to nuclear

disarmament and non-proliferation. We have therefore welcomed the renewed impetus and focus, since the adoption of the 2010 outcome document, on the humanitarian impact of nuclear weapons; in particular the new information which has been made available with regard to the serious and imminent risks and catastrophic consequences of any nuclear weapons detonation. The three conferences held between 2013 and 2014 in Oslo, Nayarit and Vienna, as well as the work presented at the 2013 and 2016 Open Ended Working Groups have shown clearly that nuclear disarmament in accordance with Article VI is urgent and necessary.

- 4. Ireland was centrally involved in the UN mandated Multilateral Treaty Negotiations in New York that led to the adoption of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) in July 2017. The preamble of the Treaty recognises that the equal, full and effective participation of both women and men is an essential factor for the promotion and attainment of sustainable peace and security, and commits to supporting and strengthening the effective participation of women in nuclear disarmament. It also recognises that nuclear weapons 'have a disproportionate impact on women and girls, including as a result of ionizing radiation'. Reflecting best practice, the Treaty also contains a specific provision in article 6.1 which commits States Parties, with respect to individuals under its jurisdiction, who are affected by the use or testing of nuclear weapons, in accordance with applicable international humanitarian and human rights law, to adequately provide age- and gender-sensitive assistance, without discrimination, including medical care, rehabilitation and psychological support, as well as provide for their social and economic inclusion.
- 5. As a non-Nuclear Weapons State we believe that every opportunity to seek progress in nuclear disarmament must be seized. Our view is that the TPNW strengthens and reinforces the disarmament provisions of the NPT and we encourage all NPT State Parties and all Members of the United Nations to join. Equally, we trust that this Review Cycle and its outcome will also provide a stimulus for action. The NPT is not a charter for the indefinite retention of nuclear weapons, and the heightened regional and international tensions we are currently witnessing make the case for action on multilateral nuclear disarmament even more urgent than before.

## **Gender, Empowerment and Nuclear Weapons**

- 6. This working paper builds on the 'Gender, Development and Nuclear Weapons' working paper submitted by Ireland at the 2017 NPT Preparatory Committee Meeting, which highlighted the issue of gender in the context of the humanitarian initiative and from the viewpoint of women's participation in Nuclear Disarmament negotiating forums. The 2017 PrepCom Chair's factual summary referenced both the research on the strongly gendered impact of ionising radiation from nuclear weapons and also the low participation of female delegates in nuclear disarmament discussions such as the NPT Review Cycle for the first time in the NPT context.
- 7. The research conducted by ILPI and UNIDIR in their paper 'Gender, Development and Nuclear Weapons' underpins the conclusions in the working papers presented by Ireland to the NPT PrepCom. Ireland has consistently sought to bring international attention to the important findings of this research. It was first presented during a side event at First Committee in October 2016 and was re-launched by UNIDIR, Sweden and Ireland during the 2017 preparatory committee. The issues were further highlighted at the 2017 First Committee in a joint statement delivered on behalf of 43 states under Disarmament Machinery. Ireland also made its own national statement in this cluster where we focused on the engagement and participation of women in disarmament discourse.
- 8. Our original inspiration for this work comes from the presentation made by Mary Olson of the NIRS to the Vienna Conference on Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear Weapons in December 2014<sup>2</sup>. In this work, and in a subsequent presentation made at a side event organised by Ireland to the 2015 NPT Review Conference, Ms Olson demonstrates the clear scientific evidence showing that ionising radiation does not affect men and women equally. A paper by A.G

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The ILPI and UNIDIR (2016) "GENDER, DEVELOPMENT AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS: Shared goals, shared concerns" *Joint Paper* Presented at the United Nations General Assembly, October 2016: http://www.unidir.org/files/publications/pdfs/gender-development-and-nuclear-weapons-en-659.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> M. Olson, 'Nuclear: War of Human Consequences—Presentation to the Vienna Conference on Humanitarian Impacts of Nuclear Weapons', Nuclear Information and Resource Service, December 2014, p. 34: http://www.nirs.org/international/olsontalkvienna12414.pdf.

Dimmen on Gendered Impacts, prepared by ILPI and UNIDIR for the Vienna Conference, has also highlighted this important topic<sup>3</sup>. While the detonation of one or more nuclear weapons would cause massive death and injury to all, the evidence is clear that, over the longer term, of those who are exposed to ionising radiation from such a detonation, women and girls have a far higher risk of developing cancer than men or boys. Whatever the ultimate biological cause for this greater susceptibility, the evidence is unambiguous. In a longitudinal study of survivors of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the risk of developing and dying from cancer due to ionising radiation was almost twice as high for women as for men.

- 9. Ireland considers that this serious humanitarian aspect of nuclear weapons risk is one which the NPT Review process has not given sufficient consideration up to now. With the research now available and the strong evidence that detonation of these weapons causes far greater harm to the health of women and girls than to men and boys, we must approach our commitments to disarmament of nuclear weapons with due regard also to our commitments under humanitarian law, to sustainable development, gender equality and our commitments under the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. We cannot continue to maintain, modernize and improve weapons which are now known beyond any scientific doubt to have disproportionate gendered impacts on women.
- 10. For this reason, Ireland considers that the significant humanitarian question of the disproportionate effect of a nuclear weapons detonation on women and girls must be reflected in the outcome document of this NPT Review Cycle. This is a significant aspect of any nuclear weapons detonation, one deserving of far greater attention from NPT States Parties than has been the case up to now.
- 11. There have been welcome signs of progress recently in other disarmament fora. The gender provisions of the TPNW have already been highlighted above. There are various initiatives on Gender and Disarmament taking place across the multilateral missions, including a "Women in Nuclear" Chapter in Vienna where Ireland's Ambassador is a member of the Vienna Gender Champion's group. Here in Geneva, Ireland's Permanent Representative is also a Gender Champion

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dimmen, A.G (2014) "GENDERED IMPACTS: The humanitarian impacts of nuclear weapons from a gender perspective" *Paper No 5 of* 6 at the ILPI-UNIDIR conference Series: http://ilpi.org/publications/gendered-impacts-the-humanitarian-impacts-of-nuclear-weapons-from-a-gender-perspective/

and is working with colleagues on the establishment of a new Gender and Disarmament Impact Group. Within the EU, a key priority is now to ensure a focus on gender and disarmament, and advance the women, peace and security agenda while implementing its WMD and SALW Strategies. Gender issues also feature heavily in conventional disarmament. With the entry into force of the ATT in 2014, Ireland and other state parties acknowledged that gender based violence is a consequence of the arms trade, its disproportionate impact on women and children, and agreed to enforce an export control regime that would incorporate risk assessments for GBV. Article 7(4) of the Arms Trade Treaty marked the first time GBV has been explicitly recognised in an arms control treaty. Ireland has submitted a working paper to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference of States Parties to the ATT and looks forward to further work in this respect.<sup>4</sup> At the UN Programme of Action on SALW PrepCom in New York in 2018 Ireland and other member states highlighted issues relating to gender and their intention to enhance information sharing and data collection on issues relating to gender and the illicit SALW trade. As the NPT enters its 50<sup>th</sup> year, it must engage with this important issue in a meaningful and effective manner and reflect the discussion in the summaries of Preparatory Committee meetings and Final Documents of Review Conferences.

### Women's participation in Negotiations on Nuclear Weapons

12. Ireland also wishes to use the opportunity of this working paper to highlight another aspect of gender and nuclear weapons, the question of women's participation in negotiating forums. This is particularly important in Nuclear Disarmament where the UNIDIR /ILPI paper shows clearly that women continue to be seriously underrepresented in Nuclear Disarmament work, including at First Committee and at NPT Review meetings. The disparity is even worse if we study Groups of Governmental Experts working on nuclear disarmament related matters.

13. Ireland has committed strongly to a gender perspective in our disarmament work. A focus on gender equality has been a cross cutting issue for Ireland's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Working Paper Presented by Ireland to the Conference of the State Parties to the Arms Trade Treaty: Article 7(4) and Gender Based Violence Assessment:

http://thearmstradetreaty.org/images/CSP3 Documents/Conference Documents/Working Paper ATT.CSP3. 2017.IRL.183.Conf.WP.pdf

foreign policy, in line with UNSCR 1325, for many years. This is particularly reflected in our work on human rights, conflict prevention and post conflict rehabilitation, as well as our work to promote sustainable development. In 2015 our 'Second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security', following a wide public consultation process, included for the first time specific commitments to support the inclusion of a gender perspective and women's effective participation in Disarmament, Non-proliferation and Arms control.

- 14. Ireland considers this matter to be of key importance for our work in the NPT context. This is in the first instance, from the principle of fairness, that women should be equally engaged in discussions on weapons which affect them so disproportionately, both biologically, and also taking into account the wider gendered Impacts of conflict which are also addressed in the UNIDIR/ILPI paper. These broader questions of displacement, discrimination and social stigma are also important in this context.
- 15. Recognising that the underlying trend for women's engagement in disarmament forums is improving, though slowly, Ireland would encourage States who can do so to empower, assist and sponsor qualified women participants in Nuclear Disarmament forums and to take gender diversity into account in the composition of their delegations.
- 16. Studies show that diversity and differing perspectives make group prediction and problem solving more effective. 50 years from the adoption of the NPT, and with a failure to agree an outcome document in 2015, this Review Cycle offers us an opportunity for more effective discussions and outcomes. Ireland reiterates its call for a conscious and genuine commitment to improving women's engagement and participation in the work of the NPT. It is a common sense approach that will result in a more inclusive, positive and representative review process.

#### **Conclusion:**

17. The imbalance in our NPT meetings at present serves to limit our ability to succeed. Improving the engagement and participation of women will provide fresh perspectives and inject further impetus into our work, which takes on

greater significance in this landmark anniversary year for the NPT. Fulfilling the promise of nuclear disarmament set out by the original drafters of the Treaty and reiterated unequivocally in 2000 and 2010 must be our top priority. Midway through this NPT Review Cycle, we must keep in mind that nuclear weapons and the devastation that would be unleashed by their use would destroy our shared global goals and aspirations. Any nuclear weapons detonation, whether accidental or deliberate, would have a significant impact on development, gender equality, health, protection of cultural heritage and the environment. A more wide-scale event would wreak devastation for generations. In this working paper and across our 'missing links' papers. Ireland has sought to bring attention to the gendered impact of nuclear weapons and the need to increase women's participation in nuclear disarmament negotiations. But we are also cognisant of the wider developmental and environmental concerns which nuclear weapons pose for our ever more fragile planet.

18. 50 years since the adoption of the Treaty, and with a view to the 25th anniversary of its extension in 2020, Ireland wishes to emphasise to our NPT partners that the participation and engagement of women is not simply a 'nice to have', but rather, a 'must have'; essential if we are to achieve meaningful progress on our collective goals.