

1995–2025

# Beijing – Going Forward

*Promoting Family and Motherhood at the  
Fourth World Conference on Women*



**By Susan Roylance**

***1995 - 2025***

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Fourth World Conference on Women**

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**– 2025 –**

I am grateful to have worked with the following organizations:

United Families International

Big Ocean Women

Sustainable Families Group

Family Watch International

Welcome Hand

1995-2025

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Promoting Family and Motherhood at the  
Fourth World Conference on Women

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## **Tribute and Introduction**

by Marcia Barlow

People don't usually think of women as "warriors", but the book you are about to read is the story of a warrior – a warrior in a battle that few are aware is even taking place. The profile of a warrior is someone who is fearless, focused, and relentless in defense of what they hold dear. And, in the case of Susan Roylance: defense and promotion of marriage, motherhood, fatherhood, children, and the family.

It is no small feat to marry, raise seven well-adjusted and successful children, serve family and community, and at the same time impact nations through community-transformative projects, laws, policies, and international documents and norms. Susan didn't come from a background where she was surrounded and supported by cultural elites, nor those of the academic world. You will see she clearly did just fine without that type of pedigree. Susan simply spent her life organizing, clarifying issues, re-focusing attitudes, strategizing, writing, publishing, motivating and teaching others.

Where many people would never believe they could do something as audacious as to show up at international policy meetings, take a microphone and influence UN documents and world leaders, Susan never doubted. Her life might best be explained by Bob, Susan's husband, as he often states: "The Lord keeps opening doors and Susan just keeps walking through them." Susan has accomplished much while retaining the humility to recognize that "God's hand is in it all" – an attitude I have observed, repeatedly.

Susan is a force to be reckoned with and Susan reputation often preceded her as a tough, but fair opponent, both domestically and internationally. Susan is and was well-known to UN diplomats and activists alike – and respected by all. She was one of the "early adopters" of the attitude that you can work amicably with those who disagree with you; a quality that is in short supply, today. Susan's experiences align with the rise of what some refer to as "radical feminism;" during a unique and consequential time. As you read this book, you will recognize many prominent names and realize you are reading an important part of history.

Susan cites the influence and interaction with prominent feminist activist, Bella Abzug, in learning how to leverage UN procedures and consensus language. Susan used that knowledge as a springboard to create a framework she called "The Five Respects" (Family, Human Life, Parents, Religion, and Sovereignty). This framework helped Susan to conceptualize, organize and then create perhaps her seminal work: the *UN Negotiating Guide*.

*Tribute and Introduction*

The *UN Negotiating Guide*, now in its 4<sup>th</sup> edition, remains the “secret weapon” of pro-family advocates and UN diplomats alike. This massive volume, collected under one cover, provides the reader with many of the key international treaties and UN conference documents. It also identifies, organizes, and indexes family-supportive language, which allows for effective pro-family / pro-life interventions throughout the UN negotiating process.

There’s a quote attributed to the French philosopher Voltaire, “Don’t let the perfect be the enemy of the good” which took on new meaning as Susan tweaked it to be a mantra that has served her well: “It’s good enough!” - allowing Susan to accomplish remarkable things. This mindset has freed her and allowed her to write and publish her numerous books, pamphlets, policy guides, come up with various formats and “negotiating grids” to analyze documents to assist like-minded diplomats during negotiations and where ever she went, to stand and boldly proclaim truth as she saw it. Her efforts were *so* “good enough” I am left to wonder where the pro-family movement would be without her down-to-earth, yet exceptional talent.

This unassuming mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother’s reach has extended to hundreds, if not thousands, of pro-family advocates. Those who are members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, involved in international pro-family work, can, almost without exception, trace their provenance to Susan Roylance. Her amazing contribution has spanned decades. I am grateful and honored to say I am a beneficiary of her friendship and her influence. But I warn you to be prepared, because as you read of her experiences, you may just be inspired to add your name to a long – and continually growing – list of warriors for the family!



**Susan and Marcia Barlow**

## **Motherhood and Our Future**

E. Douglas Clark

“The great contribution of women to the welfare of the family and to the development of society,” declared the United Nations in the preamble to its 1981 treaty on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, is “so far not fully recognized.” Will it ever be?

“While history books sing the victories of valiant emperors and warriors,” observed Archbishop Bernardito Auza, former Permanent Representative of the Holy See, “all of civilization . . . owes an unpayable debt of gratitude to the less chronicled or even unknown contributions of women that have shaped civilizations, like the silent but constant flow of deep waters that shape rivers.” Indeed, **“humanity owes its survival to the choice women make not just to welcome children, but raise them to be virtuous and authentically human.”**

Unfortunately, noted the Archbishop, “we’re living in a time when the unique value and dignity of motherhood in some societies is insufficiently defended, appreciated and advanced, leaving women culturally and legally in a position to choose between their intellectual and professional development and their personal growth as wives and mothers. Women’s essential contributions to the development of society through their dedication to their family and to raising the next generation is inadequately acknowledged. Sometimes their invisible and often heroic service is even disparaged as an antiquated and unwholesome model of feminine life.”

That this remarkable development is happening even in the United Nations is certainly a betrayal of the principles it proclaimed shortly after its founding when it issued the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The only time the Declaration designates a class of rights as “special” is when it speaks of motherhood: “Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance.” And the only time the Declaration acknowledges a group unit as having rights is when it speaks of family: “The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.”



This core connection between motherhood and family was emphasized by then-Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon:

Mothers play a critical role in the family, which is a powerful force for social cohesion and integration. **The mother-child relationship is vital for the healthy development of children...** We face multiple challenges in our changing world, but one factor remains constant: the timeless importance of mothers and their invaluable contribution to raising the next generation.

Or, in the words of Archbishop Auza, “Our future is already mirrored in how we, as individuals and as a society, support mothers to raise strong and healthy families.” **It is a warning we cannot afford to ignore!**

## **Personal Experiences 1942—1995**

In the first 10 years of my life, I lived on a farm. It was an idyllic life, in many ways. My father worked hard, and played hard. Mother was all that a mother could be – loving, inspiring and supporting.

We had an old one-room school house on our farm property. It was closed a couple years before I started school, but many books and supplies had been left behind. As we looked through the windows, it was like a fantasy land for us. Why let all those school supplies go to waste? So, we loaded up our little red wagon and brought the school supplies home. Well, that didn't last long. My mother said, "Those things are not ours. They belong to the school district. You turn around and take them all back." So, we did. That was my mother. Totally honest!

When I was 6 years old my father "hired" me to follow the potato-digger (behind the tractor) and pick up potatoes that would fall over into the tracks of the tractor, so they wouldn't be crushed when the tractor turned around and came back down the next row. He paid me \$5 a day. In 1948 that was big money for a 6-year-old girl. It was hard work for a little girl, but I loved the opportunity to earn money. In today's world, some would say that was "child labor." But it taught me how to work hard – and never give up when the going got tough.

When I started school, I had to ride the bus about 30 miles to and from school. We lived in Idaho, where it snowed in the winter. I remember one year when it snowed so hard the road was closed to the highway where we got on the bus. I didn't want to miss school, so I trudged through the deep snow to the bus stop (about 1/4 mile). My cousins, that lived across the road, thought I was crazy – but I really liked school. But, to my dismay, the bus didn't come that day.

My mother diligently saw to it that I had every opportunity to grow and flourish. When we lived on the farm in Idaho, she traveled 30 miles each week to take me to piano lessons, when I turned 8 years old. When we moved to Washington, and I needed braces for my teeth, she traveled 80 miles each month, to take me to a good orthodontist. In every way, she was a wonderful example of motherhood!

When I was 10, my family moved to Washington State. The government had built a new dam, the Grand Coulee Dam, and canals were built to provide water to new farmland. As many families moved into the area, the school was not large enough, and we could only go to school for a half day, while they built a new school. I was in the 5th grade. I went to school in the morning. I talked my teacher into letting me go ahead in my studies, in the afternoon, and I eventually moved ahead 3 years to 8th grade math and science. This put me at the head of my class.

I wanted to go to college, when I graduated from high school, but I knew my parents couldn't afford it, unless I was able to get a scholarship. So, I studied hard. When I was about 13 years old, I attended a youth church meeting, and the teacher encouraged us to keep the Sabbath holy, and not do schoolwork on Sunday. He said we would do better in our studies, the rest of the week, if we studied the gospel on Sunday, and looked for things we could do to help others. He "promised" that we would do better in our schoolwork if we put God first in our lives on Sunday. I decided to test his promise. The next week our church had a big conference on Sunday, with an additional youth group in the evening. I had two tests coming up on Monday, but I decided to stay, and trust in the promise. But I did my part, and got up early the next morning to study. And, it happened so that I studied all the right things, and got an A on the first test. The other test was cancelled. Mr. Green was our teacher, and I had him for several different classes in my high school years, but it's the only time he ever cancelled a test.

My trial test of the Sunday studying plan had been very successful, so I continued to follow the plan of doing religious things on Sunday, while studying for school on the other 6 days of the week. I don't criticize others for a different choice, but it worked for me. I graduated as the Valedictorian of my class with a 4.0 grade average.

In my 8th grade year, Mr. Prokofiev was our World History teacher. He taught us about World War II, and how the people were lulled into believing that Hitler was a good leader, in the beginning. My father worked for the government when I was a baby – building bombs, and later served in the army. At an early age I learned about the war, and how terrible it was. I was shocked to learn that the youth were organized and indoctrinated into the Nazi way of thinking, **when they were my age**. Other scout or church groups were stopped. These youth gradually became part of Hitler's army, and swore allegiance to him.

I was shocked to realize how the youth, and their parents, could be gradually lulled into support for the terrible dictator that Hitler became – which caused such terrible destruction and loss of lives. "Most estimates place the total number of deaths during the Second World War at around 70-85 million people" (statista.com).

At that time, in my life, the Communist party was seen as a threat to the United States. Luckily, the "cold war" never materialized into a conflict between Russian and the United States, but we were shown films about the atomic bomb, and how to hide under our desks, or go into underground shelters, in case of war. This was indelibly impressed upon my mind. Pictures of the raised clenched fist represented the Communist party.

I was 23 years old when the United States became involved in the Vietnam War. Many young men, my age, were drafted into the war. From my perspective, it was a failed war. While the U.S. was involved, they were not in charge, and many young men died needlessly.

When I was about 29, I saw a news story with an older woman strapped to a stretcher and carried out of her house. She lived in an area where the government wanted to build an apartment building for senior citizens. She was a senior citizen, and she had a nice house, and a garden. She was able to take care of herself, and she didn't want to sell her house to the government. So, they forcibly carried her out of her house and knocked it down. I was shocked. Could this be happening in my country?

I wrote a long letter to the local newspaper, and the newspaper actually had an artist draw a cartoon next to it. This was the beginning of my involvement in the political arena. Many people saw, and commented on my letter, and the Republican party leaders invited me to become involved with the county convention, coming up. Soon, I was the Secretary of the Franklin County Republican party. As the Secretary, I had to take minutes of the meetings, and I soon became knowledgeable about Robert's Rules of Order. I was invited to go to the State Republican Party Convention, and soon learned how to participate effectively. When we moved to Benton County, I became the Vice Chairman of the Republican party.

### **1975 – The First World Conference on Women**

In 1975, the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) organized the First World Conference on Women.

On January 9, 1975, President Gerald Ford signed an Executive Order creating a U.S. National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year. The commission worked with nongovernmental organizations to create the report: "To Form a More Perfect Union." In 1977, when Jimmy Carter became President, he formed a new Commission and appointed Bella Abzug to head it. Under her leadership, Congress approved \$5 million for state and national conferences, culminating in a National Women's Conference in Houston.

### **1977 – IWY (International Women's Year) Conference in Houston**

In 1977, I was the Vice President of the Republican party in Benton County, Washington. At that time the women's issues were becoming a bigger part of convention discussions and party platforms. The ERA, abortion and gay rights

were among the controversial issues. Women in both the Republican and Democrat parties were divided on these issues.

I first heard about the International Women's Year (IWY) conferences when Dolores Gilmore, a precinct chair in Benton County, came to my home and asked if I would be the Pro-Family Chairman for the IWY Conference to be held in Washington State. As we discussed it, I said, "I can't do that. Those issues are very controversial, and we have a hard enough time getting good Republicans elected in Benton County." She gave me a diskette tape from a woman in Oklahoma, who told about the experiences they had in the IWY Conference in their state, and said, "Please listen to this, and pray about it." (She was a Catholic.)

I prayed. And, as I listened to the tape, I was appalled to hear the pro-lesbian, pro-abortion and anti-motherhood activities of the conference in Oklahoma. I decided to help – and the rest is history.

The next day Dolores gathered several women in her home to talk about the conference. I said, "I'm not going to go to this conference unless we have good positive proposals to present, and we have enough women pass our proposals." The conference information showed that there would be workshops on 45 topics. So, we looked over the 45 and narrowed it down to 8 topics – to prepare proposals to present.

In the meantime, we sent two young women to travel to other cities and hold meetings with women – to explain why we needed them to come to Ellensburg to the IWY conference.

As I remember, we had two weeks to prepare. As our support grew, with women all over the state, I felt the need to let the organizers of the conference know that we expected about 2,000 more women to attend. The \$15 fee was supposed to allow us to stay in student housing in Ellensburg (Central Washington University), and include some food. While it was sponsored by the Federal Government, and Washington State, and we would still have to pay the \$15, I knew the logistics would be difficult – if that many extra women showed up at the last minute.

Dolores Gilmore and the other leaders of the "Blue and White Coalition" were busy finding places for people to spend the night, including sleeping on the floors in churches, and arranging for food to eat. It was an amazing flurry of good women.

I contacted the chairman of the Conference, and asked if I could come visit with her. She invited me to attend the Conference Committee meetings (organized by the Washington State Women's Council). So, for two days I met with them.

## **Minority Resolutions of the Blue and White Coalition**

### **Resolution 1. ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.**

The president should continue to see that all Americans are afforded the social, economic livelihood of their free choice according to each individual's knowledge and skills, without regard to age, race or sex. Further, we believe that the wife can have a positive effect on the economics of a family through proper budgeting.

### **Resolution 2. CHILD CARE**

WHEREAS mothers are sometimes unprepared to support a family in the event of divorce or widowhood, BE IT RESOLVED that federally-funded child care should be provided until the mother obtains the necessary training to support herself and her family.

WHEREAS an adult working closely with a child can often have a profound effect on that child, BE IT RESOLVED that it is the right of a parent to know the sexual preference of any adult working closely with their child.

WHEREAS it is the right of a mother to choose to remain at home to care for and nurture her children, BE IT RESOLVED that this choice should be presented as an intelligent and creative one which is of great benefit to society.

### **Resolution 3. CREDIT**

Credit should continue to be available according to ability to pay without regard to age, race, or sex. Credit extended to any whose ability to pay has not been established, often becomes the burden of other credit customers.

### **Resolution 4. EDUCATION**

Recognizing differences between girls and boys, we must continue to encourage educational activities based on individual student preferences. We believe this will encourage role identification necessary to maintain a well-adjusted society.

### **Resolution 5. EMPLOYMENT**

Employment in our free enterprise society should be based on ability and qualification. The exception being those instances when a working woman who is not the primary bread winner would replace a working man with a family to support. This would encourage a society favorable to women who as mothers, wish to be homemakers and be helpful to women who are the primary support of a family.

Women should have the opportunity to serve their country voluntarily. In case of national emergency women should only be expected to serve after all able-bodied men are drafted, with the exception of those women, who are not mothers, who could serve in non-combative positions to relieve a man to fight.

### **Resolution 6. EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT**

Our National and State constitutions already provide equal protection for women. We cherish marriage between a man and a woman as a sacred institution and encourage the continuation of husband-wife relationships. We also believe we should respect and honor and revere the role of a mother and homemaker.

### **Resolution 7. FEMALE OFFENDERS**

Criminal offenders must be segregated for their own safety and health. Juveniles must continue to be the primary responsibility of parents, provided a stable home environment exists.

### **Resolution 8. HEALTH**

Clinical studies indicate Doctors are not fully aware of the health factor resulting from improper diet. We encourage further studies on nutrition, preventive medicine along with on-going research. The results should be made available to all families. Whenever possible, research should be encouraged through private resources.

We encourage our citizenry to become more aware of proper nutrition, and the health hazards of over-indulgence.

The women of Washington desire that young people be taught in Health classes that promiscuous sex is the cause of unwanted pregnancy and venereal disease and that they not be encouraged in sexual activity by being

Our women worked hard to prepare positive proposals. On the day of the conference we asked our women to come to the back entrance of the conference center and pick up a "background paper" for one of the eight workshops.

All of the eight workshops were filled to overflowing. Admittedly, they were the controversial workshops. As the proposals were voted on, all of our resolutions passed. This caused quite a stir among the conference organizers.

The next day, at the Plenary Session, the Conference Chair did everything she could to prevent our women from speaking – which prevented our women from presenting the resolutions that had passed in the workshops the day before.

As the floor leader of the pro-family women, I passed the word around to vote "no" on everything. Since we had the majority of the women, they couldn't pass anything. When we opposed all their resolutions – everything stopped!

Finally, the chair allowed us to present our resolutions, and all of our pro-family resolutions passed.

We thought we had the majority of the women at the plenary, and expected our pro-family delegates would be elected. But, when the votes were counted, for the 24 delegates to the Conference in Houston, none of our delegates were elected. I was the first alternate, but the Conference Committee decided to NOT help with the travel expenses of the alternates. Instead, they used the conference money to pay the travel expenses for 10 experts.

Some of our women had previous experience as poll-watchers, and they gathered information to show that there had been some ballot-stuffing. A good lawyer volunteered his services, and we filed a lawsuit. But the final Houston conference was over before we had our day in court. So, it was cancelled.

The mandate of the State IWY conference was to vote on resolutions that would be presented to the State Legislature for consideration. However, in Washington State, the Women's Council, who managed the conference, said that our pro-family women were really a minority, and our resolutions would not be forwarded to the Legislature.

However, this was not the end of it!

The Washington State Legislature had just concluded, and they had passed a law making the Women's Council an official Washington State Women's Commission. This would give them state funds to lobby the legislature for their causes, including abortion, gay rights, etc. I had previously chaired an effort in Oregon

State to put a law passed by the Oregon State Legislature, to decriminalize one ounce of marijuana, to a vote of the people. My brother had become involved in using marijuana, and lost his life at age 18. A parent's group I was involved with decided we wanted to put this law to a vote of the people. But we had missed the time for it to be a Referendum on the ballot, and it was much harder to write a new law, as an Initiative.

From my experience in Oregon, I knew what to do for a Referendum in Washington State. And, we were not too late to refer the law passed in by the Legislature to make the Women's Council become an official Women's Commission – funded by the State. We had over 2,000 women that had attended the Women's Conference, and they were very energized to stop this Council from becoming official.

We gathered more than enough signatures, in record time, to put the new law on the ballot. One of our women, a doctor, had been attending the Women's Council meetings, and had the minutes of their meetings. She was especially concerned with their promotion of abortion. We prepared a simple flyer, with the words from the Council minutes, and blanketed the State – door to door. When the ballots were counted, on election day, WE WON! by 72%.

On [historylink.org](http://historylink.org), it reports:

The Women's Commission (also called the Washington State Women's Council) had previously served at the pleasure of the governor. Opposition to it came from the various sources, including those who opposed the ERA (Equal Rights Amendment), the rights of homosexuals, affirmative action, and the availability of abortion; voters opposed to bigger government and presumably more taxes; and voters who believed that there was no problem, that women in the state already had equality. Some 240,000 voters voted for the commission, whereas more than 600,000 voters opposed it.

The Governor, Dixie Lee Ray, had said, if they lost, she would just appoint an official governors Women's Council. But for any politician, the handwriting was on the wall, and she invited us to a special meeting to announce that she would discontinue the Women's Commission.

But the fight was still not over!

On November 18, 1977, the official women delegates, from all 50 of the United States of America, gathered in Houston for the National Women's Conference. History Link ([historylink.org](http://historylink.org)) reports:



Heated debates ensued over 26 major topics addressed at the conference, such as the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), reproductive rights, the nuclear family, child care funding, sexual orientation, education reform, and the rights of disabled, minority, and aging women.

When we entered the Sam Houston Coliseum in Houston, we saw helium filled balloons tied to hundreds of seats, with the words "We are everywhere!" One of the 24 delegates from Washington State turned her ankle, but they carried her onto the floor – to prevent me from participating.

They did not use Robert's Rules of Order for the conference, but a new system where you had to hold up a certain color card to request to speak. For example: red to submit a motion, blue for an amendment, yellow for a point-of-order, etc. In addition, the pro-family delegations (from states like Utah) were seated in the far corners of the auditorium, so they couldn't get to the microphones quickly. They would quickly get in front of any women who might be pro-life, or pro-family. They were well organized to prevent our participation.

A large area connected to the auditorium, in the Colosseum, was filled with booths selling lesbian devices, and "how-to" books for lesbians.

Interestingly, the conference occurred at the same time as a visit by Egyptian President, Anwar Sadat, to Jerusalem (19-21 November). He spoke to the Knesset, the legislative body in Israel. It was the first time an Arab leader visited Israel and addressed the Knesset – with a call for peace. It was very hopeful! All the media outlets were focused on Sadat, until the last day of the Women's Conference.

The Conference had courier's delivering messages to people throughout the conference. So, on the last day, I requested a meeting with Bella Abzug, and she allowed me to speak with her in a small room in the Coliseum. I said, "Bella, you have the majority of the delegates to this conference. What would it hurt to allow us to speak, and present our views?" She responded roughly, "You can speak!" I reminded her that we could not get to the microphones, because all of the pro-family women had been placed in areas that were far away, and her women would quickly get in front of us, so we could not speak. So, she agreed to change the rules, and she instructed the Chair of the conference to let us participate.

Interestingly, the floor was opened up to us about the time that the abortion issue was discussed. During the debate, pro-life women paraded pictures of aborted babies as they walked in front of the balcony seats. (The pictures of aborted babies are very difficult to look at.) The pro-life demonstration caused quite a commotion, and now that media was available the cameras were busy, and they

interviewed the pro-life delegates. And, that was the news coverage families saw on their television sets that night – all over the country. It was a miracle!

We didn't win support for any of our resolutions, but our presence was recorded – defending the lives of unborn babies.

On the other side of Houston, at the Astrodome, almost fifteen thousand conservative women, under the leadership of Phyllis Schlafly, held their own counter-conference in which they vowed to uphold traditional pro-family values. The competing Houston conferences demonstrated the discord among women over key issues, and Schlafly's message that women had something to lose, not something to gain, from feminism, continued to resonate in the increasingly conservative political climate. Nowhere was this clearer than in the battles over reproductive freedom and the Equal Rights Amendment – the issues most associated with feminism in the public mind during the 1970s.

After the conference, President Carter appointed Bella Abzug to co-chair the national Advisory Committee on Women, but she was dismissed from that committee in 1979. I thought she had finally been rejected, and "faded into the woodwork." Hallelujah! It was good to see her go.

One of the things that really disturbed me at the conference, was the raised hand – in a tight fist. It reminded me of the raised fist I had seen on Communist posters. It worried me.



I remembered the things Mr. Prokofiev taught us in high school – how the German youth were lulled into accepting Hitler, which started World War II.

I was worried about the future of my children.

On my way home, in the airplane, I decided that I would do everything I could to defeat our current Congressman, who had voted for, and supported these radical Women Conferences. As the Vice Chairman of the Benton County Republicans, I attended the Fourth District meetings. I determined to help choose someone that could defeat Congressman Mike McCormick.

In January, when I attended the Fourth District meeting, we discussed possible candidates. Because I had been the Chairman of Referendum 40, that defeated the Women's Commission, and had many friends throughout the Fourth District, one of the leaders said, "The only one that has enough name recognition, to defeat a sitting Congressman, is Susan Roylance."

That was very shocking to me. The last year had been very busy for me – with our Washington State Women's Conference, and Referendum 40 on the ballot. I now wanted to return to being a full-time mother. Our children needed a mother. Other family members had been tending them, but I had 7 children, and a son that was only 2 years old. My sister had helped care for my younger children when I was traveling around the State. She had two children the same age as mine, and my children liked to go to her house. She was a wonderful mother, but she wasn't the mother of my children.

We gathered our brothers and sisters together, and asked what they thought about my running for congress. They were aware of the serious issues that were plaguing our country, and wanted to help. So, the decision was made, and I became the Republican candidate for the Fourth Congressional District – the largest Congressional District in the country.

About that same time, Congress extended the date for states to ratify the E.R.A. I was told that the women in the Congress all stood by the door, as the men filed in, and requested them to "remember the women." And, it passed. I felt that Congress needed a pro-family woman's voice – someone that was younger (I was 35).

I don't plan to tell the story of my candidacy in this book, but it was a very difficult experience. At that time, the TV stations, radio stations, and newspapers were very local – four hours in every direction from my home in Kennewick. I had to be constantly on the move to just keep my candidacy alive. In the latter part of the campaign, a single-engine airplane was donated for our use, and my campaign manager just happened to be a pilot.

I felt God's hand in my life, many times.

One time the National President of Right to Life, Caroline Gerstner, come to speak at three of our campaign events. She did not like flying in a single-engine plane, but she agreed to do it when she saw the distances we would need to travel on roads. She was speaking to a group in Yakima when my campaign manager told me that she would need to leave early. He needed to get Caroline on a commercial flight to Seattle, to catch her flight back to Arizona. He said, "And, I don't want to talk about it!" So, she left early.

Our plane was kept in a local airport in Richland. We landed safely that night, but the next morning when he went over to service the plane, the wheels would not come down. If we had taken Carolyn to Seattle, and then returned to Richland, our wheels probably wouldn't have lowered, and I might not be here to tell you about this experience. That smaller airport didn't have a control tower that could have noticed our predicament.

Another thing that happened, which really scared me, was the day when my oldest son, Kent, went with a friend to canoe down the Columbia River. About 10 pm I got a call to tell me that Kent was missing. It might not have made a difference if I was at home, but I really "lost it." I was out on the campaign trail. I prayed and prayed, and they finally found him. But, as I talked with our family the next day, I wondered if I should quit the campaign, or at least quit trying to win.

I remember an interview with a local news reporter. He said, "You're going to win!" At that point, it did seem like that was a possibility. But I did lose. I carried all of the district except the city of Vancouver, the bedroom community across the river from Portland. The people in that city might have supported me if I had been against nuclear energy, but I supported nuclear energy. And, I remember one woman, when I was going door to door. She said the Democrat party made it possible for her to get an extra \$50 that year, and she would support them. I will never forget that experience. She was poor, and she really needed the money. That was the most important thing she needed for her family.

When the campaign was over, I was very sick. I thought I would get better with some good rest, but the doctor discovered that I had an abdominal tumor, and I was rushed into surgery. As a result, I had a complete hysterectomy. It took several months before I was back to good health. About that time my husband made a change in his job – and we moved to Utah, where he helped manage the farms owned by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. That was the end of my political career – thankfully!

During the next 16 years, I was busy with United Families of America. You can see an outline of their activities in the chapter on the History of United Families International.

I was also concerned about the activities of Planned Parenthood, and did research on the rate of teenage pregnancy in relation to the amount of Title X money the government spent on sex education, and providing contraceptives.

When I was a candidate for the U.S. House of Representative (1978), I was constantly lobbied by Planned Parenthood. They had a goal of having clinics near every high school in the State. (At that time Washington had a State E.R.A. and it was legal to use public funds for abortions.) I visited the Planned Parent headquarters in Seattle and watched a video that were very suggestive, and supported abortion. They had a pamphlet that encouraged different kinds of sex, that were very disturbing to me. I was very concerned to think that they could be freely given to teenagers, to children the ages of my children.

As a teenager, when I was in Junior High, a new teacher in our rural school was determined to teach my class about sex. I was in the High School band during that time of the day, but I saw many of my classmates get involved in sex, and some of the girls got pregnant. The boys and girls were taught together in the class.

Because of my personal experience with the impact of this type of sex education, I decided to do some research – to find out if this was also a problem in other states. I was able to get the information from each state, on the rate of teenage pregnancy and abortions, and the amount of Title X funding that was supplied to each state.

I discovered that about two years after an increase in the Title X expenditures in a state, there was an increase in teenage pregnancy. And, when the funding was stopped, or reduced, there was a reduction in teenage pregnancy. I was invited to present my research with the U.S. Senate Committee over Health and Welfare. This is my opening statement, and two later comments. (See the full report in the *Congressional Record*, April 6, 1981, E 1599.)

Mr. Chairman: Continuing to fund Planned Parenthood Programs, in an effort to solve the problem of teenage pregnancy, could be compared to appropriating funds to the American Petroleum Institute for additional gasoline to help put out a raging forest fire.

The facts I will present to you today will dramatically demonstrate the accuracy of the comparison. . . . A statistics professor in at the University of Utah correlated the figures on which the chart is based. They are cross-lag correlations, which take into account the fact that an appropriation one year will have the greatest effect on the pregnancy rate two years later. . . . One can almost predict the rise and fall in either states pregnancy rates when compared with the increase or decrease of Title X appropriations.

I was also successful in getting grassroots support for a bill in Utah to stop the use of public funds to promote abortion. The law said, "**No funds of the state or its political subdivisions shall be used to provide contraceptive or abortion services to an unmarried minor without the prior written consent of the minor's parent or guardian**" (Utah law 76-7-321). This law was very successful to prevent schools that receive public funds from promoting contraceptive or abortion services. At that time, it was effective in keeping Planned Parenthood out of the schools in Utah.

I was also involved in the movement against the E.R.A. The proposed amendment to the Constitution was finally stopped in South Carolina by the Senators in the Legislature. We raised money in Washington State to rent buses for women to travel to the South Carolina Legislature – to lobby the Senate the day they were scheduled to vote on the E.R.A. It was defeated by one vote!

## Negative Stereotypes

In 1977, while attending the IWY Conferences in Ellensburg and Houston, I was surprised to learn that portraying a woman as a mother was considered a "negative stereotype." There was considerable discussion about the importance of getting women into key positions in companies that create children's books and television programs. They believed that in order for a woman to become empowered she needed to see women in powerful positions – so that girls would want to become more than "just mothers." They talked about how unhappy women were, who were "barefoot and pregnant in the kitchen." I searched the internet for a description of the phrase and one reply said it was "a phrase that originated in the early 20th century, often used to describe a traditional view of women's roles in society, **particularly in relation to marriage and motherhood**. It implies that a woman's primary place is in the home, taking care of children and family." And, "the phrase has often been used in a critical context to highlight the limitations placed on women and to criticize societal expectations that confine them to traditional roles. It reflects broader themes of gender roles, women's rights, and the fight for equality."

Their goal was to create children's books and TV shows that portrayed mothers in more professional roles. The image on the right shows a woman in the kitchen, preparing food for her family. I can't tell if she is barefoot or not, but she looks happy. And, maybe she is!



In the last thirty years, I have noticed the success of the radical feminists. You rarely see a children's book, or TV show, that portrays a woman as a happy stay-at-home mother. And, families rarely have more than two children.

While researching the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and I found several paragraphs that encourage governments to "ensure policies" that work for the "elimination of gender discrimination as well as gender stereotypes in educational curricula and education material."

I certainly want all woman to be able to pursue whatever path they choose. Education is essential, and I believe educated women make better wives and mothers. It's good to have goals to grow and progress. Yes, women should be able to pursue careers beyond motherhood, if that is their choice. However, in doing so, she might be giving up the very thing that brings the greatest happiness!

The following paragraphs in the Beijing Platform for Action refer to stereotyped images of women. While some negative images of women, such as "child pornography and degrading and violent portrayals of the girl child" (277-b), are undoubtedly harmful, it is important to present women in **positive** portrayals of motherhood. **Our world needs good mothers!**

72. Creation of an educational and social environment, in which women and men, girls and boys, are treated equally and encouraged to achieve their full potential, respecting their freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief, and where educational resources promote **non-stereotyped images of women and men**, would be effective in the elimination of the causes of discrimination against women and inequalities between women and men.

83. By Governments, educational authorities and other educational and academic institutions:

(a) Elaborate recommendations and develop curricula, textbooks and teaching aids **free of gender-based stereotypes** for all levels of education, including teacher training, in association with all concerned – publishers, teachers, public authorities and parents' associations;

245. By the media, non-governmental organizations and the private sector, in collaboration, as appropriate, with national machinery for the advancement of women:

(a) Promote the equal sharing of family responsibilities through **media campaigns that emphasize gender equality and non-stereotyped gender roles of women** and men within the family and that disseminate information aimed at eliminating spousal and child abuse and all forms of violence against women, including domestic violence;

262. Girls and adolescents may receive a variety of conflicting and confusing messages on their gender roles from their parents, teachers, peers and the media. Women and men need to work together with children and youth to **break down persistent gender stereotypes**, taking into account the rights of the child and the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents as stated in paragraph 267 below.

277. By Governments and, as appropriate, international and nongovernmental organizations:

(b) Encourage educational institutions and the media to adopt and project balanced and **non-stereotyped images of girls** and boys, and work to eliminate child pornography and degrading and violent portrayals of the girl child;

## **Utah Association of Women Will Counter Boycott by N.O.W.**

*Deseret News, Lisa Riley Roche*

*Published: Feb 4, 1991*

Leaders of the Utah Association of Women said Monday that they will counter a boycott threatened by a group opposed to the state's new, restrictive abortion legislation.

Susan Roylance, president-elect of the 300-member group, said the press conference Monday was in response to an announcement over the weekend by the Utah chapter of the National Organization for Women. Members of the local NOW board said they will urge conventioners, vacationers and even Olympic athletes to stay away from Utah because Gov. Norm Bangerter last week signed the nation's toughest abortion law.

"We feel a statement needs to be made that the Legislature did represent the women of Utah," Roylance said, adding that the group applauds lawmakers and the governor for approving the bill.

"As women, and mothers, we appreciate this effort by our Legislature to help protect the young women of Utah from those who would become wealthy through the destruction of unborn children as many of these young women are not aware of the future physical and mental problems which can follow an abortion," she said.

The Utah Association of Women's statement will take the form of letters to like-minded groups nationwide that will endorse the state's stand on abortion and encourage their members to come to Utah.

"We are writing letters to pro-family organizations throughout the United States and inviting them to support our courageous state leaders by visiting Utah for their summer or winter vacations," Roylance said.

The letter has not yet been written, but the Utah Association of Women said in a news release that it wants to invite families from all parts of the world to visit Utah, where "we celebrate nature and believe life is sacred."

The association also takes exception to the effect the boycott by the local NOW will have on Utah's chances of being selected the site of the 1998 Winter Olympics. The site selection will be made in June.

"We also cannot imagine that a winter Olympics committee would require the



*Utah Association of Women Will Counter Boycott by N.O.W.*

destruction of unborn children to be a part of the site-selection process," the association's release says.

Royslance estimated it will be sent to more than 100 organizations, although she said a mailing list has not been compiled. She said it should be mailed sometime next month, after she becomes the association's president.

The bill approved by lawmakers and signed by the governor in the same week permits abortion only when the mother's health is in jeopardy, the fetus has grave physical defects or the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest.

Bangerter said the legislation will not be enforced until it is ruled upon by the U.S. Supreme Court. That probably will take at least two years, according to Bangerter's legal counsel on the abortion issue.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Utah already has promised to seek an injunction against the state to enjoin the bill before it becomes law 60 days after the legislative session ends on Feb. 27.

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*Additional information*

**National Organization for Women**

To visit or not to visit

Using the slogan "Say no to Utah: The back-alley abortion state," the Utah affiliate of the National Organization for Women announced Saturday that it will embark on a campaign encouraging people and organizations world-wide not to come to Utah for vacations, conventions or other events.

**Utah Association of Women**

"We are writing letters to pro-family organizations throughout the United States and inviting them to support our courageous state leaders by visiting Utah for their summer or winter vacations" – Utah Association of Women statement Monday.

## **Personal Religious Belief of "Family"**

I grew up with a strong belief that families are important. After my personal experience at the United Nations, when they laughed and jeered at me for being involved with United Families, I became even more active in defending marriage and family.

My religious background taught of the importance of the family unit. In a Church Conference in 1980, President Spencer W. Kimball said:

From the beginning, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has emphasized family life. We have always understood that the foundations of the family, as an eternal unit, were laid even before this earth was created! Society without basic family life is without foundation and will disintegrate into nothingness. Therefore, whenever anything so basic as the eternal family is imperiled, we have a solemn obligation to speak out, lest there be critical damage to the family institution by those who seem to be deliberately destructive of it.

<https://www.churchofjesuschrist.org/study/general-conference/1980/10/families-can-be-eternal?lang=eng>

His statement, that we have a "solemn obligation to speak out" contributed to my motivation to be active in defending the role of the family in our society.

In 1995, one week after I returned from the Fourth World Conference in China, in a General Relief Society Conference of the Church, President Gordon B. Hinckley presented: "The Family: A Proclamation to the World." The closing words in that Proclamation are:

We call upon responsible citizens and officers of government everywhere to promote those measures designed to maintain and strengthen the family as the fundamental unit of society.

This Proclamation had a big impact on the members of the Church to become involved to promote positive family-friendly public policies. Today, there are hundreds, and possibly thousands, of women who are involved in the policy issues that affect the family.

We were given permission to print the Family Proclamation in our first book, *The Traditional Family in Peril*.

I am grateful to have had a small part in promoting the importance of the family.

## **Personal Experiences with Fourth World Conference on Women**

In March, 1995, I received a call from my friend, Helen Donovan. She had been my Campaign Chairman in Vancouver, when I ran for Congress (1978).

I remember one day in our campaign, when she commented on my prayers. We prayed often during my campaign, as we tried to do what God would have us do. This is connected to the fact that we were both very pro-life – opposed to abortion. She noticed that when I prayed, I always had a list of things for God to help us do. Her prayers focused on thankfulness for our many blessings. Well, I was thankful too, but I really needed the help from God, and it is true that I regularly asked Him for help – but her comment caused me to think more about how thankful we should be for the many times God had helped open the way for us to accomplish difficult things. During the campaign we became very close friends.

Helen had moved to Virginia and she knew some women that were preparing to attend the PrepCom for the Fourth World Conference on Women. The organization was putting together a group of women to represent "grassroots America" – with women from various parts of the United States, and various different religions – to meet with the Delegation for the United States, and request their support to include language in the document that recognized women in their role as mothers, and their families.

They wanted this group of women to represent different areas of the country and different religions. Helen knew that I was a "Mormon" (member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) and hoped I could join with this group at the U.N. I told her I would try to find someone else to be the "Mormon" representative. I even called the Relief Society General Board of my church, to see if they knew someone that could attend. However, each person I contacted was either too busy or, like me, didn't have the necessary funds to travel.

Finally, she said, "Why don't you come?"

"I can't afford to go to New York!" I said emphatically.

### **The Way Was Opened**

A few days later my son called to see if I would like to go with him and his wife, Kim, to Boston – where he would be attending a business conference. "You could do genealogical research with Kim during the day," he said, "and then she could join with me for activities in the evening."

The Boston area was exactly where I needed to go to further our family genealogical research, and I knew Kim would be a wonderful research partner. So, I called our family organization to see if they would fund the plane ticket and hotel room, and they decided to pay my expenses for the trip – to do genealogy.

In Boston – after several exhausting and productive days at the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, I was packing to return home when I received a phone call from my husband. He said he had been receiving calls from the women trying to put together the "Family Coalition." When they learned that I was in Boston, they wondered if I could arrange to come back through New York City.

I prayed, and called a friend in Utah to see if she could raise some funds for cab fare and a hotel. A few hours later, she called back and said she had promises for \$300. So, I went to the airport, pled my case with the airlines, and miraculously they let me add a leg to my trip home without additional charges. I was soon on my way to New York City.

I had no idea where I would be staying that night. at 10:30 pm, as I walked through the LaGuardia Airport in New York, I saw an advertisement for the Pickwick Arms Hotel – near the United Nations. I called, and was able to get a room for \$45 a night (with the bathroom down the hall). I thanked God for this miracle – from Boston to a hotel in New York City.

The next morning, as I entered the United Nations, I saw another friend, and began asking questions as to where I should go. She grabbed my arm and said, "Come with me into the Linkage Caucus. You will learn more about how the U.N. works in that Caucus."

As I entered the caucus room, I was shocked to see Bella Abzug as the leader of the group. She had chaired the National Women's Conference in Houston – that was such a fiasco – that contributed to my decision to run for Congress. After the Conference in November 1977, Abzug was named cochairman of the National Advisory Committee on Women by President Jimmy Carter. But she was dismissed in January 1979 for openly criticizing the Carter administration. I had not heard anything more about her for 16 years. But here she was, a major force at the United Nations.

Soon after we were seated, a woman from Africa came running through the door to tell them that the word "gender" had just been bracketed through the document they were negotiating for the Fourth World Conference on Women. (See more in the article on *The Definition of Gender*.)

Everyone became very excited, as they talked about what they could do. As they

begin to strategize, someone said, "We need to find out who is in this room!" About that time my other pro-family friends left the room, but I stayed to see what the ruckus was all about.

Each woman stood to introduce herself. When it was my turn I stood and said, "My name is Susan Roylance, and I'm with United Families of America."

As soon as I said the word "families," the room broke into laughter and jeers! The outburst was so spontaneous, and so taunting, that I was absolutely shocked. In retrospect, it was a life-changing moment for me, as I realized that these leaders of women from all over the world were absolutely united in their attitude against families. I had known that some of them were pushing for acceptance of other lifestyles, but I was surprised at the immediate outburst when I said I was with United Families.

As soon as everyone had introduced themselves, they began talking again about "what can we do?" I raised my hand and asked if I could say something.

"Sure, go ahead," said Bella.

"I don't understand why you can't be for the advancement of women and for families too," I said. "Why are the two mutually exclusive?"

A woman in front of me turned around and said, "Do you believe lesbians can be mothers?"

I was surprised at the question, but I responded, "I believe in motherhood, and as far as I know there is only one way to become a mother."

Another woman said, "Do you believe in choice?"

"Yes, I believe in choice," I said, "but I would never choose to have an abortion." *[Today, in 2025, I wouldn't say that "I believe in Choice" – because the word "choice" has become synonymous with abortion. But, in 1995, I was referring to other choices.]*

As the discussion continued, it became apparent that the major point of this meeting was to promote "abortion rights" and "lesbian rights" – not very family-friendly policies.

At that point I decided that I should leave the room. I sat on the bench across the hall, and soon Bella walked out of the room and came over to talk to me. "I wish you had stayed in the room to hear what I said," she said, and then walked away. I never did find out what she said, but I think she chastised the women in the room for discriminating against me, as they had been discriminated for their beliefs.

## **What Happened in That Room?**

I have often thought about that moment, in the Caucus room, when the women laughed and taunted me for representing United Families. What had happened in their lives that made the thought of a family so distasteful to them? Did they have a good mother – one that loved them, and helped them achieve their goals and dreams? Did they have a father that provided adequately for the family, that there was sufficient food and shelter? And did their father love their mother? Did they see by their parents' gestures towards one another that a loving relationship was possible – for them – some day in the future? Did their mother enjoy being a mother, or were her children a drudge – just hard work? Did they have brothers, or sisters, that added joy to their life? or pain? One thing for sure – they did have some kind of a family.

All of us are born into this world with some kind of a family – good or bad. I felt very sorry for these women, and wanted to let them know that, for me, families were good! I wanted to represent to them, and others, that motherhood could bring happiness into their life – that children could be precious gems in their necklace of life. I was the mother of seven children. All of my children were wanted, but some of my pregnancies were very difficult. When I only had two children the doctor told me that if I had any more children it would kill me. But, with God's help, I overcame that illness, and had five more healthy children. I survived, and the children survived. I shudder to think of what my life would have been like without my last five children.

*The Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Freidan, was published in 1963 – three years after I was married. I believe it had a big impact on young girls – reminding them that they had other choices – that they didn't have to choose marriage and motherhood. I was fortunate to have parents that encouraged me, and helped me, to achieve my dreams. But I always wanted to be a mother, and I always wanted children. That was born out of seeing a mother, and grandmother, who loved their children, in spite of difficulties.

## **Pressure Tactics**

Back to the U.N. . . . Within hours after I left the caucus room, great pressure was put on Marta Cosco – to get her to remove the brackets from the word "gender." One of the U.S. delegates told her that if she didn't take the brackets off "all humanitarian aid to the country of Honduras will be stopped." To put that pressure into perspective, Honduras was the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.

Marta called the Honduras President and he said, "Hang in there."

Marta did hold strong on her position, but the pressure was so intense that she became quite ill. Still, she did not remove the brackets.

In that first week at the U.N., I was fortunate to become acquainted with a very special lady: Christine Vollmer. Christine was from Venezuela, and she was one of the Holy See delegates. (The Holy See is the government of the Roman Catholic church, which resides in the Vatican City, a state that is surrounded by Rome, Italy.) I will forever be grateful for my friendship with Christine. She took me "under her wing," and taught me how the U.N. works.

Christine invited me to lunch with several other pro-family women, including Marta Cosco and delegates from Argentina and Guatemala. I learned so much from all of them. I loved Marta, and her willingness to stand strong against those who were pressuring her to take the brackets off of "gender." It was painful for me to see her treated in such a mean way. She was a special woman! But she became ill from all the pressure. She didn't even make it to the conference in Beijing.

It was a surprise to me to learn that the organizers of the conference subscribed to the belief that there were many genders – that gender was "socially constructed."

You can read more about my "gender" experience at the U.N. in the article titled, "Definition of Gender."

After I returned to my home in South Jordan, I was thinking of Marta Cosco, and the pressure that was put on her at the U.N. As I looked out of my kitchen window at the majestic Wasatch Mountains, I felt very safe and secure. I said to myself, "I don't have to worry about these things. My children are safe. I live in a good State. We have a good governor. The Legislature isn't perfect, but it is generally good." Then, I heard a soft voice in my mind say, "**If you, who have nothing to lose, don't do something – who can?**"

As I thought about it, the plans began to form in my mind. I felt the need to get involved at the U.N. – to promote motherhood. I felt that the future of our society depended upon good mothers. I contacted my friends in Washington D.C., and began to formulate plans to go to Beijing, China.

While I was new at the U.N. process, I knew enough about participating in political campaigns to understand the things we needed to do:

1. Get accredited with the U.N.
2. Find someone to go with me
3. Get a visa to China
4. Raise money

5. Get a plane reservation
6. Arrange for our lodging in China
7. Become better acquainted with the U.S. Delegation
8. Develop a partnership with other like-minded organizations (NGOs)

### **1. Become accredited with the U.N.**

At that time, I was previous president of the Utah Association of Women, and I wondered if I could get accredited under that organization, and began the process to apply. There would be two more PrepComs before the actual Forum and Conference in Beijing, and I thought I should attend. So, we began a fund-raising campaign.

As a result of my campaign for Congress in Washington State, I had considerable experience with raising funds through direct-mail.

The Utah Association of Women was formed after the IWY conference in Utah (sixteen years earlier), and they were a strong pro-family, pro-life organization. I was president of that organization, in 1991, when the National Organization for Women (N.O.W.) organized a boycott against Utah when Utah passed a more restrictive abortion law. We promoted Utah as a great place to vacation, and other pro-family organizations throughout the country promoted Utah.

### **2. Find someone to go with me**

It was a great blessing to me (a gift from God) that Mary Barton also decided to go. She had a daughter living in Hong Kong, and her husband did business in Beijing. They helped us understand the Beijing considerations, as we made plans.

We could only accredit two people from the Utah Association of Women, but my friend Gracia Jones decided to go as a journalist.

### **3. Get a Visa from China**

When I attended another PreCom, in New York, the Chinese delegation had a meeting with those who were planning to go to the Conference in Beijing. This was very valuable to me, as they outlined the process for getting the Visa. In August, an article in the Deseret News titled, "Utah Women Find Road to Beijing Full of Bumps," described the difficulty of many women to get their Visa to China. I was glad I had attended the meeting with the Chinese delegation – which taught us the process, step-by-step. Attending the PreCom was an important step in our preparation for the Conference.



#### **4. Raise money**

When I ran for Congress, in 1978, I learned many things that helped me prepare for this conference, and my preparation to attend other conferences in the years after 1995. When you are running for Congress, the most important activity is the raising of money. I learned a lot about direct-mail fundraising, and how to write an interesting letter.

In preparation for writing the letter, we needed to do something that would interest our members. Hillary Clinton was the official head of the U.S. delegation to the conference, so we decided to organize a petition to Hillary to include positive "motherhood statements" in the Platform for Action. The direct-mail effort was successful, and we were soon making plans to attend another PrepCom in New York, as well as the Forum and Conference in Beijing, China.

#### **5. Get a plane reservation**

With the help of Mary's daughter, who lived in China, and others who knew which airlines were best to fly to China, we purchased our plane tickets. We planned to take a lot of materials for our booth, so it was important to work out the best way to take the extra luggage.

#### **6. Arrange for our lodging**

Mary's daughter, and others, knew of people who lived in Beijing. They invited us to stay with them – which seemed like a good decision – from Utah. But when we got to Beijing, we soon had to move to the Government housing. The apartment owners had been warned about the women that were coming to the Conference, how they could protest and cause problems. Gracia had even more problems, because her visa had a "J" on it – indicating that she was a journalist. She had to stay in a hotel specifically designated for journalists. We spent a lot of time arranging for "acceptable" housing after we arrived in China.

#### **7. Become better acquainted with the U.S. Delegation**

I met with the U.S. Delegation when I attended the additional PrepCom in New York. At first, they were reluctant to meet with me, but I found that if I was patient, and waited to meet with them during important meetings, that they finally listened to our proposals. One morning Sharon Kotok, one of the main delegates for the U.S., went to breakfast with me, to get better acquainted with me and to understand the language we wanted to get into the document. While they generally had different goals, they were helpful in many ways, and it was especially good that I knew them, and they knew me, when we were in Beijing.

## 8. Develop a partnership with other like-minded organizations (NGOs)

The following news article gives information about the group that invited me to come to the U.N., and became our friends as we worked together to **get good family language in**, and keep bad language out, that could be harmful to the family – especially the children.

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### Conservative groups mobilize for U.N. women's conference

*The Washington Times*  
by George Archibald  
6-22-95

**Conservative women's groups are marshaling to fight** what they consider a militant feminist tilt among the Clinton-appointed U.S. delegation to the United Nations women's conference in Beijing.

A private women's summit of 30 leaders, to be hosted today in Washington by Concerned Women for American, is planning strategy for the September conference in China, where a 121-page draft Platform for Action on women's rights will be debated by delegates from more than 150 countries.

The draft, which would guide official U.N. programs affecting women and children was denounced Monday by the Vatican for an ideological bias belittling the role of women as mothers.

"This platform is opening the door to very radical views on womanhood, such as abortion and lesbianism," Beverly LaHaye, president of CWA, said yesterday. "I do not see this document as helping families. It would break down some of those values that build families and strong women for families."

Phyllis Schlafly, founder of Eagle Forum, said conservative women's groups are joining to head off an international social and cultural agenda that they call anti-family and anti-religion. The feminists want to impose a gender-neutral agenda on the whole world, that we would pay for," she said.

Delegates from wealthier developed countries and their allies – including the U.S. delegation, headed by Madeleine K. Albright, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations – already have agreed at preliminary conferences to draft provisions requiring absolute equality between women and men, free and unpenalized abortion,

*"... draft provisions requiring absolute equality between women and men, free and unpenalized abortion, and a series of so-called 'gender' rights that are seen by conservative opponents as implying endorsement of homosexual, bisexual and transsexual lifestyles."*

and a series of so-called "gender" rights that are seen by conservative opponents as implying endorsement of homosexual, bisexual and transsexual lifestyles.

Former Rep. Bella Abzug, head of the Women's Environment and Development Organization, "made an angry appeal" at a U.N. preparatory committee

*Conservative delegations have formed an International Coordinator of Associations Beijing '95 to promote principles of "dignity of women, right to life, [and] understanding of human love and marriage.*

meeting April 3 "insisting among other things that gender terminology . . . express the diversity of aspirations of individuals; that it is socially constructed and subject to change; and that they have repeatedly raised the issues of discrimination based on sexual orientation," said Cecilia Acevedo Royals, president of the National Institute of Womanhood.

Mrs. Royals, who is attending the summit, said, "Debate over gender caused the negotiations to turn rancorous." Delegates and representatives of women's non-governmental organizations (NGOs) who attended a regional preparatory conference in Mar del Plata, Argentina, "became aware that the 'gender' terminology was targeted as an instrument to promote the lesbian," she said.

These provisions are opposed by delegations from Latin America, Spain, Muslim countries and the Vatican, which are promoting document language to uphold traditional families and maternity as well as equality for women in the workplace.

About one-third of the draft language in dispute, including proposals of Roman Catholic, evangelical and Islamic delegates to condemn prostitution, abortion, and forced birth control and sterilization.

Conservative delegations have formed an International Coordinator of Associations Beijing '95 to promote principles of "dignity of women, right to life, [and] understanding of human love and marriage."

Mrs. LaHaye said she is fighting the United Nations' denial of accreditation of Concerned Women for America as a nongovernmental organization to attend the Beijing conference as observers and lobbyists.

She said the summit meeting in Washington is part of a global effort to support delegates from other countries and the Vatican, who are seeking a strong pro-family document "more reflective of what the vast majority of women want."

State Department officials said Mrs. Albright assured New York's Cardinal John O'Connor on Monday that the United States would not support "the more radical ideas" being promoted by Mrs. Abzug and other militant feminists.

Mrs. LaHaye and other conservative leaders said they did not believe the U.S. ambassador's reported assurances. The leaders said they were personally aware of efforts by members of the U.S. delegation to intimidate Honduran delegate Marta Lorena de Casco, a leading proponent of pro-family language in the draft women's conference platform. The reported intimidation took place at a preparatory committee meeting for the Beijing conference in New York, they said.

The reports said U.S. officials took Mrs. de Casco to a private meeting and told

her that unless she "backed off" her positions they would ask the Honduran government to remove her from their delegation. Reduction or withdrawal of U.S. foreign aid to Honduras was threatened, it was reported.

A follow-up telephone call to Honduran President Carlos Roberto Reina Idiaquez was made by an unidentified senior U.S. official, who asked that Mrs. de Casco be removed as a delegate, but the president refused, the leaders said.

Mrs. de Casco could not be reached for comment. Jonathan Barrett, a spokesman for the U.S. mission to the United Nations said: "The question is politically sensitive. I am not qualified to comment. I have no comment."

A State Department official who requested anonymity said Rep. Quilliam O. Lipinski, Illinois Democrat, had written to inquire about the reported intimidation. Margorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, deputy chairwoman and director of the U.S. delegation to the Beijing conference, denied any threats or reprisals against Mrs. de Casco in a letter to Mr. Lipinski, the official said.

About 35,000 representatives of 2,800 accredited nongovernmental organizations are expected to go to Beijing for an NGO Forum from Aug. 30 to Sept 8, which takes place alongside the official fourth United Nations World Conference on women, Sept. 9 through 15, according to the State Department.

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I decided to keep a journal of my experiences in connection with this Women's Conference, and on April 20th, 1995, this is my journal entry:

**JOURNAL: April 20, 1995 (in Utah)**

Today has been so special, already, and it's only 2:30 in the afternoon. I'm sitting on a plane – ready to go to Houston – then on to Baltimore, Md. – where a friend, Mary Hamm, will be picking me up – for meetings in the Wash. D.C. area, in preparation for attending the World Conference on Women.

Last night, I went bed about 9:30 – I was just too tired to do any more – although I had mountains of things to do before I could leave at 1:00 PM the next day.

I woke up about 5:00 – and the first thing I did was to print some business cards, so I would have something to hand out, but, as soon as I awoke, I felt the need to go the temple. I got out my temple suitcase – to see when the first session was on Friday – it was 7 AM. I couldn't see how I could take 2 hours out of my day to go to the temple – and preceded with my work – but the prompting came again.

Then I thought, the things I am trying to do is far beyond my ability – and is much harder than getting to the airport on time. So – if I have the faith that God can help me become successful at the World Conference Women – surely, He can help me get packed by 1:00 – if I go to the temple. It was then about 6:30 – and I thought – if I hurry, I can get there by the 7:20 session. So, I got dressed in the clothes I planned to wear on the place.

From the moment I entered the temple I felt an overwhelming feeling of love

from my Father in Heaven. The tears began to flow as soon as I stepped into the temple. I arrived in the chapel – with only one other woman there, and shortly after that a couple of men arrived. Once again, the tears flowed. I told them they were not tears of sadness, but tears of joy – that I was so grateful to be in the temple.

As I sat in the temple, words flowed into my mind that I think will be very helpful in our efforts to get family-friendly language in the document at the World Women's Conference. As I would ponder on a few words, and fix them firmly in my mind, more would come. By the time I had finished the session a full sentence was clearly etched upon my mind. The phrase, or sentence, is:

**"Within the cultural traditions of a nation, when a woman chooses to become a mother, she shall be afforded the legal protection of marriage, and the financial and emotional support of a husband in the home."**

Several words were very clear as to the intent:

1. **"Within the cultural traditions of a nation"** – this allows for cultural diversity, but keeps the traditional family unit, which is the tradition in most cultures, but allows for differences where they are the "cultural tradition."
2. **"when a woman chooses to become a mother "** – This avoids the debate over when life begins – or whether the child is the product of a forced relationship. This statement deals with the mother's choice to have a child. Obviously, when she does not choose to have the child, she should not be forced to do so.
3. After the choice to become a mother is made (and this choice could, and should, be made before marriage – before the beginning of sexual relations) – she deserves the **"legal protection of marriage."** And the advantages are many to a mother – if her children are born within marriage. The marriage gives her some "help" for the child – someone else to share the responsibility – to be legally bound to the child. Her parenthood is always obvious, as she is required to physically give birth to the child. But, without marriage, the father's responsibility can be very tenuous and fleeting. Only within legal marriage is the father bound to the child – as legally as the mother – with a long-term commitment!
4. The **"financial support"** of a husband. In some cultures, the woman is required to bear the children – raise them – and combine all of that with the need to work to provide food and shelter for her children. The woman's responsibility for the child begins at the moment of birth. And, her emotional desires for the well-being of the child are heightened through the

sacrifice she gives in the pre-natal carrying and birthing of the child. Governments need to write laws to encourage the fathers to assume the financial support of the mother and the child, if possible, to allow the mother to concentrate on nurturing the child.

5. The "**emotional support of a husband.**" There would not be violence or abuse that would cause emotional trauma for either the mother or the child.
6. The final words, "**in the home**" – are frosting on the cake. The father needs to be present – in the home – to provide the parenting for the child – and support for the mother. While this is obviously beneficial at all stages of the maturing child, it is especially important during the early teen years. A mother needs the support of the father – to show a unity in example – for the child. This helps a child feel secure – and he/she does not need to look to gangs, etc., for identity. It is clearly available within the family unit.

While love is not mentioned in this sentence – it is clearly important! But, such a delicate matter as love should not, and could not, be legislated. **Governments can only be concerned with the structure surrounding the child.** And – to the extent that the family unit is strong, and parents are providing the financial and emotional support for the child – the burden on government is reduced, and the nation is strengthened from within.

At least this should be the ideal – one to be worked for!

#### **April 22, 1995 (staying with friends in Maryland)**

Yesterday I attended a conference for a coalition of women who are for women's equality – but not for radical feminism (definitely pro-life). It was poorly attended – mostly by people who were presenting in one of the workshops throughout the day. But all of the workshop leaders were very knowledgeable, and provided excellent material. I think they taught at a Catholic University in the area.

#### **April 23, 1995 – 5:45 AM**

As I lay in bed this morning, thinking about the events of the last few days, I am overwhelmed with amazement at the obvious hand-of-God in the events of my life. Yesterday was no exception.

In our meetings with N.I.W. planning and preparing for the Beijing Conference, I read the letter I had prepared (at the suggestion of Mike Stewart) to send to someone within the U.N. – to get help for our "family" cause.

Generally, there was support for the wording of the letter, and the recent delegate to the Copenhagen Conference applauded when I finished (and others).

**June 8, 1995**

Today, I talked with the UN office that accredits organizations, I was told that the Utah Association of Women is on the list of organizations recommended for accreditation. The final decision will be made the last part of June – or early July – when the Status of Women Commission meets. I guess we will just proceed as if we will be approved – and pray that we are.

As I discussed the accreditation with the UN office – they said we would be allowed to send 2 delegates. I called Mary Barton – to see if she would still plan to go. I sure wish I could take Kim, my daughter-in-law, as she is young. But I think it will be a real help to have Mary Barton go. She has a son-in-law in Hong Kong, who travels into China often and can help us with the language, and help us know how to get around. Also, she has a daughter who speaks Mandarin Chinese who can help me learn the language. I am excited.

**June 12, 1995**

Yesterday, Gracia Jones came over – on her way back to St. George. We talked about her ability to go to the Conference as either a media representative or as a native American member of the U.S. Delegation. It was interesting, as we worked on getting through to people who could help her.

**June 30, 1995**

Yesterday was a very eventful day – I met Rick Hall, City Editor of Deseret News, and he gave me two letters of assignment, for Gracia and I, to cover the Fourth World Conference on Women. This will gain us entrance into the meetings – if we receive final accreditation from the U.N.

It was a complicated process to complete all the applications for (1) accreditation, (2) visa, (3) booth at the NGO Forum, and (4) housing.

In response to a radical feminist's comment in the newspaper, I wrote the following:

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**MANY WOMEN NOW BACK PRO-FAMILY AGENDA**

*Published: July 29, 1995*

*By Deseret News, Susan Roylance*

A recent article by Marianne Means regarding the Fourth World Conference on Women was misleading in its portrayal of conservative women.

While many of the facts presented were true, the analysis fell far short of understanding the motives behind the participation of family-oriented women. The concerns are much more important than a fear of "sexual freedom" or "diversifying the traditional role of women." In the past two decades, beginning with the first

women's conference in Mexico City in 1975, we have witnessed a continual focus on the radical feminist agenda. In the effort to "empower" women, the role of mother has been continually demeaned. The only women's work that has been truly valued is the work that earns financial remuneration.

In the same two decades, we have witnessed a continual breakdown of family values. Our youth are turning to gangs for a sense of belonging because they no longer find a mother at home to answer questions or give guidance in this critical phase of preparation for adult life.

Teenage pregnancy continues to rise, and young girls are choosing to keep their babies without a husband or father for the child because they desperately want someone to love and someone to love them. They begin these new families seemingly unaware of the many problems connected with raising children without a father.

In many developing countries, the U.N. answers have involved coercive family planning programs, with a strong emphasis on sterilization and abortion. Countries unwilling to participate in these programs can become ineligible for U.N. grants or loans from the World Bank. Feminist documents drafted at various U.N. conferences are used as the authority for these actions.

However, a new wind is blowing in the halls of the United Nations. It became apparent last year at the Population and Development Conference in Cairo, when the Vatican and many pro-family delegates were successful in inserting pro-life language into the official document of the conference. This new attitude continued at the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen this spring.

In April of this year, I was invited by the National Institute on Womanhood to attend the preparatory meetings at the United Nations for the coming U.N. Women's Conference. At first, I could not see why I should get involved in a conference that promoted the radical feminist agenda, but I soon discovered that many women throughout the world are seeking a change of direction in the women's movement.

For example, the new Platform for Action contains language that calls for the dissemination of media materials portraying women as "caring mothers and nurturers of happy families."

While it is true that this language is currently in brackets (meaning the language is not final), it is an example of the new attitude.

I returned home from the preparatory meetings determined to attend the Fourth World Conference on Women with a positive agenda.

Subsequently, the Utah Association of Women became an accredited NGO (nongovernmental organization). We have prepared positive language, emphasizing the importance of a woman's choice to become a mother and the need for a husband to help provide financial and emotional support for the family.

Family-oriented women throughout the world are becoming involved, A bill before the U.S. Congress (H.R. 2047) would require the U.S. delegation to "promote an authentic women's perspective on issues of equality, peace and development" and "ensure that motherhood is entitled to special care and assistance," "uphold the family as the natural and fundamental group unit of society and therefore entitled to protection by society and the state," "make sure that gender refers to woman and man as the two sexes of the human being" (without recognition of homosexuality as a gender deserving support as a human right), "uphold freedom of conscience and religion and the manifestation of one's religion or belief in practice with particular



regard to those who provide health care services," and "oppose abortion and infanticide inflicted on account of the sex of the child, as well as forced abortion, forced sterilization and other coercive population control measures and refrain from promoting the recognition or establishment of an internationally protected right to abortion."

I will agree with Means that China has gone out of its way to make things difficult for this conference. But many of the problems have been solved or accepted. Preparations for the conference are moving forward, and 36,000 women are registered for the NGO Forum.

It is always easy to find fault but much better to promote that which is good. The Utah Association of Women believes that "quality life for all is built on the foundation of good home and family life."

While we, as an association, applaud the right of women to expand their horizons to include any occupation or political activity they choose, we feel governments should also be supportive of women who choose motherhood.

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In August, I attended another PrepCom – to finalize our preparations to attend the conference in Beijing.

**JOURNAL: August 1st, 1995** (in New York City, at the U.N.)

Yesterday was a very frustrating day, but certainly one that I expected. In my prayers, I had been impressed with the fact that I needed to be patient – and that I might have to wait an entire day – but that after I had waited for a day, they would feel some need to help me and I would have time to talk with them (the U.S. Delegation).

I went to bed very tired and thought "I'll just go to sleep and deal with it all again in the morning. During the night, when I woke up for a while, I decided to fast today. I woke up about 6:00 and started reading my scriptures. I kept getting the impression that I should go over to the U.S. Mission at 8:00 AM (the time they open) to wait for Sharon Kotok. I didn't even get through reading one chapter – and finally stopped – had a bath – got ready – and walked over to the U.S. Mission. I almost went over to 2 UN Plaza to the Women's Conference Offices, but was prompted to go back to the US. Mission – which I did. As I was explaining to the Security Guard that I was waiting to see Sharon Kotok, she came in the door. We talked about how she could get me a guest pass – if I stayed outside the room she was in – and she said she would ask at the staff meeting if that was OK. Then – I said – "If that doesn't work – I need to set up some time I can meet with you – to talk about several areas of the Platform."

Well – she is now in meeting – and I'm sitting, waiting. All the waiting seems to be the price I have to pay to be able to talk with them. So, it's probably time very well spent.

It's now evening. When Sharon came out, she said she couldn't get me a pass, but she said she would meet me for breakfast the next day, at 7:00 AM. I was

disappointed about the pass, but glad for the meeting.

I went over to the UN building – and decided to take care of Gracia's Press Materials (they had made her Mr. Garcia Jones). I called the Press Office – and they were supposed to be coming down – but they didn't come – and didn't come – and finally a black lady came along, and she was trying to get a guest pass. She was from Ethiopia, but lived in Stamford, Connecticut, now. She said she knew several people that could get her a pass – but she couldn't get any on the phone. Finally, she said, "let's walk over to Mongella's office" (the Secretariat of the Conference), and on the way she met a friend who worked at the U.N. She asked her if she would get us a guest pass – which she did – for both of us. Well, after I got up to the room in the U.N., where they were meeting, I met several people I knew. A couple men were from Human Rights International, and I asked the director if she could get me a pass. I guess one of their people couldn't come, so she walked across the street with me – and within a half hour I had all the paperwork completed to have my own pass for the rest of the week. I thought – what an answer to prayer – and fasting. How God blesses us when we do our little part. Well, I learned much in the afternoon, and I have much to do now, but first I need to sleep – and then meet Sharon Kotok tomorrow morning. It has been an eventful time!!!

### **August 2nd, 1995 (New York City at the U.N.)**

I got up early and wrote out a list of questions to give to Sharon Kotok. I met with her at 7:30 – and had a very nice breakfast with her. We discussed many issues and she said she would turn in my questions to the lawyers and their advisors. I had the impression that they would seriously consider my motherhood language. At least it was a very good visit.

She was very surprised to see that I now had a badge to wear. I told her she no longer needed to get me a pass. She was all prepared to tell me how she couldn't find the person I needed to get me a pass – but I said, "Well, that's O.K., because I don't need it now."

Next, I went to the Conference office to pick up our official letters. The person responsible was at the doctor – so I had to sit and wait again. While waiting I asked the lady, who was typing Chinese, which Chinese translation was best. She said it was the modern one. So, I restructured the back of my handout – to only use the one Chinese translation.

While waiting for the Secretary to come, to prepare our letter, I borrowed a typewriter and typed up the questions I had given to Sharon Kotok. Just as I finished, the Secretary came. Because I was in her office, using her typewriter, I was able to ask her to prepare our letters. She only had a few minutes, because she had to go back to the doctor – but she was able to finish the letters for Mary Barton and I. I then copied the pages I had typed for the U.S. Delegation (they let me use the copier free) – and went over to get Gracia's "corrected" media letter. They had the letter ready for me, from the time I had tried to use my media letter

the day before. (They took away my media letter when they found out I was an accredited NGO.) They almost kept Gracia's letter too – but they did give it back. So, everything was in for Gracia – and Mary and me. It was a very good feeling.

So, by the time I went back to the meetings, I was complete with the "business" I needed to do. The rest of the day was spent in observing the meetings of the two working groups.

### **Aug. 25th, 1995**

I can't believe I haven't written since Aug. 6th – but it seems I haven't. Today is Friday – I leave for China on Monday. Yesterday I went to Education Week in the evening – at BYU – and it was so wonderful. Michael Wilcox gave the best talk on Women. It really helped me prepare emotionally for the trip.

This morning, I felt very anxious, and asked Dad to give me a blessing before he went home – which he did. It was very special. He said he thought I should stay at the Boyet's home – that I could probably help her with a few things too. He also said that I should be sweet and understanding. In the temple I felt I should be calm and patient – so that's a pretty good list. I guess it would help if I felt those things come naturally – but in the blessing Dad said that I did have those qualities, so I was grateful for that.

Also, I had a neat experience regarding some music. I have a beautiful tape – Lori Line – on "Threads of Love" and I thought I'd take it to play in the booth. Then I thought, "If I do that, they will all want a copy – so I better see if I can sell them. They had their phone number on the paper with the CD – so I called. They said – "Do you live close to Salt Lake?" and I said, "Well, we live in Salt Lake, at least a suburb – and he said, "We have a concert coming up Dec. 2nd in Salt Lake – "If I sent a few tapes could you talk it up?" – and I said "Sure!!" – then he said, "Are you a profit or a not-for-profit organization. When I said "not for profit" – he said, "Just what I thought. Would you mind sending a letter saying Thank You for \$200 worth of tapes?" Of course, I said I'd be happy to – and he sent this wonderful box of tapes.

### **Aug 28, 1995**

Today we boarded the plane to Beijing, China. I feel a very special feeling inside.

### **Carol Ugochukwu**

While visiting with other women, on the plane, we discovered that many of them were also headed to Beijing, for the Fourth World Conference on Women. We met Carol Ugochukwu, from Nigeria. She was quiet, at first, but then she told us that she did not agree with the feminist' approach. She thought we were feminists. But when we explained that we were working for language in the document to promote family and motherhood, she became very excited to talk to us. She had

prepared a presentation for the Forum, and the title was: "Family Problems of Modernization." We were anxious to hear her presentation.

We were unsuccessful in finding Carol after we arrived in Beijing. And when we went to the place where we thought she was going to give her presentation, we still couldn't find her.

Later, as we were walking to another workshop, we found Carol standing on the sidewalk, in the rain. She looked very sad. Evidently, her workshop had been scheduled in a small room behind another room. No one came to the workshop, because they couldn't find it. Evidently, the Forum organizers knew what she would be presenting, and they made it difficult for women to hear her.

Carol and I became good friends during the time of the Conference, and we have continued to correspond, and meet, through the years.

When we published our book, *The Traditional Family in Peril*, we included Carol's article – that she had intended to present in the Forum in China. Carol and I have also roomed together at the U.N. She continues to be a major presence at the yearly meetings of the Commission on the Status of Women. She always dresses in her beautiful native dress. In fact, most African women wear their native dresses when they come to the U.N. I call them the "peacocks" – because they always look so beautiful. The rest of us are rather drab in comparison.

## **Muslim Women**

The conference organizers seemed to discriminate against Muslim women, also. I first noticed it when two women (dressed in the clothing that covered their legs and wrists, with the face covering over the nose) had repeated problems with their microphone. All the other microphones worked. I think the women were from Yemen, but I'm not sure.

As we worked on language to promote the family and motherhood, I also became acquainted with Rasha al-Disuphi, Ph.D. She was currently teaching at the California Polytechnic State University. Later, we also asked her to write a chapter in our book, and she titled it, "Family Values in Islam." She said, "It was a great pleasure to learn that there were Christians who still are for the family in this society. I am grateful to Allah Almighty for having brought us together to enjoin what is good and prohibit what is evil. In her article she focused on the "role of husband and wife as parents."

The Muslim women were great lobbyists, and their combined influence had a big impact on the final document. The document was supposed to pass by "consensus." In the end all the brackets needed to be removed, either to take them off the word, or remove the word. I love her description of the final hours:

## **The Final Round, by Rasha al-Disuphi, Ph.D.**

"All undecided issues had to be solved within forty-eight hours. None of the major issues received consensus: sexual orientation, with four paragraphs, abortion specifically paragraph 232(f) which grants an international right to abortion, cultural values - granting sovereignty according to cultural values, and paragraphs related to religious values. . . .

"Taxing the delegates' nerves, their patience, and exhausting them, the organizers announced work should start at 11:00 p.m. Thursday evening (after a long day of negotiations). But the session did not actually start until 2:00 a.m. on Friday, the last day of the Conference. People waited hour after hour in the main room. Maybe the Muslims would have given up by then. Maybe they were getting ready to fly home. Maybe they were hungry or just worn out. No! These lively spirits continued fighting until dawn and finally won the Muslim issues. Final results were:

- 1 – Eliminate "sexual orientation,"
- 2 – Eliminate 232(f),
- 3 – Allow "cultural values," and
- 4 – Allow "religious values."

[*Dr. Rasha then quotes a statement from my report of the conference.*] "The courage of the Muslim nations to remain strong to these issues is the major reason for the positive outcome. This was a major victory for the pro-family delegates." [*then she adds*] "I think Susan is right. All grace is due to Allah."

"Couldn't any wise Muslim have guessed it? He who has taught man to read in His name. He who has taught him to read, could he have allowed a document to pass without His guidance to see what is evil in it? A document that is waging war against Him to test all those believing in Him. Thank God, the Muslims can safely say at Judgment Day: We enjoined goodness and prohibited evil. We fought to stop corruption and mischief the best way we knew how. Only with your Mercy and Compassion did we achieve that much. May you accept our humble efforts O Most Gracious and Merciful Allah."

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Another article gives some explanation of the problems we had at the conference:

### **UTAHN TAKES IT ON HERSELF TO ASK 'HARD QUESTIONS'**

*Published: Sept 5, 1995, 12:00 a.m. MDT  
Deseret News, Susan Lyman-Whitney, Staff Writer*

She knows the world is watching Beijing, but there aren't any reporters at the U.N. meetings Susan Roylance has been attending. So, she is asking the hard questions herself.

The Salt Lake woman is not one of the U.S. delegates to the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women. She is, however, an official representative of the Utah Association of Women, which is a registered NGO (nongovernmental organization). Therefore, she is allowed into planning meetings and she can ask questions.

On Tuesday, the U.N. delegates met in a subcommittee to begin to reach consensus on the language in the reproductive health section.

Of particular concern to Roylance is paragraph 95, which says, "Counseling and access to sexual and reproductive health information and services for adolescents are still inadequate or lacking completely, and a young woman's right to privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent is often not considered, taking into account the parents' responsibilities."

If it seems like the last phrase was kind of tacked on to the paragraph, Roylance says it was. "In the process of coming up with language in the consensus process, you end up with some poor prose."

Americans have a hard time understanding the way the United Nations works, she says. "You don't have the opportunity to make amendments and vote on them." Language is added and deleted by the chairmen of various subgroups. Sentences keep evolving until every member feels good about them.

When paragraph 95 was read aloud in the meeting she was in, the representative from Canada asked that the "parents' responsibility" portion be deleted.

Roylance went to the U.S. delegation and asked whether they were going to support Canada's position, through silence, or whether they were going to take a pro-parental rights position. Only because of her prodding, it seems to Roylance, did members of the U.S. delegation promise to announce their decision on Wednesday.

Deputy chairwoman of the U.S. delegation Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky (a former U.S. congresswoman who has 11 children in a yours/mine/ours family) as well as other members of the U.S. delegation say they resent the efforts of conservative women's groups to appropriate the "pro-family" label for themselves.

The delegates have also said they want to talk to pro-life representatives, to include them in the decision-making.

And, in fact, Roylance says, Sharon Kotok, officer in charge of women's affairs for the State Department, has set up a meeting to include her tomorrow.

Meanwhile, back in the United States, people like talk-radio personality James Dobson are asking people to pray that the Platform for Action will fail.

## **CHINA CONFERENCE TACKLED TOUGH ISSUES**

*Published: Oct 6, 1995*

*By Deseret News, Susan Roylance*

The Fourth World Conference on Women was certainly another eye-opening experience for me. While the resulting Platform for Action was better than I expected in some areas, in other areas there is much to be concerned about.

Parental rights was one of the issues of greatest concern by many delegates. There were two distinct schools of thought regarding the issue: those who believed the balance should be in favor of the child, and those who believed it is in the best interest of the child to have the parents making the decisions regarding their children. When it was impossible to reach a consensus on the floor of the working group, an informal group was formed for negotiating the issue.

Whenever an informal group was formed to negotiate an issue, all nations that had an interest in the issue were invited to participate. Most negotiations in informal groups consisted of 10 to 15 delegates who met for one or two hours. In the parental rights informal group, 70 nations were represented, and the negotiations lasted for 16 hours (spread over three days). When consensus seemed impossible, the negotiating group was divided into several small groups. Each group was assigned to report back to the chairwoman of the informal group, a delegate from Canada.

When it was announced to the informal group that consensus had been reached, most of the delegates were not aware of the consensus wording until it was read on the floor of the working group. Before any objections could be raised, the language was gavelled in as "so decided." None of the other delegates, or observers, had copies of the language, so it was difficult to do anything at that time. None of the Muslim delegates, or any other non-English-speaking delegates, had copies of the wording in their own language.

The final wording reads as follows:

Taking into account the rights of the child to access to information, privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent as well as the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents and legal guardians to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and in conformity with CEDAW. In all actions concerning children, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.

The next day, in a U.S. NGO briefing, I asked the U.S. delegation, "If the parent only has the right to provide direction and guidance, who will decide what is in

the best interests of the child?"

Dr. Daulaire, a U.S. delegate working on health issues, responded by saying that the decision would be made on a case-by-case basis.

Then I asked, "To what extent will this language have an impact on U.S. law?" He answered, "U.S. law is already in compliance with this language." And my final response, "Not in my state."

The introduction to Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) states, "The present document spells out the meaning of equality and how it can be achieved. In so doing, the Convention established not only an international bill of rights for women but also an agenda for action by countries to guarantee the enjoyment of those rights."

CEDAW has 20 articles. In article 1, discrimination is understood as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex . . . in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field." Because of the far-reaching implications of this treaty, the U.S. Congress has chosen not to ratify this convention. However, many groups are organizing to put pressure on Congress to ratify both CEDAW and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Also, paragraph 30 of the Platform for Action passed at the Beijing Conference states that, "The upbringing of children requires the shared responsibility of parents, women and men and society as a whole." It is becoming increasingly important that parents train their children well in the early formative years, as "women and men and society as a whole" want to share that responsibility,

President Clinton has already announced the creation of a new Women's Office to implement the Conference Platform for Action in the United States. Most of this can be done by executive order and will not require the approval of Congress. Some people have suggested that it was inappropriate for "family-oriented" people to be involved in the Beijing Women's Conference. While I do not agree with much of the results, the answer is not in burying our heads in the sand but in becoming involved to change the outcome of these international conferences. Much good was accomplished by the involvement of Muslim nations, whose delegates used their religious teachings as a guide.

Because of their willingness to speak up in favor of religious, cultural and family values, the document does not include an international right based on sexual orientation, or an international right to abortion. And it does include the consideration of cultural values and religious values in the implementation of the Platform for Action. The courage of the Muslim nations to remain strong supporters of these issues is the major reason for the positive outcome.

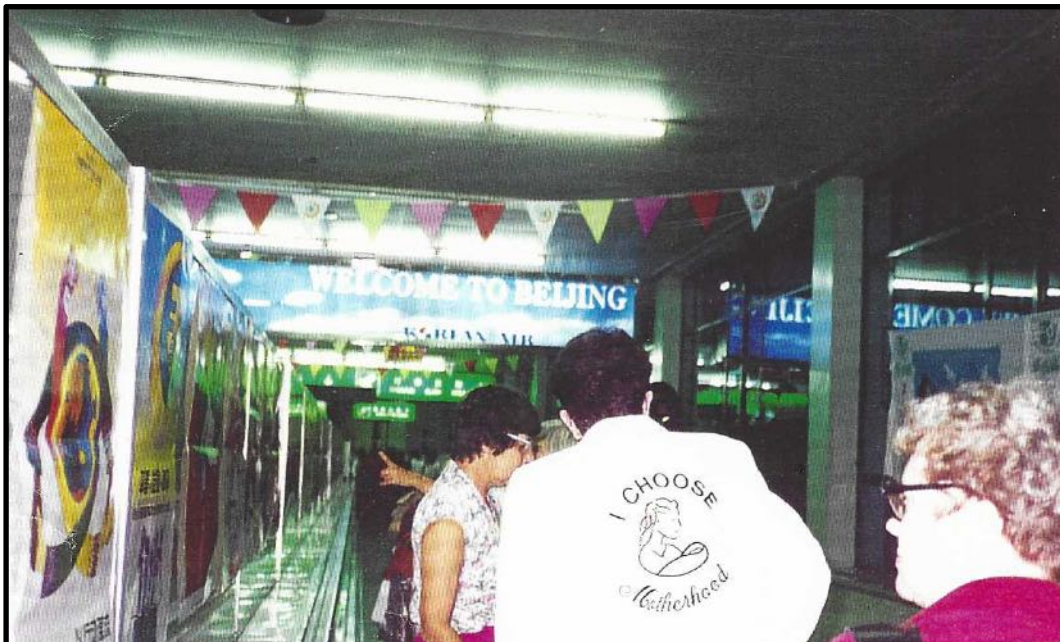
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A friend of my son designed a logo to sew on my jacket. I knew we couldn't carry signs, but I thought they would let me wear a jacket that had the words sewn on it – "I Choose Motherhood."





**Mary, Susan and Gracia  
Arriving in Beijing with lots of luggage – for the booth at the Forum.**



**I had a jacket embroidered with the words: "I Choose Motherhood."  
A Reuters journalist interviewed me and asked about our goals.**



**I stayed with this sweet mother and baby until but we had to leave. The apartment owner was worried about having us in his building.**



**Below: Gracia, standing in front of the Conference Center.**



**Karen Kotok, U.S. Delegate with Mary and Susan**



**Other U.S. Delegates with Susan**



Lobbying a Country Delegate (maybe U.S.)



Saying goodbye to Dr. Rasha al-Disuqi before boarding the plane. She had been up all night, supporting the delegates that were negotiating the final paragraphs – to gain good family-friendly language – while I was sleeping.



**For the first part of our trip, I didn't do any sight-seeing. I was too busy. One day we had some time, and Mary's son-in-law took me to the Great Wall. It is one of the most amazing things I have ever seen. I was so grateful for his help.**



## **U.N. Definition of Gender – 1995**

The first day I arrived at the United Nations, at a PrepCom (preparatory committee) for the Fourth World Conference on Women, I was immediately confronted with the problems related to the definition of the word "gender."

When Marta Cosco, a delegate from Honduras, moved to have the word "gender" bracketed throughout the document that was being negotiated, it was the beginning of much contention over the meaning of the word.

The bracketing had come about when a member of the Secretariat noticed that the word "gender" had been translated into Spanish as meaning "male or female," and he said, **"That's not what gender means!"**

**"Well, if that's not what it means, what does it mean?"** said Marta Cosco, a delegate from Honduras.

As the man fumbled for words Marta said, **"My country will not accept this document until we have a clear definition for the word gender."**

She promptly moved to bracket the word every time it appeared in the Plan of Action. (When a consensus cannot be reached on a word, or group of words, it is bracketed for further negotiation.)

Earlier in the PreCom, Marta had given a speech before the Plenary Session on the importance of mothers. At that time, there was an audible negative response, and she said, "Are you willing to give up everything good that mothers have done – down through the centuries?"

**Intense pressure was put on Marta, to remove the brackets from the word "gender," but she refused.**

A few days later – during the negotiations – Bella Abzug and about fifty of her radical feminist friends, stood and shouted out the words "gender, gender, gender, gender, gender, gender, gender . . ." while holding up pink signs with the word **"gender"** printed on them. The U.N. has rules against demonstrations or protest signs at the U.N., but the Security Guard near me just watched. As the commotion died down, and the "gender" women left, he picked up one of their pink "gender" signs, and put it in his pocket. (It looked like he was going to keep it as a souvenir.)

The battle of words raged. Finally, the Conference Organizers formed a committee that would meet in a month (away from the pro-family influence) and come up

*U.N. Definition of Gender*

with an "acceptable" definition of gender. For now, the brackets would be left in place, with a plan to meet again after the "gender" definition was agreed upon.

I later learned that the delegates of the Clinton Administration were determined to expand the meaning of the word "gender" to include **multiple genders**. With the word gender in so many places in the document, that would insure the inclusion of lesbians and homosexuals in every aspect of the Plan of Action. (The word "gender" appears 219 times in the final Platform for Action.)

**Note:** The committee that was formed to determine the definition of "gender," met and discussed the word – for several weeks. The conclusion: "there is no new meaning." (See Annex IV in the box on the right.)

**The Final Platform for Action**

In the final document created at the Fourth World Conference on Women, paragraph 3 of the Platform for Action says:

3. The Platform for Action emphasizes that women share common concerns that can be addressed only by working together and in partnership with men towards the common goals of gender\* equality around the world. It respects and values the full diversity of women's situations and conditions and recognizes that some women face particular barriers to their empowerment.

\*For the commonly understood meaning of the term "gender", see annex IV to the present report.

**Annex IV**

**Statement by the President of the Conference on the Commonly Understood Meaning of the Term "Gender"**

1. During the 19th meeting of the Commission on the Status of Women, acting as preparatory body for the Fourth World Conference on Women, an issue arose concerning the meaning of the word "gender" in the context of the Platform for Action of the Conference. In order to examine the matter, the Commission decided to form a contact group in New York, with the Commission's Rapporteur, Ms. Selma Ashipala (Namibia), as Chairperson. The Commission mandated the informal contact group to seek agreement on the commonly understood meaning of "gender" in the context of the Platform for Action and to report directly to the Conference in Beijing.

2. Having considered the issue thoroughly, the contact group noted that:

(1) the word "gender" had been commonly used and understood in its ordinary, generally accepted usage in numerous other United Nations forums and conferences;

(2) there was no indication that any new meaning or connotation of the term, different from accepted prior usage, was intended in the Platform for Action.

3. Accordingly, the contact group reaffirmed that the word "gender" as used in the Platform for Action was intended to be interpreted and understood as it was in **ordinary, generally accepted usage**. The contact group also agreed that the present report should be read by the President of the Conference as a president's statement and that the statement should be part of the final report of the Conference.

## 2025 – World Health Organization promotes "socially constructed" gender.

Gender refers to the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are **socially constructed**. This includes norms, behaviors and roles associated with being a woman, man, girl or boy, as well as relationships with each other. As a social construct, gender varies from society to society and **can change over time**.

Gender is hierarchical and produces inequalities that intersect with other social and economic inequalities. Gender-based discrimination intersects with other factors of discrimination, such as ethnicity, socioeconomic status, disability, age, geographic location, gender identity and sexual orientation, among others. This is referred to as **intersectionality**.

Gender interacts with but is different from sex, which refers to the different biological and physiological characteristics of females, males and intersex persons, such as chromosomes, hormones and reproductive organs. Gender and sex are related to but different from gender identity. **Gender identity refers to a person's deeply felt, internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond to the person's physiology or designated sex at birth.**

Gender inequality and discrimination faced by women and girls puts their health and well-being at risk. Women and girls often face greater barriers than men and boys to accessing health information and services. These barriers include restrictions on mobility; lack of access to decision-making power; lower literacy rates; discriminatory attitudes of communities and healthcare providers; and lack of training and awareness amongst healthcare providers and health systems of the specific health needs and challenges of women and girls.

Harmful gender norms – especially those related to rigid notions of masculinity – can also affect boys and men's health and wellbeing negatively. For example, specific notions of masculinity may encourage boys and men to smoke, take sexual and other health risks, misuse alcohol and not seek help or health care. Such gender norms also contribute to boys and men perpetrating violence – as well as being subjected to violence themselves. They can also have grave implications for their mental health.

Rigid gender norms also negatively affect people with diverse gender identities, who often face violence, stigma and discrimination as a result, including in healthcare settings. Consequently, they are at higher risk of HIV and mental health problems, including suicide.

[www.who.int/health-topics/gender#tab=tab\\_12025](http://www.who.int/health-topics/gender#tab=tab_12025)



*U.N. Definition of Gender*

## **A Frightening, Thrilling Experience – 1995**

*Deseret News - Gracia Jones*

*September 27-28, 1995*

My trip to Beijing as a freelance journalist to the NGO Forum in Huairou and the Fourth World Conference on Women was the most frightening, the most thrilling and the most life-changing experience of my life. I was one of 4,000 media representatives, from all over the world, to attend.

Once we were in the country, the Chinese government arbitrarily decided to put all media personnel in specified housing. I had arranged to stay with friends. I learned of the government's new rule forbidding any visitors in the government-owned apartment building late on my second night when I returned from Huairou. Security people at that building check passports of all people going in and out. They became upset because of the journalist status on my visa. They tried to take my passport, but I grabbed it back. Next day I had to find somewhere else to stay. That night a black journalist from New York, who said she went through the same problem the night before, took me to sleep in her hotel room with her. Such kindness was common.

My housing problem was resolved on the fourth day in Beijing when I accepted an invitation from Sasha and Jean Borroso to stay in their apartment at the Portuguese Embassy compound. I spent 11 days in this sanctuary, with diplomatic immunity.

Sasha introduced me to normal life in Beijing: the farmer's market, the bakery, the silk market. She wrote Chinese characters for every place I wanted to go so I was able to get around Beijing by taxi. I visited the Great Wall, the Temple of Heaven, Tiananmen Square and a cloisonne factory. I enjoyed complete freedom to attend the forum and the conferences.

Interviews with many Chinese women, young and old, gave me new insight. When measured by any standard we use in America, their lives are incredibly hard. Still, they are cheerful, forward-looking and very ambitious to become educated. While the world watches and wonders why Chinese people endure the hard taskmasters that govern their country, unlike some radical or reactionary individuals who sometimes try to foment rebellion, the majority of the Chinese young adult population, schooled in obedience, are waiting patiently as their country gradually opens to a free economic system. Many told me changes are in place for greater freedom, and they hope it will surely come in due time to China.

As a journalist at this UN Conference, I discovered there were areas in the building restricted to journalists, but we also had access to sessions NGO people could not attend. This restriction served to make coordination with our NGO friends difficult. Since I was the only journalist with our group from Utah, the only people I knew were NGOs, so I was absolutely on my own most of the time.

I remember one particular day I was ascending an escalator, going from a lower floor to one above, in a brightly lit area. On the floor above I could see flags of all the nations lined up. On either side of the escalator, mirrored walls from ceiling to floor, reflected me standing on the moving stairs. I felt shocked to see myself reflected in those mirrors. I suddenly had the thought, "WHAT AM I DOING HERE?" I was absolutely ALONE in this foreign land where journalists were not particularly appreciated. I longed to be with my friends but there was no way to communicate with them.

Earlier that day, I had attended a session where the United States' delegates were discussing the language to be considered in the document regarding the definition of "gender." One of the United States' delegates was strongly advocating that the bracketing on the word gender be removed, opening the definition to include all forms of sexual orientation. Being both naïve and ignorant of the many constructions under discussion I was frankly learning about things I had never heard of. I was confused and curious with nobody to talk to.

That evening, I eagerly went to the News Briefing, where happily I found Susan Roylance. Seated together we had no time to talk as the briefing began with the delegates seated across the front. Journalists who wished to ask a question could go forward, wait their turn at the Mic, give their name and what media they represented. Shaking with nervousness, I went down front, waited for my turn, and managed to get my question asked. "How do you define gender?" The woman glared at me, then angrily said, "Male and Female, what else could it be?" I made my way back to my seat, and with all that was happening I didn't have a chance to tell Susan why I had asked that question. Later I felt glad I had done it because that delegate was seen and heard on International News saying the exact opposite of what she had advocated earlier. What was debated in 1995 has now become a moot question. The UN and many other countries have now embraced the new definitions for gender, with all the ramifications that have followed.

I have no rancor or prejudice toward anyone, no matter their sexual orientation, but I am deeply concerned at the social and political savagery that unfolds in today's climate of hostility on all sides. Sadly, no laws can be enacted, nor enforced, which can control or alleviate the turmoil within the hearts and minds of human beings whose extreme emotional urges cause them to do violence against those who don't share their opinions.

*A Frightening, Thrilling Experience – 1995*

Serving as a journalist at the 4th World Conference on Women brought me out of my comfort zone and awakened me to a new level of awareness regarding my role as a woman. I am glad that I chose to be a wife and mother. I'm also grateful that when we had to buy our airline tickets before we even had our visa, my husband said "Yes! you need to go!" I'm forever grateful I had the opportunity to meet so many wonderful people from all over the world. I'm profoundly grateful for living in America. I am optimistic for the future whatever challenges may arise. I trust that God answers prayers no matter what language they are offered in—and there are good people who abound in faith and good works, willing to sacrifice what it takes to strengthen and protect families, throughout the entire world.

[Deseret News helped Gracia obtain press credentials for the U.N. Conference.]

## **Mary Barton Report – Fourth World Conference on Women**

Though I have not been a political activist, my new association with UAW (Utah Association of Women) led me to China and an unforgettable three-week experience. As I became aware of the issues and the pro-feminist slant in the Platform of Action, I recognized that my views about traditional values, the family as the basic unit of society, and the God-given role of motherhood were not properly represented – and, in fact, were in jeopardy of being removed from this UN document altogether.

I went to China in an effort to help in any way possible and to network with other pro-family women, as well as to learn by exchanging information from all parts of the world. I felt that these goals were met. (From my perspective, the US delegation was less radical than expected. I found as I accompanied Susan Roylance that there were some cooperative members, who listened and who were trying to work with us in drafting more acceptable language on various sensitive issues.)

I was struck with the magnitude of the almost impossible task of formulating wording which could be agreed upon by over 180 countries, whose experiences are as varied as the lands from which they came. It was often frustrating being caught up in the UN system which allowed a powerful collective voice to silence that of the small countries who were disadvantaged and unable to prevent the "railroading" through of these measures. I felt as if Susan Roylance knew as much as anyone there about what needed to be done and how to do it effectively. As a result, I think we made a difference in helping the document in several places be more in keeping with traditional values. My 5 days in our United Families booth in Hairou were among my favorite as we met and passed out material to concerned women from other parts of the globe. What a distorted view of US womanhood and our families has been exported abroad. Being able to interact and dispel this negative picture was most rewarding.

In spite of the inconvenience, hassle, and sometimes interference by the Chinese Government, it was an important place to be. Light has been shed on many, many deplorable situations regarding women of the world. As long as women's rights are denied, the human family suffers.

When I returned home the President of the LDS Church issued a proclamation to the whole world regarding family issues. Whether member or non-member, his definitive comments – directed towards all of society – clearly outline our need to return to the basic laws of God and the divine roles given to men and women. For me, he put the perspective and the last word on these issues.

## Letter to Bella Abzug – 1995

*(hand-written letter)*

Bella,

I hope you will receive this letter in the spirit it is written. I am nearing Phoenix, on my flight home to Salt Lake City, and my thoughts continue to think of you. Maybe it is because I re-read your speech of Monday, April 3rd, just before boarding my plane. But, for some unusual reason, my heart goes out to you. I have no motive in writing to you, and do not expect you to answer me, but I just can't get you off my mind.

I hope you will read this entire letter, even though you may think I cannot possibly understand you. To help you understand who I am, I am the one who spoke up in the Linkage Caucus, and commented on the laughter about my organization, United Families. And, I am the one you looked at strongly when you spoke the next day in the Linkage Caucus.

Let me begin by saying that I am truly amazed at your staying power. You are certainly a woman with great abilities, but more than that, you just stick to the project, no matter what.

I guess the reason I am writing is that I feel a sadness for you. I know you would be the first to say that no one needs to feel sorry for you, as you have reached a great pinnacle of power in the world. Truly, you represent the term "empowerment of women." You have used every power available to man, to accomplish all a woman can accomplish—and you're certainly not through yet.

But with all your power I feel that you have missed happiness. I know I don't have any right to judge you, or to even consider what your personal life has been, but I just don't see the sparkle in your eyes that reflects inner happiness, and I am sorry that any woman should have missed out on the joys of life, even a woman with as much power as you. As I have considered this thought, I have wondered where in your life you were so lacking in the ability to determine your own destiny that it has become such a driving need for you to gain power over others. I guess I empathize with you because I have had many experiences in my life that led me to similar paths, but I was lucky enough to be unsuccessful in some of my pursuits, but successful in the raising of my family. And as I arrive at the point where all of my seven children are now adults, my perspective has greatly changed. I don't know if you have children, but I wanted to share some of my thoughts with you concerning the great joy a family can be to a mother.

I have been very politically active, and was named by the Associated Press at one time to be the 6th most powerful woman in the State of Washington. I now live in the State of Utah, and have had considerable impact on the drafting of laws on matters I feel strongly about. So, although my power has not equaled anything you have known, I have certainly had my share of "empowerment."

I have also owned my own publishing business (and a printing business before that). In my case, my husband continued to provide the necessities of living, while I "did my own thing" with my business. I always hoped I would make a lot of money, but I could never charge enough to cover the amount of time I would give to a project. My husband called my business my "service projects."

But the place I have gained true joy is in the connection with my family. Truly, being a successful mother has been my greatest source of joy. I often wonder if things would have turned out so well if I had won my bid for the U.S. Congress in 1978, as my children would not have had an available mother during their critical years of growth. And, at that time I could not have known the great joy that can come from children who are productive, responsible, loving, members of society. I thought it was important to work hard to produce a better world for them to grow up in, and now I realize that they are a part of that better world. Because they are responsible, productive loving people, the world will be a better place to live.

Bella, this may not be the thing which will give you the greatest joy, but I want you to know that this is not the case with all women. I have traveled in many of the third world countries, and I have seen happy faces on the mother, and happy faces on the children. Sure, there is much we can do to bring greater ease to life, to introduce education, cleanliness, nutrition, financial opportunities, etc. But we need to be careful that we do not destroy their happiness in the process.

What good is "empowerment" to women if they are miserable?

It is because you have, and are using, the power to change the world, that I am writing you. And maybe your experience has taught you an entirely different set of values. But, as I look back on my life, it is my associations with my family that I treasure most. I am so grateful for each of my children, and all were "wanted" at the time of conception. And, although there have been some rocky times in the raising of my children, they have turned into wonderful adults. I shudder to think of doing without my last three. They are such special human beings, and I am so grateful to be part of their lives.

Well, if you have read this far, I congratulate you. I wish you well in your future endeavors, and hope the end result will be worth the effort. I only ask you to

*Letter to Bella Abzug – 1995*

consider the possibility that others may have found happiness on a different path, and it is important to them that the roadblocks be removed on their pathway to happiness, as it is for you to have roadblocks removed for your choice of empowerment of women. In allowing true diversity, we also allow the freedom to choose our own path, and the ability to use our chosen methods of happiness. For many women that road also includes religion. Not in a repressive manner, but in one which infuses with energy and light. I love to read my Book of Mormon. When I start my day in this special manner, everything seems to go better, and I feel a greater inner peace. The spiritual strength I receive from the scriptures is a great source of inner strength. That, and prayer, are the best forms of "empowerment" for me.

I was impressed with your statement in the Linkage Caucus, when you said it was important to keep working, and not forget the many women of the world who need our help. That is a truly noble reason for doing all that you do. I also care a great deal about the needs of other women, although I may choose a different path for helping them. In a world of great diversity there should be room for both of us—and for many more with other progress objectives.

Sincerely,

Susan Roylance



## **China's World Conference on Women Attempts To Redefine the Family and Its Responsibility**

*by Kenda Bartlett, Area Representative  
Concerned Women for America in Utah  
Citizens newspaper - Draper, Utah  
October 4, 1995*

I have just returned from 15 days in Beijing, China. I was there as a participant at the Non-Governmental (NGO) Forum and an observer to the Fourth World Conference on Women. I went to Beijing as a part of a five-member team representing Concerned Women of America, the largest women's organization in the United States. I would like to share my observations, and as they say, the rest of the story.

First, it became apparent very quickly that there were two parallel agendas being presented at the Forum and Conference. A large number of women from all over the world came to address the legitimate needs of women. I met a pediatrician from Kenya who was there to press her basic medical care for the girl-children in her country. There were women who wanted their need for clean water and adequate food addressed. Educators from around the world were asking that the girl-children in their countries be given the right to education at all levels.

At the same time there was a group of women, mostly from the developed nations who were pushing another agenda. They were there to see that gender was defined as socially constructed, rather than biologically determined. They wanted full reproductive rights including abortion on demand. They wanted the family redefined to include all non-traditional forms. They wanted their sexual rights declared a human right, and they wanted sexual orientation added to the list of determiners of discrimination. It is sad that this latter group's agenda took up most of the conference time.

This dichotomy of purposes is seen very clearly in the schedule of workshops that were presented at the NGO Forum. Workshops such as "Development of Rural Women," "Women Against Violence," "Developing an Agenda for the Education of Women Migrant Workers," "More Women in Political Decisionmaking," and many others addressed the real needs of women around the world.

"The World's Religious Women's Friend or Foe?" (which declared all the world's religions patriarchal and, therefore, harmful and oppressive to women). "Self-determination of Women's Sexuality" (a discussion of how each woman determines her own sexuality), "The Status of Women in Politics (pushing for

*World Conference Attempts to Redefine Family*

quotas of 50% women and 50% men in all political bodies), "Prostitute Women, Working Hard Against Poverty and Criminalization" (legalizing of prostitution as a means of moving women out of poverty) were just a few of the workshops that addressed the agenda of this second group.

My second observation is that this forum and conference was supposed to be about respect for women and their diversity. But it is becoming apparent very quickly that if you did not subscribe to extreme feminist viewpoint, the expression of your views was not welcomed. For example, a group of Islamic women held a march to express their pro-life, pro-family views. They were surrounded by lesbians who paired off and stood kissing and caressing each other.

In the U.S. NGO briefing, Susan Roylance, from Utah Association of Women, was laughed at by the audience when she asked the U.S. Delegation if it would support the concept of motherhood as a worthy choice that women should be free to make. In a U.S. press briefing a reporter from the Washington Times was booed and told to sit down and be quiet when he tried to get a definitive answer on whether or not pedophilia would be covered in the phrase "sexual orientation," and a spokeswoman from International Right to Life, while presenting a workshop on the aftermath of abortion, was harassed by the pro-aborts to the point that she could not present her material until they got and left the room. It was clear to see that if you had views that differed, your viewpoint was not respected.

My third, and last observation is that contrary to what President Clinton said, that this was not a pro-family conference and the Platform for Action (the document that guided this conference) is not a pro-family document, unless you see a pro-family document as one that completely redefines what the family is and what the responsibilities of a family are.

In the definition of "family" (paragraph 30), family is defined as having many forms that are determined by the cultural, political and social systems. This suggests the acceptance of any non-traditional families, including same-sex marriages and adoption of children by gays and lesbians.

Also, in the definition of family it states: "The upbringing of children requires the shared responsibility of parents, women and men and society as a whole." One delegate, during the debate on this definition, said parents should have only half of the responsibility of raising children; the government should have the other half. Approval of this definition of family changes the responsibility of parents in the role of guiding and directing the upbringing of their children.

The rewording of the phrase concerning parental rights and responsibilities tips the balance in favor of the child and the exercise of his rights. It states ". . . taking

into account the rights of the child to access to information, privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent as well as the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents and legal guardians to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the '**Convention on the Rights of the Child**' and in conformity with the **Convention on Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.**' In all actions concerning children the best interests of the child shall be the primary consideration." (The United States has not ratified either of these conventions/treaties.)

Also in this document, a new human right is created, that of "Sexual Rights." It states: "The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, determination and violence. Equal relationships between women and men in matters of sexual relations and reproduction, including full respect for the integrity of the person, require mutual respect, consent and shared responsibility for sexual behavior and its consequences."

In one news report, a Los Angeles Times reporter state that "according to some interpretations, opened the door to acceptance of lesbianism and bisexuality." Obviously, the lesbians think so. I was in the room while this wording was being discussed by the contact group, and they were lobbying for it. I have a flier that I picked up in the room that says, "Lesbians rights are human rights." When the wording was adopted by the contact group they clapped and cheered. There are other parts of this document that I could cite that show the clear implications that an attempt is being made to redefine the family and the responsibilities of the family.

In previous days, much has been written about the Fourth World Conference on Women. In the coming days, much more will be written. The Clinton administration has already issued a 12-page document stating how they will implement some of the provisions of the Platform for Action, and most of this can be done by Executive Order and will not require the approval of Congress. The American public needs to remain alert to what is being implemented and the impact it will have on the American family.

## **Does Empowerment Exclude Happiness?**

by Susan Roylance

*The following article was printed in the daily newspaper at the NGO Forum, in Hairou, China – 4 September 1995. United Families had a booth at the Forum, providing positive family strengthening books, tapes and videos – including the books: Mother Love by American Mothers, Teaching Your Children Values by Linda and Richard Eyre and Bringing up Moral Children by Dr. A. Lynn Scoresby. Mary Barton was in charge of the booth. She did such a nice job!*

Many women (mostly dark skinned) have stopped by the United Families booth in the Exhibition Hall, delighted to see something at the NGO Forum which recognizes their role as mothers. Their faces light up as they talk about their families, and tears come to their eyes as we provide them with material that will help them become more successful in this important role.

While I believe women should have equal pay for equal work, opportunity for the highest degrees in education, and every other opportunity afforded men, we should not allow our concern for these issues to forget the feelings of love which mothers have toward their children – and the happiness which can be gained through association with their families.

I have traveled in many developing countries, and I have seen happy faces on the mothers, and happy faces on the children. Sure, there is much we can do to bring greater ease to their life – to introduce more education, cleanliness, nutrition, financial opportunities, etc. But we need to be careful that we do not destroy their happiness in the process.

### **What good is "empowerment" to women if they are miserable!**

I have had considerable opportunity for "empowerment" in my life, and was named the 6th most powerful woman in the State of Washington by the Associated Press (1977). At that time I was a candidate for the U.S. Congress – working very hard to make the world a better place for my children to live. However, as I look back on that defeat, I am grateful that it allowed me to spend the important "growing" years with my children. I now see that my children are an important part of that future world. Because they are responsible, productive, loving people, the world will be a better place to live.

I believe the greatest power, for women, is their *ability to influence* the next generation. It can also be their greatest source of happiness. Let us not lose sight of that reality in our deliberations on the Platform for Action.

## HABITAT II – 1996

After we got home from the Beijing Conference, we put together the book, *The Traditional Family in Peril*. That book became very useful in our preparations for the Habitat Conference – the following year.

We now had access to the internet in our home (we were one of the first homes in the Salt Lake area to have a home computer). The U.N. put information on the internet to help us prepare for the Habitat II Conference in Istanbul.

One morning, as I was looking at the details for the conference, I noticed that each country had listed the head of their delegation, with their home address. There were 200 delegate addresses listed. I decided to send each one of our books to each one of these delegates. By the end of the day all 200 books were in the mail.

The next thing I noticed was the additional opportunity to represent a city. I knew that Tom Christensen was a very good city councilman, so I contacted him to see if I could represent my home city of South Jordan. He arranged for me to come before the City Council and tell what I was doing at the U.N., and they voted to let me represent South Jordan in the Habitat Conference. I then helped the city to send in an application to the appropriate place, and we soon received notification that I would be accredited for the City of South Jordan.

There are usually as many as three preparatory meetings before the actual conference. I was accredited to attend PrepCom III. I encountered some difficulty the first day finding someone who could recognize my South Jordan accreditation, so I just registered for United Families. The next day, Nina Palmer needed to be registered, so I went with her to the registration desk. There wasn't anyone else in line at that time, so I said, "I was supposed to be registered for my city." The person at the desk asked "What is your city?" When I replied "South Jordan," she said, "Oh yes, I have your registration." At the time I was wearing a *green* badge for United Families. She noticed and added, "But if I give you a badge for your city, you will need to give back your NGO (non-governmental organization) badge. I said that this was OK, and she gave me a "green" badge to represent South Jordan. I didn't realize at the time, but the *red* NGO badge would keep me out of most meetings, where my *green* badge gave me the ability to attend all the meetings of the PrepCom.

We had come prepared to hand out our proposed amendments to the document. So, I went up to the Secretariat desk and asked where I could turn in our amendments. We had printed enough copies for all the delegates, and a cover page that said, "**Help Habitat II bring a fresh focus to the U.N.**" When she saw my green badge she said, "You are supposed to be sitting at the table in the middle

of the semi-circle – where the press people usually sit. It's reserved for local authorities. You can offer your amendments from the microphone there."

I gave the amendment papers to my friends, and I went to the "local authorities" table. Soon after I sat down, the other man at the table showed me a sign that read "**Local Authorities.**" He said, "Just hold up this sign when you want to speak." I was flabbergasted at the opportunity to actually speak. I looked heavenward and said to myself, "Whoever got me into this seat expects me to open my mouth." But then I realized I was well prepared for this. As each country used the microphone to tell of their goals for the Habitat Conference, I finally raised my sign and explained that I represented my city of South Jordan, and that we would like to see a fresh focus at the U.N., and I read the flyer we were handing out:

**Help Habitat II bring a fresh focus to the U.N. with the five-step  
People-Centered Approach:**

1. The role of the United Nations would be one of encouragement, *inspiration and cooperation* – rather than global mandates.
2. Programs encouraged by the United Nations would *recognize the worth of individuals* and encourage self-reliance – helping to maintain the dignity of mankind.
3. U.N. programs would demonstrate a *respect for human life*, with a focus toward programs that encourage education and care for the long-term health and well-being of people.
4. The family unit would be recognized as the *fundamental unit of society*. As legal family units are recognized and strengthened, the burden on government is reduced. Much human happiness is found within family units.
5. Within the recognition of national sovereignty, financial resources would be kept close to the people, allowing *communities and families to determine the best expenditure* of their financial resources. Multi-national industries, which take advantage of cheap labor and resources in developing countries, would be encouraged to help the communities within which they operate by providing educational funds and services to improve the standard of living.

Someone in the balcony later that Bella Abzug about fell off her seat. Bella said, "What is she doing there?"

The fact that the city I represented was called "South Jordan" caused quite a stir. (They didn't even think of Utah. They thought it was a city in the Middle East!)

After the first session, I went up to the dais where the chairman conducting the meeting was sitting and handed him our book, *Traditional Family in Peril*. He said, "Oh, I already have one of your books. You sent it to me." And then he whispered, "**We're not corrupted yet.**" He was from an African country, but I can't remember which one.

So, from that day on, at that PrepCom, the chairman would call on me as soon as I raised the "Local Authorities" sign. However, each day I would receive some new instruction. Bella was part of the Bureau that decided the rules of the conference, and each day she raised an objection to my being at the table in the center. The first day I was advised that I could not propose language, or offer amendments; that would need to be done by a Member State.

I called Tom Christensen to let him know that South Jordan was being talked about, a lot, at this PrepCom. He was pleased, and said to "carry-on."

Finally, the chairman told me that the Bureau had decided that I could not represent "all" local authorities, only my city of South Jordan – but I could continue to speak up to represent my city. Well, that was fine with me. I surely didn't expect to represent all local authorities.

There were three different meetings going on at the same time, in three different conference rooms – each negotiating on a different part of the document. I could go into any of the rooms, and sit at the press table. Interestingly, no other representatives of cities, or local authorities, were present. Evidently, the information had either not been received, or not been understood, by other cities, and consequently they had not sent someone to represent them.

One time, as a representative of South Jordan, I submitted an amendment to paragraph 43 which stated,

"Adequate physical shelter alone does not guarantee the mental, emotional and spiritual well-being of those who reside therein. These things are best provided by, among others, the healthy nurturing atmosphere of a strong family unit."

The delegate from Egypt agreed to introduce the amendment on the floor, and several other countries had agreed to speak up in support of it. And, we had our pro-family NGOs lobbying for the inclusion of this language.

*Habitat II – Istanbul, Turkey 1996*

So, after Egypt introduced the amendment and several other countries spoke in favor, the chairman said, "If there is no opposition to this amendment, it will be included." At that point a delegate from the United States said, "We oppose it." Well, that was enough to kill it.

After that session I went up to the U.S. delegate and asked him, "Why did you oppose that amendment? There wasn't anything controversial in the wording."

He responded by saying, "You didn't support our amendments!" I had not opposed their amendments. That was crazy.

At the same time, there was some opposition developing among our pro-family NGOs. They did not object to my being on the floor of the PrepCom, but they saw it as a new possibility in giving people a voice to others who were not actually delegates from a Member Country.

And it was true—as a "local authority" delegate, I saw the organizational structure that was developing. There was a very organized effort to increase the ability of people, other than county delegates, to participate at the U.N. – to decrease the sovereign rights of individual countries, and create a more powerful United Nations.

When I returned home to South Jordan, I suggested that Tom Christensen come to the main Habitat II conference in Istanbul. As an elected city councilman, he would have more authority to speak. So, he submitted an application, and his registration was accepted.

## **Richard Wilkins**

I will never forget the day that I helped Richard Wilkins pick up his badge—as a representative of the David M. Kennedy Center (at Brigham Young University). I felt like the heavens rejoiced. As a law professor, he brought legal understanding to the process.

Richard had written a chapter for our *Traditional Family in Peril* book, titled: "International Agreements and Domestic Law." In preparation for this conference, he was now prepared to present a much longer analysis of "The Impact of U.N. Conference Declarations on International and Domestic Law."

We had reserved a large room for his presentation – which caused white a stir among both the NGO representatives and the country delegates. Richard had brought as many copies his luggage as he could carry, but the demand for more



copies was high, so he continued to make more copies on the conference copy machine.

However, the single most powerful thing Richard contributed at the Habitat II conference was the speech he gave in Committee II before the country delegates on "International Law and the Family."

Interestingly, Bella had been successful in organizing a special session for NGOs to speak – before country delegates. However, she hadn't considered the possibility of a law professor showing up to participate.

It was actually a small miracle that Richard was given the opportunity to be interviewed for possible inclusion as a speaker. At the final hour, the day before, Johnson Mwaura noticed our booth at the conference, which focused on the importance of families. He asked if anyone would like to put in their application to speak at a special session. The women at the booth volunteered Richard Wilkins.

Richard spent long hours in preparation for the speech, and was finally chosen - as the last one to speak. Bella had juggled the rules to get eight of her chosen speakers to present at first, and most of them went over their allotted time. When the floor was opened up for questions from the country delegates, one of the delegates from an Arab country said, "All of the speakers have talked about the same thing. Do any of the other speakers have another opinion?" At that point, Richard was allowed to speak, but they told him if he went a second over four minutes, his microphone would be cut off.

Richard started his speech with the following words:

International law deals with the vital issues that arise as women, men and children live together in national and international communities. The traditional family is the necessary foundation for these larger communities because it is the sanctuary where women and men learn cooperation, sacrifice, love and mutual support; it is the training ground where children learn the public virtues of responsibility, work, fair play and social interdependence.

Afterwards, a group of delegates who supported pro-family policies asked Richard to meet with them, and they said: "Where have you been?" They were so excited to have Richard at the conference.

This was the beginning of many years of Richard's involvement in United Nations conferences—to promote the importance of the family, and human life. We owe much to Richard for helping us achieve good language in the Habitat II

*Habitat II – Istanbul, Turkey 1996*

Agenda. He later wrote the "Foreword" to the *U.N. Negotiating Guide*.

## **The Goodman Family**

Another bright light at the Habitat II conference was the singing Goodman Family. Their involvement began when they provided entertainment for a fund-raising luau (prepared by a Hawaiian couple, who also went with us to Istanbul).

Claudia Goodman, the mother of the family, wanted to do more – to help our pro-family cause, and she silently went to work considering the possibility of bringing their singing family to Istanbul. It was another series of miracles that brought this dream to full fruition. Kevin Cope wrote special music for them to perform, appropriate for an international conference. They brought everything needed to perform professional concerts, and from the first time they performed, many people showed up to hear them. They even performed a concert in the city park, and many families brought their children—especially from the Muslim community. They had produced a special cassette with the songs they had prepared for the Habitat II conference, and they gave them to the taxi drivers. Eventually, all the taxis were playing the Goodman Family music.

The Istanbul English newspaper said the Goodman Family "outshone the U.N. conference."

## **36 People**

Thirty-six people attended the Habitat II conference with the group organized by United Families International – including people from Utah, Arizona, Maine, Hawaii, Nigeria and the nine children of the Goodman Family. Originally, we were going to stay in a school auditorium, but the organizing committee decided we needed to stay in a hotel since we had children with us. They arranged for all of us to stay in the Ulabat Hotel. I don't think it would even qualify as a two-star hotel, but we enjoyed being together, and the price was right.

We all wore blazers that had a "Sustainable Families" logo embroidered on them. We bought older blazers at thrift stores, so they were not very expensive. I brought my computer, a good printer, and some professional paper. Our document suggestions, concert invitations and event flyers turned out very nice.

Deseret News sent a special reporter to cover our participation in the conference. I was very chagrined to see the title, "Reckoning with Susan Roylance," but it does give a good overview of our participation in the Habitat II Conference.



## *Help Habitat II bring a fresh focus to the U.N.*

### **With the five-step People-Centered Approach:**

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- 2.** Programs encouraged by the United Nations would *recognize the worth of individuals* and encourage their self-reliance — helping to maintain the dignity of mankind.
- 3.** U.N. programs would demonstrate a *respect for human life*, with a focus toward programs that encourage education and care for the long-term health and well-being of people.
- 4.** *The family unit would be recognized as the fundamental unit of society.* As legal family units are recognized and strengthened, the burden on government is reduced. Much human happiness is found within family units.
- 5.** Within the recognition of national sovereignty, *financial resources would be kept close to the people*, allowing communities and families to determine the best expenditure of their financial resources.

Multi-national industries operating in developing countries would be encouraged to help the people in the communities within which they operate by providing educational funds and services — to enable the families to improve their standard of living.

PREPARED BY UNITED FAMILIES INTERNATIONAL



## **Utah Clan Headed to Turkey to Show off Traditional Family**

*Published: June 6, 1996*

*By Deseret News, Susan Whitney, Staff Writer*

Steve and Claudia Goodman are taking nine of their 12 children to the U.N. conference in Turkey this week – to show the world what a traditional family looks like. The Sandy family has just released its second record album and will be singing songs about the importance of family. They'll perform four times at the NGO (nongovernmental organization) conference, which runs concurrently with the policymaking conference, the Second United Nations World Conference on Human Settlements.

Counting the 11 Goodmans, 28 Utahns who are members of United Families International and related organizations will attend the Istanbul conference. Ten other members of United Families International – from Africa, Ohio, Maine, Arizona and Hawaii – will join the Utahns in lobbying the U.N. delegates for "family-friendly" language in the document that will emerge from this conference. They are concerned specifically about language that might favor nontraditional marriages and families, or abortion.

Richard Wilkins, a professor of law at Brigham Young University, has prepared amendments to be introduced to the Habitat II document. He'll also be presenting a workshop on International Law at the NGO conference. Edward Fila, from Bountiful, will present a workshop on "How To Build Sustainable Families." Roberta Stapley, a marriage counselor from Arizona, will give a workshop on "How Two-Parent Families Benefit the Community."

Susan Roylance, president of United Families International, attended the U.N. preparatory meetings in New York last winter, representing the city of South Jordan. Roylance says "this conference will define the way we live in the 21st century and will become the basis of international policy regarding families."

She thinks it's important that the Goodmans go to Istanbul because "people need to do more than just hear about families. They need to see one - and it helps if it is a large, functioning family, like the Goodmans."

## Reckoning with Susan Roylance – 1996

*Deseret News, Susan Whitney, Staff Writer*

When she moved from Washington state to Utah in 1979, Susan Roylance's reputation preceded her. The director of Planned Parenthood in Seattle wrote a letter to the director of Planned Parenthood Utah, saying Susan Roylance is headed your way. It was a letter of condolence.

And sure enough, Roylance wasn't long in Utah before she started lobbying the Legislature for parental-consent laws and speaking at protest marches at Planned Parenthood clinics. Articulate, energetic – she was a formidable adversary for a few years. Then, in the late 1980s, Roylance dropped away from the pro-life lobbying scene. Her disappearance was something of a mystery to the pro-choice coalition.

Now, it seems, Roylance has re-emerged. And she's gone international. Today people in Paris, Beijing, New York and Istanbul know her name. They know that when she's heading off to another U.N. conference, they might want to send letters of alert.



She is still someone to be reckoned with. She lobbies for the things she's lobbied for all along, since the first of her seven children was a toddler. She began her career as an activist by writing letters to the editor. Eventually she became vice chairwoman of her county Republican Party, founded a group called United Families of America to lobby against the Equal Rights Amendment, and ran for Congress.

Roylance still cares about what she's always cared about: Mothers at home. Fathers at work. Children who are safe and protected. (That's safe and protected in the traditional sense. Not safe and protected as in having government-supplied birth control.) Roylance envisions a society without abortion or same-sex marriages, a place where people are self-reliant and self-controlled, a society where judiciously applied fertilizer, rather than population restriction, is the answer to feeding the world.

When it comes to working the United Nations, Roylance is probably the most savvy lobbyist to come out of Utah thus far. She knows what documents the United Nations is working on; she knows the history of the documents; she knows the nuances of the language within the documents; she knows how to work the U.N. rules so she can influence the language of the documents.

She explains that U.N. documents are similar to treaties. They establish international law. What she seeks from international law is simply this: "To establish the importance of the family as the fundamental unit of society."

She doesn't do it alone. Roylance took 37 people with her to Istanbul last month. Most of them were from Utah. Most were LDS. But there were also a couple of women from Africa, one of whom – armed with family-values tapes by Steven R. Covey and Richard and Linda Eyre – has started United Families International chapters on that continent.

Even with a lot of help, establishing the importance of the family unit is hard work. In Istanbul, at the U.N. Habitat II conference, Roylance lobbied early and late. As the conference was about to close, and the debates slogged toward a stalemate, Roylance armed her volunteers with position papers. At the last minute, the delegates did agree on a document, and included in its pages were some paragraphs suggested by United Families International.

On the next to the last day of the conference, Roylance was up at dawn working on her computer in her tiny Istanbul hotel room. By 7 a.m. she was stationed on the hotel stairs. As her fellow lobbyists came looking for breakfast, she greeted them with printed invitations. She asked them to join her in staying the night at the final U.N. meetings.

Her invitations were printed on lovely stationery – cream-colored with a wide border of purple, blue and gold. Counting the case of paper, she lugged about 1,400 pounds of brochures, books and printing equipment to Istanbul.

Their stationery was worth its weight, she said. It set them apart. It looked expensive. Passing out her pretty invitations that morning, she told her fellow lobbyists, "Everyone at the conference is asking us why we are so well-financed." As she stood in the hall of their \$17.50-a-night hotel, her voice broke into a chuckle over the words, "well-financed."

Despite the seriousness of her mission, Roylance laughed a lot in Istanbul. She seemed to thrive on the intrigue and thrill of diplomacy. International lobbyist seemed to be the career she was born for.

The place she was born is Darlington, Idaho. Her father owned a farm and potato-processing plant. She grew up believing people are easy to talk to, believing she could influence world events as easily as the events in her own town. "My mother says she could never hold me down," Roylance recalls.

Her family moved to Washington state when she was 10. There, her rural school was overcrowded and Susan's class went on half-day sessions. Her fifth-grade teacher told her she could spend her free time working ahead. She took off on her own. She remembers making a salt-dough map of the United States, her childish fingers forming all the mountain ranges. When the year ended, she'd covered sixth- and seventh-grade work.

This experience gave her confidence, in case she needed it, that she could achieve. In high school, she was elected class president, started a school drill team, was valedictorian and graduated with a 4.0 average.

She went off to college on a scholarship, met and married Bob Roylance, and helped him get through school. By the early 1960s, he was farming and she was having babies. With the Vietnam War under way, at a time when other women her age were protesting and marching and the seeds of the women's movement were being sown, Roylance found she, too, burned with a need to change the world.

The irony of it is not lost on her. She brings it up herself: While she was out there working against the ERA and driving the state in her efforts to be elected to Congress, she had a passel of little children at home. She says it is perhaps a blessing she didn't win political office, because her children turned out great and who knows what would have happened if she'd been any busier as a politician.

Her children are grown now, with children of their own. Roylance has more time, and no less desire, to make the world supportive of families. She began her international lobbying a little over a year ago, going to the preparatory meetings for the U.N. Women's Conference. Then she went to Beijing, to the actual conference. She started attending Habitat II PrepComs (preparatory committee meetings). Then she went to the actual conference in Istanbul. Thursday she left for Rome for the PrepCom for the World Food Summit.

And this trip, she says, might be her last. There are other Utahns who can do the job, she says. She thinks the international community needs to realize United Families is bigger than just one person.

Roylance also says it can take a toll on your health, all this advocacy. Then she reveals the reason she dropped out of lobbying 10 years ago, when she all but disappeared from the local pro-life scene. "It got to the point where if I was giving

a talk about abortion, I'd be fine at the time, but afterwards, I'd throw up."

That's why she pulled out of her local lobbying efforts and why, today, she says, she tries so hard not to deal in negatives. "You can spend your life pointing out what is bad. I'm not opposed to that, it's fine for some people. But I try, always, to have a positive plan."

It's a fact: Abortion is legal in the United States. Roylance finds it immoral, but there are those in Utah, in the United States and at the United Nations who don't see it as a moral issue at all. She will not change their minds. She may or may not be referring to abortion when she says if there isn't a solution she no longer wants the stress of attacking the problem.

All this is not to say she doesn't think she can be effective. In fact, she is effective in the United Nations.

Her focus on the positive sets her apart from many of those who lobby the U.N.

Her focus on the positive makes her much more effective than others who share her political views, says Melinda Kimble. Kimble is deputy secretary of state for international organizations. She led the U.S. delegation through the negotiations in Beijing and Istanbul. And she came to know Roylance quite well.

"She's a pleasure to work with," says Kimble. Kimble credits her with being one of the most responsible of the pro-life, pro-family lobbyists. "She always tells the truth. She tells you what she'd like you to work on but she accepts the fact that your guidance might be different from hers."

While other lobbyists were calling Bella Abzug "satanic," Roylance was talking about families. The name-calling, the inflammatory rhetoric, and the out-and-out lying has never been worse than it was in Istanbul, says Kimble. Roylance stayed out of the muck.

Kimble calls Roylance "sharp." But she admits there are others at the U.N. who think the word "devious" is more apt.

When South Jordan City Councilman Tom Christensen checked in at the U.N. conference last month, he was amazed at his reception. The man at the accreditation desk stared at him and, recognizing the name of South Jordan, Utah, told him he would not be allowed to use the microphone. Christensen was half a world away from South Jordan, but because it's also Susan Roylance's hometown, people in Turkey knew where it was.



Roylance went to her first U.N. preparatory conference in 1995. She learned fast. She learned that much of the language that's debated at the actual conference is introduced at the PrepCom.

As the Habitat II conference approached, Roylance knew she needed to get involved early. She had some language she wanted to see introduced, for one thing a clause saying, "In different cultural, political and social systems, various traditional forms of the family exist."

Never before in the history of the United Nations, it is believed, has someone who is not a delegate been allowed to sit at a delegate's microphone and introduce language to be included in the official document. But the old rules changed at the PrepCom meeting held in New York last February.

Local authorities, local government officials, were invited to participate on an equal basis with official delegates from the countries of the world. The United Nations was admitting it couldn't solve the world's problems and inviting local officials to help.

Roylance wanted to get ahold of one of those U.N. microphones, so she approached members of her local city council, gave them a copy of her book "The Traditional Family in Peril" and asked them how they'd like to let her represent them in the United Nations. Learning they wouldn't have to help pay her way, they agreed.

So, she came to New York. And in a historic moment – not reported in the national press at all, and she thinks they missed the boat there – Roylance was the first representative of a city ever to address the United Nations. She caused something of an international incident.

She says she thinks the head of the United States' U.N. delegation was angry with her. Kimble says no. Roylance didn't anger the United States so much, says Kimble, but she did infuriate the entire European alliance.

From Paris, Anne Pons tries to explain why. Pons is the director of programs from the United Towns Organization. UTO is one of the largest associations of local governments in the world.

Says Pons, "When Susan Roylance says she comes to defend families, this is her personal opinion. It was a big problem. We had worked hard all together (as local authorities) to have a common voice.

"We have a worldwide charter of local authorities in order to build a network, to assure cooperation. There is nothing in our charter to defend the structure of traditional families or go against homosexuals."

Because of Roylance, "coming in with her own view," says Pons, the local authorities revamped their accreditation procedures before the Istanbul conference. Says Pons, they "convinced" Roylance that if she wanted to speak as a local authority, she needed to be an elected official.

Whether or not she was "convinced" they were right, Roylance was convinced they were about to close the loopholes. She began looking for an elected official to accompany the United Families group to Istanbul. Christensen agreed to come. He stresses that United Families, not the taxpayers of South Jordan, helped with his expenses.

Although he was told he'd not get a microphone, he did get a microphone in Istanbul. He turned it over to Roylance. She used the opportunity to define what she meant by the word "traditional."

Once again, international anger ensued. The chairman of the meeting apologized a few days after he screamed at Roylance. He said he thought she'd been trying to exclude single parents from the definition of traditional.

In fact, she meant to include single parents, Muslim polygamists and any other form that has traditionally been accorded legal status in any country in the world. Who she meant to exclude was homosexual couples.

But such exclusion is not within the purview of local authorities, says Pons. The local authorities were supposed to focus on sustainable communities and health and clean air and water.

Roylance is not to be deterred. She believes personal opinions and personal convictions do have a place in the U.N. dialogue. She believes quite a few of the delegates from Third World countries share her views of morality. And if large countries like the United States and even larger countries like China – where population control is a cultural norm – can influence the dialogue, then smaller, poorer countries need to be encouraged to state their views, as well.

Melinda Kimble kind of sides with Roylance. "We are the people who set the rules and Susan Roylance abided by the rules and got accredited. Why should we be angry?" Besides, says Kimble, different points of view are healthy.

Presenting a different point of view can be a healthy or an unhealthy experience. That's what Roylance has learned, through years of lobbying. One way to keep your health is to keep sight of the fact that those who oppose you are human, too.

Keeping this perspective is something Roylance still struggles with. Her first lesson came back in the early 1970s, when she was lobbying against the ERA, and a young woman came up with tears in her eyes, saying something to this effect: You are lucky. You have a husband who loves you. But I don't and I have little children to support and I need some of the protections that this amendment could offer.

She continued to oppose the amendment, but she tried not to oppose the women who wanted it. She knows how it feels to be the subject of jeers and personal attacks.

When she brought 36 people to Istanbul last month, the group included some frustrated lobbyists. They are U.S. citizens, but they didn't feel represented by U.S. delegates who represented the wishes of a Democrat president.

Roylance understood their frustration and she gave them some advice. It may be good advice from the standpoint of being effective, but it is also good advice from the standpoint of saving your health, of not getting so caught up in the cause that it makes you sick.

"We need to be friendly to these people," Roylance said. "We don't agree politically, but as people we probably agree on a lot. If I lived next door to Melinda Kimble I would consider her to be a wonderful neighbor. She's probably a wonderful wife and mother. I'm sure she is."

## **World Food Summit in Rome – 1996**

by Robert C. Roylance

Julia Mavenbella and I were excited about the opportunity to attend the World Food Summit. We were eager to present papers that could make a positive impact on solving a variety of global issues.

Julia was internationally recognized for her efforts in helping people in South Africa grow fruits and vegetables on small plots of land. Due to her success, some even referred to her as the “Mother Teresa of South Africa.”

Throughout my career, I have consistently found successful ways to increase crop yields. It was remarkable how both approaches relied on the same fundamental principles to produce more food.

My approach to addressing hunger in developing countries focused on restoring soil health and improving crop yields. I believed in reversing harmful farming practices that depleted the soil and instead encouraged methods that enriched it. My guiding principle was: **“If you give more to the soil than you take, it will provide more and more in return. But if you take more than you give, the soil will yield less and less.”**

Julia took a similar approach, dedicating herself to helping the less fortunate in southern African countries. One of her efforts focused on supporting women trapped in prostitution by offering them a better way to sustain themselves. She taught them how to create “door gardens” by digging a hole next to their door, roughly the size of a door. They would fill this hole with scraps and other organic materials, which would decompose over time and create fertile soil for growing vegetables. This was one of the many ways she helped them transition to a more sustainable and positive way of life.

A headline of the *Food Summit Watch*, the official Summit newspaper, read: **“We Can Eat Less or Breed Less.”**

We were rejected, on every front, to tell our story, but we decided to do it – one way or another. United Families finally reserved a hotel conference room and made preparations for Julia and I to give our presentations in the following evening.

Susan Roylance, my wife, was invited to go to the Vatican that day with a group of pro-family friends. The Pope had issued an invitation to all the pro-family groups that had been successful at the Habitat II Conference in Istanbul that year.

I was about to go with them, but thought it would be a long-shot if I could actually meet with the Pope, so I went to the venue where the lectures were taking place. That morning, there was a big event featuring Lester Brown, a well-known environmentalist – kind of the Al Gore of his time. His presentation was supposed to be for reporters only, but I convinced them to let me stay. The room was packed – at least a hundred international journalists.

This turned out to be an experience I will never forget. In addition to Lester Brown's presentation, a number of his staff made presentations as well. This went on all morning and a large part of the afternoon. They never talked about solutions – it was all about the problem. At the end of his final speech, Brown told the audience to pick up a paper on the way out. He said, "**The solution is on it.**"

So, I grabbed one – eager to see what they had come up with. And it said: "Support your local population control advocacy groups" (like Planned Parenthood). That was it!

After an entire day of discussions about food shortages, their big solution wasn't better farming practices, or improved distribution, or investment in agricultural research. **The solution was fewer people!**

It was true that food prices at that time were higher than usual, but I thought it was just a normal cyclical occurrence. Another quote in the Foot Summit newspaper: "Food security will become the defining issue." Interestingly, in the ensuing years, food production was more than enough, so the crises crowd had to come up with another angle, and it was Global Warming.

After it was over, I had a friendly talk with Lester Brown, and told him that I was a farmer, and I was confronted with food pricing trends all the time. I predicted that prices would be down within a year or two. And that is what happened!

The entire time, these reporters – people who are supposed to ask tough questions – just sat there. Not one of them pushed back. Not one of them asked, "What about better farming techniques?" or "What about investing in agriculture?" It was as if they were disciples at the feet of their leader.

Now, contrast that with what happened when our pro-family group held a much smaller event. Only a few reporters showed up – but this time, they were hostile. They bombarded us with ridiculous questions, challenging everything we said. It was clear: the media had already picked their side.

The pro-family group, that went to the Vatican, had an amazing experience – which I regretted missing. The Pope did meet with them, and Susan was

*World Food Summit – 1996*

personally presented to the Pope for the work she did in organizing pro-family lobbying for pro-life, pro-family issues at the Habitat II conference. The Pope's official photographer even took a picture of her with the Pope.

Susan had not prepared properly, to present the Pope with a gift. But the Goodman family, who came with her (they also performed in Istanbul), had sung a song right after the Pope's speech to the group. Then, when they were shaking his hand later, they sang "I am a Child of God" in Italian, and presented him with a cassette of their songs. The Pope was very grateful to receive it, and held on tight when his assistants tried to take it from him – to put it with the other gifts on a table.

He was so impressed with the Goodman Family that he sent Susan an email, a couple weeks later, and asked if the Goodman Family could accompany him to the largest stadium in Brazil – to sing for a major gathering of Catholic families. The Goodmans agreed to do it. But that opportunity never came to fruition. The communication just stopped, and the whole idea faded away.

## Negotiating Strategies – 1996

After I made the decision to go to the Fourth World Conference on Women, I began a careful reading of each draft of the document that would be finalized in Beijing. In cooperation with our pro-family, pro-life friends, we prepared some amendments to the document. At that time, lobbying was much easier than it is today, because we could communicate freely with the delegates. We could print a new flyer each, with suggested words to add, or words to delete.

I watched Bella Abzug, and the methods she used to lobby delegates, and learned much!

In Beijing, Bella had a stack of yellow legal-size sheets, which showed the language she wanted in various paragraphs. But it wasn't just the language for the current document that was being negotiated, she also had excerpts from the previous conference documents or treaties, that could be used – to give "soft authority" for using the same words again.

**New words** in conference documents need to be approved by the "Capitol" of the UN member nations. So, if the words have been used in previous treaties or conference documents, they will have a greater chance of being accepted in the document being negotiated. In many cases, it's all a matter of time. If the language is new, and has not been used in previous documents, the delegates need to check back with their capitol to get approval. Sometimes that takes several days, or weeks, and the document is finished – before they get an answer.

So, the solution is to find words in previous documents that are similar, and provide backup documentation to promote using the same words in the new document being negotiated. (This is explained further in two articles in this book – from the *UN Negotiating Guide*, which I created 2000. See the *Foreword* by Richard Wilkins, and my *Preface* to that book.)

In 1996, as the internet became available to the average family, the final outcome documents of previous international conferences became available. I downloaded the documents on my computer, and searched for the "good words" we could use. So, **beginning with the Habitat II conference, we prepared amendments, using language from previous conference documents**, as much as possible.

In the week following our participation in the Fourth World Conference on Women, I went to see Richard Wilkins, a professor at the J. Reuben Clark Law School, at Brigham Young University. He was very busy, so I had to meet him in the court room.

I said, "Richard, does the Beijing Platform for Action have any impact on the laws of the United States?" In response, he wrote a chapter on "International Agreements and Domestic Law," for the book we were preparing: *The Traditional Family in Peril*. As he became more acquainted with the situation, he helped us create amendments for the Habitat II conference, and actually came to Istanbul with us. His involvement helped us become more credible in the work we were doing – to create "soft law" that supported the family unit.

## **Three Commission Meetings in 1997**

### **Commission on Social Development – 25 February to 6 March, 1997**

The main purpose for attending this meeting was to provide input into the documents which were being prepared as a follow-up to the International Year of the Family. United Families had been preparing a Family Resolution to submit to the Commission on the Status of Women, and felt the urgency to be involved in the Family Resolution being prepared by the Family Sub-Group of the U.N. to the Commission on Social Development.

Our participation was particularly significant. Three of the paragraphs of the final resolution contained language which we formulated. Two of the paragraphs were offered by Iran, and the other paragraph was offered by the Holy See. In all cases the wording was compromise language. The opposition of the EU to family language was the greatest obstacle to overcome. In the beginning they flatly declared they would not accept "any" family resolution, but, in the end, they accepted the final formulation.

The Family Resolution calls for regional meetings on subjects related to the family. Mr. Amr Ghaleb, Director of the Family Sub-Group, asked for a proposal from United Families. He recognized that the Family Resolution probably would not have passed without our help.

### **Commission on the Status of Women – 10-21 March, 1997**

The purpose of this meeting was to work on the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action. The focus was in four areas: Environment, Education, Decision-Making, and Employment (or Poverty Reduction). The Agenda also allowed for the introduction of resolutions.

With the help of BYU law students, a Family Resolution was prepared, and suggested proposals for each of the four areas of consideration. Additional paragraphs were added to the Family Resolution to reflect the suggested proposals for Education, Decision-Making and Employment.

While considerable support was gathered for the Family Resolution, no nation filed it by the deadline. The US said they would co-sponsor it, but not be the original sponsor. Even the UK (England) said they could support it. It was a considerable disappointment to have so much support, but no sponsor.

Mike Lee attended, and continued the lobbying after Roberta Stapley and I left for Prague for the World Congress of Families. He was very successful in stopping



language proposed by Mexico, that would have seriously eroded the right of parents to be involved in the education of their children.

**One of the more dangerous outcomes of this Commission was the acceptance of new definitions of the word "gender."** In the Secretary-General's Report it states: "gender refers to the socially constructed roles played by women and men," and "since gender roles are contingent on the social and economic context, they can vary according to the specific context and can change over time," and "gender is used to refer to the explanations for observed differences between and men based on **socially assigned roles.**"

### **Commission on Sustainable Development – 7-25 April, 1997**

The purpose of this meeting was to prepare the "Report" which will be approved by the General Assembly at the Earth Summit II in June. This was a five-year review of Agenda 21, prepared by the first Earth Summit in Rio in 1992.

Mary Barton and I focused most of our attention on the language related to reproductive health, as there is a considerable effort to make reproductive health services a human right (which includes abortion – in the World Health Organization definition). We produced one brochure and three flyers, which did affect the final discussion.

- A brochure titled "The Conflict between Gender and Reproductive Health as defined by the United Nations." This brochure provided definitions of gender and reproductive health, suggested solutions, and provided paragraphs in various UN documents which contain helpful language.
- A flyer on Paragraph 18(d) titled "Eradicating Poverty." The amendment we suggested would include the words, from Agenda 21, "In keeping with freedom, dignity and personally held values, taking into account ethical and cultural considerations." In 18(d) these words followed the words "health care."
- A flyer on paragraph 21 titled "Population." This flyer suggested adding the words "which do not include abortion as a method of family planning" after the words "reproductive health services" which were proposed by the United States.
- A flyer prepared in cooperation with International Right to Life on Population – Para 21. This flyer proposed using language from the latest negotiated documents (World Food Summit and Habitat II).

There was an active floor debate on these issues, but the final result is still unknown, as the important words have been put in brackets – to be finally decided

at the General Assembly meeting in June. At least the words "reproductive health services" have not been added to the document . . . yet.

A large wall chart was handed out at this meeting, which provided twelve "social statistics" for each nation. The statistics included each nation's "contraceptive prevalence" rate, and the "floor area per person" (in sq. meters). This chart seemed to be the beginning of the measurement of "social norms" which I heard discussed at the World Food Summit. These statistics could be used to help enforce population control measures.

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In addition to the Commission meetings, there are meetings to evaluate whether a country is in compliance with any treaties they have ratified.

A High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) is held under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) annually in July, with an additional **Heads of State-level summit** every four years under the UN General Assembly. The UN website ([hlpf.un.org](http://hlpf.un.org)) reports:

The High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development (HLPF) is the central United Nations platform for the follow-up and review of the **2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development** and its **17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)**.

The HLPF was established at the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) in 2012 in its outcome "**The Future We Want**". The HLPF is an integral part of the global architecture for follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda and the SDGs.

The Forum is convened annually under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) for eight days, including a three-day ministerial segment. The Forum conducts regular in-depth reviews of progress on the Sustainable Development Goals and includes Voluntary National Reviews where countries present the findings from national reviews of progress with a view to accelerate the implementation of the 2030 Agenda.

In 2000, Richard Wilkins, my husband and I, were invited to attend a conference in Pakistan, and had the opportunity to visit with government leaders. At that time, Pakistan had serious financial problems, and the U.N. would not allow them to borrow from the World Bank, or the I.M.F., unless they were making a significant effort to reduce their population – with a target of no more than two children per family. This was based on goals established to achieve the Beijing Platform for Action. While the Beijing document is not a treaty, it was being used to pressure governments to comply with the goals of the United Nations, and that compliance was necessary before the country could borrow money.

## U.N. Plan Poses a New Threat to Families

*Susan Roylance*  
*Deseret News – My View*  
13 March 1998

Should an appointed body of the United Nations be defining "family education" or "maternity as a social function" as it is applied in a local community?

Sound unreal? Not according to the plans of the committee that has the authority to administer the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), an international treaty that may soon be up for ratification by the U.S. Senate.

For example, Part 1, Article 5 of CEDAW says,

States parties shall take all appropriate measures:

(a) To **modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women** with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices based on the idea of inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on **stereotyped roles for men and women**;

(b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

When I was in Beijing (at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women), I asked the U.S. delegation who would decide what was in the "**interest of the children**"? They said it would be decided "on a case-by-case basis" (not by the parents). It was also clear, at that conference, that the "social and cultural pattern" and "stereotyped role" of women as mothers was totally unacceptable. Even the concept of fathers as the provider of the family was unacceptable.

Also, "**maternity as a social function**" is usually interpreted within the U.N. system to mean population control.

This past week, I was in New York at the U.S. mission to the United Nations when the U.S. delegation announced that March 11 would be the kickoff date for an extensive campaign to educate U.S. senators to achieve their support for the ratification of CEDAW.

I recently returned from meetings at the United Nations, where the final wording of an optional protocol on CEDAW was being drafted. This optional protocol would be **another international treaty** that would establish a legal body within

the United Nations to enforce the provisions of CEDAW. This committee would have power of a court to require nations to bring all of their laws in compliance with CEDAW, once the optional protocol is ratified. The greatest danger of the optional protocol is the power of this second international treat to overturn national sovereignty in areas of family and social law.

In addition to establishing a mechanism for complaint and enforcement against a nation that has violated the established "rights" of women, the optional protocol would give the new legal committee the power to enforce "obligations" of a nation. As defined by the CESAW committee, this would include the obligations of "any person, organization or enterprise" within the nation that has signed CEDAW.

Throughout CEDAW, discrimination is defined as any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex that affects women's enjoyment of political economic, social, cultural, civil or any other rights . . ." Article 4 clearly allows for affirmative action (temporary special measures) to achieve these goals.

While I recognize the need for greater attention to the need for equality for women in developing nations of the world, this treaty could create more problems than it solves. **The disintegration of the family unit has greatly contributed to the feminization of poverty.** As CEDAW works to turn our society into a unisex society, the main result may be further deterioration of the family unit as the important "roles" of father and mother are de-emphasized and denigrated.

[The Protocol was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 6 October 1999, and in force from 22 December 2000. President Jimmy Carter signed the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) on July 17, 1980, but the treaty has never been brought before the full Senate for a vote. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2010/07/15/us-ratify-womens-rights-treaty>]

## **What Is the Solution? – 1997**

Susan Roylance

Two years ago, I became involved in the International conferences of the United Nations – because I believed in the basic goodness of humankind, and hoped that a new direction could be forged within the United Nations system – one that recognized the value of life – and the importance of the family unit.

To a small extent that hope has been encouraged – through coalitions of delegates from developing countries who still maintained a standard of morality – and combined their voices to **oppose** the wording in international documents that promoted the elimination of people as the main way to solve the problems of the world. Included in these population control tactics was a deliberate effort to denigrate the role of motherhood – to attract the girl child to "empowerment" through education programs beginning in kindergarten. It has now been statistically proven that the empowerment education programs for the girl child is the most effective method of population control.

Two international treaties, which give power to governments to enact these population control programs, are the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). These two treaties, combined with the international documents produced at the seven major international conferences, have the power to completely transform the societal structures which support the traditional family unit.

I recently attended implementation meetings in New York City for two of these international conference documents. I have come away from this three-week experience with a deep fear for the control being exercised by these international commissions. While we have experienced a small degree of success in the negotiations at the conferences, I experienced a "locked-in mindset" among the appointed representatives of the various countries to the Commissions, who have the power to control the implementation of the international documents, while there seemed to be a few delegates who favored family strengthening language. They were so overwhelmingly opposed as to create a climate where no delegate was willing to speak up for traditional values in the main plenary sessions. The Commissions are organized in a way that rotates committee membership – and thus reduces the ability of many smaller countries to participate.

**This experience has left me with a chilling awareness of our awful situation.** The future of the world is indeed in trouble unless those people of the world with a moral – family – orientation become better organized. I believe there is only one way we can reverse the current self-destructive trend:

*What Is the Solution?*

1. We must organize a group within every country that is a member of the United Nations. This group should be composed of community leaders – whose opinion will be respected.
2. This group needs to become well acquainted with the various representatives to the implementation commissions – and talk to them before they go to New York, or other various meeting places.

One of the major problems, currently, is that Bella Abzug has been successful in getting her Women's Caucus members appointed as representatives of most of the countries of the world. This can only be changed within the country – where the delegate appointments are made. Sometimes the appointments are made based on the willingness of a citizen to participate – and their knowledge and understanding of document language.

It may be impossible to get enough people willing to educate themselves in the process, but I believe it is our only hope of reversing the process.

I have often wondered if the people of Germany could have changed the course of history if they had been more aware of Hitler's motives and plans. If someone had issued a "wake up" call – would it have made a difference?

If the above plan of education and organization is not possible, then our only other hope is to save our children, and the future families of the earth, is to strengthen our children.

We must teach them from an early age to choose the right – and to see the difference between right and wrong. All of the documents respect the "right" of the child to self-determination. It is the belief of the social reformers that they can change the direction of the child – even to oppose the values of their parents – through early education. However, the parents have the opportunities for the earliest stages of education – when the young mind is forming basic attitudes of life. Any mother who would leave this critical stage of education to a daycare worker is taking a terrible gamble with the future of the child. No amount of money or worldly possession is worth the sacrifice of a child's mind. **Mothers, who have the greatest influence during the early formative years, are the ones who can save the future of mankind.**

The future of mankind rests in the willingness of mothers to see the value their role has in the saving of humanity.

# History of United Families International

(1977-1997)

*by Susan Roylance, President*

- 1997** Name changed to Association of United Families International to reflect the association of the United Families chapters in Africa.
- 1996** Julia Mavimbela, known as "Mother Earth" in South Africa, and Robert C. Roylance, a General Manager for Farm Management Company, presented a workshop in Rome titled "The No-Nonsense Approach to Food Production." This workshop focused on the environmentally sound food production practices which can be accomplished on small plots in family gardens and on large farms.

In a **meeting with the Pope**, at Vatican City, United Families International was presented as one of the ten key pro-family organizations working within the international conferences to protect the interests of the family unit. A special part of this meeting was the singing of the Goodman Family.

Representatives of UFI participated in the preparations for the **World Food Summit** in Rome, Italy. This included representation at the InterSessional in July, PreCom in September, and the NGO Forum in November – all in Rome, Italy. We were successful in adding language (1) recognizing the family unit, (2) need for profitability in food production, and (3) reducing the emphasis on population control to achieve the goal of food for all.

Representatives of UFI participated in **Habitat II**, a UN Conference in Istanbul Turkey. Richard G. Wilkins, a law professor and UFI Vice President of Public Policy, addressed Committee II on "The Family and International Law." This speech helped turn the momentum towards consideration of the family unit, and the importance of recognizing the needs of families in the communities of the world. In cooperation with representatives of other pro-family organizations, we were successful in changing language to: (1) allow more flexibility by individual nations in the implementation process, (2) recognize the need to strengthen individual family units, (3) reduce the emphasis on population control through "reproductive health services" which include abortion.

**The Goodman Family** performed special songs, written by Kenneth Cope for Habitat II, at the UFI booth and at special concerts throughout Istanbul, to focus on the importance of the family unit.

- 1995** *The Traditional Family in Peril*, a book containing "A Collection of Articles on International Family Issues," was published by UFI. The book contains articles by nineteen authors, representing many different religious denominations, with a foreword by Barbara B. Smith. The international perspective is enhanced by chapters from Dr. Rasha al-Disuqi, Ph.D. on "Family Values in Islam," and Chief Carol Ugochukwu on "Family Problems of Modernization" – regarding the family life in Nigeria.

Following the U.N. **Fourth World Conference on Women** in Beijing, China, we received requests for membership from women in Africa. As United Families of Africa was born, the name of the parent organization was changed to United Families International.

At our booth in China, at the **Fourth World Conference on Women – NGO Forum**, we provided many positive tapes and books with helpful information for strengthening the family unit. Many women signed our petition requesting language in the document which recognized the role of women as "nurturing mothers." Many women shed tears of gratitude – for their own mothers, and in appreciation of an organization which promoted the value of motherhood.

- 1979-95** Produced a quarterly newsletter from Washington D.C. (edited by Gordon S. Jones 1979-1982), providing national news and information of special interest to the family unit, funded an Amicus brief on the Akron, Ohio, abortion. litigation, testified before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee regarding research which showed correlation between increased Title X funding and increased teenage pregnancy and abortion rates.
- 1979** Name changed to United Families Foundation. Sister organization to United Families of America, which included as presidents V. Dallas Merrill, Clifford Cummings and Senator Jeremiah Denton.
- 1977** Founding of Pro-Family Unity in Charleston, South Carolina by Jan Clark. The national organization was formed with representatives from California Washington, Illinois. (Susan Roylance was from Washington.)



## **The Family Celebrated at the UN – 2004**

by Susan Roylance and Lynn Allred

It was a historic day at the United Nations when the General Assembly passed the Resolution Celebrating the Tenth Anniversary of the International Year of the Family (6 Dec. 2004).

This session of the General Assembly was opened by Secretary-General Kofi Annan. He reiterated that the family is the "natural and fundamental group unit of society" as stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and stated that one of "the year's most far-reaching achievement was to raise the profile of the 'family perspective', which had never received attention commensurate with its importance." He concluded by saying that "strong healthy family structures are essential for human well-being as well. Families are often our first line of support. Policies and programs must recognize such contributions. The United Nations, for its part, will continue to draw attention to family issues, and to support governments and civil society in their efforts to address them."

While the Secretary-General was speaking, and through the speeches from several countries, the final wording of the Resolution was still under negotiation. - in the Delegates Lounge just off to the side of the General Assembly room.

A major issue at the base of these final negotiations was a push for recognition of "various forms of the family." In a speech before the General Assembly, the European Union spokesman stated that "family structures had changed throughout the years." He reported that within the European Union there had been a substantial increase in the number of single-person households, and by the year 2025 such households were projected to exceed 60 million - almost one third of all family structures. Then he stressed that "Every individual of full age has the right to found a family. It is not up to the State to impose limitations thereto on the basis of race, nationality, religion, sexual orientation or any other status." This desire for recognition of same-sex relationships was at the core of opposition to the resolution by some countries.

The Resolution recognized the outcomes of two family conferences, the Regional Conference on the Family in Africa from 27 to 28 July 2004 by the Government of Benin and the Doha International Conference for the Family from 29 to 30 November 2004 by the State of Qatar.

Among other family issues, the Doha Declaration recognized the importance of marriage between a man and a woman and called upon governments, international organizations and members of civil society at all levels to: "Uphold,

*The Family Resolution at the U.N.*

preserve and defend the institution of marriage," and to "Take effective measures to strengthen the stability of marriage by, among other things, encouraging the full and equal partnership of husband and wife within a committed and enduring marital relationship."

In the two days preceding the General Assembly session, members of United Families International sent out e-mail requests for support of the Resolution. At last report, over 80,000 messages were sent to United Nations country missions. Richard Wilkins, the Chairman of the Steering Committee for the Doha Conference, stated that the UFI messages to UN missions had a significant impact on the final outcome. Two nations actually cancelled their scheduled speeches, providing greater support for the Resolution.

Representatives of UFI also delivered copies of the UN Negotiating Guide to key countries, and they ultimately supported the Resolution.

At the end of the session, the Resolution received final consensus, the gavel was rapped, and a representative from Qatar said afterwards that "it was a miracle."

The United Nations official report of the General Assembly meeting stated that the resolution "encouraged governments to make every possible effort to realize the objectives of the tenth anniversary and to integrate a family perspective in their planning processes."

The final outcome of the Doha Conference was the Doha Declaration, one held in Benin, the other in Doha, Qatar. The Doha Conference had encouraged a wide range of non-governmental organizations and civil society to take action on behalf of the family.

Prior to the declaration of consensus, the European Union indicated a desire to have the resolution reflect that "family structures had changed throughout the years." In an earlier speech he said, "Every individual of full age has the right to found a family. It is not up to the State to impose limitations thereto on the basis of race, nationality, religion, sexual orientation or any other status." This obvious legal recognition of same-sex marriage was at the core of the opposition by some countries. But, at the end, their efforts to change the language to reflect their position failed.

After the Chairman declared consensus, several countries moved to "disassociate" themselves from the resolution, for various reasons. The Netherlands said they could not be a part of this resolution because of their government position. Time was also given to various countries who outlined their support for the family and their plans to include the family in future government plans and policies.

## Why Defend the Family? – 2004

In 2004, I prepared the book, *Mothers and Fathers Defending Marriage and Family in the Halls of the U.N.* – with the sub–title, *For the Future of the Children*. The following is from the Preface in that book.

As the reader is presented with the various experiences of "Mothers and Fathers" at the U.N., in this book, I would like to point out that we are always on the defensive. **We are defending Marriage and Family – not trying to impose our will on others.** We did not choose to become involved in this battle to push any specific agenda of our own.

The problem was created by the unrelenting pressure of the homosexuals and lesbians – to gain public acceptance of their lifestyle and insert rights for same-sex marriage and "families" that do not include both "husbands and wives" or "mothers and fathers." They are joined by the pro-abortion feminists who want to establish publicly funded abortions for every woman all over the world, and to put "unwanted" children into public day-care centers.

**Our greatest concern is for the children and the future society they will inherit.** These same activists are determined to take away the rights of parents, to require governments to freely dispense contraceptives and sex [sexuality] education programs, beginning with kindergarten, which expose our children to "alternate lifestyles" at a tender age. Books have been prepared to teach the children about "two mommies" or "two daddies." [2025: While individuals have the right to determine how they live in their own household, they do not have the right to promote their lifestyle among our children – without the knowledge of parents.]

I am happy to note that most of these objectives have not been achieved at the United Nations – **because concerned mothers and father have become involved.** These parents want to protect the society in which they are raising their children. [2025: there are policies that could be considered support for these matters. In some respects, we have failed.]

But now these activists are determined to use the courts to obtain their objectives. With the cooperation of some liberal activist judges, they are changing the laws of the land.

It is important for people to become involved – at home, where they are raising their children and grandchildren – to protect marriage and family as we have known it for centuries.

**Important Lessons Learned**, by Lynn Allred

From my experience at U.N. meetings, I think there are some lessons that all of us who support traditional marriage and family must understand and apply.

1. The first is that we have to show up everywhere marriage and the family are under assault. If we do not, those who oppose marriage and family will win by default. Some of the major industrialized nations, and even some of the developing nations, are not actively lobbying to recognize "sexual orientation (homosexual lifestyle) as an international human right.
2. The second lesson is the profound impact that citizens around the world, and especially United Families International (UFI) supporters in the U.S. and Canada, can have internationally. We owe a great debt of gratitude to our friends around the world for helping to defeat anti-family forces at this conference.
3. Recent experiences at Human Rights Commission meetings reinforce the importance of bringing the best and most relevant facts and data to bear in defense of marriage and the family at these U.N. conferences. This is not a new lesson. In fact, it has been a hallmark of our actions at the international level for the 25 years of our existence and is one of the reasons we have been so effect.

**What Happens at the U.N. Matters**, by Sharon Slater

Based on my experiences at many U.N. conferences, there is one thing of which I am certain. What happens in these U.N. conferences matters and has an impact on families in the U.S. and around the world. The international norms and standards created and defined in these conferences either directly or indirectly impact the laws and policies of all nations.

Member states commit to implement the provisions in the documents they negotiate. U.N. compliance committees monitor implementation and review reports from member states. More and more U.S. judges are looking to these international norms and policies to support their radical decisions. A case in point, these international norms and standards were cited by the majority in the U.S. Supreme Court decision overturning the Texas anti-sodomy law (*Lawrence v. Texas*).

We will continue in what appears to be a never-ending battle at the U.N. to defend the family by promoting respect for marriage, life, religion, parental rights and responsibilities, and national sovereignty.

## **Defender of the Family – 2011**

### **Humanitarian helps to promote religion, sovereignty and life**

*Deseret News*

*June 19, 2011*

*By Trent Toone*

SOUTH JORDAN — Susan Roylance is all about saving the family.

Her grandmotherly features, twinkling eyes and silver hair give the appearance of a neat and tidy homemaker. The walls of her modest home are decorated with numerous photos of her seven children and 31 grandchildren. There are even families of sculpted African animals displayed around the living room.

But what sets the 68-year-old woman apart is her family work outside the home. Check out her summarized biography:

Roylance has participated in more than 25 international conferences and traveled to 38 countries, promoting the family, parenting, human life, religion and sovereignty. In her many journeys, she has labored in orphanages and street children programs around the globe in an effort to develop family-based care for orphan programs.

She takes frequent trips to New York to lobby for the family during document negotiations at the United Nations.

Roylance is the founder of United Families International and has been actively involved in many pro-family organizations.

Roylance initiated an HIV/AIDS education program for children called "Stay Alive," a program now being used in 16 African countries.

She and her husband, Robert C. Roylance, spent several years doing humanitarian work in Africa, primarily Kenya and Uganda, helping rural farmers increase their income.

When the couple has time to be in Utah, the Roylances work with Burmese refugees settling in the Salt Lake Valley.



**Susan Roylance distributes school supplies to children in Africa. She has traveled the globe to help others.**

Tom Smart, Deseret News

*Defender of the Family*

She teaches piano lessons to refugee teenagers and English to incoming families.

She also writes. Roylance is the author of "The Traditional Family in Peril," "The U.N. Negotiating Guide" and "Mothers and Fathers Defending Marriage and Family in the Halls of the U.N." She isn't afraid of politics. When she was younger, she ran for a U.S. congressional seat in Washington state. She has chaired several initiatives and referendums in Washington and Oregon.

And when she isn't making cookies for the grandkids, Roylance writes a blog for the Deseret News titled "Families around the World."

"I have always believed family is important," Roylance said. "We live in a time, particularly in the developed world, when the family is being denigrated, and not even thought to be important. Divorces are up and children are being born out of wedlock. New studies show the best thing you can do for the economic welfare of a child is to have that child be born to biological parents that are married. If we really want to solve the economic problems as it relates to children, we want to encourage marriage between the husband and wife who produced the child."

In her work and travels she has observed people of other religions and countries that have similar convictions about the family. Roylance knows good Protestants, Catholics and Muslims, as well as citizens from Pakistan, Sudan, Iran, Egypt, Syria, Russia and countries of South America, who have strong beliefs in the traditional family unit and want to see it succeed.

"One of the biggest challenges facing families," Roylance said, "is mothers who are unwilling to be mothers."

*One of the biggest challenges facing families is mothers who are unwilling to be mothers.*

"Once you have women focusing on their career, rather than children, you can talk until you are blue in the face, but to get them to go back and sacrifice for children, to spend time and have more children, is very hard," she said. "They need to want to be mothers from the very beginning. A mother's love is important to the development of the child and the future of our society."

"Studies show," Roylance said, "that a child who is loved and receives long-term interest from a mother and father who care, can make all the difference in a child's development."

"That is my message," she said. "In Utah, it is not that hard to get that message across, but go to the U.N., they think we have our heads buried in the sand as to what's most important. But the truth of the matter is the important things aren't being promoted and society is struggling because of it."

## **Definition of the family put on hold - 2014**

*Published: Dec 17, 2014*

*By Deseret News, Susan Roylance*

“Our action or inaction on the family in the United Nations will be one of the rare occasions when the world will be really watching,” stated Ambassador Dapkiunas of Belarus. So why will the world be watching this time?

The occasion is the 20th anniversary of the International Year of the Family. The location is the General Assembly of the United Nations in New York City. In the plenary session on the morning of Dec. 3, member states presented statements on the importance of the family unit in today's society.

“Our action or inaction on the family in the United Nations will be one of the rare occasions when the world will be really watching,” stated Ambassador Andrei Dapkiunas of Belarus, while acknowledging, “It is not at all common for people around the world to follow the day-to-day U.N. activities with bated breath.”

So why will the world be watching this time?

The U.N. is currently in the process of defining the goals and objectives for sustainable development in the post-2015 years (2015 to 2030). One of the contentious issues in this process is the definition of the family.

The family is defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as the “the natural and fundamental group unit of society.” However, Dapkiunas noted that some countries now believe that “this perspective on the sanctity of the family and marriage is out of date, with an effort to “apply the absolute of homocentrism to redefinition of the role of the family in society.”

As an example, Norway called for diversity on the concept of family. Iselin Larsen, first secretary for Norway, said, “No individual should be discriminated as a result of the form of family to which they belong.” She called for an acknowledgment of parents of the same gender.

The U.S. agreed. Carol Hamilton, representative of the United States, said, “We believe that social development across the globe requires stable and strong families of all types . . . be they those families that are headed by a mother and father, a single parent, a same-sex couple, grandparents or the myriad of other family structures which provide essential support for raising children.”

*Definition of the Family Put On Hold at the U.N.*

Hamilton urged delegates to the U.N. to recognize various forms of the family in “any discussion which may take place in the context of the post-2015 development agenda.” She concluded by saying that “we do not want to leave anyone behind.”

Egypt refused this effort to redefine the family. Ambassador Amr Aboulatta declared that **many member states and a wide spectrum of civil society organizations are opposed to this effort to introduce the notions of gender identity and sexual orientation in resolutions related to family and children.**

He gave two reasons for opposing this action:

1. Gender identity and sexual orientation are neither universally acceptable nor reflected in any international human rights instrument that has been negotiated and adopted by consensus, and
2. Those two notions are counterproductive and will have a negative impact on the family concepts which we are celebrating today.

While respecting reciprocity, Egypt asked member states to work for the welfare of children, “according to every country’s social and cultural patterns and their understanding of the family.”

As a result of these disagreements, the family is currently “left out” of the post-2015 development documents. Negotiations will continue throughout 2015 and conclude in a summit at the U.N. in September. Unless some consensus on family can be found, the “natural and fundamental group unit of society” will be sidelined.

**It seems a sure diagram for failure!**



## **NGOs Call for Sexual Rights in UN – 2015**

*Published: Jan 20, 2015*

*Deseret News: by Susan Roylance*

Over the past two years, many nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have pushed for “sexual and reproductive health and rights” to be included in the U.N. post-2015 agenda. This wording has generally been understood to represent a push for abortion rights. But it was not openly recognized until Friday, at the Stakeholder Forum in New York, that this wording also included LGBTQ rights (the moderator, Alanieta Vakatale of the Pacific Islands Association, added the Q).

The speaker was Ambassador Peter Wilson, deputy permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations. His statement was in response to a question from a representative of the International Gay and Human Rights Commission, over the problems that could occur from disaggregated data that keep track of members of the LGBT community and could lead to “criminalization, stigma and stereotypes in our communities.”

“I think this is clearly a really important question,” said Wilson. “My country is deeply, deeply committed to making sure that a rights-based approach is part of this. The way we are feeding that into the post-2015 agenda is on sexual and reproductive health and rights.”

Other speakers also focused on the need to separate sexual health and rights. Irene Kagoya, from Akina Mama Wa Afrika (AMwA), in Kampala, Uganda, and representing the Women’s Major Group, claimed the right to “control our own bodies” and the need for “full realization of sexual rights.” She urged the U.N. to promote comprehensive sexuality education – to allow young people to make their own decisions.

“We would also like to emphasize that sexual and reproductive rights are human rights,” Kagoya said. “If we cannot control our own bodies, sexualities and fertilities, we cannot exercise any of our other civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights.”

Kagoya's comments echoed a statement produced in November 2014 at the Asia Pacific Beijing+20 Civil Society Forum. This meeting was in preparation for the official Beijing+20 meetings to be held at the U.N. in March, commemorating the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action created in 1995.

The Asia Pacific document said that “women with diverse sexual orientations and gender identities are the most likely to experience marginalisation and a denial of

their human rights” and “The single greatest barrier to the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action is the lack of binding, meaningful accountability mechanisms.”

Interestingly, the accountability mechanisms brought up this subject at the Stakeholder Forum, as the LGBT community was opposed to having LGBT members identified, for fear of creating “criminalization, stigma and stereotypes.” The Asia Pacific Forum also requested governments to “review and remove laws and policies that discriminate and/or criminalize sex workers and people who use drugs.”

On the reproductive side of the issues, the Asia Pacific Forum requested governments to provide “reproductive health information and services, including safe and legal abortion, provided through the public sector, without any form of stigma, discrimination, coercion or violence.”

Of note is that the moderator of this session of the Stakeholder Forum was from the Pacific Islands Association. Thus, the presentation made by Kagoya is bringing forward the goals of the Asia Pacific Forum to the U.N. meetings on the post-2015 agenda.

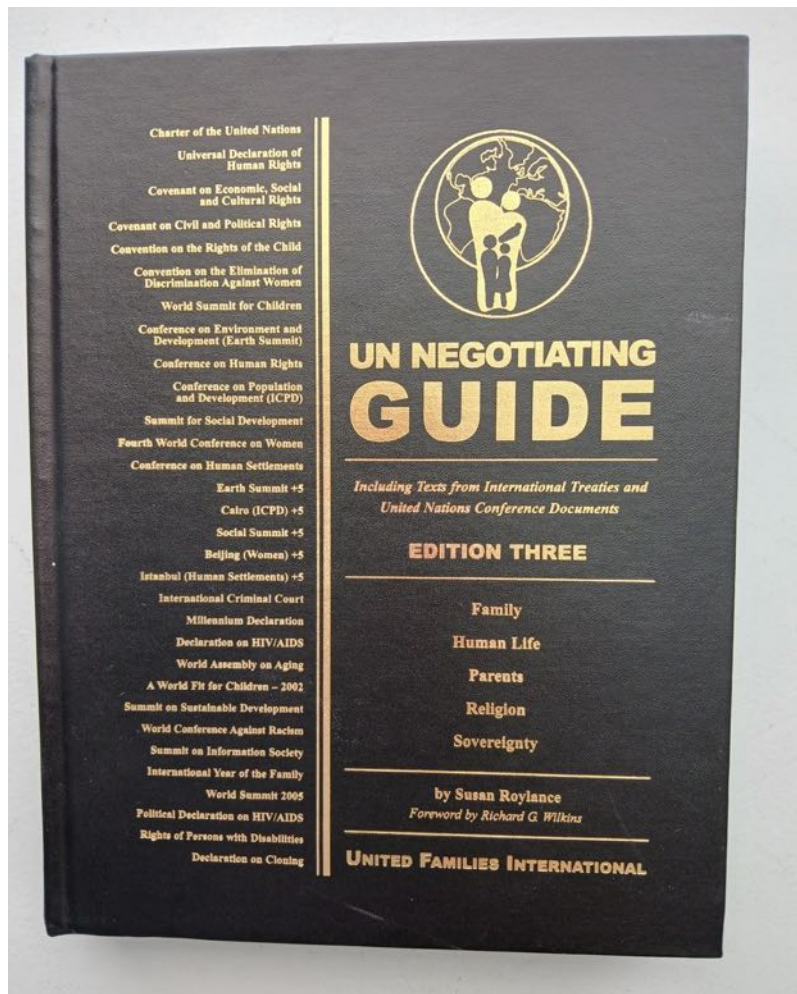
I attended this Stakeholder Forum. It would be unfair to represent that the sexual issues were the major topics of discussion. Every conceivable want in the world was requested to be included in the post-2015 agenda. I will write another article in upcoming days outlining more of the issues promoted during this forum and the upcoming negotiations by government delegates (held Monday through Wednesday).

As a forum participant, I was given the opportunity to ask a question. I noted that the Secretary-General’s Synthesis Report only mentioned family twice, and both times it was only referring to the “global family.” I concluded with the following statement:

If we want to make sure that ‘no one is left behind,’ we need to focus on the family, and how the family can help achieve these goals. Our organization wrote a book on how to achieve the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) through effective use of the family, how to train the extended family to help overcome the problems of maternal health and how to overcome child mortality, and we would like to see more of a focus on that basic grass-roots level of society and how they can help achieve these goals.

# Negotiating Guide – Third Edition – 2008

(Fourth Edition was published in 2019)



The Negotiating Guide was prepared to provide good language from the Treaties and Conference Outcome Documents that could be used in negotiations of documents in the future. The Guide includes all the documents listed on the cover, and on the next page, with pro-family, pro-life words in bold.

The second section of the Guide includes excerpts from the highlighted paragraphs that include positive words, included in this book. The following list of documents are in the Fourth Edition.

## **United Nations Treaties and Conference Documents:**

The Charter of the United Nations – 1945 (U.N. Charter)  
Universal Declaration of Human Rights – 1948 (Universal Declaration)  
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights – 1976 (ICESCR)  
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights – 1976 (ICCPR)  
Convention on the Rights of the Child – 1990 (CRC)  
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women – 1981 (CEDAW)  
World Summit for Children – 1990 (Children Summit)  
Conference on Environment and Development – 1992 (Agenda 21)  
World Conference on Human Rights – 1993 (Vienna)  
International Conference on Population and Development – 1994 (ICPD)  
World Summit for Social Development – 1995 (Social Summit)  
Fourth World Conference on Women – 1995 (Beijing)  
Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements – 1996 (Habitat II)  
Programme for the Further Implementation of Agenda 21 – 1997 (Earth Summit +5)  
Further implementation of Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development – 1999 (Cairo +5)  
Further initiatives for social development – 2000 (Social Summit +5)  
Further actions and initiatives to implement the Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action – 2000 (Beijing +5)  
Declaration on Cities and Other Human Settlements in the New Millennium – 2001 (Istanbul +5)  
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court – 1998 (ICC)  
Millennium Declaration – 2000 (Millennium)  
Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS – 2001 (HIV/AIDS)  
Second World Assembly on Aging – 2002 (Ageing)  
A World Fit for Children – 2002 (Children +10)  
The World Summit on Sustainable Development – 2002 (Earth Summit +10)  
World Conference against Racism – 2001 (Racism)  
World Summit on the Information Society – 2003 (Information Summit or WSIS)  
International Year of the Family +10, and Doha Declaration – 2004 (IYF)  
World Summit 2005 (World Summit 2005)  
Political Declaration on HIV/AIDS – 2006 (HIV/AIDS 2006)  
Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities – 2006 (Disabilities)  
Declaration on Cloning – 2005  
United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development – 2012 (Rio +20)  
Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development – 2015 (2030 Agenda)  
United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development – New Urban Agenda (Habitat III)

*The above treaties and conference documents were obtained through the web sites of the United Nations ([www.un.org](http://www.un.org)) which allows distribution of these documents if the source is acknowledged.*

## **Foreword to U.N. Negotiating Guide – 2008**

*by Richard G. Wilkins, J.D.*

The U.N. Conference Cycle, beginning in earnest in 1990 with the World Summit for Children, encompasses a series of inter-governmental conferences sponsored by the United Nations. These meetings are held pursuant to UN General Assembly resolutions and the results of the meetings are reported to and adopted by the UN General Assembly.

The Conference Cycle is an important new development in international law. Each conference in the cycle has its own "outcome document" (such as the Habitat Agenda) and each "outcome document" is "reviewed" and "implementation" is encouraged on a regular one-, five- and ten-year timetable. This unprecedented level of international interaction on a broad range of social issues has created "a transnational legal process" that is "normative, dynamic, and constitutive."<sup>1</sup> In somewhat less arcane terms, this international process is developing a body of international law – on issues ranging from water quality to family law to interpersonal relations – that is changing legal expectations more dramatically, and more rapidly, than at any other time in human history.

Precisely why international law has become so powerful is subject to discussion. Some academics (including myself) have observed that the international community's increased attention to the statement, restatement and implementation of new social rules may be facilitating the rapid creation of customary (and enforceable) international law.<sup>2</sup> Other commentators assert that the U.N. Conference Cycle has produced clouds of rhetoric, but little real-world change.<sup>3</sup> At present, the outcome of this debate is unknown: no one can say, for certain, whether the Conference Cycle is producing "law" or merely a cloud of Utopian fancies. But at least one thing is clear: the international community takes the Conference Cycle very seriously.

For more than 25 years, participating states have formally committed themselves to the norms contained in each outcome document of the Conference Cycle. And at the conclusion of each one-, five- and ten-year review of the various outcome documents, participating states recommit themselves to often-reformulated norms flowing from the original papers.<sup>4</sup> This careful attention to the negotiation, review, re-negotiation and implementation of international norms can be ignored only if one is willing to assume that the international community is completely incapable of formulating and enforcing global law.

I, for one, am not willing to assume that the international community is unable to fashion norms that will become as enforceable in Peoria as in Paris. Indeed, the

United States Supreme Court has begun to cite developing international law as "evidence" of the "meaning" of the United States Constitution – a striking development indeed. See, e.g., *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 558 (2003) (creating a constitutional right to consensual homosexual sodomy in express reliance upon UN Conference Cycle language recognizing such a "right;" the Court notes "[o]ther nations . . . have taken action consistent with an affirmation of the protected right of homosexual adults to engage in intimate, consensual conduct"); *Olympic Airways v. Rubina Husain*, No. 02-1348 (February 24, 2004 ) (Scalia, J., dissenting) (noting that the Court "in recent years has canvassed the prevailing law in other nations" to "determine the meaning of an American constitution that those nations had no part in framing"). Therefore, I believe it is well past time for people around the world to pay attention to what is said and done nowhere near their own backyards. And, while much of what is done beyond our own back yards may be laudable, some of it is not.

That is where this book comes in. It is an invaluable aid for those who desire to support and strengthen the longstanding notions of family and human dignity that have served as the foundation for every successful society in human history. The book provides, not only the source documents used to forge new international norms, but a topic-by-topic discussion of the most distressing (and debatable) social policies now being derived (often through questionable logic) from those documents.

The book also provides acceptable (and even excellent) family- and life-affirming language already embodied in a broad range of negotiated UN documents. This family- and life-affirming language, coupled with the knowledge that can be gleaned from a review of this book, can be used by citizens of the world to reinforce the importance of – and prevent further denigration of – family, human dignity and life on a global scale. There is no effort that is more important.

Richard G. Wilkins, J.D.

*(At the time of this writing Richard G. Wilkins was the Managing Director of the Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development in Doha, Qatar.)*

1. Koh, "Why Do Nations Obey International Law?" 106 Yale L.J. 2599, 2646 (1998).
2. It has long been recognized that customary international law is enforceable in U.S. courts. The *Paquete Habana*, 175 U.S. 677, 700 (1900). The question, therefore, becomes: what is customary international law? Traditionally, such law has been defined as the widespread practice of states followed out of a sense of legal obligation. *Id.* As thus narrowly defined, the body of customary international law is thin indeed, because there are exceptionally few legal rules routinely observed by the vast majority of states out of a sense of legal obligation. See, e.g., James Shand Watson, "Custom as the True Practice of States," in *Theory and Reality in the International Protection of Human Rights* 79-106 (1999). Beginning about two decades ago, however, international jurists and academics began to broaden the notion of customary law to include –

not just what states actually do out of a sense of legal obligation – but what they say or repeat out of a sense of legal obligation. See, e.g., L. Sohn, "The New International Law: Protection of the Rights of Individuals Rather than States," 32 *Am.U.L.Rev.* 1, 12 (1982). See also Koh, note one above (asserting that interaction of states at international conferences "generates a legal rule which will guide future transnational interactions between the parties; future transactions will further internalize those norms; and eventually, repeated participation in the process will help to reconstitute the interests and even the identities of the participants in the process"); Higgins, *The Role of Resolutions of International Organizations in the Process of Creating Norms in the International System*, quoted in Frederic L. Kirgis, Jr., *International Organizations in Their Legal Setting* (second Ed. 1993) at 341 ("[c]ollective acts by states, repeated by and acquiesced in by sufficient numbers with sufficient frequency, eventually attain the status of law").

3. See, e.g., James Shand Watson, note two above.
4. See, e.g., Declaration on Cities and Other Human Settlements in the New Millennium (outcome document of five-year review of the Habitat Agenda), [http://www.unhcr.org/istanbul+5/declaration\\_cities.htm](http://www.unhcr.org/istanbul+5/declaration_cities.htm) ("renewing the commitments" made during the Habitat Conference, "welcoming progress" in "implementing the Habitat Agenda," and "undertaking further actions" to accelerate "the full and effective implementation of the Habitat Agenda").

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Richard G. Wilkins, J.D. (1952–2012) was very active in international policy and law prior to his untimely death in 2012. He served as the Managing Director of The Doha International Institute for Family Studies and Development, in Doha, Qatar. Established by Her Highness Sheikha Moza Bint Nasser Al-Missned, Consort of His Highness the Emir of Qatar and President of the Supreme Council for Family Affairs, the Doha Institute sponsored and conducted interdisciplinary international research regarding family life and assisted local, national and international actors with the development and implementation of policies that could strengthen the family as "the natural and fundamental group unit of society" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 16-3).

Before moving to Doha in 2006, Professor Wilkins was Managing Director of the World Family Policy Center at the J. Reuben Clark Law School, Brigham Young University, in Provo, Utah. He wrote extensively on United States constitutional law, international law, family policy, federal jurisdiction and legal advocacy. He is a former Assistant to the Solicitor General, United States Department of Justice.

Professor Wilkins was the Chair of the NGO Working Committee for the 2004 Doha International Conference for the Family. The Conference negotiated and adopted The Doha Declaration, which reaffirms the international community's commitments to the natural family. The Doha Declaration was noted by the UN General Assembly at its December 6, 2004, Special Session on the International Year of the Family (see page 517).

Professor Wilkins and his wife, Melany Moore Wilkins, are the parents of four children. Melany holds a Masters Degree in Social Work.

## **PREFACE TO UN NEGOTIATING GUIDE**

by Susan Roylance

This book was prepared to be a resource to those who will be negotiating international documents, particularly at United Nations conferences. The novice reader may find this book difficult to understand, without the background of participation (or observation) in the “consensus” process of the U.N.

The advantage of becoming acquainted with the words from previously negotiated documents (the purpose of this book) is that words and phrases can be suggested during negotiations that are “pre-approved” – the words have already achieved consensus in a previous negotiating session. Sometimes, the consideration of “new” words can take several days to get approval from a member nation’s capital, when a timely decision is needed.

As country delegates are well aware, the U.N. negotiations are never a democratic process – with a vote to determine the final outcome. Instead, negotiations will continue, and continue, until “consensus” is reached, or, there is no more disagreement expressed. (The more “sensitive” issues are often decided in the middle of the night.) This process gives considerable power to the Chairman of the negotiations, who can choose who will speak, and make arbitrary decisions as to the outcome of the discussion. And, there is no method for a “count” or “re-consideration” of the “final decision” by the Chair. Once the Chairman states that the matter is “so decided,” all discussion must cease. This is a process that can give greater “power” to a small, but “very vocal” group of negotiators.

Usually, the individual citizens of a participating country have no idea how they are being represented in United Nations conferences, and there is no way for them to remove the “delegates” for their country, if they are misrepresenting the will of the people, other than changing the President of their country. The country delegates are usually representatives of the State Department, and chosen by the President, or executive branch of the government.

Further, in presenting the family-supportive words in this book, I want to make it very clear that I do not believe family policies should be formulated in the international arena. In the United States of America, the development of family policy is reserved for the States. The only reason we are dealing with these issues, internationally, is because we must. In the decade of the 90s, a large portion of international treaties and United Nations conference documents were devoted to matters of interest and importance to the family unit.



While we believe that the only role of the United Nations in domestic policy should be to “encourage” or “promote” – not to mandate, we must become involved to protect our families from those who would “re-engineer” the social structures of the world.

As presented by Richard G. Wilkins, in the Foreword of this book, the consensus language created in these international settings could become international customary law. And, the ability of a developing nation to access international funds is often tied to compliance with international treaties and conference documents. Some countries have eventually signed treaties and documents out of economic necessity.

## FUNDAMENTAL GROUP UNIT OF SOCIETY

Universal Declaration, Article 16-3  
“**The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society** and is entitled to protection by society and the State.”

ICESCR, Article 10-1  
“The widest possible protection and assistance should be accorded to the family, which is the **natural and fundamental group unit of society**, particularly for its establishment and while it is responsible for the care and education of dependent children. Marriage must be entered into with the free consent of the intending spouses.”

ICCPR, Article 23-1  
“The family is the **natural and fundamental group unit of society** and is entitled to protection by society and the State.”

CRC, Preamble (sixth paragraph)  
“Convinced that the family, as the **fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members** and particularly children, should be afforded the necessary protection and assistance so that it can fully assume its responsibilities within the community,”

Children’s Summit 1990, 14  
“The family, as a **fundamental group and natural environment** for the growth and well-being of children, should be given all necessary protection and assistance.”

Disabilities, Preamble-x  
“Convinced that the family is the **natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State**, and that persons with disabilities and their family members should receive the necessary protection and assistance to enable families to contribute towards the full and equal enjoyment of the rights of persons with disabilities,”

## BASIC UNIT OF SOCIETY

ICPD, Principle 9  
“The family is the **basic unit of society** and as such should be strengthened. It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support.”

Social Summit, 80  
“The family is the **basic unit of society** and as such should be strengthened. It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support.”

Beijing Plan of Action, 29  
“The family is the **basic unit of society** and as such should be strengthened. It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support.”

Habitat II Agenda, 31  
“The family is the **basic unit of society** and as such should be strengthened. It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support”

Social Summit +5, 25  
“There has been continued recognition that the family is the **basic unit of society** and that it plays a key role in social development and is a strong force of social cohesion and integration. In different cultural, political and social systems, various forms of the family exist.”

Social Summit +5, 56  
“Recognize that the family is the **basic unit of society** and that it plays a key role in social development and is a strong force of social cohesion and integration”

Beijing +5, 60  
“The family is the **basic unit of society** and is a strong force for social cohesion and integration and as such should be strengthened. . .”

Istanbul +5, 30  
“Reaffirm that the family is the **basic unit of society** and as such should be strengthened. It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support . . . should take into account the constructive role of the family”

## FAMILY POLICY

ICPD, 5.2-a

**"To develop policies and laws that better support the family**, contribute to its stability and take into account its plurality of forms, particularly the growing number of single-parent households;"

ICPD, 5.9

"Governments should formulate **family-sensitive policies** in the field of housing, work, health, social security and education in order to create an environment supportive of the family"

Social Summit, 27-a

"Analysing policies and programmes, . . . **assessing their impact on family well-being**"

Social Summit, 81-a

"Encouraging social and economic **policies that are designed to meet the needs of families and their individual members**, especially the most disadvantaged and vulnerable members, with particular attention to the care of children;"

Beijing, 58-b

"Analyse . . . policies and programmes . . . **assess their impact on family well-being**"

Beijing, 285-a

**"Formulate policies and programmes to help the family**, . . . its supporting, educating and nurturing roles"

Beijing +5: 72-q

"Promote or improve information programmes and measures including treatment for the elimination of the increasing substance abuse . . . including information campaigns about the risks to health and other consequences and its **impact on families**"

Beijing +5: 82-d

"Design, implement and **promote family friendly policies** and services"

Habitat III, New Urban Agenda, 13-b

"prioritize safe, inclusive, accessible, green and quality public spaces that are friendly for families,"

## ROLE OF THE FAMILY

Children Summit, 18

"The family has the primary responsibility for the **nurturing and protection of children** from infancy to adolescence.

CRC, Article 18-1

"Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have the primary responsibility for the **upbringing and development of the child.**"

Children Summit Decl., 20-5

"We will work for **respect for the role of the family in providing for children** and will support the efforts of parents, other care-givers and communities to nurture and care for children, from the earliest stages of childhood through adolescence."

Social Summit Decl., 29, Commitment 4-k

"Strengthen institutions that enhance social integration, recognizing the **central role of the family** and providing it with an environment that assures its protection and support"

Social Summit, 74-e

"Encouraging . . . institutions that tend to strengthen social integration, **paying particular attention to policies that assist families in their support, educational, socializing and nurturing roles;**"

Beijing Plan of Action, 285-a

"Formulate policies and programmes to help the family, as defined in paragraph 29 above, in its **supporting, educating and nurturing roles**"

Habitat II Agenda, 40-k

"Helping the family, in its **supporting, educating and nurturing roles**, . . . with particular attention to the care of children;"

Information Summit, 57

"The widest possible protection should be accorded to the family and to enable it to play its crucial role in society."

Social Summit +5, III, 56

"Greater attention should be paid to helping the family in its **supporting, educating and nurturing roles**"

## SUPPORT (STRENGTHEN) THE FAMILY

ICPD, 5.2-a

“To develop policies and laws that better **support the family**”

ICPD, 5.8

“The objective is to ensure that all social and economic development policies are fully responsive to the diverse and changing needs and to the rights of families and their individual members, and **provide necessary support and protection**, particularly to the most vulnerable families and the most vulnerable family members.”

Social Summit, 39-a

“Particular efforts should be made to protect children and youth by: **Promoting family stability and supporting families** in providing mutual support, including in their role as nurturers and educators of children;”

Social Summit, 40

“Particular efforts should be made to protect older persons, including those with disabilities, by: **Strengthening family support systems;**”

Habitat II, 182-m

“Promoting the representation of intergenerational interests, including those of children and future generations in decision-making processes, **while strengthening families;**”

Cairo +5, 18-e

“Develop innovative ways to provide more effective assistance to **strengthen families** in extreme poverty, such as providing micro-credit for poor families and individuals;”

Ageing, 105-h

“Develop social **support systems**, both formal and informal, with a view to **enhancing the ability of families** to take care of older persons within the family”

Information Summit, 57

“The widest possible **protection should be accorded to the family** and to enable it to play its crucial role in society.”

## MARRIAGE

Universal Declaration, Article 16-1 and 2

“**Men and women of full age**, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the **right to marry and to found a family**. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

“Marriage shall be entered into only with the **free and full consent** of the intending spouses.”

ICCPR, Article 23-2 and 4

“The right of men and women of marriageable age to **marry and to found a family** shall be recognized . . . take appropriate steps to ensure **equality of rights and responsibilities** of spouses as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution”

Social Summit, 80

ICPD, Principle 9

130 Habitat II Agenda, 31

Habitat +5: 30

“Marriage must be entered into with the free consent of the intending spouses, and **husband and wife should be equal partners.**”

Beijing Declaration, 15

“equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by **men and women**, and a harmonious partnership between them are critical to their well-being and that of their families”

Beijing +5, 26

“Legal reforms have been undertaken to prohibit all forms of discrimination and discriminatory provisions have been eliminated in civil, penal and personal status law governing **marriage and family relations**”

Disabilities, 23-a

“**The right of all persons with disabilities who are of marriageable age to marry** and to found a family on the basis of free and full consent of the intending spouses is recognized;”

## EXTENDED FAMILIES

Children Summit, 19

“Every effort should be made to prevent the separation of children from their families. . . . **Extended families, relatives** and community institutions should be given support to help to meet the special needs of orphaned, displaced and abandoned children”

ICPD, 5.11

“Governments should support and develop the appropriate mechanisms to assist families caring for children, **the dependent elderly and family members with disabilities**, . . . and support the viability of multigenerational families.”

ICPD, 6.18

“provide support to elderly people through the **encouragement of multigenerational families**, and the provision of long-term support and services for growing numbers of frail older people.”

Social Summit, 40-a

“Particular efforts should be made to protect older persons, including those with disabilities, by . . . **strengthening family support systems**;”

Cairo +5, 21-c

“support systems to **enhance the ability of families and communities to care for older family members**; the ability of the elderly to care for family members and community victims of HIV/AIDS; and generational solidarity with the goal of maintaining and improving social cohesion.”

Ageing, 31

“sustaining the **traditional extended family** network and reciprocity system”

Ageing, 96

“traditional environment of an **extended family**.”

ICPD, 5.2-a

“To develop policies and laws that better support the family, . . . particularly the **growing number of single-parent households**;”

## FAMILY INSTABILITY

ICPD, 5.7

“Families are sensitive to strains induced by social and economic changes. It is essential to **grant particular assistance to families** in difficult life situations. . . . Increased labour migrations and refugee movements are an additional source of family tension and disintegration and are contributing to increased responsibilities for women. In many urban environments, millions of children and youths are left to their own devices as family ties break down, and hence are increasingly exposed to risks such as dropping out of school, labour exploitation, sexual exploitation, unwanted pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases.”

Beijing, 22

“**family disintegration**, population movements between urban and rural areas within countries, international migration, war and internal displacements are factors contributing to the rise of female-headed households.”

Habitat II Declaration, 4

“we must combat the deterioration of conditions that . . . have reached crisis proportions. To this end, we must address comprehensively . . . **family instability**”

Social Summit +5, 56

“Greater attention should be paid to helping the family in its supporting, educating and nurturing roles, to the causes and consequences of **family disintegration**”

Beijing +5, 19

“Displacement compounded by loss of home and property, poverty, **family disintegration** and separation and other consequences of armed conflict is severely affecting population, especially women and children”

HIV/AIDS, 63

“By 2003, develop and/or strengthen strategies, policies and programmes, which recognize the **importance of the family in reducing vulnerability**”

## RIGHT TO LIFE

Universal Declaration, Article 3  
“Everyone has the **right to life**, liberty and security of person.”

ICCPR, Article 6-1  
“Every human being has the **inherent right to life**. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.”

CRC, Article 6-1  
“States Parties recognize that every child has the **inherent right to life**.”

CRC, Article 6-2  
“States Parties shall **ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child**.”

ICPD, Chapter II, Principle 1  
“Everyone has the **right to life, liberty and security of person**.”

Ageing, 21-h  
“Take account of the needs of older persons and **respect the right to live in dignity** at all stages of life;”

Ageing, 10  
“ensure that persons everywhere are able to **age with security and dignity**”

2030 Agenda, target 16.9  
“By 2030, provide **legal identity for all**, including birth registration”

## LEGAL PROTECTION – BEFORE BIRTH

CRC, Preamble, 9th paragraph  
“Bearing in mind that, as indicated in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, ‘the child, by reason of his physical and mental immaturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate **legal protection, before as well as after birth**”

## DIGNITY AND WORTH

Charter of the United Nations, Preamble  
“reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the **dignity and worth of the human person**, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small,”

2030 Agenda, 4  
“. . . Recognizing that the dignity of the human person is fundamental, we wish to see the Goals and targets met for all nations and peoples and for all segments of society.”

Information Summit, 57  
“We acknowledge the importance of ethics for the Information Society, which should foster justice, and the **dignity and worth of the human person**.”

Universal Declaration, Preamble  
“Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person.”

ICESCR, Preamble, 2nd paragraph  
ICCPR, Preamble, 2nd paragraph  
“Recognizing that these rights derive from the inherent **dignity of the human person**,”

CEDAW, Preamble, 1st paragraph  
“Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the **dignity and worth of the human person**”

Beijing, 33  
“by respecting the **dignity and worth of the human person**.”

Cairo +5, 21-c  
“paying special attention to . . . the human **rights and dignity of older persons** and the productive and useful roles that they can play in society,”

Ageing, 13  
“Combating discrimination based on age and promoting the **dignity of older persons** is fundamental to ensuring the respect older persons deserve”

## A HEALTHY INFANT

Agenda 21, 6.21

“Particular attention should be given to the provision of pre-natal care to **ensure healthy babies.**”

ICPD, 7.2

“the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the **best chance of having a healthy infant.**”

Beijing, 94 and 97

“the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and provide couples with the **best chance of having a healthy infant.**”

2030 Agenda, target 3.2

“By 2030, **end preventable deaths of newborns and children** under 5 years of age,”

ICPD, 13.14-b

“In the basic reproductive health services component information and routine services for **prenatal, normal and safe delivery and post-natal care;**”

ICESCR, Article 12-2

“The provision for the reduction of the stillbirth-rate and of infant mortality and for the **healthy development of the child;**”

Children Summit Decl., 20-2

“We will work for a solid effort of national and international action to enhance children's health, to **promote pre-natal care** and to lower infant and child mortality in all countries and among all peoples.”

Children Summit, 17

“... Pre-natal care, clean delivery, access to referral facilities in complicated cases, tetanus toxoid vaccination and prevention of anemia . . . to **ensure safe motherhood and a healthy start in life for the newborn.**”

Habitat III, New Urban Agenda, 55

“We commit ourselves to fostering healthy societies . . . to **reduce newborn child and maternal mortality.**”

## SPECIAL CARE FOR MOTHERS

Universal Declaration, Article 25-2

“Motherhood and childhood are entitled to **special care and assistance.** All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.”

2030 Agenda, target 2.2

“By 2030, end all forms of malnutrition, including achieving, . . . and address the nutritional needs of adolescent girls, **pregnant and lactating women** and older persons”

ICPD, 8.22

“expand the provision of maternal health services in the context of primary health care. . . . **prenatal care that is focused and effective, maternal nutrition programmes, adequate delivery assistance that avoids excessive recourse to caesarean sections and provides for obstetric emergencies;** referral services for pregnancy, childbirth and abortion complications; post-natal care and family planning. All births should be assisted by trained persons, preferably nurses and midwives, but at least by trained birth attendants.”

ICESCR, Article 10-2

“Special protection should be accorded to mothers during a reasonable period **before and after childbirth.**”

Cairo +5: 62(b)

Social Summit +5: 85

“Ensure that the reduction of maternal morbidity and mortality is a health sector priority and that women have **ready access to essential obstetric care, well-equipped and adequately staffed maternal healthcare services, skilled attendance at delivery, emergency obstetric care, effective referral and transport to higher levels of care when necessary,**”

Children Summit +10: 37-1

“Ensure that the reduction of maternal and neonatal morbidity and mortality is a health sector priority and that women, in particular adolescent expectant mothers, have ready and affordable access to essential obstetric care . . . **promote safe motherhood.**”

**ABORTION SHOULD NOT BE PROMOTED  
AS A METHOD OF FAMILY PLANNING**

ICPD, 8.25

**“In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning.** All Governments and relevant intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are urged to strengthen their commitment to women's health”

Beijing, 106-k

“In the light of paragraph 8.25 of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, which states: **‘In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning!’.**”

Beijing +5, 72-o

“In the light of paragraph 8.25 of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, which states: **‘In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning!’.**”

ICPD, 7.24.....144

“Governments should take appropriate steps to **help women avoid abortion, which in no case should be promoted as a method of family planning,** and in all cases provide for the humane treatment and counselling”

Cairo +5: 63-i

**“In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning . . .** Any measures or changes related to abortion within the health system can only be determined at the national or local level according to the national legislative process.”

Cairo +5: 63-ii

“Governments should take appropriate steps to help women avoid abortion, which **in no case should be promoted as a method of family planning**”

ICPD, 7.6

“Reproductive health care in the context of primary health care should, inter alia, include: . . . **prevention of abortion** and the management of the consequences of abortion;”

**SAFE MOTHERHOOD AND ABORTION**

*The term “safe motherhood” is often intended to include “safe” abortion. The following paragraphs are given as information on the use of this term in conference documents. It would be better to NOT use this term, and simply describe the practices for safeguarding the health of mother and baby.*

2030 Agenda, Target 3.1

**“By 2030, reduce the global maternal mortality ratio to less than 70 per 100,000 live births”**

ICPD, 7.6

“All countries should strive to make accessible through the primary health-care system, . . . education and services for **prenatal care, safe delivery and post-natal care,** especially breast-feeding and infant and women’s health care;”

Beijing, footnote 16

ICPD, footnote 21

“Safe motherhood aims at attaining **optimal maternal and newborn health.** It implies reduction of maternal mortality and morbidity and enhancement of the health of newborn infants through equitable **access to primary health care,** including family planning, prenatal, delivery and post-natal care for the mother and infant, and access to essential obstetric and neonatal care (World Health Organization, Health Population and Development, WHO Position Paper, Geneva, 1994 (WHO/FHE/94.1)).”

Beijing +5, 72-b

**“have ready access to essential obstetric care, well-equipped and adequately staffed maternal health-care services,** skilled attendance at delivery, emergency obstetric care, effective referral and transport to higher levels of care when necessary, to, inter alia, promote safe motherhood”

ICPD, 8.22

“expand the provision of **maternal health services in the context of primary health care.** . . . All births should be assisted by trained persons, preferably nurses and midwives, but at least by trained birth attendants.”



## PARENTS – PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY

Children's Summit, 18

"The family has the primary responsibility for the nurturing and protection of children from infancy to adolescence. Introduction of children to the culture, values and norms of their society begins in the family. For the full and harmonious development of their personality, children should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding.

**Accordingly, all institutions of society should respect and support the efforts of parents and other care-givers to nurture and care for children in a family environment."**

Children Summit +10, 15

"The family is the basic unit of society and as such should be strengthened. It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support. The primary responsibility for the protection, upbringing and development of children rests with the family"

Universal Declaration, Article 26-3

**"Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children."**

CRC, Article 7-1

"The child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the **right to know and be cared for by his or her parents."**

CRC, Article 18-1

"Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have the **primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child."**

Children Summit +10, 15

"The family is the basic unit of society and as such should be strengthened. It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support. **The primary responsibility for the protection, upbringing and development of children rests with the family.** All institutions of society should respect children's rights and secure their well-being and render appropriate assistance to parents,"

## ROLE OF PARENTS

Children Summit +10, 6

"We recognize and support parents and families or, as the case may be, legal guardians as the primary caretakers of children, and we will strengthen their capacity to provide the **optimum care, nurturing and protection."**

Cairo +5: 73-d

"Acknowledge and promote the central role of families, parents and other legal guardians in **educating their children and shaping their attitudes"**

Children Summit, 20-5

"We will work for respect for the role of the family in providing for children and will support the efforts of parents, other care-givers and communities to **nurture and care for children, from the earliest stages of childhood through adolescence."**

Beijing, 29

"the role of parents in the family and in the **upbringing of children** should be acknowledged."

CEDAW, (introduction, paragraph 13)

"Bearing in mind the . . . **role of both parents in the family** and in the upbringing of children . . . requires a sharing of responsibility between men and women"

Beijing +5: 82-c

"acknowledge the social significance of maternity and motherhood, parenting, **the role of parents and legal guardians in the upbringing of children"**

2030 Agenda, 25

"We will strive to **provide children and youth with a nurturing environment** for the full realization of their rights and capabilities, helping our countries to reap the demographic dividend including through safe schools and cohesive communities and families."

Children Summit +10, 32-2

"Parents, families, legal guardians and other caregivers have the **primary role and responsibility for the well-being of children,** and must be supported in the performance of their child-rearing responsibilities."

**RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARENTS**

CRC, Article 5

“States Parties shall **respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents** or, where applicable, the members of the extended family or community as provided for by local custom, legal guardians or other persons legally responsible for the child,”

CRC, Article 14-2

“States Parties shall **respect the rights and duties of the parents** and, when applicable, legal guardians, to **provide direction to the child**”

ICPD, 7.45

.....146  
 “**Recognizing the rights, duties and responsibilities of parents** and other persons legally responsible for adolescents to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the adolescent, appropriate direction and guidance in sexual and reproductive matters,”

ICPD, 13.22

“emphasis must be put on meeting the needs of underserved population groups, including adolescents, taking into account the **rights and responsibilities of parents**”

Social Summit, 35-c

“Ensuring full and equal access to social services, especially education, legal services and health-care services for women of all ages and children, **recognizing the rights, duties and responsibilities of parents** and other persons legally responsible for children, consistent with the Convention on the Rights of the Child;”

Social Summit Decl., Commitment 6-1

“Establish or strengthen both school-based and community-based health education programmes for children . . . **recognizing the rights, duties and responsibilities of parents** and other persons legally responsible for children”

Beijing, 107-g

“Recognize the specific needs of adolescents and implement specific appropriate programmes, such as education and information on sexual and reproductive health issues and on sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV / AIDS, taking into account the rights of the child and the **responsibilities, rights and duties of parents** as stated in paragraph 107 (e) above;”

Beijing, 262

“taking into account the rights of the child and the **responsibilities, rights and duties of parents** as stated in paragraph 267 below.”

Beijing, 267

“taking into account the rights of the child to access to information, privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent, as well as the **responsibilities, rights and duties of parents** and legal guardians to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance in the exercise by the child of the rights”

Habitat II, 13

“The needs of children and youth, particularly with regard to their living environment, have to be taken fully into account. . . . **Parents and other persons legally responsible for children have responsibilities, rights and duties**, consistent with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, to address these needs.”

Beijing +5, 79-f

“Design and implement programmes. . . taking into account their right to privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent and the **responsibilities, rights and duties of parents** and legal guardians to provide in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child appropriate direction and guidance . . .”

ICPD,

11.24.....159  
 “Age-appropriate education, especially for adolescents, . . . taking into account the **rights and responsibilities of parents** and the needs of adolescents. . . . should involve the active participation of parents and families”

## CHILD'S RIGHT TO PARENTAL GUIDANCE

CRC, Article 7-1

"The child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the **right to know and be cared for by his or her parents.**"

ICPD, Chapter II, Principle 11

"The child has the right to standards of living adequate for its well-being and the right to the highest attainable standards of health, and the right to education. The child has **the right to be cared for, guided and supported by parents,**"

Beijing 274-b

"take measures to ensure that a child is registered immediately after birth and has the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the **right to know and be cared for by his or her parents;**"

Disabilities, Article 18-2

"Children with disabilities shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the **right to know and be cared for by their parents.**"

CRC, Article 5

"States Parties shall respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents . . . to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, **appropriate direction and guidance**"

ICPD, Chapter II, Principle 10

"The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his or her education and guidance; that **responsibility lies in the first place with the parents.**"

ICPD, 6.15

"Access to, as well as confidentiality and privacy of, these services must be ensured with the **support and guidance of their parents**"

## PARENTS AND EDUCATION

Universal Declaration, Article 26-3

"Parents have a prior **right to choose the kind of education** that shall be given to their children."

ICESCR, Article 13-3

The States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have **respect for the liberty of parents . . . to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.**

ICCPR, Article 18-3

"**respect for the liberty of parents** and, when applicable, legal guardians to choose for their children schools, . . . and to **ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.**"

ICPD, Chapter II, Principle 10

"The best interests of the child shall be the guiding principle of those responsible for his or her education and guidance; that **responsibility lies in the first place with the parents.**"

Social Summit Decl., Commitment 6-1

"Establish or strengthen both school-based and community-based health education programmes for children, . . . **recognizing the rights, duties and responsibilities of parents** and other persons legally responsible for children"

ICPD, 11.9

"To be most effective, education about population issues must begin in primary school and continue through all levels of formal and non-formal education, **taking into account the rights and responsibilities of parents** . . . population education projects should **emphasize consultation with parents**"

ICPD, 11.24

"Age-appropriate education, especially for adolescents, . . . taking into account the rights and responsibilities of parents and the needs of adolescents. . . . **should involve the active participation of parents and families**"

## FATHER RESPONSIBILITY

Children Summit +10, 24

"We will further promote the shared responsibility of both parents in education and in the raising of children, and will **make every effort to ensure that fathers have opportunities to participate in their children's lives.**"

Beijing +5, 60

"**Motherhood and fatherhood** and the role of parents and legal guardians in the family and in the upbringing of children and the importance of all family members to the family's well-being . . . In order to achieve full partnership, both in public and private spheres, **both women and men** must be enabled to reconcile and share equally work responsibilities and family responsibilities."

ICPD, 4.27

"Special efforts should be made to **emphasize men's shared responsibility** and promote their active involvement . . . shared control and contribution to family income, children's education, health and nutrition; and recognition and promotion of the equal value of children of both sexes. **Male responsibilities in family life must be included** in the education of children from the earliest ages"

Children Summit +10, 24

"**We also recognize the need to address the changing role of men in society.** . . . We will further promote the shared responsibility of both parents in education and in the raising of children, and will make every effort to ensure that fathers have opportunities to participate in their children's lives.

ICPD, 4.28

"Governments should consider changes in law and policy to **ensure men's responsibility to and financial support for their children and families.**"

ICPD, 5.4

". . . special consideration should be given to increasing the earning power of all adult members . . . and **stronger legal enforcement of male parental financial responsibilities.**"

## SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES

ICPD, 5.3

"Governments, in cooperation with employers, should provide and promote means to facilitate compatibility between labour force participation and parental responsibilities, **especially for single-parent households with young children.** Such means could include health insurance and social security, day-care centres and facilities for breast-feeding mothers within the work premises, kindergartens, part-time jobs, paid parental leave, paid maternity leave, flexible work schedules, and reproductive and child health services."

Social Summit, 39-h

"Improving the condition of the single parent in society and **ensuring that single-parent families and female-headed or female-maintained households receive the social support they need,** including support for adequate housing and child care."

ICPD, 5.4

"**Particular attention should be paid to needy single parents,** especially those who are responsible wholly or in part for the support of children and other dependents,"

Social Summit +5, 49-c

"Assisting women and men in reconciling employment and family responsibilities, . . . as well as accessible and affordable quality child-care and dependent care facilities, **paying particular attention to the needs of single-parent households.**

ICPD, 5.6

"Governments should maintain and further develop mechanisms to document changes and undertake studies on family composition and structure, especially on the prevalence of one-person households, and **single-parent and multigenerational families.**"

ICPD, 5.7

"Families are sensitive to strains induced by social and economic changes . . . There are increasing numbers of vulnerable families, including single-parent families headed by women,"

## WIDOWS AND ORPHANS

Children Summit +10, 46-c

“build and **strengthen governmental, family and community capacities to provide a supportive environment for orphans** . . . to protect orphans and vulnerable children from all forms of abuse, violence, exploitation, discrimination, trafficking and loss of inheritance.”

HIV / AIDS, 65

“build and strengthen governmental, **family and community capacities to provide a supportive environment for orphans**”

ICPD, 5.13

“Governments should assist single-parent families, and pay special attention to the needs of **widows and orphans. All efforts should be made to assist the building of family-like ties** in especially difficult circumstances, for example, those involving street children.”

Ageing, 103

“In many parts of the world, especially Africa, the HIV / AIDS pandemic has forced older women, already living in difficult circumstances, to take on the added burden of **caring for children and grandchildren with HIV/AIDS and for grandchildren orphaned by AIDS**. At a time when it is more normal for adult children to look after their ageing parents, many older persons find themselves with the unexpected responsibility of caring for frail children or with the task of becoming sole parents to grandchildren.

Social Summit +5, 97-f

“Providing social and educational support to communities, households, **orphans and children affected by HIV/AIDS**.

Children Summit Declaration, 20-5

“We will work for **respect for the role of the family in providing for children and will support the efforts of parents**, other care-givers and communities to nurture and care for children, from the earliest stages of childhood through adolescence. **We also recognize the special needs of children who are separated from their families.**”

## REUNITE CHILDREN WITH PARENTS

Children Summit +10, 44-29

“Give priority to programmes for **family tracing and reunification**, and continue to monitor the care arrangements for unaccompanied and/or separated refugee and internally displaced children.”

Racism, 49

“We highlight the importance of creating conditions conducive to greater harmony, tolerance and respect between migrants . . . We underline that **family reunification has a positive effect on integration and emphasize the need for States to facilitate family reunion;**

CRC, Article 10-1

“In accordance with the obligation of States Parties . . . applications by a child or his or her parents to enter or leave a State Party for the purpose of **family reunification shall be dealt with by States Parties in a positive, humane and expeditious manner**”

ICPD, 10.9

“**The family reunification of documented migrants is an important factor in international migration**. It is also important to protect documented migrants and their families from racism, ethnocentrism and xenophobia, and to respect their physical integrity, dignity, religious beliefs and cultural values.”

ICPD, 10.12

“all Governments, particularly those of receiving countries, must recognize the vital **importance of family reunification** and promote its integration into their national legislation in order to ensure the **protection of the unity of the families of documented migrants**”

Beijing, 147-k

“Ensure that the human rights of refugee and displaced women are protected and that refugee and displaced women are made aware of these rights; **ensure that the vital importance of family reunification is recognized;**”

## FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Universal Declaration, Article 2  
"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, **religion**, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status"

Universal Declaration, Article 18  
"Everyone has the **right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion**; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to **manifest his religion or belief** in teaching, practice, worship and observance."

ICCPR, Article 18-1  
"Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and **religion**. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a **religion or belief** of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching."

ICCPR, Article 27  
"In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right . . . to enjoy their own culture, to **profess and practise their own religion**, or to use their own language."

2030 Agenda, target 10.2  
"By 2030, empower and promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, **religion** or economic or other status"

CRC, Article 14  
"States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and **religion**."

Beijing, 24  
"The right to freedom of thought, conscience and **religion** is inalienable and must be universally enjoyed"

## RELIGIOUS AND ETHICAL VALUES

World Summit 2005, 130  
"promotion and protection of the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, **religious and linguistic minorities contribute to political and social stability and peace** and enrich the cultural diversity and heritage of society."

Agenda 21, 6.3  
"with **respect for cultural, religious** and social aspects, in keeping with freedom, dignity and personally held values and taking into account ethical and cultural considerations . . ."

ICPD, 1.11  
"with **full respect for the various religious and ethical values**, cultural backgrounds and philosophical convictions of its people, . . ."

ICPD, 1.15  
ICPD, Chapter II, Principles  
"The Programme of Action will require the establishment of common ground, with **full respect for the various religious and ethical values** and cultural backgrounds."

Social Summit Declaration, 25  
"**full respect for the various religious and ethical values** and cultural backgrounds of people."

Social Summit, 3  
"with **full respect for the various religious and ethical values** and cultural backgrounds of its people"

Beijing, 9  
"in conformity with all human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the significance of and **full respect for various religious and ethical values**, cultural backgrounds and philosophical convictions of individuals and their communities"

Habitat II, 24  
"Implementation of the Habitat Agenda, . . . with **full respect for various religious and ethical values**, cultural backgrounds, and philosophical convictions of individuals and their communities"

## ABSTINENCE AND FIDELITY

HIV / AIDS, 52

“By 2005, ensure: that a wide range of prevention programmes which take account of local circumstances, . . . aimed at reducing risk-taking behaviour and **encouraging responsible sexual behaviour, including abstinence and fidelity;**”

HIV / AIDS 2006, 22

Reaffirm that the prevention of HIV infection must be the mainstay of national, regional and international responses to the pandemic, . . . aimed at reducing risk taking behaviours and encouraging responsible sexual behaviour, **including abstinence and fidelity;**”

ICPD, 7.44-a

“To address adolescent sexual and reproductive health issues, . . . promotion of responsible and healthy reproductive and sexual behaviour, **including voluntary abstinence**”

ICPD, 8.35

“Responsible sexual behaviour, **including voluntary sexual abstinence**, for the prevention of HIV infection should be promoted and included in education and information programmes.”

ICPD, 13.14-c

“In the sexually transmitted diseases / HIV / AIDS prevention programme component – mass media and in-school education programmes, **promotion of voluntary abstinence and responsible sexual behaviour**”

Beijing, 108-1

“Design specific programmes for men of all ages and male adolescents, recognizing the parental roles referred to in paragraph 107 (e) above . . . through, inter alia, abstinence and condom use;”

Beijing +5, 103-b

“the promotion of **responsible sexual behaviour, including abstinence** and condom use; development of vaccines, simple low-cost diagnosis and single dose treatments for sexually transmitted infections;”

## MORALITY

Universal Declaration, 29-2

“In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of **meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare** in a democratic society.”

Racism, 8

“**Religion, spirituality and belief may and can contribute to the promotion of the inherent dignity and worth of the human person** and to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;”

CRC, Article 17

“States Parties recognize the important function performed by the mass media . . . especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, **spiritual and moral well-being** and physical and mental health.”

Beijing, 282-a

“protect children from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be . . . harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, **spiritual, moral** or social development;”

Habitat II, 190

“This improved information technology should be appropriately and optimally utilized to preserve and share cultural and **moral values**”

ICCPR, Article 14-1

“The press and the public may be excluded from all or part of a trial for reasons of **morals**, public order (ordre public) or national security in a democratic society”

Information Summit, 5

“due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the **just requirements of morality**, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society”

## SPIRITUALITY

Social Summit Declaration, 25

"We heads of State and Government are committed to a political, economic, **ethical and spiritual** vision for social development that is based on human dignity, human rights, equality, respect, peace, democracy, mutual responsibility and cooperation, and **full respect for the various religious and ethical values and cultural backgrounds of people**"

Beijing, 24

"**Religion, spirituality and belief** play a central role in the lives of millions of women and men, in the way they live and in the aspirations they have for the future . . . Religion, thought, conscience and belief may, and can, contribute to fulfilling women's and men's **moral, ethical and spiritual** needs and to realizing their full potential in society."

Racism, 8

"We recognize that . . . **Religion, spirituality and belief may and can contribute to the promotion of the inherent dignity and worth of the human person** and to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;"

Children Summit +10: 32-7

"**Religious, spiritual**, cultural and indigenous leaders, with their tremendous outreach, have a key role"

CRC, Article 23-3

"Recognizing the special needs of a disabled child, . . . including his or her cultural and **spiritual** development"

Agenda 21, 6.3

"Health ultimately depends on the ability to manage successfully the interaction between the physical, **spiritual**, biological and economic/social environment."

Social Summit Declaration, 3

"We acknowledge that our societies must respond more effectively to the material and **spiritual needs of individuals, their families and the communities** in which they live throughout our diverse countries and regions."

Beijing +5, 98-c

"Promote respect for the right of women and men to the freedom of thought, conscience and religion. Recognize the central role that **religion, spirituality and belief** play in the lives of millions of women and men;"

Beijing Declaration, 12

"right to freedom of **thought, conscience, religion and belief**, thus contributing to the **moral, ethical, spiritual** and intellectual needs of women and men, individually or in community with others and thereby guaranteeing them the possibility of realizing their full potential in society and shaping their lives in accordance with their own aspirations."

Habitat II, 4

"respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development, and offers a means of achieving a world of greater stability and peace, built on **ethical and spiritual vision**"

Habitat II Agenda, 25

"We . . . are committed to a political, economic, environmental, **ethical and spiritual vision** of human settlements based on the principles of equality, solidarity, partnership, human dignity, respect and cooperation"

Habitat II, 152

"Historical places, objects and manifestations of cultural, scientific, symbolic, **spiritual and religious value** are important expressions of the culture, identity and religious beliefs of societies"

Beijing +5, 95-e

"develop and implement educational and training programmes that respect their history, culture, **spirituality**, languages and aspirations"

Children Summit +10: 14

"We will promote the physical, psychological, **spiritual**, social, emotional, cognitive and cultural development of children as a matter of national and global priority."



## PORNOGRAPHY, PROSTITUTION AND SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

2030 Agenda, target 5.2

**"Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation"**

Social Summit +5: 58

"While recognizing the positive role of the media and information technology, including the Internet, identify and take measures to counter the increasing dissemination of **child pornography and other obscene materials**, intolerance, including religious intolerance, hatred, racism, discrimination based on sex and age and the incitement to violence through the media and information technology, including the Internet."

Beijing +5: 14

"in some countries problems have arisen from the use of new information and communication technologies for **trafficking in women and children** and for the purposes of all forms of economic and **sexual exploitation**."

Beijing +5: 29

"Obstacles: **Negative, violent and/or degrading images of women, including pornography**, stereotyped portrayals, have increased in different forms using new communication technologies in some instances, and bias against women remains in the media"

Beijing +5: 59

**"Gender based violence, such as battering and other domestic violence, sexual abuse, sexual slavery and exploitation, and international trafficking in women and children, forced prostitution and sexual harassment, as well as violence against women, resulting from cultural prejudice, racism and racial discrimination, xenophobia, pornography, ethnic cleansing, armed conflict, foreign occupation, religious and anti-religious extremism and terrorism** are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and must be combated and eliminated."

Children Summit +10: 30

"We welcome the entry into force of the Optional Protocols to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict and on the **sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography**, and urge States Parties to fully implement them.

Children Summit +10: 40

"Take concerted national and international action as a matter of urgency to end the sale of children and their organs, **sexual exploitation and abuse, including the use of children for pornography, prostitution and paedophilia**, and to combat existing markets."

Children Summit +10: 45

"Take necessary action, at all levels, as appropriate, to criminalize and penalize effectively, in conformity with all relevant and applicable international instruments, all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse of children, including within the family or for commercial purposes, **child prostitution, paedophilia, child pornography, child sex tourism, trafficking**"

Children Summit +10: 47

"to combat the criminal use of information technologies, including the Internet, for purposes of the sale of children, for **child prostitution, child pornography, child sex tourism, paedophilia** and other forms of violence and abuse against children and adolescents."

Information Summit: 59

"All actors in the Information Society should take appropriate actions and preventive measures, as determined by law, against abusive uses of ICTs, such as illegal and other acts motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance, hatred, violence, **all forms of child abuse, including paedophilia and child pornography, and trafficking in, and exploitation of, human beings**."

ICPD: 4.9

"Countries should take full measures to eliminate all forms of **exploitation, abuse, harassment and violence** against women, adolescents and children."

## **A Bright Light – 2001**

In January of 2001, a major shift occurred at the United Nations. President George W. Bush was elected.

I was at the U.N. for a PrepCom for the ten-year review of the World Summit for Children. In the opening session, each country was given the opportunity to speak and outline their goals for the conference. I couldn't believe my ears, as country after country talked about the importance of the family and the role of the United Nations to recognize the sovereignty of individual nations.

The change – a new President of the United States of America, with a different view about what the United Nations could accomplish.

I overheard one country delegate say that "we all changed our speeches, after Bush was elected, because we knew the U.S. would be pushing for a different set of goals."

Instead of pushing for children's rights, government control of day-care centers and sex education – the new U.S. delegation was focusing on the actual needs of children. Ambassador Michael Southwick, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, said:

Ten years after the 1990 Summit, 82.5 million people, most of them women and children, do not have enough food to meet basic nutritional needs. One third of all children fail to complete five years of basic schooling and 120 million young children are not enrolled in primary schools. Ten million children under the age of five die each year, most from preventable diseases and malnutrition. Half of the children in sub-Saharan Africa have not received basic immunizations. During the decade, 2 million children have died as a result of armed conflict. These numbers paint a picture that is horrific and intolerable.

The Ambassador said they needed to (1) review progress, (2) identify new challenges, and (3) establish future actions and goals.

Then he said, "Such a document would be far shorter than the current draft and easier to understand." Music to my ears!

In relation to sovereignty, he said, "We suggest a process to be outlined to help guide participating countries in developing their own goals, in line with conditions and circumstances in their own countries."

## **Convention on the Rights of the Child**

Ambassador Southwick added:

Finally, I would like to say a few words about the many references to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the other international instruments in the current text. States may be encouraged to consider ratification of these instruments, but it is wrong to assert an obligation to ratify them. We also believe it is misleading and inappropriate to use the Convention as a litmus test to measure a nation's commitment to children. As a non-party to the Convention, the United States does not accept obligations based on it, nor do we accept that it is the best or only framework for developing programs and policies to benefit children. . . . The world's children deserve better.

His statements, and the further action of the U.S. government to deal with actual issues of poverty, health and education, stirred my heart. Over the past 6 years I had spent a great deal of time fighting the anti-family approaches of the United Nations - with words. I was very tired of constantly talking about poverty, with no concrete actions to do anything about it. The focus was on the international power of the United Nations – rather than the possibilities that could occur within individual nations, communities and families.

United Families had just published the U.N. Negotiating Guide. When we presented this book to the new U.S. Delegation, they were delighted to receive it. They were also preparing for the five-year review of the Habitat II conference, and they recognized the value of the Negotiating Guide to help them in that process. The meeting for the Habitat +5 conference would be in Nairobi, Kenya, and they invited me to come to Nairobi – to help them in their negotiations.

After 6 years of trying to work with the U.S. delegation, with little progress, this was a golden opportunity. So, I began preparations to go to Nairobi. Little did I know, at that time, that this would cause a major shift in the work I was doing to help the families of the world.

While participating in the Habitat +5 conference preparations, I met Steven Kevune. He gave me a booklet about his work with street children – in Uganda. Since Uganda was the country next door to Kenya, I decided to visit Uganda also. Both Kenya and Uganda were ravaged with the problems of HIV/AIDS, and many children had lost their parents, and were living with grandparents, in orphanages, or surviving on the streets.

This was the beginning of whole new chapter in my life – as a humanitarian.

## **U.N. documents fail to recognize 'the family'**

*Published: Sept 29, 2010*

*By Deseret News, Susan Roylance*

UNITED NATIONS — The omission of the word 'family' in outcome documents from the U.N. Millennium Summit in New York City last week comes as a shock to some who believe in the significance of the family in society.

"The family is important to everyone. It is a bit of a tragedy that (the importance of the family) is not expressed. No matter which side of the debate we are on, we all come from families," said Eric Olson, former head of the U.N. Focal Point on the Family, a social policy and development division of U.N.'s Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Olson made his remarks to members of the Non-Governmental Organization Committee the day after the summit concluded last week.

"It continues to be surprising that there is no mention of the word family in this negotiated document," he said.

When the outcome document was being hammered out in August 2010, lobbyists from a family focused non-governmental organization presented consensus language from previous U.N. documents that could be included in the outcome document for the summit. However, official delegates from family friendly countries didn't want to add "family" in the document because they said other delegates would want to add language dealing with the "various forms" of the family with the intention of including families headed by same-sex couples.

"In the arena of family issues, there are areas of agreement and areas of disagreement, not only disagreement, but passionate disagreement," Olson said.

This increased passion, on both sides of the issue, has caused country delegates to shy away from including family wording in official outcome documents. "Country delegates did not push for 'the family' in the high-level meetings," he said.

At least 20 other international treaties and U.N. conference outcome documents, however, refer to the family in the implementation of public policy, but not the long-negotiated Millennium Development Goals from the latest meeting, which also outlines plans to achieve certain goals by 2015.

Although there is no mention of the family, the goals in the MDGs are family-based in addressing the need to reduce infant mortality, increase attendance of children in primary school, ensure maternal health, and reduce HIV and AIDS and poverty.

Some may argue that this kind of logic appears to defy the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which says, "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State."

The U.N. Secretary is currently preparing a document that will be used in the upcoming preparations for the International Year of the Family.

Renata Kaczmarck, acting head of the U.N.'s Focal Point on the Family, urged family-oriented organizations to submit questions and information to be considered in the preparation of the report.

The preparation of this report will also be discussed in the next NGO Family Committee meeting sometime this month. The final report will be presented at the Commission on Social Development next February.

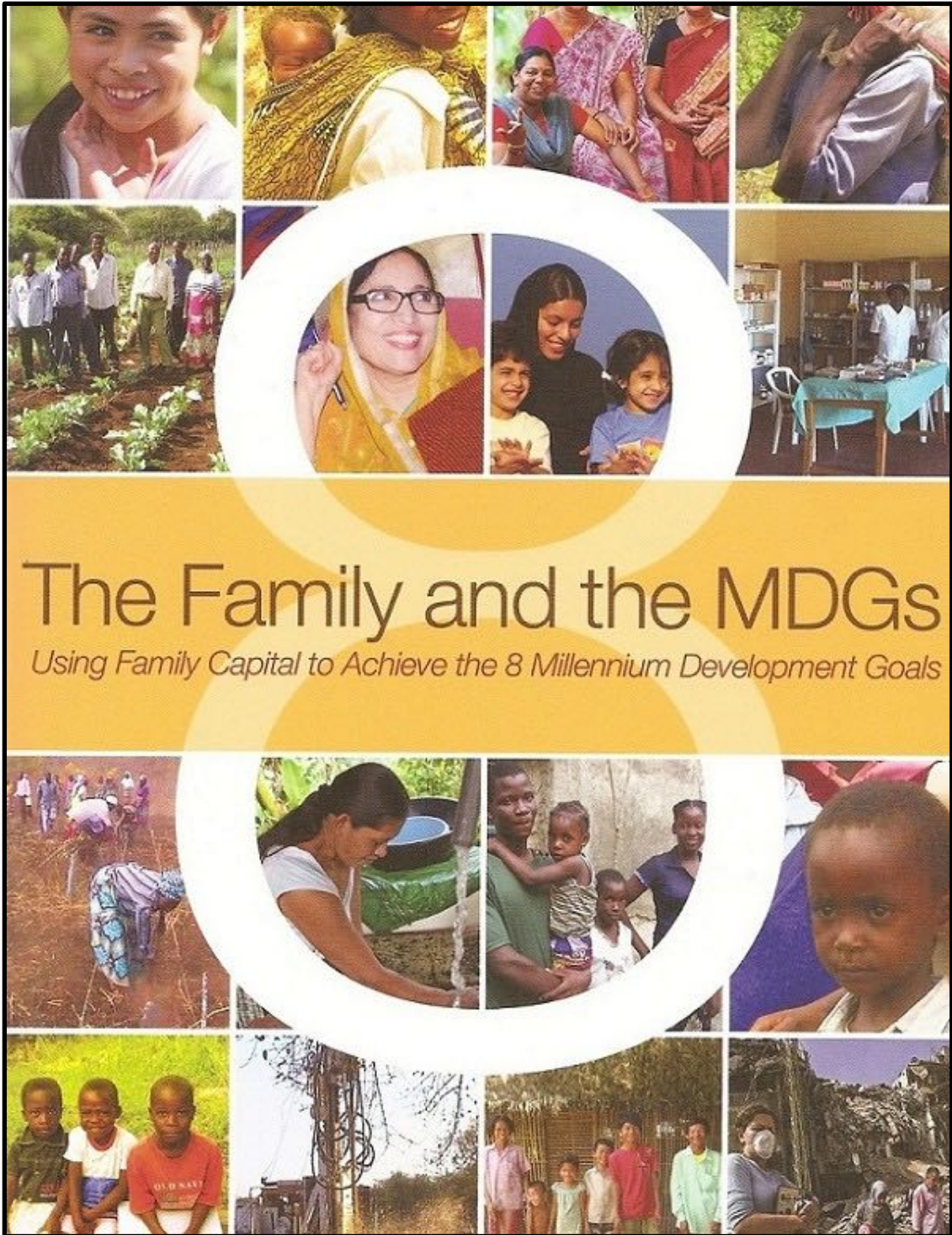


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\* = Best Practices

## **Women and Family in the 2030 Agenda – 2015**

Howard Center for Family, Religion and Society  
United Families International

After three years of laborious negotiations, 193 Nations passed an Agenda that will guide the work of the United Nations for the next fifteen years. The document is titled, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*.

“The true test of commitment to Agenda 2030 will be implementation,” stated United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, at the Summit for the adoption of the new Agenda. “We need action from everyone, everywhere. Seventeen Sustainable Development Goals are our guide. They are a to-do list for people and planet, and a blueprint for success.”

The Beijing Platform for Action recognizes the family as the “basic unit of society,” and that “women play a critical role in the family” (paragraph 29). Bearing in mind the statement of Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, this paper will focus on the inclusion of the family for the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

**The 2030 Agenda mentions the family in only five paragraphs.** Two of the paragraphs deal with family planning. The other three recognize the importance of promoting:

1. A nurturing environment for children in “safe schools and cohesive communities and families,” (paragraph 25),
2. Overcoming poverty through increased productivity and incomes of “family farmers” (target 2.3), and
3. Sharing of responsibility “within the household and the family as nationally appropriate,” (target 5.4).

In addition to specifically mentioning the family in these paragraphs, paragraph 10 of the Agenda affirms “full respect for international law” that is “grounded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights” (UDHR). This document declares: “The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State” (Article 16-3).

Paragraph 11 of the 2030 Agenda also “reaffirms the outcomes of all major United Nations conferences and summits which have laid a solid foundation for sustainable development and have helped to shape the new Agenda.” This includes “the World Summit for Social Development, the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, and the Beijing Platform for Action.” The outcome documents for each of these conferences recognize “the family as the basic unit of society.”



The Beijing Platform for Action, in paragraph 29, specifically recognizes the importance of a woman in the family: “Women play a critical role in the family. The family is the basic unit of society and as such should be strengthened. It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support. In different cultural, political and social systems, various forms of the family exist. The rights, capabilities and responsibilities of family members must be respected. Women make a great contribution to the welfare of the family and to the development of society, which is still not recognized or considered in its full importance. The social significance of maternity, motherhood and the role of parents in the family and in the upbringing of children should be acknowledged. The upbringing of children requires shared responsibility of parents, women and men and society as a whole. Maternity, motherhood, parenting and the role of women in procreation must not be a basis for discrimination nor restrict the full participation of women in society. Recognition should also be given to the important role often played by women in many countries in caring for other members of their family.”

### 1. Nurturing environment for children:

Children are our future. The most sustainable thing adults can do is to nurture our children and prepare them to become the future leaders of tomorrow. The Agenda, in paragraph 25, encourages a “nurturing environment for children.”

The Beijing Platform for Action also acknowledges the important role of **nurturing children** in the following paragraphs.

Paragraph 39 recognizes: “The girl child of today is the woman of tomorrow. The skills, ideas and energy of the girl child are vital for full attainment of the goals of equality, development and peace. For the girl child to develop her full potential she needs to be nurtured in an enabling environment, where her **spiritual**, intellectual and material needs for survival, protection and development are met and her equal rights safeguarded” (Beijing, 39).

Paragraph 285(a) calls on governments, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations, to “formulate policies and programmes to help the family, as defined in paragraph 29 above, in its supporting, educating and nurturing roles.”

And, paragraph 82(c), in Beijing +5, encourages governments to “develop or strengthen policies and programmes to support the multiple roles of women in contributing to the welfare of the family” with particular emphasis on the “upbringing of children and caring for other family members.”

Paragraph 18 of the **Children Summit** outlined the responsibility of the family to nurture and protect children from infancy to adolescence. And, “For the full and harmonious development of their personality, children should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding. Accordingly, all institutions of society should respect and support the efforts of parents and other care-givers to nurture and care for children in a family environment.”

Paragraph 81 of the Social Summit urges communities to help the family in its “supporting, educating and nurturing roles,” by:

- (a) Encouraging social and economic policies that are designed to meet the needs of families and their individual members, especially the most disadvantaged and vulnerable members, with particular attention to the care of children;
- (b) Ensuring opportunities for family members to understand and meet their social responsibilities;
- (c) Promoting mutual respect, tolerance and cooperation within the family and within society;
- (d) Promoting equal partnership between women and men in the family.

The Agenda, in paragraph 25, also recognizes the important role of education for children by committing to provide, “inclusive and equitable quality education at all levels — early childhood, primary, secondary, tertiary, technical and vocational training.”

## **2. Overcoming poverty by recognizing the woman’s role on the family farm**

Jastus Obadiah, a Kenyan humanitarian, noted that “projects that identify family as the entry point seem to have more success than those that target other social units” (see *The Family and the MDGs*, page 25).

The World Bank reports that seventy-five percent of the world’s poor live in rural areas. They cite evidence that growth in agriculture is on average at least twice as effective in reducing poverty as growth outside agriculture. Action Aid USA reports that smallholder farmers produce more than half the global food supply and that women smallholders comprise an average of 43 percent of the agricultural labour force of developing countries.

Goal 2 of the Sustainable Development Goals seeks to “end hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture.” Target 2.a encourages governments to: “Increase investment, including through enhanced international cooperation, in rural infrastructure, agricultural research and

extension services, technology development and plant and livestock gene banks in order to enhance agricultural productive capacity in developing countries, in particular least developed countries.”

### **3. Shared responsibility in the home**

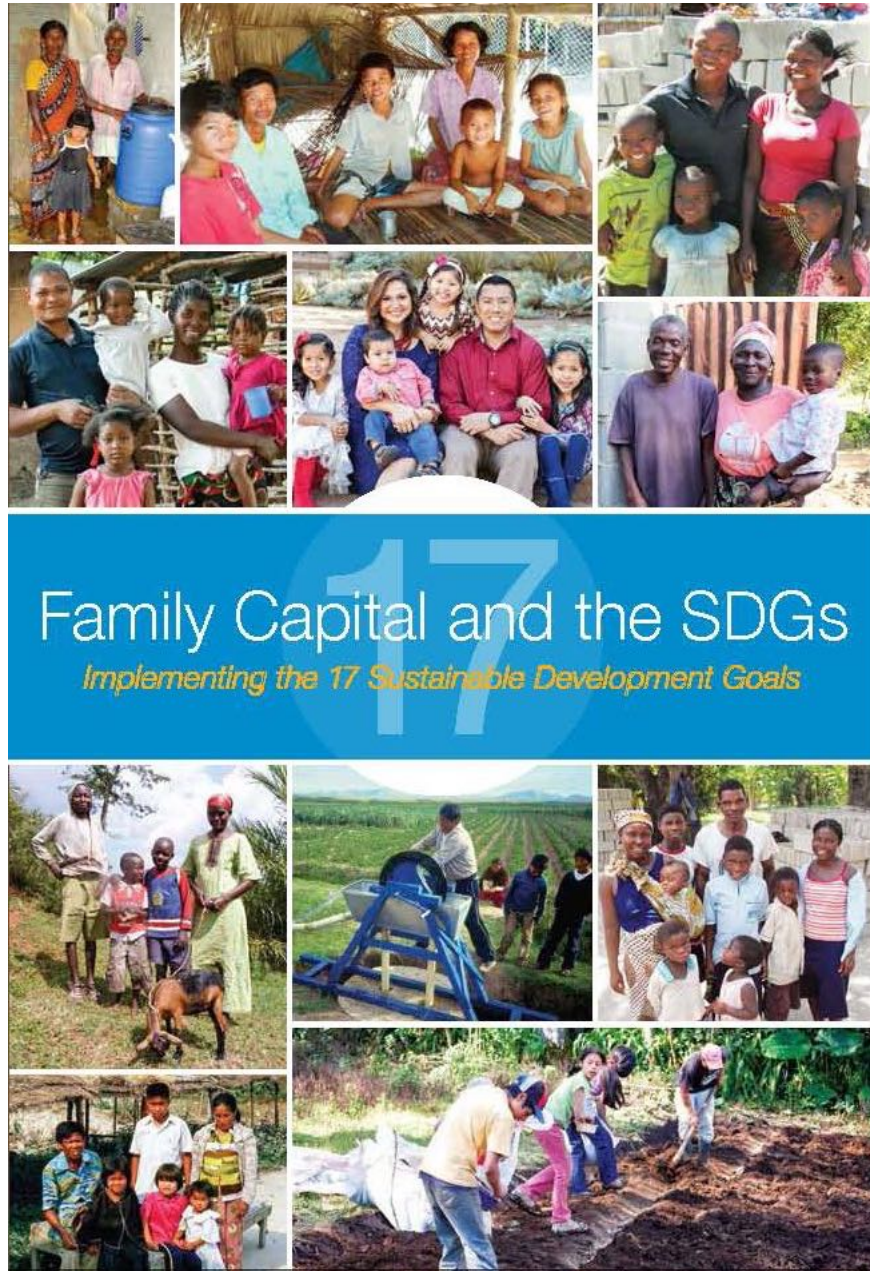
The first paragraph of the Beijing Platform for Action encourages the principle of shared power and responsibility between women and men at home. Paragraph 29 acknowledges: “The upbringing of children requires shared responsibility of parents, women and men.” And, paragraph 179-d encourages education to change attitudes that reinforce the division of labour based on gender in order to promote the concept of shared family responsibility for work in the home, particularly in relation to children and elder care.

Paragraph 82-c in the five-year review of the Beijing conference also acknowledges the “social significance of maternity and motherhood, parenting, the role of parents and legal guardians in the upbringing of children and caring for other family members,” and promotes the “shared responsibility of parents.”

With this solid recognition of the family in the founding documents of the UN, this new Agenda will likely succeed or fail on the empowerment of the basic unit of society to achieve the 17 Sustainable Development Goals.

Indeed, a Report of the Secretary General of the United Nations stated: “In effect, the very achievement of development goals depends on how well families are empowered to contribute to the achievement of those goals.”

## The Cover of the SDG book – 2016



At the U.N., they often discuss families as being in poverty and needing help. This 276-page book showcases family projects that help achieve the SDGs – several projects for each SDG. The MDG book and the SDG book were both written to show that families are not just "takers" but they can be "givers" – to help achieve the SDGs, when they work together as a family. **This is "family capital" in action!**

## **Family Capital: The Fuel that Drives Development – 2016**

by Marcia Barlow

Is there anyone working in the international arena that would turn down an offer of additional “capital” to secure success for the ambitious plan set forth in Agenda 2030: The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)? Can a person, or for that matter a country, ever have enough “capital?”

Many are familiar with the term “capital” as it refers to things related to economics, business and finance. Or, some may be familiar with the term “human capital” or in recent decades, the study of “social capital.” But a less familiar term, and perhaps the most important form of capital, is that of “family capital.” Why? Because all other forms of capital – human, social, cultural, economic – emanate from the wellspring we call “family.”

### **What is family capital?**

The concept of "family capital" describes the resources the family unit can bring towards accomplishing important personal and societal goals. Anat Gofen-Sarig referred to it as:

The ensemble of means, strategies, and resources embodied in the family’s way of life that positively influences the future of the children.<sup>1</sup>

But I offer this more robust definition:

Mothers, fathers, and their children engaging in the business of life supported by an extended and intergenerational family network – all working together to create a virtuous web that serves the economic, emotional, physical and spiritual well-being of all family members; and ultimately serving communities and nations.

### **What allows family capital to fulfill such an important role?**

Nobel Laureate Gary Becker declared:

No discussion of human capital can omit the influence of families on the knowledge, skills, values, and habits of their children and therefore on their present and future productivity.<sup>2</sup>

A report of the UN Secretary-General also emphasizes the critical role of family:

As basic and essential building blocks of societies, families have a crucial role in social development. They bear the primary responsibility for the

education and socialization of children as well as instilling values of citizenship and belonging in the society. Families provide material and non-material care and support to its members, from children to older persons or those suffering from illness, sheltering them from hardship to the maximum possible extent.<sup>3</sup>

The unique contribution of family capital lies, in part, in this description from David Imig of Michigan State University: "Family capital is the result of the system principle that **the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.**"<sup>4</sup>

The family unit is able to do more when it combines its abilities, rather than an individual, alone, endeavoring to tackle various challenges. But a family is so much more than an amalgamation of any given group of individuals working together toward a common end.

Unlike many societal entities, a family has the ability to take resources, however limited, and use them in the most efficient manner. The nature of family allows it to intimately know the people involved and allow the resources to go to their highest and best use. Being the most efficient, a family would be more likely to produce a surplus of financial, human and social resources that could flow to the society at large.

### **Commitment to share resources**

Members of a family are bound together for more than economic interest with a commitment to share resources (talents, skills, energy, fidelity, emotional vitality, spirituality) and to invest them in the well-being of those closest to them. "Relatedness" (genetic kinship) brings about a synthesis of these important components – along with an increased commitment and fidelity to the relationship – which a conglomerate of disparate individuals can rarely provide. Self-interest is tempered by "relatedness."

Social scientist W. Bradford Wilcox has hypothesized: There is a connection between strong families and state prosperity, because, 1) marriage and family life deepen men's connection to the labor force, 2) they boost income and assets, and 3) they improve the accumulation of both social capital and human capital.<sup>5</sup>

All forms of capital take time to accumulate and accumulation is much less likely to occur in an unstable, short-term environment. Investment of resources is less likely to occur if a relationship is viewed as unstable and unreliable with participants uncommitted. The intact family decreases the odds that those unhelpful traits would emerge. Divorce, cohabitation and other alternative family structures typify those less stable relationships.

Family capital is greatly diminished when families disintegrate or fail to form and it is maximized when adults marry and create a stable unit and environment for all members, especially children, to flourish.

### **How can family capital contribute to the success of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)?**

Perhaps we can get a glimpse of family capital's power by considering questions such as these:

- How do you solve the problem of poverty and hunger without considering the role of the family in meeting temporal needs and providing sustenance to its members?
- How do you achieve education of all the world's children without considering the day-to-day involvement and efforts of parents?
- How do you reduce maternal and child mortality without recognizing the role of mothers, fathers and families and what is occurring in the home?
- How do you combat HIV / AIDS and other diseases without the day-to-day involvement, teaching and caring of committed parents and family members?

When we speak of "Sustainable Development Goals" attention must be given to what actually is sustainable. By definition, a system that is sustainable involves methods that do not completely use up or destroy available resources, enabling them to last or continue for extended periods. There are few things more organic, natural and sustainable than a mother, father and their children.

The family unit provides a wonderful combination of the following characteristics: 1) productivity, 2) efficiency, and 3) continuity – all of which contribute to increased sustainability.

Within a stable, intact family there is less poverty and hunger, better outcomes for children, greater economic achievement, more wealth, and less crime and violence. This type of family has increased capacity to produce a net positive economically, higher education attainment, consume fewer natural resources, allow for efficient specialization, and contains the critical intergenerational component. It has the added advantage of decentralizing power and reduces the risk of government overreach.

Following are several examples:

### **Environment**

Divorced households in the U.S. could have saved more than 38 million rooms, 73 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, and 627 billion gallons of water in 2005 alone if their resource-use efficiency had been comparable to married households... The [study] results suggest that mitigating the impacts of resource-inefficient lifestyles such as divorce helps to achieve global environmental sustainability and saves money for households.<sup>6</sup>

### **Poverty and hunger**

Scholars at United Nations University acknowledge the power of family capital:

Children thriving in poor communities were statistically most likely to live in families characterized by traditional fireside family values; devoted mothers and fathers, happy marriages, and warm cooperative bonds with siblings, grandparents, other relatives and the broader community.<sup>7</sup>

"[F]amily structure is a better predictor of outcomes like economic mobility, child poverty, and median family income than are race or education."<sup>8</sup> *In the U.S. 70 percent of never-married mothers would be able to escape poverty if they were married to the father of their children.*<sup>9</sup>

### **Education**

Parental involvement in their child's education is a more significant factor in a child's academic performance than the qualities of the school itself.<sup>10</sup>

We know that kids who come from married families tend to graduate from high school and graduate from college at higher rates. They are more likely to be gainfully employed as adults and to work more hours. This is true for both young men and young women; if you are concerned about women's [empowerment and] professional opportunities you should be concerned about their family structure growing up.<sup>11</sup>

### **Economic growth and full and productive employment**

Married men with kids are 13 percentage points more likely to be in the labor force than their comparable single peers . . . Married families have more money to manage, and they tend to manage it more prudently than families headed by single parents and cohabiting couples. They draw on economies of scale. They



pool income. They have higher rates of saving. They get more financial support from their kin. And they are more likely to stay together, which also reinforces their economic position.<sup>12</sup>

Among couples who married and stay married, the per person net worth increased on average by 16 percent with each year of marriage. Compared to those who remained single, getting married increased one's wealth, on average, by 93 percent.<sup>13</sup>

### **What factors will increase family capital?**

- Encourage marriage and children – in that order.
- Recognize that divorce, cohabitation, single parenthood, and other family forms, however well-intentioned, do not make the same contribution to sustainable development.
- Launch civic efforts to strengthen marriage and family.
- Increase the understanding that human beings are not a hindrance to sustainable development, but a necessary and critical component.
- View public policies and programs through a family-impact lens.

The authors of the influential “Family Impact Report,” emphasize that “...families do better in a supportive policy environment—one in which, for example, schools actively seek parental engagement; employers recognize that workers are also family members; agencies and organizations are family-centered in their philosophy and operation; and laws support family members’ roles as caregivers, parents, partners, and workers.”<sup>14</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Empowering the family and enhancing family stability are crucial inputs in the sustainable development process. High levels of family capital are essential for a country as it will have a direct impact on human, moral, and social capital, and upon efficient resources use, economic activity and economic structures. The family unit is best suited for producing caring, competent, and productive citizens who can meet the demands and challenges of an ever-changing world. A resolution adopted by the UN General Assembly reminds us:

The SDG targets, especially those relating to the reduction or poverty, education of children, and gender equality, are difficult to attain unless the strategies to achieve them focus on the family . . . .<sup>15</sup>

As we work together as a world body to solve problems and create a better world, we would do well to examine the contributions of the family and the capital the family produces. We should view the family not as a receiver, a consumer or even a “taker” of goods and government largesse, but as a potential powerhouse that will aid in growth and development.

**It is time to recommit ourselves to empowering the family, for without it, the essential goals of the international community cannot be met.**

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**Note:** This information is the same as in the Family Capital chapter of *Family Capital and the SDGs – Implementing the 17 Sustainable Development Goals*, pages 1-7.

## Grid for Negotiating at the Commission on the Status of Women – 2019

		March 18 - United Families International Recommendations	CSW63 AC Rev.2 - 17 March 2019
PARA	R or D	WORDS	
1	Delete	"the outcomes of their review conferences"	
7	Delete	"who experience multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination"	
7	Delete	"regional conventions"	
9	Delete	"in all their diversity"	
11	Retain	"The Commission reaffirms the sovereign right of [each country] . . . (to the end of para) in conformity with universally recognized international human rights."	
13	Delete	"mutiple and intersecting forms of discrimination"	
18	Delete	"including multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination"	
19	Retain	". . . disadvantages, vulnerabilities and inequalities that women and men, girls and boys and their families face."	
28	Retain	"family-centered"	
28	Retain	"between women and men within the household and the family as nationally appropriate,"	
28	Delete	"including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights"	
30	Retain	"as nationally appropriate"	
33	Retain	"well-being of themselves and their families"	
33	Retain	"motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance" and "nationally appropriate"	
39	Delete	"including universal access to sexual and reproductive health care servces" and "the exclusion of sexual and reproductive health care services from universal health coverage programs"	
47	Retain	"family-oriented policies" and "self-sufficiency of the family unit" and "rights, capabilities and responsibilities of all family members"	
48	Retain	"The Commission recognizes the essential contribution of the family"	
50	Retain	"family remains the most important and sometimes sole source of social protection"	
50	Retain	"welfare of their family" and "women's contribution to the home"	
53	Retain	"and their families"	
53	Delete	"gender" and "sexual orientation and gender identity"	
59	Delete	"multiple, aggravated and intersecting forms of" and "or other status"	
70	Retain	"at all levels and as appropriate" and "and, as appropriate with" and "within their respective mandates and bearing mind national priorities" and "inter alia" and "consider taking" and "as appropriate"	
70	Delete	"women human rights defenders, girl-and" and "the involvement of relevant"	
71(j)	Retain	"recognize the critical contribution of family members in preventing and combating violence against women and girls"	
71(k)	Delete	"sexual and reproductive health-care services"	
71(m)	Retain	"promote men's equal sharing of responsibilities with respect to household work as fathers and caregivers"	
71(p)	Retain	"Guarantee the widest possible protection and assistance to the family, which is the natural and fundamental group unit of society, particularly for its establishment and while it is responsible for the care and education of dependent children;"	
71(q)	Retain	"family-oriented policies and programmes "	
71(q)	Retain	"women and girls and their family"	

# **Evaluation of The Pact for the Future – 2024**

by Susan Roylance

The Pact for the Future – 84 paragraphs  
Annex I – Global Digital Compact – 74 paragraphs  
Annex II – Declaration on Future Generations – 32 paragraphs

After many months of negotiations, the Pact for the Future was presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 22, 2024. While basic consensus had been reached, there was still considerable concern with the issues related to national sovereignty. A representative of Russia proposed an amendment, that included the following:

. . . the United Nations shall be driven by intergovernmental decision-making process and that the United Nations and its system shall not intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State as provided in Article 2 (7) of the Charter of the United Nations.

A representative of the Republic of the Congo, speaking for the African Group, proposed a motion that "**no action be taken on the draft amendment.**" That motion was adopted by a recorded vote of 143 in favor to 7 against (Belarus, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Iran, Nicaragua, Russian Federation, Sudan, Syria), with 15 abstentions.

(UN Press Release: <https://press.un.org/en/2024/ga12627.doc.htm>)

After that amendment failed, the General Assembly adopted the "The Pact for the Future" (document A/79/L.2) without a vote.

A press release from the United Nations said, "Today the General Assembly adopted the Pact for the Future, in which Heads of State and Government — representing the peoples of the world — made 56 pledges to action seeking to protect the needs and interests of present and future generations amid the climate change, crisis and conflict currently gripping the globe."

The leaders of several countries responded. I was particularly impressed with the comments of Javier Milei, President of the Argentine Republic. He said:

If the United Nations wants to resume the principles that led to its birth, and adopt the role for which it was designed, it can count on the full support of Argentina in its struggle for freedom. You should be aware, though, that Argentina **will not support any policy that implies restricting individual or trade, freedoms, nor the violation of natural rights of individuals.** Regardless of who promotes these, or

how big the consensus is in this institution, for this reason I would like to officially express our dissent on the Pact for the Future that was signed on Sunday, and I invite all nations of the free world to support us. Not only in relation to this Pact, but also in the establishment of a new agenda for this noble institution – the agenda for freedom.

President Milei also commented on the 2030 Agenda:

The 2030 Agenda, although it's well intentioned in its goals, is nothing but a supernational government program that is socialist in shape. It purports to resolve the problems of modernity with solutions that afflict the **sovereignty of Nation States** – and violate the **right to life**, right to freedom, and to property of persons.

The following paragraphs are of special interest:

## **Pact for the Future:**

### **SOVEREIGNTY**

32. . . . We reiterate our **full respect for the sovereign equality of all Member States**, the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and our obligation to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, our commitment to settle international disputes by peaceful means. We also reaffirm our commitment to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

42 (b) Request the Secretary-General to undertake a review on the future of all forms of United Nations peace operations, taking into account lessons learned from previous and ongoing reform processes, and provide strategic and action-oriented recommendations **for the consideration of Member States** on how the United Nations toolbox can be adapted to meet evolving needs, to allow for more agile, tailored responses to existing, emerging and future challenges;

### **FAMILY**

60 (f) Implement **family-friendly and family-oriented policies** that support the social and economic development of children and young people so that they can reach their full potential and enjoy their human rights.

61 (f) Strengthen intergenerational partnerships and solidarity among generations by promoting opportunities for voluntary, constructive and regular interaction between **young and older persons in their families**, workplaces and in society at large.

## **HUMAN LIFE**

The Pact includes language which is generally accepted as including abortion, in the following paragraph:

27(f) Ensure universal access to **sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights** as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences.

However, you will note that this paragraph refers to both the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action. In both of those documents there is a paragraph that states that "**In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning**" (8.25 in ICPD and 106-k in Beijing). This is also repeated in the Beijing +5 and ICPD +5 documents. It is important that these conference outcome documents are referenced.

## **Annex II – Declaration on Future Generations**

### **FAMILY**

4. The promotion of intergenerational solidarity, as well as intergenerational dialogue, and social cohesion is an indispensable part of the foundation for the prosperity of future generations and, in this regard, **the role of families and family-friendly and family-oriented policies as contributors to sustainable development must be recognized.**

## **Annex I – Global Digital Compact (GDC)**

### **PARENTAL RIGHTS**

*We are deeply concerned* with the reference to the "rights of the child" in the GDC. The following paragraph refers to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

23 (c) Strengthen legal and policy frameworks to **protect the rights of the child** in the digital space, in line with international human rights law, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child <sup>21</sup> (all SDGs);

Article 18-1 in the Convention on the Rights of the Child states that:

". . . **Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child.** The best interests of the child will be their basic concern.

The following paragraph in the GDC recognizes international human rights law:

31 (b) Prioritize the development and implementation of national online child safety policies and standards, in compliance with **international human rights law**, including the Convention on the Rights of the Child (SDGs 3, 5 and 10);

Article 26-3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in states that **“Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.”** It is important that delegates remember this language in future negotiations of UN documents, and in the implementation of existing documents.

## Robert and Susan Roylance Humanitarian Projects – 2005 in Africa with Reach the Children

Reach the Children is currently sponsoring a number of programs in the Chyulu region that are involving both the members of the LDS Church and others. The following outline details these programs:

### Four Deep Wells and Irrigation Systems



Water from these wells is supplying water to approx. 120 farmers. The farmers have made great strides in converting from subsistence farming to commercial farming.

### Ioni Pipeline



RTC and the Wash. DC Excursion group put a two mile pipeline to the village of Ioni in the Chyulu Valley. An RTC expedition from Wash DC spent five days in the installation of this pipeline. They were able to participate in the celebration as the water reached the village

### Kimboo Hand Dug Well



RTC contracted this well to be hand dug in order to supply water to the Kimboo school. RTC is looking into the possibility of digging more wells in the area due to dire need of irrigation water. These people are trying to cope with a very serious drought.

### Building Kimboo Class Rooms



RTC has supplied the material to build ten class rooms. Additional office and library rooms have also had RTC help. During 2004 the Meridian Magazine expedition worked several days on the construction of these buildings.

### Stay Alive Training



Over fifty primary schools in Chyulu area have received Stay Alive training. This is an eight week course on understanding the HIVAIDS problem and making good choices early in life.

### Scholarships



RTC provides approximately forty high school scholarships a year, usually to deserving orphan students who score high on their eight grade national test.

### Orphan Care Programs



RTC is strengthening homes in the Chyulu Valley so Home-Based orphan can be affordable. In addition RTC is assisting a family with five orphans in Mito Andea

### Famine Alleviation Program



After the Miracle Well was dug, RTC was made aware of the famine that was prevalent and planted fast growing crops. The picture to right is a caregiver of five orphans taking food home. She was very grateful.

### Crop Production Training



Training dry land farmers on the principals of irrigation is a major undertaking. Considerable effort was spent on this training and the farmers in the Chyulu Valley do an excellent job of raising irrigated vegetables.

### Dispensing of Shoes, Uniforms, School Supplies Etc.



Donors from the U.S. are constantly supplying the needy children of Africa specific items that will help them in their schooling or basic necessities of life.

### Micro Credit



RTC is currently conducting a successful Micro-Credit program in Chyulu. The current rate of loan repayment is 100%. Emphasis is placed on making loans to male members.

### Mbottela Class Room



RTC supplied the funds to buy the materials for this class room near Mormon Valley. The Meridian Magazine excursion group helped put the roof up.

### Funding a Road Project in Chyulu



RTC provided the funds to construct a vital road that was used to connect two farming areas. The villagers were very grateful for this road.



## **A Model of Powerful Impact: Susan Roylance – 2023**

by Ann Takasaki – Big Ocean Women

Susan Roylance started as a young girl to be concerned about her world, and even then found ways to make a difference. Now as a mother of seven, grandmother of thirty-four, and great grandmother of fourteen, she can look back on her service in forty-four countries and in high-level institutions like the United Nations and know that she has had a powerful impact in the world.

Susan first formed Women for Integrity in the Nation (WIN), and later United Families International and Welcome Hand. She has been influential in many organizations like Family Watch International, World Congress of Families, Gathering Families, World Organization for Women (WOW), Sustainable Families Group, and Big Ocean Women.

At the United Nations she is a respected leader and representative of women from many nations in the world. She is the author/compiler of several books on international family policy. They include *The UN Negotiating Guide*, *The Family and the MDGs – Using Family Capital to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals* and *Family Capital and the SDGs – Implementing the 17 Sustainable Development Goals*. You might notice the phrase “family capital,” which is her term for describing the momentum and synergy of people living and working together, as a family, to accomplish important international goals.

Deciding to do something about poverty, she and her husband, Bob, went to Africa in 2001 and spent four years in Kenya and Uganda. They developed the Stay Alive program to teach youth how to set positive goals to avoid getting AIDS. After Africa, Susan and Bob worked with the refugees from Burma (Myanmar) for 15 years. In 2019, when a temple was announced for Coban, Guatemala, they decided to go on a mission there for their church.

While in Guatemala, the Roylances were able to bless the people with very important things like 5,000 water filters, 7,000 100-lb. bags of fertilizer to 207 villages, education and training to help farmers renew their degraded land, water barrels to catch drinkable rainwater for homes in the mountains, reading books in the library, and metal roofs for homes devastated by hurricanes. They started an important program called Sustainable Lives which will help the people find a way out of extreme poverty. Their remarkable leadership is received because the people feel their love.



Susan has helped Big Ocean Women start a new WAVE in the valley of Siretquiche, Guatemala. With a focus on education, the mothers and children of our WAVE are learning to read their native language called Q'eqchi. The women have also come up with their own project to get out of extreme poverty: pigs! By raising and selling pigs, they will add to their family income. You can donate \$80 and buy a pig for them to raise!

We cannot enumerate the number of people Susan has touched or assign value to her work. Her influence extends to the world and to generations to come. We are extremely grateful for her influence and support of Big Ocean Women.



## **Pre-School for Children and Mothers, and Pigs – 2024**

Achieving SDGs 1.1, 4.2 and 4.6

**SDG 4.2:** By 2030 ensure that all boys and girls have access to quality early childhood development, care and **pre-primary education** and that so that they are ready for primary education.

**SDG 4.6:** By 2030 ensure that all youth and a substantial portion of adults, both **men and women achieve literacy and numeracy**.

Robert (Bob) and I have had an amazing experience working with the Q'eqchi people in the Alta Verapaz Department [State] of Guatemala. While they are very special people, the poverty rate is 83% with an extreme poverty rate of 53.6%.

Bob is working with the farmers to increase their production of corn (the main ingredient in their diet) and cash crops like cardamon (see [welcomehand.org](http://welcomehand.org)).

I have been working with Big Ocean Women to establish a pre-school for children who only speak the Q'eqchi language in their homes. The curriculum was developed by Michael Peck, an internationally recognized Q'eqchi teacher. His approach is backed by research suggesting that initiating students' literacy in their native language allows them to achieve greater bilingual literacy when they encounter the Spanish language in public schools and elsewhere. They alphabet is also used in Spanish. The children who have completed this one-year program are at the top of their class when they start elementary school.

The mothers are also involved, and expected to attend each pre-school class. As the children learn, so do the mothers. This helps them also achieve literacy and numeracy. Our teacher, Ana, is now teaching the children in two villages. In one village they meet in a church, and in the other they meet in a school, at no charge.



*Pre-School for Children and Mothers – and Pigs*

The mothers were organized into a WAVE group, under Big Ocean Women (headquartered in Utah). After they elected their President, we talked about possible projects for the group, and I asked them to get together with their President and decide what they wanted to do.

The next week, on Zoom, I asked them what they wanted for a project. They said they wanted "Raising Animals – specifically pigs." It was November, when we were talking with them, and I thought we might be able to get family members to donate a pig as a Christmas present. Our Welcome Hand organization had hired a Manager to help the farmers with their farming goals, and we asked him to contact a local farmer, who sold pigs, and find out how they should prepare to receive the pigs. He told them they first needed to build a good corral for the pigs.

We decided that they would need two pigs, because pigs are very social animals, and they might not grow as well if they were all alone. So, they went to work building their corrals - with cement floors and an overhead covering, so the pigs would have some shade. They cut down trees and cut them into planks for the sides of the corrals, and learned how to put the posts on the outside, so the pigs couldn't knock them over. They each received two pigs, and a sack of feed to get the pigs started, until they were ready for corn, or other feed. They each signed that they would buy one more pig, when they sold their two pigs, so the project could be sustainable. Here are some pictures of the families that received the pigs.



## **Reflections on Motherhood and Global Feminism: A Journey of Choices**

by Débora Ruano Fletcher

As I slowly wake up from a physically and emotionally exhaustive weekend spent babysitting my grandchildren, I find myself reminiscing about my own journey as a mother. Having raised many children, I once thrived on the vibrant chaos of aquariums, zoos, hikes, and endless hours of housework. Full-time motherhood was my choice, one that I look back on with gratitude despite its challenges. While it came with financial constraints—think home-cooked meals and thrift store treasures—it offered an unparalleled closeness with my children.

However, I acknowledge that my experience is not universal. Women across the world choose different paths, often facing societal pressures and judgments about their choices, whether to stay at home, work outside, or don't have children at all. I've had the privilege to explore this question globally, extensive travel and my studies in Family Science, Psychology, and International Development have allowed me to witness diverse family structures and cultural norms.

Women tend to compare their experiences, sometimes harshly judging one another. I am reminded of a wise friend who once said, "If we do not stop tearing each other down as women, we will always be second-class citizens." Observing the unfolding waves of feminism reveals stark contrasts between cultures. My work has taken me to the high mountains of Guatemala, where the Q'eqchi' women embody both the roles of laborers and mothers. While being their children's and often parents' full-time caretakers, they are also expected to cultivate crops, care for animals, and transport water on foot from far away rivers—tasks made more challenging by a lack of roads or electricity. Their societal roles often render them invisible and disposable, despite their vital contributions to family and community.

In the Middle East, I've encountered women living in refugee camps, where a husband's decisions dominate family life. Here, I grapple with balancing women's empowerment and family integrity. Is it possible for a woman to blossom without feeling she must reject her traditional role in the family? Across Africa, I notice an interesting paradox; while women often face cultural stigmas and challenges, many have also embraced elements of the U.S. sexual revolution of the 1960s. But at what cost? Are these women really empowered, or are they

*Is it possible for a woman to blossom without feeling she must reject her traditional role in the family?*

navigating an even more complex landscape as single mothers—which impacts their emotional and psychological well-being as well as adds financial and physical strain?

*I feel fortunate to have found joy and fulfillment in motherhood.*

Reflecting on these varied experiences, I feel fortunate to have found joy and fulfillment in motherhood. I have a supportive and hard-working husband. We have both sacrificed for our family, yet becoming grandparents has deepened our life's meaning and satisfaction. We had some unexpected experiences in Maryland while he was consulting for the federal government. My then nine-year-old daughter was shamed at school for writing an essay about aspiring to

be a mother. How can we claim to advocate for feminism if we stifle women's choices? Feminism should celebrate all avenues—be it motherhood, careers, education, etc.

From my travels, I have also witnessed alarming trends like the reluctance of young women in South Korea to marry or have children, a reality I learned about firsthand from university officials concerned for their nation's future. Yet, these women, like so many others around the world, face immense pressure. As mothers, they're often portrayed as if their lives and identity end at childbirth. This narrative is harmful and inaccurate; motherhood can coexist with personal growth, as well as intellectual, and financial pursuits.

Some of my discussions with UN representatives have shed light on these global inequalities. In Sweden, for example, the societal expectation to return to work quickly post-childbirth diminishes a mother's autonomy, while heavy taxes discourage families from having more children. This raises a fundamental question: What does "women's liberation" truly mean? Is it only limited to the permission to be promiscuous, be able to work outside of the home, hold an advanced college degree, or a large financial portfolio? Or does this "liberation" refer to the freedom to make personal choices—whatever they might be? The complexities swirl, especially in societies where women have significantly fewer options, as I have seen in the Q'eqchi' and the Muslim populations I work with.

Ultimately, life is not a competition among women or between genders, but rather a journey of self-discovery and wise decision-making. In this narrative of motherhood and global feminism, we must unravel the threads of societal expectations and recognize the power of choice, seeking to respect each woman's unique path.

## **UN Attempts to Reform the World Economies – 2015**

*Published: Jan 28, 2015*

*Deseret News: Susan Roylance*

*I see the U.N. moving toward a global government without any elected leaders and a lack of representation of the people.*

“I feel excitement and energy coming from the floor,” said UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon at the beginning of the intergovernmental negotiations for the post-2015 development agenda on Jan. 19.

He noted that all the member states were present for the development of this new agenda. The co-facilitators for the next eight intergovernmental negotiations are Macharia Kamau, permanent representative of Kenya, and David Donoghue, permanent representative of Ireland.

The final document, which will be presented to heads of state at the U.N. in September, will include four parts: (1) a declaration, (2) the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), with their targets and indicators, (3) the means of implementation (MOI), which includes a new Global Partnership for Development and (4) a framework for follow-up and review of implementation.

In many respects, all of this is very worrisome for me. I see the U.N. moving toward a global government without any elected leaders and a lack of representation of the people. Every so often you hear discussions of a global tax to help accomplish the U.N. goals. I believe the sovereignty of the individual nations should be respected and honored. Of course, it is easy for poor developing nations to see the value in “sharing the wealth” of developed nations. In this regard, the U.N. could be the solution to all their problems.

The first session, Jan. 19-21, was considered the “stocktaking session,” with many countries, and groups of countries, presenting their preferred outcomes for the post-2015 agenda. Each country had an opportunity to present its goals and aspirations for the future, with suggested topics for consideration in the declaration and the final outcome document.

The delegates of several member countries referred to the need to raise more money, and share more money, in the effort to solve the problems of the world. This was in line with the statement by Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon that, “To secure a future of dignity for all, we must radically reform our economies.”



Ambassador Kingsley Mamabolo, representing South Africa and the Group of 77 (134 developing countries and China), called for the “provision of new and additional financing resources.”

Several delegates referred to the upcoming Third International Conference on Financing for Development (FfD3) which will be held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in July. The co-chairman of the negotiations, Ambassador David Donoghue of Ireland, noted that it would be impossible to deliver the ambitious goals of the SDGs without a recognition of the interconnections between the FfD3 and the post-2015 process.

Again, from a personal view, I worry about a U.N. conference that intends to “radically reform our economies.” That usually means that the U.S. will be expected to give more. I wonder how they plan to reform the economy of the United States, to provide more resources to the U.N.? Is the U.S. capable of redistributing the wealth to solve all the problems of the developing world? Will the sovereignty of the U.S. be protected?

On a positive note, **the importance of the family unit was introduced** into the process by the country of Belarus. Speaking for 17 countries in “Friends of the Family” group, Valentin Rybakov stated that, “genuine and sustainable development may not be achieved without the family,” and called for “systematic mainstreaming of the family across the post-2015 development agenda.”

“We believe that the documents and the decisions of the SDG Summit of 2015, that will define key elements of the new development framework, should include, as a matter of priority, promotion of the family as a contributor and beneficiary of the development process,” said Rybakov. “By highlighting this important linkage of the family and sustainable development in the documents and decisions of the SDG Summit of 2015, we can gain an invaluable tool to ensure the strengthening and proliferation of the family friendly and family supportive environment, both at the national level and globally.”

Marcia Barlow, director of U.N. Affairs for United Families International, responded: **“I am so grateful that such a powerful statement in support of the family was made. It gave me chills to read it and think about the 17 countries that spoke with one voice.”**

Commenting on the post-2015 “Road Ahead,” the Earth Negotiations Bulletin stated, “The first meeting of the post-2015 agenda negotiations reinforced the sense that the UN is wading into uncharted waters. Outside the meeting room, some participants described the proceedings as ‘a mess’ and ‘painful.’ But even if delegates were not sure how to focus the discussion, it did not detract from the important ideas and debates that emerged.”

# **The United Nation's Never-Ending Quest for Financing**

Vincenzina Santoro \*

February 25, 2025

An old Spanish saying has it that: “The one who grasps too much grasps too little.”<sup>1</sup> So it is with the United Nations and its ongoing quest not for billions but trillions of dollars for financing to promote development and eradicate poverty globally. Its latest major plea came in September 2024 when the General Assembly adopted “The Pact for the Future,” a long-winded document<sup>2</sup> that covers in the usual UN vague language everything the world must do to raise money. It is one of many documents issued over decades referring to fund-raising efforts.

The Millennial Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015 were two mega efforts in the development sphere that represent a quarter century of efforts by the UN in pursuit of poverty eradication.

“The Pact for the Future” makes 35 references to the SDG “financing gap.” Yet, their proposals contain not a single, concrete, specific measure that would produce revenue.

Many UN observers fret where they hear references to a “UN tax” or an “international tax” to raise money for the UN. However, there could never be such a tax. The UN has no taxing authority over countries. Nor do any of its numerous agencies and entities. The same applies to multilateral organizations. They all depend on contributions to carry on their work.

The UN has a budget per se. The 2025 budget adopted by the General Assembly last December was \$3.72 billion.<sup>3</sup> The various agencies and entities such as UNICEF, UNFPA, Peacekeeping Operations, or World Food Program, have their own budgets. Each budget receives its revenue from contributions by member states. The United States is the largest contributor to the UN budget itself and to some other entities as well. If the UN wants more money for its operations it can only plead with member countries to increase their contributions.

## **Countries' ability to raise revenues**

The UN can exhort countries to raise revenues through more comprehensive taxation efforts to finance their own development. Many countries need to

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<sup>1</sup> “Quien mucho abarca poco aprieta.”

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.un.org/pga/wp-content/uploads/sites/109/2024/09/The-Pact-for-the-Future-final.pdf>

<sup>3</sup> <https://news.un.org/en/story/2024/12/1158531>

improve fiscal operations to enact and collect taxes. Yet not the UN but the International Monetary Fund (IMF), through its Fiscal Affairs Department, has the expertise to advise on tax measures and policies especially for the Least Developed Countries (LDCs) as the IMF conducts its periodic economic visits to these countries. The IMF plays an advisory role only but in many cases it is the largest lender to many highly indebted countries and therefore exerts a strong influence.

Debt forgiveness has been going on for decades, especially under the auspices of the IMF and its sister organization, the World Bank<sup>4</sup>. IMF lending goes primarily to help countries that have large trade and current account deficits with the rest of the world as well as fiscal problems with budgetary deficits – the so-called “twin deficits.” Such loans come with a specific plan of action to restore economic equilibrium. The “Letter of Intent” countries must provide includes measures to rectify these imbalances which not all countries can fulfill.

Poor countries are not the only borrowers. A few European countries, during the last financial crisis in 2008 and 2009 borrowed from the IMF and other European sources too. Portugal, Greece, Cyprus, and Ireland developed serious economic imbalances then adopted strong measures, stayed the course, and restored the health of their economies.<sup>5</sup> They set an example that strong measures yield sound results.

### **Financing for Development Conference – another one**

A fourth Financing for Development Conference (FfD4) is to be held in Seville, Spain, from June 30 to July 3, 2025. It will lead to yet another lengthy intergovernmental agreed outcome. Once again there will be a focus on the SDGs, and how they are not yet within reach. Myriad proposals will again be offered to “eradicate” poverty including use of the term ‘reform of the international financial architecture’ which is primarily an effort to encourage multilateral development banks to lend more and on more concessional terms to developing countries.

*The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are off track. Decades of progress on poverty and hunger have stalled, and in some cases, been thrown into reverse. Many developing economies are mired in debt, with financing challenges preventing the urgently needed investment push in the SDGs.*

*But amid these challenges there lies opportunity. The Fourth International Conference on Financing for Development (FFD4) provides a unique*

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<sup>4</sup> Otherwise known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/blog/date/2024/html/ecb.blog20241203~5d969f5a3b.en.html> THE ECB BLOG: **Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Cyprus: Crisis and Recovery, 3 December 2024.**

*opportunity to reform financing at all levels, including to support reform of the international financial architecture.*

*The International Conferences on Financing for Development are the only space where leaders from all governments, along with international and regional organizations, financial and trade institutions, businesses, civil society and the UN System unite at the highest levels, fostering stronger international cooperation.<sup>6</sup>*

More efforts should be focused on what some of the poorer countries of the world can do to deal with poverty. Again, the focus should be on the fiscal sphere. All countries have a national budget and taxing authority. Countries should adopt fiscal policies that are coherent, prudent, and enforceable. Many poor African countries, for example, are cash poor but rich in minerals, and with credible tax policies can raise much more revenue. Tax evasion must be eliminated but if what the UN calls “illicit capital flows” occur, a country must examine its fiscal and economic policies and rectify the causes. Companies and individuals transfer their capital abroad when they fear loss of value.

Foreign aid or Official Development Assistance (ODA) has long been a source of financing for development. While the major industrial countries long ago pledged to spend 0.7% of gross national income on foreign assistance every year, few countries ever meet this arbitrary target. In 2023 only five small countries met the target, including Luxembourg whose 0.7% of GNI or \$540 million will not make as much of a dent in solving poverty as the contribution of the largest donor by amount, namely the United States, which spent almost \$65 billion or “only” 0.24% of GNI. The size of future US contributions may not be as generous given evidence of some questionable past spending, and the future operations of the US Agency for International Development (USAID) now subsumed into the State Department.

Foreign investment is also an important source of finance. But many factors must be in place before millions are spent by companies and investors in selecting and building a plant or developing a new industry in a developing country. Foreign investment also varies from year to year and country by country as projects start and finish. Nonetheless foreign investment to developing countries totaled \$841 million in 2023.<sup>7</sup>

The largest source of revenue coming into developing countries is neither of these two, but remittances sent home by migrants working in more prosperous countries. These emigrants’ remittances were estimated to have reached \$883

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<sup>6</sup> <https://financing.desa.un.org/ffd4>

<sup>7</sup> <https://unctad.org/publication/global-investment-trends-monitor-no-46>

billion in 2024, of which \$671 billion was destined for low- and middle-income countries.<sup>8</sup>

### **Emulating success stories**

Some countries that were once backwaters over time did become success stories. After Singapore broke away from the rest of the Malaysian peninsula and became an independent island city state, it went from a poor country to a major developed country under able leadership and sound policy choices. It shows what a small country can achieve and could serve as an example to the 39 member countries that comprise the Small Island States (SIDS) group in the UN. Another island nation, Ireland was once impoverished, especially after the potato famine, but with good government and the right mix of economic policies, today is a prosperous country.

Another struggling country group at the UN, the Landlocked Developing Countries (LLDCs), can look for similar geographically challenged countries in the developed world to emulate. In Europe Austria, Switzerland, Hungary, and others overcame their geographical circumscriptions and are rich countries. Examining their policies can help the LLDCs to overcome like circumstances.

### **Special focus on spending**

When it comes to spending, climate issues are near and dear to the UN and its agencies. However, this goal must be put into perspective, namely that millions of people still lack any form of electricity. The cheapest form of energy, not renewables, may be the most efficient and effective for such countries.

Women's empowerment is also high on the list. Yet there is not enough focus on education as the steppingstone to success. Education of both boys and girls, often provided by religious or private sources, is paramount to improve the lot of people in many developing countries. Education is the key element for girls and women to become stronger family members and fruitful contributors to society. There must be more focus on teacher training too, yet little is heard about this in UN circles. Moreover, Africa in particular needs more business schools that would enhance the entrepreneurial skills often found in these countries. Nigeria and Kenya, two of the most populous countries on the continent, have the most business schools.

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<sup>8</sup><https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/099714008132436612/pdf/IDU1a9cf73b51fcad1425a1a0dd1cc8f2f3331ce.pdf>

## **No social cohesion without family cohesion for sustainable development**

The “Pact for the Future” makes a key point on the family:

*The promotion of intergenerational solidarity, as well as intergenerational dialogue, and social cohesion is an indispensable part of the foundation for the prosperity of future generations and, in this regard, the role of families and family-friendly and family-oriented policies as contributors to sustainable development must be recognized.*<sup>9</sup>

Before “social cohesion” for countries to flourish and prosper, it is well to recall Article 16 (3) of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: “The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.”<sup>10</sup>

Support for the family, especially through education of males and females, should play a more prominent role in all UN deliberations including financing for development. Before there can be any social cohesion, there must be “family cohesion.”

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<sup>9</sup> file:///C:/Users/Guest%20User/Downloads/EOSG\_2024\_1-EN%20(1).pdf

<sup>10</sup> [https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/UDHR/Documents/UDHR\\_Translations/tsh.pdf](https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/tsh.pdf)

## Reservations and Interpretative Statements on the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

*It is important to refer to the "Report" of the Fourth World Conference on Women in future negotiations. The Report includes the reservations and interpretative statements.*

### EXCERPTS BY TOPIC

#### FAMILY

**Argentina:** "family as used in the Conference documents is understood to mean the union of a man and a woman"

**Brunei Darussalam:** "The interpretation of the terms family, individuals and couples refers to the traditional family formed out of a marriage or a registered union between a man and a woman and comprising children and extended family."

**Egypt:** "sexual and reproductive relations rests on the basis that these relations are within the framework of a marital bond and that the family is understood to be the basic unit of society."

**Holy See:** "family is the basic unit of society and is based on marriage as an equal partnership between husband and wife"

**Honduras:** "reaffirms that the family is the basic unit of society"

**Iran:** "Although the family is the basic unit of society and as such plays a significant role in the advancement of women and promotion of human development, the Platform for Action falls short in recognizing its contribution and the importance of its stability and integrity."

**Libya:** "The term "individuals" linked with the basic right of all couples to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children. This right is not accorded in our society outside the framework of a lawful marital relationship."

**Malaysia:** "the term "family", and the terms "individual and couples" throughout the document refer to the traditional family formed out of a marriage or a registered union between a man and a woman and comprising children and extended family members"

**Peru:** "The community and the State protect the family and promote marriage, recognizing them

as natural and basic institutions of society. The family and marriage essentially derive from the personal relation that is established between a man and a woman."

#### PARENTS

**Argentina:** "parents' primary responsibility for bringing up their children, including providing education on sexual matters"

**Peru:** "The concepts referring to population policy must always be understood within the context of the protection and promotion of the family and marriage, responsible fatherhood and motherhood and the freedom of choice of the family and the individual."

#### ABORTION

**Argentina:** "No reference in these documents to the right to control matters related to sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, may be interpreted as restricting the right to life or abrogating the condemnation of abortion as a method of birth control or an instrument of population policy"

**Dominican Republic:** "every person has the right to life, and that life begins at the moment of conception."

**Guatemala:** "unconditional respect for the right to life from the moment of conception"

**Holy See:** "does not consider abortion or abortion services to be a dimension of reproductive health or reproductive health services. The Holy See does not endorse any form of legislation which gives legal recognition to abortion."

**Honduras:** "the right to life is inviolable and that the family, marriage and de facto union are under the protection of the State"

**Libya:** "local laws do not permit the performance of abortion except to save the mother's life;"

*Reservations and Interpretive Statements in Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*

**Malasia:** "abortion is not legal or permissible in Malaysia and can only be performed on medical grounds"

**Malta:** "considers the termination of pregnancy through induced abortion as illegal . . . reserves its position on the wording "such abortion should be safe" since it feels that this phrase could lend itself to multiple interpretations, implying among other things that abortion can be completely free of medical and other psychological risks while ignoring altogether the rights of the unborn."

**Nicaragua:** "Abortion or the termination of pregnancy cannot in any way be considered a method of regulating fertility or birth control"

**Peru:** "The right to life and the consideration of a person from the moment of conception as a subject of law in every respect are fundamental human rights."

**Venezuela:** also expresses a reservation with regard to references to "unsafe abortion", because abortion under any circumstances is illegal in Venezuela, except when it is essential in order to save a woman's life.

#### SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

**Argentina:** "No reference in these documents to the right to control matters related to sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, may be interpreted as restricting the right to life or abrogating the condemnation of abortion as a method of birth control or an instrument of population policy"

**Egypt:** "sexual and reproductive relations rests on the basis that these relations are within the framework of a marital bond and that the family is understood to be the basic unit of society."

**Venezuela:** "The concepts of family planning, sexual health, reproductive health, maternity without risk, regulation of fertility, reproductive rights and sexual rights are acceptable provided that they do not include abortion or voluntary interruption of pregnancy."

#### SOVEREIGN RIGHT OF NATIONS

**Japan:** "confirms its understanding that relevant national laws can only be reviewed at the national or local level with due regard to national and legislative circumstances."

**Morocco:** "reserves its position on paragraphs 96 and 106 (k) of the Platform for Action, whose content is in contradiction with the precepts of Islam and is not in conformity with its spiritual values and cultural traditions."

**Tunisia:** "will interpret paragraphs 96, 232 (f) and 274 (d) of the Platform for Action within its fundamental laws and texts."

**United States:** "commitments . . . are not legally binding, and that they consist of recommendations concerning how States can and should promote the objectives of the Conference."

#### MORAL AND SPIRITUAL VALUES

**Brunei Darussalam:** "We wish to reiterate our stand on the sovereign rights of nations to implement the Platform for Action within the laws and practices and the moral and spiritual values of our country"

**Egypt:** "Egypt's compliance with the recommendations contained in the Platform for Action will be conditional on complete respect for the rights of national sovereignty and various moral and religious values and conformity to our Constitution and the precepts of law and with the divine guidance of our true and tolerant religious law"

**Mauritania:** "reservations with regard to any matter that conflicts with the Islamic Shariah and Islamic values"

#### GENDER

**Brunei Darussalam:** "We wish to state that the adoption of paragraph 96 does not signify endorsement by the Government of Brunei Darussalam of sexual promiscuity, any form of sexual perversion or sexual behaviour that is synonymous with homosexuality and lesbianism."

**Holy See:** "The term "gender" is understood by the Holy See as grounded in biological sexual identity, male or female . . . excludes dubious interpretations based on world views which assert that sexual identity can be adapted indefinitely to suit new and different purposes."

**Hondurus:** "provided that abortion or interruption of pregnancy is not included as a family planning method."



## *Reservations and Interpretive Statements in Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*

**Israel:** "we interpret the words "other status" to include sexual orientation."

**Malaysia:** "adoption of paragraph 96 does not signify endorsement by the Government of Malaysia of sexual promiscuity, any form of sexual perversion or sexual behaviour that is synonymous with homosexuality or lesbianism."

**Paraguay:** "interprets the term "gender", which is used in the documents adopted at this Conference, as referring to both sexes, man and woman"

**Peru:** "The right to life and the consideration of a person from the moment of conception as a subject of law in every respect are fundamental human rights. Therefore, the terms "reproductive health",

"reproductive rights" and "sexual or reproductive health" as used in the Platform for Action must not include abortion as a method of birth control or family planning."

**South African:** "interprets paragraph 96 . . . to include the right to be free from coercion, discrimination and violence **based on sexual orientation.**"

**United States:** "a firm policy of non-discrimination **on the basis of sexual orientation** and considers that the omission of this reference in paragraph 46 and elsewhere in the Platform for Action in no way justifies such discrimination in any country."

## COMPLETE RESERVATIONS AND INTERPRETIVE STATEMENTS

### Argentina

The concept of family as used in the Conference documents is understood to mean the union of a man and a woman, who produce, nourish and educate their children. No definition or recommendation contained in these documents weakens the parents' primary responsibility for bringing up their children, including providing education on sexual matters, a responsibility which should be respected by States pursuant to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

No reference in these documents to the right to control matters related to sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, may be interpreted as restricting the right to life or abrogating the condemnation of abortion as a method of birth control or an instrument of population policy (in accordance with article 75, paragraph 23, of the Constitution of Argentina, article 16 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and paragraph 42 of the Vienna Programme of Action, adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights). No proposal contained in the documents may be interpreted to justify programmes of female or male sterilization as an adjustment variable in eradicating poverty.

The Argentine delegation participated in the consensus on paragraph 106 (k) of the Platform for Action, which recommends that Governments should consider reviewing laws containing punitive measures against women who have undergone abortions. This position was taken in view of the legal tradition of Argentina, the practice of our courts and the attenuating circumstances that have generally been considered; this does not constitute, however, a proposal to decriminalize abortion or exempt from criminal responsibility those who may be accomplices or participants in this offence.

### Brunei Darussalam

The representative of Brunei Darussalam submitted the following written statement: We have the honour to officially inform you in writing that there are certain paragraphs in the Platform for Action adopted at the plenary of the Fourth World Conference on Women on 15 September 1995 that are contrary to Islamic principles and that are therefore not acceptable to Brunei Darussalam. We request that the following reservations and clarifications, which were made during our intervention at the plenary, be recorded and appended to the Platform for Action:

(a) We wish to reiterate our stand on the **sovereign rights of nations** to implement the Platform for Action within the laws and practices and the moral and spiritual values of our country.

(b) The interpretation of the terms family, individuals and couples refers to the traditional family formed out of a marriage or a registered **union between a man and a woman and comprising children and extended family.**

(c) We are of the conviction that reproductive rights should be applicable only to married couples formed of the union between a man and a woman.

(d) We wish to state that the adoption of paragraph 96 does not signify endorsement by the Government of Brunei Darussalam of sexual promiscuity, any form of sexual perversion or sexual behaviour that is synonymous with homosexuality and lesbianism.

(e) In the context of paragraph 106 (k) we wish to support the view that attention should be given to the prevention of unsafe abortions and the provision of humane management of complications of abortions as part of reproductive health care. However, abortion is not legal or permissible in Brunei Darussalam and can be performed only on medical grounds.

## *Reservations and Interpretive Statements in Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*

(f) In the context of paragraph 108 (k), while agreeing that adolescent health is an area requiring attention due to the increasing problems of unwanted teenage pregnancies, unsafe abortions, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, we believe that **parental guidance** should not be abdicated and that sexual permissiveness and unhealthy sexual and reproductive practices by adolescents should not be condoned.

### **Costa Rica**

Costa Rica is a State in which the strict rule of law prevails; it is respectful of the law, being fully devoted to respect for human rights and the promotion of tolerance; and it participates in the world-wide consensus that inequalities exist which place women at a disadvantage, and that this situation should be rectified.

Accordingly, Costa Rica has adopted, signed and ratified all the instruments which promote equality of rights and opportunities between women and men, and it has been adapting its national legislation to these instruments, especially in relation to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

Nevertheless, we are aware that new challenges exist in our country, that much remains to be resolved with regard to improving the situation of women and that the advancement of women is crucial to the achievement of sustainable human development.

Aware that the series of measures contained in the Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women is consistent with the policies promoted in our country for the advancement of women, we wish to confirm to the international community that we support the Platform, that this support is respectful of the socio-cultural diversity of nations and that the Platform will be incorporated at the national level into the current legal system, in strict concordance with our best traditions, beliefs and values.

From this point of view, Costa Rica wishes to state that, in matters relating to sexuality, it understands any references in the Platform to women's rights to mean, as in the case of men, the capacity of women or men to achieve and maintain their sexual and reproductive health in a framework of relations of equality and mutual respect.

In relation to the strategic objective of the Platform which proposes the reduction in military expenditure and limiting the available arms, which is based on chapter IV, paragraph 70, subparagraph 12, of the Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development on the topic of social integration, Costa Rica reiterates its devotion to peace and the statement it made at that Conference concerning the need for conflicts and differences among nations and peoples and among social groups to be resolved through negotiation, dialogue and the quest for consensus, and that the

resources being spent for weapons could be much better spent on the social development of peoples.

Lastly, we wish to confirm and reiterate to the international community that it is a priority task of both women and men to seek to eliminate all forms of discrimination in accordance with the principle of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

### **Dominican Republic**

Pursuant to the rules of procedure of the Fourth World Conference on Women, the Dominican Republic supports the general agreement reached on the Platform for Action and reaffirms its commitment to comply with that agreement.

The Dominican Republic, as a signatory to the American Convention on Human Rights, and in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Republic, confirms that every person has the right to life, and that life begins at the moment of conception.

Consequently, it accepts the content of the terms "reproductive health", "sexual health", "maternity without risk", "reproductive rights", "sexual rights" and "regulation of fertility" in the Platform for Action, but it makes an express reservation to the content of these terms, or any others, if they include abortion or interruption of pregnancy as a component.

We confirm the position taken by our country at the International Conference on Population and Development, and these reservations apply to all regional and international agreements referring to these concepts.

In accordance with the above-mentioned rules of procedure, we request that this statement of reservations be included in full in the final report of this Conference.

### **Egypt**

The participation of Egypt in the Fourth World Conference on Women reflects its conviction of the importance of women's issues and their promotion. It is an extension of Egypt's participation in the three preceding conferences on women, in addition to its having been host to one of the most important international conferences, the International Conference on Population and Development.

The Egyptian delegation would like to register the fact that its understanding of the texts included in the Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women that refer to sexual and reproductive relations rests on the basis that these relations are within the framework of a marital bond and that the family is understood to be the basic unit of society. Egypt's compliance with the recommendations contained in the Platform for Action will be conditional on complete respect for the rights of national sovereignty and various moral and religious values and conformity to our

## *Reservations and Interpretive Statements in Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*

Constitution and the precepts of law and with the divine guidance of our true and tolerant religious law.

The Egyptian delegation would also like to register the fact that its reading and understanding of the paragraphs relating to inheritance rights in the Platform for Action, particularly paragraph 274 (d), will be against the background of complete respect for the laws of inheritance in the Islamic Shariah and in accordance with the provisions of the law and the Constitution.

The Egyptian delegation requests that this statement in its entirety should be included in the official report of the Fourth World Conference on Women.

### **Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania**

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania wish to express a reservation regarding paragraph 5 of the Platform for Action. We feel it is essential that the mission statement reflect a strong commitment by the international community to all the world's women and that the message should be all encompassing. Paragraph 5 in its present form is exclusionary and contradicts the principle of universality, which should apply to all States Members of the United Nations.

The changes in the present paragraph are also a violation of the rules of procedure in light of the fact that new language was introduced to unbracketed text already agreed to in document A/CONF.177/L.1 at the preparatory meeting for the Conference in March 1995.

The concerns and needs of countries with economies in transition have been marginalized by paragraph 5, thus weakening the Platform for Action. For this reason, our delegations regrettably feel obligated to place this reservation on record.

### **Guatemala**

My delegation wishes to state that, consistent with the national interest of Guatemala, it is submitting the following reservation, with the request that it be included in the final report of the Fourth World Conference on Women:

(a) Guatemala has the sovereign right to implement the recommendations contained in the Platform for Action in accordance with the provisions of its Political Constitution, national legislation and international treaties and conventions to which it is a party, and therefore none of the provisions and recommendations of this Conference and of the Platform for Action may or should be interpreted as contradicting the aforesaid legal instruments. In addition, these recommendations will be implemented in accordance with the development priorities of our country, in full respect for the diverse religious, ethical and cultural values and philosophical beliefs of our multi-ethnic, multilingual and multicultural people, and in accordance with universally recognized international human rights;

(b) Guatemala confirms all its reservations to the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and its reservations to the Declaration and Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development, especially in relation to the topics, terms, conditions and provisions contained in the aforesaid documents which are repeated and re-utilized in this Platform for Action.

In addition, the Government of Guatemala reserves the right to interpret the Platform for Action expressly in accordance with its unconditional respect for the right to life from the moment of conception and its unconditional respect for the right of parents to choose the upbringing of their children. It endorses and guarantees the social, economic and juridical protection of the family on the legal basis of marriage, equal rights of spouses, responsible parenthood, the right of persons to decide freely the number and spacing of their children, and the dignity of motherhood. In conformity with the ethical, moral, legal, cultural and natural criteria of the Guatemalan people, Guatemala interprets the concept of gender solely as female and male gender in reference to women and men and reserves its position on the interpretation of the term "lifestyle", because its meaning is not clear in these documents.

### **Holy See**

"When one looks at the great process of women's liberation," one sees that the journey has been a difficult one, with its "share of mistakes," but headed toward a better future for women. Those are the words of Pope John Paul II. And he goes on to say: "This journey must go on!" The Holy See delegation joins its voice to his: This great journey must go on!

Women's voyage has been marked by false starts and disappointments, as well as by luminous achievements. There have been times, as in the industrial revolution, when old forms of oppression were exchanged for new, as well as times when intelligence and good will have triumphed.

The documents before us reflect that complex and uneven history of women's search. They are full of promise, but often short on concrete commitment, and in certain respects one could ask if the long-term consequences will really serve the good of women.

The delegation of the Holy See has worked hard, in a constructive way and in a spirit of good will to make the documents more responsive to women. Certainly, the living heart of these documents lies in their sections on the needs of women in poverty, on strategies for development, on literacy and education, on ending violence against women, on a culture of peace, and on access to employment, land, capital and technology. My delegation is pleased to note a close correspondence between these points and Catholic social teaching.

My delegation would be remiss in its duty to women, however, if it did not also indicate several critical areas where it strongly disagrees with the text.

## *Reservations and Interpretive Statements in Report of the Fourth World Conference on Women*

My delegation regrets to note in the text an exaggerated individualism, in which key, relevant, provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are slighted - for example, the obligation to provide "special care and assistance" to motherhood. This selectivity thus marks another step in the colonization of the broad and rich discourse of universal rights by an impoverished, libertarian rights dialect. Surely this international gathering could have done more for women and girls than to leave them alone with their rights!

Surely we must do more for the girl child in poor nations than give lip service to providing access to education, health and social services while carefully avoiding any concrete commitment of new and additional resources to that end.

Surely we can do better than to address the health needs of girls and women by paying disproportionate attention to sexual and reproductive health. Moreover, ambiguous language concerning unqualified control over sexuality and fertility could be interpreted as including societal endorsement of abortion and homosexuality.

A document that respects women's dignity should address the health of the whole woman. A document that respects women's intelligence should devote at least as much attention to literacy as to fertility.

Because my delegation is hopeful that out of these documents, which are in some ways at odds with themselves, the good for women will ultimately prevail, it wishes to associate itself with the consensus only on those above-mentioned aspects of the documents that the Holy See considers to be positive and at the service of the real well-being of women.

Unfortunately, the Holy See's participation in the consensus can be only a partial one because of numerous points in the documents which are incompatible with what the Holy See and other countries deem favourable to the true advancement of women. These points are indicated in the reservations which my delegation has set out below.

My delegation is confident that women themselves will overcome the limitations of and bring out what is best in these documents. As John Paul II has so well put it, "The path that lies ahead will be long and difficult, nevertheless we must have courage to set out on that path and the courage to go on to the end."

I would ask that the text of this statement, the reservations formally indicated below, as well as the statement of interpretation of the term "gender" be included in the report of the Conference.

### Reservations and statements of interpretation

The Holy See, in conformity with its nature and particular mission, in partially joining the consensus on the documents of the Fourth World Conference on

Women, wishes to express its position regarding those documents and make reservations on some of the concepts used in them.

The Holy See wishes to reaffirm the dignity and worth of women and the equal rights of men and women and regrets the failure of the Platform for Action to explicitly reassert this concept.

The Holy See, in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, stresses that the family is the basic unit of society and is based on marriage as an equal partnership between husband and wife, to which the transmission of life is entrusted. It regrets that in the Platform for Action references were not made to such a fundamental societal unit without banal qualifying language (see, for example, strategic objective L.9).

The Holy See can only interpret such terms as "women's right to control their sexuality", "women's right to control ... their fertility" or "couples and individuals" as referring to the responsible use of sexuality within marriage. At the same time, the Holy See firmly condemns all forms of violence against and exploitation of women and girls.

The Holy See reaffirms the reservations it expressed at the conclusion of the International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo from 5 to 13 September 1994, which are included in the report of that Conference, concerning the interpretation given to the terms "reproductive health", "sexual health" and "reproductive rights". In particular, the Holy See reiterates that it does not consider abortion or abortion services to be a dimension of reproductive health or reproductive health services. The Holy See does not endorse any form of legislation which gives legal recognition to abortion.

With regard to the terms "family planning" or "widest range of family planning services" and other terms concerning family-planning services or regulation of fertility, the Holy See's actions during this Conference should in no way be interpreted as changing its well-known position concerning those family planning methods that the Catholic Church considers morally unacceptable or concerning family planning services that do not respect the liberty of spouses, the human dignity or the human rights of those concerned. The Holy See in no way endorses contraception or the use of condoms, either as a family planning measure or in HIV/AIDS prevention programmes.

The Holy See maintains that nothing in the Platform for Action or in other documents referenced therein is to be interpreted as requiring any health professional or health facility to perform, cooperate with, refer or arrange for services to which they have objections on the basis of religious belief or moral or ethical conviction.

The Holy See interprets all references to the term "forced pregnancy" as a specific instrument of armed conflict, in the context in which that term appears in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, part II, paragraph 38.

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The Holy See interprets the term "gender" as described in the statement set out below.

The Holy See does not associate itself with the consensus on the entire chapter IV, section C, concerning health; it wishes to place a general reservation on the entire section and it would ask that this general reservation be noted in the chapter. This section devotes a totally unbalanced attention to sexual and reproductive health in comparison to women's other health needs, including means to address maternal mortality and morbidity. Furthermore, the Holy See cannot accept ambiguous terminology concerning unqualified control over sexuality and fertility, particularly as it could be interpreted as a societal endorsement of abortion or homosexuality. The reservation on this chapter does not, however, indicate any reduction in the Holy See's commitment towards the promotion of the health of women and the girl child.

The Holy See does not join the consensus and expresses a reservation on paragraph 232 (f), with its reference to a text (para. 96) on a right of women to "control over ... their sexuality". This ambiguous term could be understood as endorsing sexual relationships outside heterosexual marriage. It asks that this reservation be noted on the paragraph. On the other hand, however, the Holy See wishes to associate itself with the condemnation of violence against women asserted in paragraph 96, as well as with the importance of mutuality and shared responsibility, respect and free consent in conjugal relations as stated in that paragraph.

The Holy See, with regard to the entire section on human rights, with the exception of quotations from or restatements of already existing human rights instruments, expresses its concern about an excessive individualism in its treatment of human rights. The Holy See further recalls that the mandate of the Fourth World Conference on Women did not include the affirmation of new human rights.

With regard to the phrase "Women's rights are human rights", the Holy See interprets this phrase to mean that women should have the full enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms.

With regard to all references to international agreements, the Holy See reserves its position in this regard, in particular on any existing international agreements mentioned in the documents, consistent with its manner of acceptance or non-acceptance of them.

The Holy See requests that these reservations, together with the following statement of interpretation on the term "gender", be included in the report of the Conference.

### Statement of interpretation of the term "gender"

In accepting that the word "gender" in this document is to be understood according to ordinary usage in the United Nations context, the Holy See associates itself

with the common meaning of that word, in languages where it exists.

The term "gender" is understood by the Holy See as grounded in biological sexual identity, male or female. Furthermore, the Platform for Action itself clearly uses the term "Both genders".

The Holy See thus excludes dubious interpretations based on world views which assert that sexual identity can be adapted indefinitely to suit new and different purposes.

It also dissociates itself from the biological determinist notion that all the roles and relations of the two sexes are fixed in a single, static pattern.

Pope John Paul insists on the distinctiveness and complementarity of women and men. At the same time, he has applauded the assumption of new roles by women, stressed the degree to which cultural conditioning has been an obstacle to women's progress, and exhorted men to assist in "the great process of women's liberation" ("Letter to Women", 6).

In his recent "Letter to Women", the Pope explained the Church's nuanced view in the following way: "One can also appreciate that the presence of a certain diversity of roles is in no way prejudicial to women, provided that this diversity is not the result of an arbitrary imposition, but is rather an expression of what is specific to being male and female."

### **Honduras**

The Government of the Republic of Honduras, in accordance with its belief in democracy, joins the consensus of all the peoples of the world in adopting the Platform for Action, regarding it as an effective instrument for the promotion and advancement of women to the year 2001 and in the new millennium. Accordingly, it reaffirms its desire and commitment to take the necessary actions to bring about the implementation of the Platform.

The Constitution of Honduras provides that all men and women are born free and equal before the law, that there are no privileged classes and that all Hondurans are equal before the law (article 60).

Articles 65, 111 and 112 provide that the right to life is inviolable and that the family, marriage and de facto union are under the protection of the State.

The American Convention on Human Rights, of which our country is a signatory, reaffirms that every individual has the right to life from the moment of conception, on the basis of the moral, ethical, religious and cultural principles that should govern human behaviour.

Accordingly, Honduras shares the concepts relating to reproductive health, sexual health and family planning in the Platform for Action, provided that abortion or

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interruption of pregnancy is not included as a family planning method.

The Government of the Republic reaffirms that the family is the basic unit of society and therefore commits itself to strengthening all actions aimed at achieving greater levels of well-being, bringing into harmony the various segments of society.

Lastly, we invite the international community to support Governments and peoples in their efforts to ensure that the implementation of the Platform for Action is as successful as anticipated and that our women will finally achieve equity, development and peace, which are so necessary to the advancement of our peoples.

### **Indonesia**

While expressing our delegation's satisfaction on the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action by consensus, my delegation at the same time feels unhappy about the fact that there have been numerous reservations made by the delegations attending the Conference. This may give the public the false impression that our joint commitment to implement the Platform for Action, which is crucial to the goals of equality, development and peace for all women, will be difficult to realize.

The concerns reflected in the reservations - and my delegation also has reservations on certain paragraphs which are not consistent with the national interest of Indonesia - should not in any way constitute an obstacle to our genuine endeavour to implement the Platform for Action, since we all know that the spirit and objective of international cooperation in this regard is indeed a matter of mutual respect and support for our common cause.

Finally, my delegation wishes to request that its reservation be duly recorded in the report of the Conference.

### **Islamic Republic of Iran**

I would like to register the reservation of the Islamic Republic of Iran on the following issues:

Although the family is the basic unit of society and as such plays a significant role in the advancement of women and promotion of human development, the Platform for Action falls short in recognizing its contribution and the importance of its stability and integrity.

Concerning paragraphs 96 and 232 (f), our understanding is that the provisions of those paragraphs can only be interpreted in the context of health and the framework of marital relations between men and women. The Islamic Republic of Iran holds that the rights referred to in those paragraphs fall in the category of existing human rights and do not establish any new rights.

The Islamic Republic of Iran upholds the principle that safe and responsible sexual relationships between men and women can only be legitimized within the framework of marriage. Moreover, the phrase "couples and individuals" should also be interpreted in that context.

Concerning programmes aimed at sexual and reproductive health, education and services, the Islamic Republic of Iran believes that such education and services should be guided by ethical and moral values and respect the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents, taking into account the evolving capacities of adolescents.

With respect to the issue of inheritance, the Islamic Republic of Iran interprets the references in the Platform for Action to this matter in accordance with the principles of the economic system of Islam.

The concept of equality in our interpretation takes into account the fact that although women are equal in their human rights and dignity with men, their different roles and responsibilities underline the need for an equitable system of rights, where the particular priorities and requirements of the woman in her multiple roles are accounted for.

The Islamic Republic of Iran affirms its commitment to the implementation of the Platform for Action with full respect for Islam and the ethical values of our society.

### **Iraq**

The delegation of Iraq has reservations with regard to paragraph 96 of the Platform for Action because it is incompatible with our social and religious values. Our reservation also applies to paragraph 232 (f) because of its allusion to paragraph 96.

The delegation of Iraq accepts the text of paragraph 274 (d) on the basis of its understanding that this does not conflict with the Islamic Shariah.

### **Israel**

The delegation of Israel to the Fourth World Conference on Women wishes to submit the following interpretative statement on **paragraph 46** of the Platform for Action.

Israel would have preferred that explicit reference be made to the particular barriers faced by women because of their sexual orientation. However, in light of the interpretation given to the words "**other status**" by, inter alia, the United Nations Human Rights Committee, we interpret the words "other status" to include sexual orientation.

### **Japan**

My delegation would like to confirm its interpretation concerning paragraph 106 (k). The delegation of Japan joined the consensus on paragraph 106 (k) on the following understanding.

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There has been a continuing debate on this issue in many countries. Some countries, including Japan, have undertaken a review of the relevant laws, while others have not. Bearing this in mind, my delegation confirms its understanding that relevant national laws can only be reviewed at the national or local level with due regard to national and legislative circumstances.

### **Kuwait**

My country's delegation attaches great importance to the Platform for Action adopted by this Conference and believes in its significant contribution to the advancement of women. However, at the same time, it would like to register a reservation to anything which constitutes a contravention of the Islamic Shariah and the customs and practices of our Islamic society, particularly paragraphs 232 (f), 106 (k) and 94 to 96.

The delegation of Kuwait would like to have its reservation recorded in the report of the Conference.

### **Libyan Arab Jamahiriya**

My delegation greatly appreciates the efforts made by the Main Committee and working groups of the Conference towards producing formulas which represent the common positions of the participating delegations and respect the beliefs of different societies and their private affairs. In this context, the Libyan delegation has made every possible effort in its discussions with all the working groups and in meetings to join in the global consensus towards which this Platform for Action is directed.

In view of our belief in the importance of the dialogue between the different cultures and civilizations of the peoples of the world for the achievement of universal social peace, we do not accept the right of any nation or civilization to impose its culture or political, economic or social orientations on any other nation or people. In view also of our belief in the sovereign right of every State to draw up domestic policies in keeping with its religious beliefs, local laws and priorities for social and economic development, it is our understanding that the terms and expressions which appear in this document and their application will be within the limits of what is permitted by our beliefs and the laws and traditions which shape our behaviour as a society. On this basis, our country's delegation would like to express reservations with regard to the following:

(a) The expression "sexual relations and sexual behaviour" between men and women, adult or otherwise, outside of a lawful marital relationship, which has appeared in a number of articles;

(b) The expression "sexual education and reproductive health" used with reference to the unmarried and outside the ambit of parental responsibility, supervision and care;

(c) The term "individuals" linked with the basic right of all couples to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children. This right is not accorded in our society outside the framework of a lawful marital relationship. This expression appears in paragraphs 95 and 223;

(d) The entire text of paragraph 96 because it is inconsistent with our social and cultural values. The same applies to paragraph 232 (f);

(e) Everything included in and intended by the text appearing in paragraph 106 (k), since it is contrary to local laws based on the Islamic Shariah. The same applies to the text appearing in paragraph 106 (j) regarding abortion, since local laws do not permit the performance of abortion except to save the mother's life;

(f) The text of paragraph 274 (d), which will be interpreted and implemented in accordance with the Islamic Shariah, which guarantees females the right of inheritance.

We hope that this statement and these reservations will be included in the official report of the Conference.

### **Malaysia**

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action are an achievement for all women world wide. My delegation is gratified to join the international community in expressing our commitment to the Platform, especially on those provisions dealing with poverty, education, health, the elimination of violence against women in civil and armed conflicts, and the active participation of women in decision-making and economic development for their advancement and empowerment. However, we cannot help noting a number of differences among delegations arising from the stand on certain issues by one group of countries. While this group may adopt their own cultural standards and priorities, their insistence on others has inevitably resulted in the Platform for Action being accompanied by a number of reservations.

I wish to state that certain provisions within the Platform for Action remain unacceptable to us, but in the interest of achieving a consensus, we do not wish to stand in the way of its adoption. Nevertheless, in view of the differing cultural norms and the lack of clarity of certain words and phrases in the Platform, I wish to make the following reservations and clarifications on behalf of the Malaysian delegation.

First, the interpretation of the term "family", and the terms "individual and couples" throughout the document refer to the traditional family formed out of a marriage or a registered union between a man and a woman and comprising children and extended family members.

Second, we are of the conviction that reproductive rights should be applicable only to married couples formed of the union between a man and a woman.

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Third, we wish to state that the adoption of paragraph 96 does not signify endorsement by the Government of Malaysia of sexual promiscuity, any form of sexual perversion or sexual behaviour that is synonymous with homosexuality or lesbianism.

Fourth, in the context of paragraph 106 (k) we wish to support the view that attention should be given to the prevention of unsafe abortions and the provision of humane management of complications from abortions as part of reproductive health care. However, abortion is not legal or permissible in Malaysia and can only be performed on medical grounds.

Fifth, in the context of paragraph 108 (k), while agreeing that adolescent health is an area requiring attention due to the increasing problems of unwanted teenage pregnancies, unsafe abortions, sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS, we believe that parental guidance should not be abdicated and that sexual permissiveness and unhealthy sexual and reproductive practices by adolescents should not be condoned.

May I request that these reservations be entered into the records of this Conference.

### **Malta**

In joining the consensus on the Platform for Action, the delegation of Malta would like to state that it reserves its position on the use of such terms as "reproductive health", "reproductive rights" and "control of fertility" as used in different parts of the document. The interpretation given by Malta is consistent with its national legislation, which considers the termination of pregnancy through induced abortion as illegal.

The delegation of Malta further reserves its position on those parts of the Platform for Action wherein reference is made to the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development. In this respect the delegation of Malta reaffirms its reservations as contained in the report of that Conference (A/CONF.171/13 and Add.1).

In particular the delegation of Malta cannot accept without reservation the expression "circumstances in which abortion is not against the law", the termination of pregnancy through procedures of induced abortion being illegal in Malta.

The delegation of Malta reserves its position on the wording "such abortion should be safe" since it feels that this phrase could lend itself to multiple interpretations, implying among other things that abortion can be completely free of medical and other psychological risks while ignoring altogether the rights of the unborn.

Furthermore, the delegation of Malta reserves its position on the use of the wording "international human rights instruments" and "United Nations consensus documents" wherever used in the Platform for Action consistent with its previous acceptance or non-

acceptance of them. We request that these reservations be recorded in the report of the Conference.

### **Mauritania**

My country's delegation would like to enter reservations with regard to any matter that conflicts with the Islamic Shariah and Islamic values, especially paragraph 96 concerning sexual rights, paragraph 232 (f), paragraph 106 (j) concerning illegal abortions, and paragraph 274 (d) concerning inheritance.

### **Morocco**

The delegation of Morocco reserves its position on paragraphs 96 and 106 (k) of the Platform for Action, whose content is in contradiction with the precepts of Islam and is not in conformity with its spiritual values and cultural traditions. Morocco also expresses its reservations on paragraph 232 (f), which refers to paragraph 96, and on paragraph 274 (d).

The delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco requests that its reservations be included in the report of the Conference.

### **Nepal**

The interpretation of paragraph 26 for Nepal shall preclude the freedom of conversion of one's own or someone else's religion.

### **Nicaragua**

The step which we have taken in Beijing is of great importance for the women of the world and for society as a whole and I am hopeful that we will work with greater energy on those issues which give rise to greater unity among us in order to achieve our equality, development and the peace to which all women and men aspire.

Mindful of the situation of women and the necessity of their all-round development in a world that has denied them opportunities, and on the basis of the position which Nicaragua has espoused at the various world summit meetings and conferences, the Government of the Republic of Nicaragua wishes to place on record its commitment to do its utmost for the implementation of the Platform for Action adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women, which will enable us to speed up progress towards equality of opportunity for women to participate in development and share in its benefits.

In accordance with its Constitution and laws and as a signatory of the American Convention on Human Rights, the Government of Nicaragua reaffirms that every person has the right to life, which is a fundamental and inalienable right, and that this right begins with the moment of conception.

Abortion or the termination of pregnancy cannot in any way be considered a method of regulating fertility or



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birth control, as was made clear by the International Conference on Population and Development. The domestic laws governing this matter are within the sovereign purview of the Nicaraguan nation.

The Government of Nicaragua accepts the concepts of reproductive rights and reproductive health and maintains that abortion is not covered by these concepts.

The Government of Nicaragua recognizes the different kinds of families formed as a result of the union of a man and a woman, families headed by single women or men, and extended families, and states that it is committed to protecting such families.

I request that this statement be included in the report of the Conference.

### **Paraguay**

The Government of Paraguay expresses its satisfaction that chapter IV, section C, of the Platform for Action is in conformity with the content of its National Constitution, especially article 61 thereof, which provides that "the State recognizes the right of everyone to freely and responsibly decide the number of children they plan to have, as well as the time span between one child and another. Through a coordinated effort with the appropriate organizations, they are also entitled to receive education, scientific guidance, and adequate services. Special plans will be implemented to ensure reproductive health and maternal-child health care for low-income people."

The delegation of Paraguay points out that the concept of "methods ... for regulation of fertility which are not against the law", as referred to in paragraph 94 of the Platform for Action, will be interpreted in conformity with its national legislation.

The Government of Paraguay interprets the term "gender", which is used in the documents adopted at this Conference, as referring to both sexes, man and woman, and has incorporated this term, as defined, into its national documents.

### **Peru**

Pursuant to article 34 of the rules of procedure of the Conference, the delegation of Peru joins in the general agreement on the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, in so far as the principles and commitments established by this Conference are compatible with those embodied in the Political Constitution of Peru. However, in accordance with the position it took at the International Conference on Population and Development and reaffirmed at the World Summit for Social Development, and at the sixth session of the Regional Conference on the Integration of Women into the Economic and Social Development of Latin America and the Caribbean, the delegation of Peru wishes to express its reservation with regard to the interpretation of the following points:

The community and the State protect the family and promote marriage, recognizing them as natural and basic institutions of society. The family and marriage essentially derive from the personal relation that is established between a man and a woman.

The right to life and the consideration of a person from the moment of conception as a subject of law in every respect are fundamental human rights. Therefore, the terms "reproductive health", "reproductive rights" and "sexual or reproductive health" as used in the Platform for Action must not include abortion as a method of birth control or family planning.

The concepts referring to population policy must always be understood within the context of the protection and promotion of the family and marriage, responsible fatherhood and motherhood and the freedom of choice of the family and the individual.

It is understood that sexual rights refer solely to heterosexual relationships.

The criteria established for allocating resources can in no way be understood as restricting the right of Governments to have access to such resources.

The reference to "existing" intellectual property rights with regard to the knowledge, innovations and practices of women of indigenous and local communities, including practices relating to traditional medicines, biological diversity and indigenous technologies, may in no way be construed as restricting the rights of countries and their inhabitants under national and international law.

### **Russian Federation**

The representative of the Russian Federation submitted the following written statement:

Paragraph 83 (p) The Russian Federation takes the word "respected" in paragraph 83 (p) to mean that gender equality and cultural, religious and other diversity should be respected in educational institutions.

Paragraph 191 (c) The Russian Federation understands paragraph 191 (c) to mean that political parties shall themselves determine the procedure for appointing women to their leadership bodies and that the State shall not put pressure on them to do so, while at the same time creating equal opportunities for the activities of political parties. Under Russian law, this provision applies not only to political parties but also to political movements.

Paragraph 204 (e) The Russian Federation understands paragraph 204 (e) regarding mandates to review policies and programmes in the context of ensuring equal rights and equal opportunities. The basic principles for implementing this policy are enshrined in the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Paragraph 258 (c) The delegation of the Russian Federation takes it that paragraph 258 (c) relates to no

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other question than the transboundary movement of hazardous and radioactive waste. The Russian Federation believes that it is necessary to aim for full compliance of Governments, international governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations with existing international principles and rules governing the transboundary movement of hazardous and radioactive waste through the adoption of special measures, including the establishment of a national legal framework and the definition of the various categories of waste. The movement of such materials should not pose a threat to public health.

### **South Africa**

The South African delegation interprets paragraph 96, which reads, "The human rights of women include their right to have control over and decide freely and responsibly on matters related to their sexuality, including sexual and reproductive health, free of coercion, discrimination and violence", to include the right to be free from coercion, discrimination and violence based on sexual orientation.

The South African delegation wants to make it very clear that it does not want to be associated with any form of discrimination.

### **Tunisia**

The Tunisian delegation, by virtue of the powers vested in it, has the honour to confirm that Tunisia will interpret paragraphs 96, 232 (f) and 274 (d) of the Platform for Action within its fundamental laws and texts.

The foregoing was stated at the meetings of the Main Committee held on 13 and 14 September 1995. Tunisia will reject any provision that is contrary to its fundamental laws and texts. The delegation of Tunisia requests that this reservation be included in the documents of the Conference.

### **United States of America**

Interpretative statement on the Beijing Declaration The United States understands that the phrase "hereby adopt and commit ourselves as Governments to implement the ... Platform for Action" contained in the Beijing Declaration, and other similar references throughout the texts, are consistent with the fact that the Platform, Declaration and commitments made by States (unless such States indicate to the contrary) are not legally binding, and that they consist of recommendations concerning how States can and should promote the objectives of the Conference. The commitment referred to in the Declaration, therefore, constitutes a general commitment to undertake meaningful implementation of the Platform's recommendations overall, rather than a specific commitment to implement each element of the Platform. Accordingly, the United States accepts this phrase on this basis, on the understanding that it does not alter the status of the documents or the recommendations contained therein.

The United States understands that the references in the Declaration and Platform for Action to "sustainable development" are to be interpreted consistently with established principles and policies on this matter. As was recognized in Agenda 21, our long-term objective of enabling all people to achieve sustainable livelihoods involves integration simultaneously of policies related to issues of development, sustainable resource management and poverty eradication. At the World Summit for Social Development, States further acknowledged that economic development, social development and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development.

### Reservation on paragraph 5 of the Platform for Action

As the United States has stated on a number of occasions during the Conference and in the preparations for it, as a result of domestic funding constraints it cannot agree to an increase in funding for matters dealt with in the Platform for Action other than in the context of reallocation of existing resources, or unless sources of funding other than governmental assessments are involved. Accordingly, the United States reserves on paragraph 5 of the Platform for Action. The United States fully supports the objectives of the Conference and is willing to work with others to ensure that there is a proper allocation of resources within the United Nations system and other international organizations, to address commitments made in the Platform. In this context, the United States notes as well that many of the most critical actions to be taken in accordance with the Platform do not require additional funds from the international community and can be accomplished through actions at the national and local level.

### Interpretative statements on individual paragraphs in the Platform for Action

#### Paragraph 17

The United States understands that the phrase "radical transformation of the relationship between women and men in paragraph 17 is a reference to the realization of full equality between women and men. It is in that context that the United States accepts this paragraph.

#### Paragraph 26

Paragraph 26 of the Platform recognizes the important role that non-governmental organizations play and the importance of working with them for progress. The United States recognizes the need for Governments to create an enabling environment for non-governmental organizations and that such an environment is critical to the successful implementation of the Platform. The United States understands that Governments, in requesting that non-governmental organizations take action to implement the Platform, are thereby committing themselves to facilitating the efforts of such organizations in this regard.

#### Paragraph 46

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United States Government has a firm policy of non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and considers that the omission of this reference in paragraph 46 and elsewhere in the Platform for Action in no way justifies such discrimination in any country.

### Paragraph 96

The United States understands and accepts that paragraph 96, which concerns, inter alia, equal relationships between women and men, applies existing norms of human rights law to these important areas of the lives of women and men, and thus emphasizes the importance of freedom from coercion, discrimination and violence in relations between men and women.

### Paragraph 131

While the United States recognizes that human rights violations can and do occur in situations of foreign occupation around the world, the United States continues to have reservations, as it did at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, about any implication that foreign occupation is a human rights violation per se.

### Paragraph 166 (l)

The United States understands the intention of the inclusion of "equal remuneration for men and women for work of equal value" to be to promote pay equity between men and women and accepts the recommendation on that basis. The United States implements it by observing the principle of "equal pay for equal work".

### Paragraph 206 (b), (e) and (f)

With respect to paragraph 206 (b), (e) and (f), the United States will seek to develop more comprehensive knowledge as well as to improve data collection on the issue of unwaged work, to the extent that funds are available. We plan to consult, in a cooperative manner, with appropriate research and documentation organizations.

Paragraphs 234-245 A number of institutions, organizations and others have been requested to take actions to implement the Platform. Although many institutions have participated here as observers, and non-governmental organizations have provided helpful inputs into the deliberations, Governments alone will adopt the Platform. As a result, it is necessary to underscore the fact that when the Platform mentions the actions these other actors may take, it thereby invites and encourages the suggested actions; it does not, and cannot, require such actions.

In this context, we understand that references to actions the media may take (such as those in chapter IV, section J, and in paragraph 33) are in the nature of suggestions and recommendations, and may not be construed to impinge on the freedom of the press, speech and expression, which are fundamental democratic freedoms.

### Paragraph 247

The United States would like to underscore that it interprets the second sentence in paragraph 247 to mean that these listed occurrences can cause environmental degradation in certain circumstances but not in others. The United States also remains concerned about the reference to "the use and testing of nuclear weaponry" in this paragraph, which appears not to have been reviewed fully in the working group.

### Paragraph 293

The United States understands and accepts that references to commitments in paragraph 293, references to what the Platform "requires" in paragraphs 4 and 5, and other similar references throughout the texts, including the Declaration, are consistent with the fact that the Platform, Declaration and commitments made by States (unless such States indicate to the contrary) are not legally binding, and that they consist of recommendations concerning how States can and should promote the human rights of women. Accordingly, the United States understands and accepts that such terms as used in these documents suggest practical measures to help promote the human rights of women, and do not alter the status of the documents or the recommendations contained therein.

### Paragraph 353

The United States reiterates that, with respect to paragraph 353, it is not one of the countries that have accepted an "agreed target" for official development assistance or have made a commitments to fulfil such a target. We believe that national Governments, not international donors, must have primary responsibility for their country's development. Targets detract from the more important issues of the effectiveness and quality of aid and the policies of the recipient country. The United States has traditionally been one of the largest aid donors in volume terms and will continue to work with developing countries to provide aid in support of their efforts.

In addition, the United States understands and accepts the reference in paragraph 353 to increasing the share of official development assistance for social development programmes to apply to only those countries that have accepted the target.

### **Vanuatu**

The Republic of Vanuatu has come to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing for two purposes: first, to show solidarity with the world community concerning the advancement and rights of women, and second, to learn from other countries about what can be done to improve the situation of women.

In this respect, the delegation of Vanuatu has fully participated in the plenary meetings of the Conference as well as in the Main Committee and the working groups.

The delegation of Vanuatu recognizes the spirit of conciliation and compromise that has gone into the finalization of the Platform for Action. At the same time,

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the delegation notes that Vanuatu is a small country which has grown out of a strong fundamental traditional past and which now is changing in the midst of modern social, economic and political evolution.

While therefore endorsing the Platform for Action of this important Conference, the Vanuatu delegation wishes to state that its endorsement of the Platform is made with full respect for the constitutional, religious and traditional principles which the sovereign State has inherited and kept for the good government of our nation.

**Venezuela**

With a view to speeding up the general debate in order to arrive at a consensus on the Platform for Action, the official delegation of Venezuela makes the following statement of reservations and requests that it be included in full in the final report of the Conference.

The concepts of family planning, sexual health, reproductive health, maternity without risk, regulation of fertility, reproductive rights and sexual rights are acceptable provided that they do not include abortion or voluntary interruption of pregnancy.

Similarly, Venezuela expresses a reservation with regard to the concept of unwanted pregnancy, since the reference to "unwanted pregnancy" could be argued in the opposite sense, as implying acceptance of the right of a woman who has become pregnant against her will to terminate the pregnancy (by abortion), an act which is illegal in Venezuela.

Venezuela also expresses a reservation with regard to references to "unsafe abortion", because abortion under any circumstances is illegal in Venezuela, except when it is essential in order to save a woman's life.

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17 October 1995

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12. The empowerment and advancement of women, including the right to **freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief**, thus contributing to the **moral, ethical, spiritual** and intellectual needs of women and men, individually or in community with others and thereby guaranteeing them the possibility of realizing their full potential in society and shaping their lives in accordance with their own aspirations.

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15. Equal rights, opportunities and access to resources, **equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women**, and a harmonious partnership between them are critical to their well-being and that of their **families** as well as to the consolidation of democracy;

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### PLATFORM FOR ACTION

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9. The objective of the Platform for Action, which is in full conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and international law, is the empowerment of all women. The full realization of all human rights and fundamental freedoms of all women is essential for the empowerment of women. While the significance of national and regional particularities and various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds must be borne in mind, it is the duty of States, regardless of their political, economic and cultural systems, to promote and protect all human rights and fundamental freedoms. 9/ The implementation of this Platform, including through national laws and the formulation of strategies, policies, programmes and development priorities, is the sovereign responsibility of each State, in conformity with all human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the significance of and full respect for **various religious and ethical values, cultural backgrounds** and philosophical convictions of individuals and their communities should contribute to the full enjoyment by women of their human rights in order to achieve equality, development and peace.

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22. One fourth of all households world wide are headed by women and many other households are dependent on female income even where men are present. Female-maintained households are very often among the poorest

because of wage discrimination, occupational segregation patterns in the labour market and other genderbased barriers. **family disintegration**, population movements between urban and rural areas within countries, international migration, war and internal displacements are factors contributing to the rise of female-headed households.

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24. **Religion, spirituality and belief** play a central role in the lives of millions of women and men, in the way they live and in the aspirations they have for the future. The right to **freedom of thought, conscience and religion** is inalienable and must be universally enjoyed. This right includes the **freedom to have or to adopt the religion or belief of their choice** either individually or in community with others, in public or in private, and to manifest their religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching. In order to realize equality, development and peace, there is a need to respect these rights and freedoms fully. **Religion, thought, conscience and belief** may, and can, contribute to fulfilling women's and men's **moral, ethical and spiritual** needs and to realizing their full potential in society. However, it is acknowledged that any form of extremism may have a negative impact on women and can lead to violence and discrimination.

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29. Women play a critical role in the family. **The family is the basic unit of society and as such should be strengthened.** It is entitled to receive comprehensive protection and support. In different cultural, political and social systems, various forms of the family exist. The rights, capabilities and responsibilities of family members must be respected. Women make a great contribution to the welfare of the family and to the development of society, which is still not recognized or considered in its full importance. The social significance of maternity, motherhood and the **role of parents in the family and in the upbringing of children should be acknowledged.** The upbringing of children requires shared responsibility of parents, women and men and society as a whole. Maternity, motherhood, parenting and the role of women in procreation must not be a basis for discrimination nor restrict the full participation of women in society. Recognition should also be given to the important role often played by women in many countries in caring for **other members of their family.**

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33. In the past 20 years, the world has seen an explosion in the field of communications. With advances in computer technology and satellite and cable television, global access to information continues to increase and

expand, creating new opportunities for the participation of women in communications and the mass media and for the dissemination of information about women. However, global communication networks have been used to spread stereotyped and demeaning images of women for narrow commercial and consumerist purposes. Until women participate equally in both the technical and decision-making areas of communications and the mass media, including the arts, they will continue to be misrepresented and awareness of the reality of women's lives will continue to be lacking. The media have a great potential to promote the advancement of women and the equality of women and men by portraying women and men in a non-stereotypical, diverse and balanced manner, and by **respecting the dignity and worth of the human person.**

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36. Global trends have brought profound changes in **family survival strategies** and structures. Rural to urban migration has increased substantially in all regions. The global urban population is projected to reach 47 per cent of the total population by the year 2000. An estimated 125 million people are migrants, refugees and displaced persons, half of whom live in developing countries. These massive movements of people have profound consequences for **family structures and well-being** and have unequal consequences for women and men, including in many cases the sexual exploitation of women.

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39. The girl child of today is the woman of tomorrow. The skills, ideas and energy of the girl child are vital for full attainment of the goals of equality, development and peace. For the girl child to develop her full potential she needs to be nurtured in an enabling environment, where her **spiritual**, intellectual and material needs for survival, protection and development are met and her equal rights safeguarded. If women are to be equal partners with men, in every aspect of life and development, now is the time to recognize the **human dignity and worth** of the girl child and to ensure the full enjoyment of her human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the rights assured by the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 11/ universal ratification of which is strongly urged. Yet there exists world-wide evidence that discrimination and violence against girls begin at the earliest stages of life and continue unabated throughout their lives. They often have less access to nutrition, physical and mental health care and education and enjoy fewer rights, opportunities and benefits of childhood and adolescence than do boys. They are often subjected to various forms of sexual and economic exploitation, paedophilia, forced prostitution and possibly the sale of their organs and tissues, violence and harmful practices such as **female infanticide and**

**prenatal sex selection**, incest, female genital mutilation and early marriage, including child marriage.

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#### A. Women and poverty

48. In the past decade the number of women living in poverty has increased disproportionately to the number of men, particularly in the developing countries. The feminization of poverty has also recently become a significant problem in the countries with economies in transition as a short-term consequence of the process of political, economic and social transformation. In addition to economic factors, the rigidity of socially ascribed gender roles and women's limited access to power, education, training and productive resources as well as other emerging factors that may lead to **insecurity for families** are also responsible. The failure to adequately mainstream a gender perspective in all economic analysis and planning and to address the structural causes of poverty is also a contributing factor.

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58. By Governments:

(b) Analyse, from a gender perspective, policies and programmes including those related to macroeconomic stability, structural adjustment, external debt problems, taxation, investments, employment, markets and all relevant sectors of the economy - with respect to their impact on poverty, on inequality and particularly on women; assess their **impact on family well-being** and conditions and adjust them, as appropriate, to promote more equitable distribution of productive assets, wealth, opportunities, income and services;

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#### B. Education and training of women

69. Education is a human right and an essential tool for achieving the goals of equality, development and peace. Non-discriminatory education benefits both girls and boys and thus ultimately contributes to more equal relationships between women and men. Equality of access to and attainment of educational qualifications is necessary if more women are to become agents of change. Literacy of women is an important key to improving **health, nutrition and education in the family** and to empowering women to participate in decision-making in society. Investing in formal and non-formal education and training for girls and women, with its exceptionally high social and economic return, has proved to be one of the best means of achieving sustainable development and economic growth that is both sustained and sustainable.

*Paragraphs from the Fourth World Conference on Women*

72. Creation of an educational and social environment, in which women and men, girls and boys, are treated equally and encouraged to achieve their full potential, respecting their freedom of thought, conscience, **religion** and belief, and where educational resources promote non-stereotyped images of women and men, would be effective in the elimination of the causes of discrimination against women and inequalities between women and men.

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80. By Governments:

(e) Provide – **in collaboration with parents**, non-governmental organizations, including youth organizations, communities and the private sector - young women with academic and technical training, career planning, leadership and social skills and work experience to prepare them to participate fully in society;

(f) Increase enrolment and retention rates of girls by allocating appropriate budgetary resources; by enlisting the **support of parents** and the community, as well as through campaigns, flexible school schedules, incentives, scholarships and other means to minimize the costs of girls' education to their **families and to facilitate parents' ability to choose education** for the girl child; and by ensuring that the rights of women and girls to freedom of conscience and **religion** are respected in educational institutions through repealing any discriminatory laws or legislation based on **religion**, race or culture;

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81. By Governments, national, regional and international bodies, bilateral and multilateral donors and non-governmental organizations:

(e) Encourage adult and **family engagement** in learning to promote total literacy for all people;

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83. By Governments, educational authorities and other educational and academic institutions:

(a) Elaborate recommendations and develop curricula, textbooks and teaching aids free of gender-based stereotypes for all levels of education, including teacher training, in association with all concerned - publishers, teachers, public authorities and parents' associations;

(b) Develop training programmes and materials for teachers and educators that raise awareness about the status, role and contribution of **women and men in the family, as defined in paragraph 29 above**, and society;

in this context, promote equality, cooperation, mutual respect and shared responsibilities between girls and boys from pre- school level onward and develop, in particular, educational modules to ensure that boys have the skills necessary to take care of their own domestic needs and to share responsibility for their household and for the care of dependants;

(i) Develop appropriate education and information programmes with due respect for multilingualism, particularly in conjunction with the mass media, that make the public, particularly parents, aware of the importance of non-discriminatory education for children and the equal sharing of **family responsibilities** by girls and boys;

(l) Encourage, **with the guidance and support of their parents** and in cooperation with educational staff and institutions, the elaboration of educational programmes for girls and boys and the creation of integrated services in order to raise awareness of their responsibilities and to help them to assume those responsibilities, taking into account the importance of such education and services to personal development and self-esteem, as well as the urgent need to avoid unwanted pregnancy, the spread of sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV/AIDS, and such phenomena as sexual violence and abuse;

(o) Acknowledge and respect the artistic, **spiritual** and cultural activities of indigenous women;

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C. Women and health

89. Women have the right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health. The enjoyment of this right is vital to their life and well-being and their ability to participate in all areas of public and private life. Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity. Women's health involves their emotional, social and physical well-being and is determined by the social, political and economic context of their lives, as well as by biology. However, health and well-being elude the majority of women. A major barrier for women to the achievement of the highest attainable standard of health is inequality, both between men and women and among women in different geographical regions, social classes and indigenous and ethnic groups. In national and international forums, women have emphasized that to attain optimal health throughout the life cycle, equality, including the sharing of **family responsibilities**, development and peace are necessary conditions.

94. Reproductive health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity, in all matters relating to the reproductive system and to its functions and processes. Reproductive health therefore implies that people are able to have a satisfying and safe sex life and that they have the capability to reproduce and the freedom to decide if, when and how often to do so. Implicit in this last condition are the right of men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods of their choice for regulation of fertility which are not against the law, and the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and **provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant.** In line with the above definition of reproductive health, reproductive health care is defined as the constellation of methods, techniques and services that contribute to reproductive health and well-being by preventing and solving reproductive health problems. It also includes sexual health, the purpose of which is the enhancement of life and personal relations, and not merely counselling and care related to reproduction and sexually transmitted diseases.

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97. Further, women are subject to particular health risks due to inadequate responsiveness and lack of services to meet health needs related to sexuality and reproduction. Complications related to pregnancy and childbirth are among the leading causes of mortality and morbidity of women of reproductive age in many parts of the developing world. Similar problems exist to a certain degree in some countries with economies in transition. Unsafe abortions threaten the lives of a large number of women, representing a grave public health problem as it is primarily the poorest and youngest who take the highest risk. Most of these deaths, health problems and injuries are preventable through improved access to adequate health-care services, including safe and effective family planning methods and emergency obstetric care, recognizing the right of women and men to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods of their choice for regulation of fertility which are not against the law, and the right of access to appropriate health-care services that will enable women to go safely through pregnancy and childbirth and **provide couples with the best chance of having a healthy infant.** These problems and means should be addressed on the basis of the report of the International Conference on Population and Development, with particular reference to relevant paragraphs of the

Programme of Action of the Conference. 14/ In most countries, the neglect of women's reproductive rights severely limits their opportunities in public and private life, including opportunities for education and economic and political empowerment. The ability of women to control their own fertility forms an important basis for the enjoyment of other rights. Shared responsibility between women and men in matters related to sexual and reproductive behaviour is also essential to improving women's health.

98. HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, the transmission of which is sometimes a consequence of sexual violence, are having a devastating effect on women's health, particularly the health of adolescent girls and young women. They often do not have the power to insist on safe and responsible sex practices and have little access to information and services for prevention and treatment. Women, who represent half of all adults newly infected with HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, have emphasized that social vulnerability and the unequal power relationships between women and men are obstacles to safe sex, in their efforts to control the spread of sexually transmitted diseases. The consequences of HIV/AIDS reach beyond women's health to their role as mothers and caregivers and their contribution to the economic **support of their families.** The social, developmental and health consequences of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases need to be seen from a gender perspective.

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106. By Governments, in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and employers' and workers' organizations and with the support of international institutions:

(j) Recognize and deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion as a major public health concern, **as agreed in paragraph 8.25 of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development;** 14/

(k) In the light of paragraph 8.25 of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, which states: "**In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning.** All Governments and relevant intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are urged to strengthen their commitment to women's health, to deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion 16/ as a major public health concern and to reduce the recourse to abortion through expanded and improved family-planning services. Prevention of unwanted pregnancies must always be



*Paragraphs from the Fourth World Conference on Women*

given the highest priority and every attempt should be made to eliminate the need for abortion. Women who have unwanted pregnancies should have ready access to reliable information and compassionate counselling. Any measures or changes related to abortion within the health system can only be **determined at the national or local level according to the national legislative process**. In circumstances where abortion is not against the law, such abortion should be safe. In all cases, women should have access to quality services for the management of complications arising from abortion. Post-abortion counselling, education and family-planning services should be offered promptly, which will also help to avoid repeat abortions", consider reviewing laws containing punitive measures against women who have undergone illegal abortions;

107. By Governments, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations, the mass media, the private sector and relevant international organizations, including United Nations bodies, as appropriate:

(c) **Encourage men** to share equally in child care and household work and to provide their share of **financial support for their families**, even if they do not live with them;

(e) Prepare and disseminate accessible information, through public health campaigns, the media, reliable counselling and the education system, designed to ensure that women and men, particularly young people, can acquire knowledge about their health, especially information on sexuality and reproduction, taking into account the rights of the child to access to information, privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent, as well as the **responsibilities, rights and duties of parents** and legal guardians to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate **direction and guidance** in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and in conformity with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; ensure that in all actions concerning children, the best interests of the child are a primary consideration;

(f) Create and support programmes in the educational system, in the workplace and in the community to make opportunities to participate in sport, physical activity and recreation available to girls and women of all ages on the same basis as they are made available to men and boys;

(g) Recognize the specific needs of adolescents and implement specific appropriate programmes, such as education and information on sexual and reproductive health issues and on sexually transmitted diseases,

including HIV/AIDS, taking into account the rights of the child and the **responsibilities, rights and duties of parents** as stated in paragraph 107 (e) above;

(h) Develop policies that reduce the disproportionate and increasing burden on women who have multiple roles **within the family** and the community by providing them with adequate support and programmes from health and social services;

(l) Design specific programmes for men of all ages and male adolescents, **recognizing the parental roles** referred to in paragraph 107 (e) above, aimed at providing complete and accurate information on safe and responsible sexual and reproductive behaviour, including voluntary, appropriate and effective male methods for the prevention of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases through, inter alia, **abstinence** and condom use;

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115. Acts of violence against women also include forced sterilization and forced abortion, coercive/forced **use of contraceptives, female infanticide and prenatal sex selection**.

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124. By Governments:

(i) Enact and enforce legislation against the perpetrators of practices and acts of violence against women, such as female genital mutilation, **female infanticide, prenatal sex selection** and dowry-related violence, and give vigorous support to the efforts of non-governmental and community organizations to eliminate such practices;

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135. While entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex. Parties to conflict often rape women with impunity, sometimes using systematic rape as a tactic of war and terrorism. The impact of violence against women and violation of the human rights of women in such situations is experienced by women of all ages, who suffer displacement, loss of home and property, loss or involuntary disappearance of close relatives, **poverty and family separation and disintegration**, and who are victims of acts of murder, terrorism, torture, involuntary disappearance, sexual slavery, rape, sexual abuse and forced pregnancy in situations of armed conflict, especially as a result of policies of ethnic cleansing and other new and emerging forms of violence. This is compounded by the life-long social, economic and psychologically traumatic consequences of armed conflict

and foreign occupation and alien domination.

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139. During times of armed conflict and the collapse of communities, the role of women is crucial. They often work to preserve social order in the midst of armed and other conflicts. Women make an important but often unrecognized contribution as peace educators both **in their families** and in their societies.

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147. By Governments, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and other institutions involved in providing protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women, including the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Programme, as appropriate:

(k) Ensure that the human rights of refugee and displaced women are protected and that refugee and displaced women are made aware of these rights; **ensure that the vital importance of family reunification is recognized;**

148. By Governments:

(a) Disseminate and implement the UNHCR Guidelines on the Protection of Refugee Women and the UNHCR Guidelines on Evaluation and Care of Victims of Trauma and Violence, or provide similar guidance, in close cooperation with refugee women and in all sectors of refugee programmes;

(b) Protect women and children who **migrate as family members** from abuse or denial of their human rights by sponsors and consider extending their stay, should the **family relationship dissolve**, within the limits of national legislation.

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152. Discrimination in education and training, hiring and remuneration, promotion and horizontal mobility practices, as well as inflexible working conditions, lack of access to productive resources and inadequate sharing of **family responsibilities**, combined with a lack of or insufficient services such as child care, continue to restrict employment, economic, professional and other opportunities and mobility for women and make their involvement stressful. Moreover, attitudinal obstacles inhibit women's participation in developing economic policy and in some regions restrict the access of women and girls to education and training for economic management.

161. For those women in paid work, many experience obstacles that prevent them from achieving their potential. While some are increasingly found in lower levels of management, attitudinal discrimination often prevents them from being promoted further. The experience of sexual harassment is an affront to a worker's dignity and prevents women from making a contribution commensurate with their abilities. The lack of a **family-friendly work environment**, including a lack of appropriate and affordable child care, and inflexible working hours further prevent women from achieving their full potential.

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165. By Governments:

(g) Seek to develop a more comprehensive knowledge of work and employment through, inter alia, efforts to measure and better understand the type, extent and distribution of unremunerated work, particularly work in caring for dependants and unremunerated work done for **family farms or businesses**, and encourage the sharing and dissemination of information on studies and experience in this field, including the development of methods for assessing its value in quantitative terms, for possible reflection in accounts that may be produced separately from, but consistent with, core national accounts;

Strategic objective F.6. Promote harmonization of work and **family responsibilities** for women and men

Actions to be taken

179. By Governments:

(a) Adopt policies to ensure the appropriate protection of labour laws and social security benefits for part-time, temporary, seasonal and home-based workers; promote career development based on work conditions that harmonize work and **family responsibilities**;

(b) Ensure that full and part-time work can be freely chosen by women and men on an equal basis, and consider appropriate protection for atypical workers in terms of access to employment, working conditions and social security;

(c) Ensure, through legislation, incentives and/or encouragement, opportunities for women and men to take job-protected parental leave and to have parental benefits; promote the **equal sharing of responsibilities for the family by men and women**, including through appropriate legislation, incentives and/or encouragement,

*Paragraphs from the Fourth World Conference on Women*

and also promote the facilitation of breast-feeding for working mothers;

(d) Develop policies, inter alia, in education to change attitudes that reinforce the division of labour based on gender in order to promote the concept of **shared family responsibility** for work in the home, particularly in relation to children and elder care;

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185. Inequality in the public arena can often start with discriminatory attitudes and practices and unequal power relations between women and men **within the family**, as defined in paragraph 29 above. The unequal division of labour and responsibilities within households based on unequal power relations also limits women's potential to find the time and develop the skills required for participation in decision-making in wider public forums. A more equal sharing of those responsibilities between women and men not only provides a better quality of life for women and their daughters but also enhances their opportunities to shape and design public policy, practice and expenditure so that their interests may be recognized and addressed. Non-formal networks and patterns of decisionmaking at the local community level that reflect a dominant male ethos restrict women's ability to participate equally in political, economic and social life.

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245. By the media, non-governmental organizations and the private sector, in collaboration, as appropriate, with national machinery for the advancement of women:

(a) Promote the equal sharing of **family responsibilities** through media campaigns that emphasize gender equality and non-stereotyped gender roles of women and men within the **family** and that disseminate information aimed at eliminating spousal and child abuse and all forms of violence against women, including domestic violence;

(b) Produce and/or disseminate media materials on women leaders, inter alia, as leaders who bring to their positions of leadership many different life experiences, including but not limited to their experiences in balancing work and **family responsibilities**, as **mothers**, as professionals, as managers and as entrepreneurs, to provide role models, particularly to young women;

(c) Promote extensive campaigns, making use of public and private educational programmes, to disseminate information about and increase awareness of the human rights of women;

(d) Support the development of and finance, as

appropriate, alternative media and the use of all means of communication to disseminate information to and about women and their concerns;

(e) Develop approaches and train experts to apply gender analysis with regard to media programmes.

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262. Girls and adolescents may receive a variety of conflicting and confusing messages on their gender roles from their parents, teachers, peers and the media. Women and men need to work together with children and youth to break down persistent gender stereotypes, taking into account the rights of the child and the **responsibilities, rights and duties of parents as stated in paragraph 267 below**.

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267. The International Conference on Population and Development recognized, in paragraph 7.3 of the Programme of Action, 14/ that "full attention should be given to the promotion of mutually respectful and equitable gender relations and particularly to meeting the educational and service needs of adolescents to enable them to deal in a positive and responsible way with their sexuality", taking into account the rights of the child to access to information, privacy, confidentiality, respect and informed consent, **as well as the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents** and legal guardians to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate **direction and guidance** in the exercise by the child of the rights recognized in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and in conformity with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. In all actions concerning children, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration. Support should be given to integral sexual education for young people with **parental support and guidance** that stresses the responsibility of males for their own sexuality and fertility and that help them exercise their responsibilities.

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273. In addressing issues concerning children and youth, Governments should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programmes so that before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on girls and boys, respectively.

274. By Governments:

(a) By States that have not signed or ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, take urgent

measures towards signing and ratifying the Convention, bearing in mind the strong exhortation made at the World Conference on Human Rights to sign it before the end of 1995, and by States that have signed and ratified the Convention, ensure its full implementation through the adoption of all necessary legislative, administrative and other measures and by fostering an enabling environment that encourages full respect for the rights of children;

(b) Consistent with article 7 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, 11/ take measures to ensure that a child is registered immediately after birth and has the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the **right to know and be cared for by his or her parents**;

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281. By Governments and international and non-governmental organizations:

(a) Provide public information on the removal of discriminatory practices against girls in food allocation, nutrition and access to health services;

(b) Sensitize the girl child, parents, teachers and society concerning good general health and nutrition and raise awareness of the health dangers and other problems connected with early pregnancies;

(c) Strengthen and reorient health education and health services, particularly primary health care programmes, including sexual and reproductive health, and design quality health programmes that meet the physical and mental needs of girls and that attend to the needs of young, expectant and nursing mothers;

(d) Establish peer education and outreach programmes with a view to strengthening individual and collective action to reduce the vulnerability of girls to HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, as agreed to in the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and as established in the report of that Conference, **recognizing the parental roles referred to in paragraph 267 of the present Platform for Action**;

(e) Ensure education and dissemination of information to girls, especially adolescent girls, regarding the physiology of reproduction, reproductive and sexual health, as agreed to in the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and as established in the report of that Conference, responsible family planning practice, **family life**, reproductive health, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV infection and AIDS

prevention, **recognizing the parental roles referred to in paragraph 267**;

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Strategic objective L.9. **Strengthen the role of the family** in improving the status of the girl child

Actions to be taken

285. By Governments, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations:

(iii) Application of social security coverage;

(iv) Establishment of continuous training and education;

(a) **Formulate policies and programmes to help the family, as defined in paragraph 29 above, in its supporting, educating and nurturing roles**, with particular emphasis on the elimination of intra-family discrimination against the girl child;

(b) **Provide an environment conducive to the strengthening of the family**, as defined in paragraph 29 above, with a view to providing supportive and preventive measures which protect, respect and promote the potential of the girl child;

(c) Educate and **encourage parents and caregivers** to treat girls and boys equally and to ensure shared responsibilities between girls and boys in the family, as defined in paragraph 29 above.

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342. In implementing the Platform for Action, international financial institutions are encouraged to review and revise policies, procedures and staffing to ensure that investments and programmes benefit women and thus contribute to sustainable development. They are also encouraged to increase the number of women in high-level positions, increase staff training in gender analysis and institute policies and guidelines to ensure full consideration of the differential impact of lending programmes and other activities on women and men. In this regard, the Bretton Woods institutions, the United Nations, as well as its funds and programmes and the specialized agencies, should establish regular and substantive dialogue, including dialogue at the field level, for more efficient and effective coordination of their assistance in order to strengthen the effectiveness of their programmes for the benefit of **women and their families**.

# COMPARISONS

## Pro-Family

### FAMILY

- Natural and fundamental group unit**  
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 16-3
- Basic unit society**  
Beijing Platform for Action, 29
- Promote family-friendly policies**  
Beijing +5, 82-d

### MARRIAGE

- Right to marry and found a family**  
Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 16-1
- Husband and wife equal partners**  
Habitat II, 31
- Equality of rights and responsibilities**  
ICCPR, 23-2

### GENDER

- Two sexes, male and female**  
International Criminal Court, Article 7 (3)
- Ordinary, generally accepted usage**  
Beijing, Annex IV  
Habitat II, Annex V

### HUMAN LIFE

- In no case should abortion be promoted as a method of family planning**  
ICPD, 8.25  
Beijing, 106-k
- Provide couples with best chance to have a healthy infant**  
ICPD, 7.2  
Beijing, 94 and 97

### PARENTS

- The family has the primary responsibility**  
Children's Summit, 18
- Responsibilities, rights and duties of parents and legal guardians to provide**  
Beijing, 107-e, 107-g, 262, 2671
- Role of parents and legal guardians in the upbringing of children**  
Beijing +5, 82-c

### RELIGION

- Respect for religious and ethical values**  
ICPD, 1.11  
Beijing, 9  
Habitat II, 24

## Radical Feminists Worldview

### INDIVIDUALS

- Households**  
International conference documents rarely use the term "family" but only refer to "**individuals**" and "**households**."

### SAME-SEX MARRIAGE

- "Various UN human rights mechanisms have urged all States to legally recognize same-sex unions—whether by making marriage available to same sex couples or through other arrangements,"**  
Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights <https://www.ohchr.org/2018>

### GENDER

- "Gender refers to the characteristics of women, men, girls and boys that are socially constructed."**  
World Health Organization
- "Gender is no more regarded as a binary concept where one can either be a male or a female." (Lists 72 genders)**  
[www.medicinenet.com](http://www.medicinenet.com)

### HUMAN LIFE

- "Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights."**  
[recognized as including **abortion**]  
2030 Agenda, SDG target 5.6  
2024 Pact for the Future, 27 (f)
- "comprehensive abortion care services"**  
World Health Organization  
[www.who.int/healthtopics/abortion](http://www.who.int/healthtopics/abortion)

### RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

- "Protect the rights of the child in digital space" [internet – without parental guidance]**  
2024 Global Digital Compact, 8(c) and 23(c)

### COMPREHENSIVE SEXUALITY EDUCATION (CSE)

- UN General Assembly Resolution on Youth**  
A/RES/71/145 (2016), Paragraph 27
- UN Human Rights Council Resolution**  
A/HRC/RES/38/4 (2018), Paragraph 7