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# Universal Declaration of Human Rights

## Preamble

*Whereas* recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

*Whereas* disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

*Whereas* it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

*Whereas* it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

*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 and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

*Whereas* Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

*Whereas* a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, Therefore,

**The General Assembly**

*proclaims*

## **This Universal Declaration of Human Rights**

as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration

As the United States representative to the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee, Eleanor Roosevelt guided the drafting and adoption of the Universal Declaration. More than any other document in this volume, it reflects her vision of the world. It is a fitting summation of "what she hoped to leave behind." The documents which follow both elaborate on ER's beliefs about the United Nations and human rights and document the drafting of the Universal Declaration.

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constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

*Article 1*

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

*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.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-selfgoverning or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

*Article 3*

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

*Article 4*

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

*Article 5*

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

*Article 6*

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

*Article 7*

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

*Article 8*

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

*Article 9*

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

*Article 10*

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an

independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

*Article 11*

(1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

*Article 12*

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

*Article 13*

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

*Article 14*

(1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

*Article 15*

(1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

*Article 16*

(1) 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.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

*Article 17*

(1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

*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.

*Article 19*

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

*Article 20*

(1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

*Article 21*

(1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

*Article 22*

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

*Article 23*

(1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

*Article 24*

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

*Article 25*

(1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing

and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(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.

*Article 26*

(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

*Article 27*

(1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

*Article 28*

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

*Article 29*

(1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(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.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

*Article 30*

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

[Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on April 10, 1948.]

**Excerpts from Making Human Rights Come Alive: Speech to Pi Lambda Theta, Columbia University**

By Eleanor Roosevelt

March 30, 1949

- Children growing up today are going to live in a world that is a very adventurous world and not a very secure one. After all, many generations have lived that kind of life. It takes more character, more calm, but perhaps the challenge of today is the ability to stay in the United Nations and watch ourselves as the leading democratic nation of the world, a nation which all the world watches. If they can see that our beliefs are as strong as theirs and that we are not going backward, they might begin to live in the same world with us and make some compromises. That is almost as important as to have more military power and more economic power.

Conceptions of Freedom

- The interesting thing is that they are quite safe in doing so because many of the peoples to whom they talk don't know the meaning of freedom as we know it. In Japan, for instance, freedom only means license. There was no character in the Japanese language which meant freedom as we understand it, so that when we tried to explain what freedom meant, they had to evolve a new character, because when they speak of a child who acted with complete irresponsibility and complete license, they said he was acting with freedom.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

- That number three was put in by the Catholic nations. They were very insistent on the right of the family and the right of parents. We realized that they said this because they aimed to prevent a repetition of Hitler's training of youth, and of course of the Communistic training of youth. On the other hand, this statement caused other difficulties to arise. For instance, I know families in my own country-area with whom one really had to fight to get them to allow their children to have more education than they themselves had had; I am not quite sure that always the parents' rights rather than the rights of children should be the permanent, final decision. I think the parents naturally have great rights. You couldn't educate children against the will of their parents along certain lines, but the children have a right to certain opportunities for education and should be allowed to take advantage of them. It was very difficult for me to accept paragraph 3, but I was outvoted. We had a full and complete argument, and it was easy to understand why anyone familiar with Hitler's youth training, and Communistic training today, should want to safeguard their children against it. You do have to adjust to different countries at different times and anything that is completely rigid will put us in a straight-jacket. This, after all, is just a statement of standards and aspirations and a very good document for us to become educated upon--but when you come to the Covenant it is going to be extremely difficult and extremely necessary for us to watch every single thing that we agree to.

**Making Human Rights Come Alive**  
**Speech To Pi Lambda Theta,**  
**Columbia University**  
**by Eleanor Roosevelt**  
**Former U.S. First Lady**

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March 30, 1949

We worked as eighteen representatives of Government on the Human Rights Commission. We are very happy to know that UNESCO accepted the first fruits of our labor and adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. You know what it will mean if all the various Commissions of UNESCO really help to tell the people of the various countries about this document. It is an educational document because it is simply a declaration that sets standards and puts down things for which we want to strive. It has no legal binding value, but it is a preparation for the coming bill of rights. When the Covenant is written, then we will have to be prepared to ask our various nations to ratify that covenant and to accept the fact that the Covenant has legal binding value.

Now, of course, the first Covenant will probably be a very simple document. It will probably not contain all the things that are in the Declaration, because in the Declaration we could write some aspirations, but nevertheless we know quite well that we will go on. Perhaps the first Covenant will not cover all the things that we will want to have covered in the future. We will keep our minds open and we will be prepared to meet new needs and new circumstances as they arise, but we have to make a beginning, and the beginning can only

be made if we really make the Declaration a living document, something that is not just words on paper but something which we really strive to bring to the lives of all people, all people everywhere in the world.

### *Study the Document*

Now to do that we, all of us, will have to study this document. We will have to understand how it came to be written, why certain things are in it. I think perhaps the best way to explain to you how difficult a universal document is to put down on paper, the best way to explain that to you is to tell you a little about what happened in Committee III of the General Assembly in Paris, when we presented as a result of the Human Rights Commission's work over a period of two and a half years that document that we thought was quite a good piece of work, over which we thought possibly there might be some discussion but not too much, and we were to find that there was going to be a great deal of discussion, so much discussion that at one point I thought perhaps we would never get agreement.

M. Laugier, out of his wisdom, said, "This is very valuable. People who discuss as much as this over ideas are going home to talk about them afterwards." I hope that he was right, because that is the way this document will come to mean something in the lives of people all over the world.

I will take the first three Articles and tell you a little about them. In Committee III there are quite a number of women who sit as delegates. I imagine that you know

that that is a good committee on which to put women! In the first place, they are naturally interested in humanitarian questions, but in addition, I think some of the members of our delegations believe, we might not do so well if we were put in the political committees or legal committees. We really might get into trouble, so Committee III has quite a number of women.

Right away they saw something in our document that we brought to them which we had not given much thought to. As we presented the document, it was perhaps a little too Anglo-Saxon, a little too much like the American Declaration. It said "all men" in the beginning of a great many paragraphs; the final Article reads, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood."

After I got home I received a letter from a gentleman who said, "How could you as the United States Delegate vote for Article I of the Universal Declaration when it is not like our Declaration?"

Now I will tell you how I could. The women on Committee III--and remember there were 58 representatives of governments in Committee III, not 18-58--and the women said "'All men,' oh, no. In this document we are not going to say 'all men' because in some of our countries we are just struggling to recognition and equality. Some of us have come up to the top but others have very little equality and recognition and freedom. If we say 'all men,' when we

get home it will be 'all men.'" So you will find in this Declaration that it starts with "all human beings" in Article I, and in all the other Articles it says "everyone," "no one." In the body of the Article it occasionally says "his," because to say "his or hers" each time was a little awkward, but it is very clearly understood that this applies to all human beings.

I want to tell you that to pass the first three Articles in Committee III took four weeks and a great deal of argument, a great deal of real feeling was expressed.

### *Words in Different Languages*

Perhaps one of the things that some of us learned was that in an international document you must try to find words that can be accepted by the greatest number of people. Not the words you would choose as the perfect words, but the words that most people can say and that will accomplish the ends you desire, and will be acceptable to practically everyone sitting round the table, no matter what their background, no matter what their beliefs may be. So that's what happened to us.

In the next few words of Article I you will notice that instead of saying: "All men are created equal," it says: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

Now, I happen to believe that we are born free and equal in dignity and rights because there is a divine Creator, and there is a divine spark in men. But, there were other people around the table who wanted it

expressed in such a way that they could think in their particular way about this question, and finally, these words were agreed upon because they stated the fact that all men were born free and equal, but they left it to each of us to put in our own reason, as we say, for that end.

There is one other word that I want to tell you about because it cost us a great deal of time, and it illustrates one of the difficulties of writing a document of this kind. It is in Article II which reads:

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. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-selfgoverning, or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Now, the word we had so much difficulty about was the word "birth" in the first paragraph. Our Russian colleague was making a speech, stating something he wished to have included in the Article, but he and the translator had a different opinion as to the way his idea was translated, and he stopped and said "That translation is wrong. It does not say what I mean." So he was finally asked if he would explain what he wanted to

express. And he said that he wanted to say in French the word "etat"; in English the word "estate." There is no distinction of any kind such as "etat." Well, Professor Cassin, who is the Delegate of France and a very distinguished and interested delegate on the Human Rights Commission, said: "I am afraid that wouldn't mean a great deal today. There was a time when it might have meant something in France. It was 'etat,' but today I don't think it would be very meaningful to people in my country." I said: "Well, I don't think the word 'estate' would mean a great deal to people in the English-speaking countries."

So, our Russian colleague said he would accept the word "class," and that I didn't like very much. I said: "I think in many countries we're getting away from the use of that word, and it would be a mistake to write it in a universal document." So, finally, after long discussion we settled on the word "birth" as a translation that our Russian colleague would accept and I thought that was all settled. But then our China colleague, who, perhaps, is more interested in the English language even than we who call it our mother tongue, Dr. P. C. Chang of China, decided that since we were going to put the word "birth" it should come after the word "race" and should read: "without distinction of any kind such as race, birth, colour, sex," etc.

Our Russian colleague would have none of it; that was not the right place. We argued for a long while, and finally it was put after "property." Then for a reason that I have never been able to understand, our Russian colleague sat back apparently feeling that he had gained

a complete victory--that it now meant something that it had not meant before, and was perfectly satisfied and voted for that Article. Of course, in the end he abstained on the whole Declaration.

That is a very good illustration of one of the difficulties of translation; one of the difficulties of really understanding what is going on in the minds of other people; because to this day I don't really know why that was a victory. Perhaps you do, M. Laugier, but I never have understood. Someday I hope to understand, but I never have.

And so I think these three things all give you an idea of some of the difficulties of writing documents which is to mean something to a great many different peoples at different points of development, with different religious beliefs, and different legal systems, and with habits and customs that vary very greatly.

### *UNESCO Will Help Us Gain Peace*

Now, UNESCO is going to help us all to understand each other better. It is going to do the work that I feel really needs to be done to teach us more about what makes man the kind of animal he is. Man has learned to use nature very well, to control it very well. He has learned a number of secrets which are nature's secrets. But he hasn't learned a great deal about himself, and that is probably what UNESCO is going to help us all to achieve; and, perhaps, one of the best ways will be in really making people understand why human rights and freedoms are one of the foundations on which we hope

to build peace. Peace isn't going to just drop on us all of a sudden. We have machinery in the United Nations which we can use, if we will, to help us create an atmosphere in which peace may grow, but we will have to work to keep that machinery doing its job. And the study of human rights, the acceptance of human rights and freedoms, may be one of the foundation stones in giving us an atmosphere in which we can all grow together towards a more peaceful world.

### *Precedents in Laws*

I remember very well when Professor Rene Cassin in the early days of our discussion in the Human Rights Commission, suggested an article. It is not now in the words that he used in first suggesting it, though the idea is in that direction. I have often thought of it because it not only illustrated the difficulties of different legal systems, but it also illustrated the belief which many of the representatives in our Commission had, that certain things must never happen again because they had been one of the causes that brought on World War II. I will tell you about it because I think it is interesting. His suggestion was that we have an article that would read in French, "Personne ne doit etre prive de sa personalite juridique," and I, without any legal knowledge, translated it into English as "No one shall be deprived of their juridical personality."

Well, I didn't know what I had started. Behind my back, where lawyers sit from the departments in Washington, there was a storm. They all said, "There is no such expression as 'juridical personality' in English or

American law." And all the United Kingdom gentlemen who were lawyers put their heads together and said "No" very firmly at me. So I knew that I hadn't gotten the right word. Behind my back they kept arguing, saying what it means is "without due process of law," but how do you say it? Well, it took a long while to argue that out and finally one day one of my Department of Justice youngish lawyers handed me a piece of paper and said, "You can accept the translation 'juridical personality,' it was once used in American law."

And when do you think it was used? It was used in the Dred Scott case when Justice Taney said "a slave has no juridical personality." So I accepted it.

There was no trouble at all with any of the Latin American countries, all of which accepted the French idea quite happily because they had the same system of law. The trouble lay with the Anglo-Saxon people, and finally our United Kingdom delegate said that it didn't mean anything in English law, but he couldn't think of any better expression, so for the time being, he would accept it. Professor Cassin himself finally thought of something better in the way of wording and the idea is in the document, though the words are changed. But I always felt that it was a very good illustration of some of the difficulties that came up on the legal side.

### *There Are No Guarantees*

We had a very good illustration of our difficulties from a different point of view between the U.S.S.R. and

ourselves. Their chief amendments were two: one was to come at the end of many articles and say "these rights" whatever they might be, "are guaranteed by the state." That was a kind of national implementation which many of us thought very unwise and so it was not accepted, but it gave the U.S.S.R. a reason for abstaining in the end because they said there was no way for any of the things that were written here to be guaranteed, which is completely true. There is no way. It is an educational declaration and the only way we can guarantee that these rights will be observed is by doing a good job educationally. People really strive to have their governments and their people understand that these are the kind of rights that give dignity to man, and, therefore, they insist that they be observed.

Now, we have great belief, I think, in the force of documents which do express ideals. We think that, in themselves, they carry weight. But they carry no weight unless the people know them, unless the people understand them, unless the people demand that they be lived. And perhaps Article 2 is one of the articles that we, in this country, and in most of the democracies, should think about, but perhaps it is more important for us in the United States because we have to recognize that there are two ideas that must live side by side in the world.

Well, the only way that they can live in the same world is for the recognition of their equal strength to come about. At present, the U.S.S.R. is quite convinced that their idea is stronger than the democratic idea.

They feel quite sure that what they have to offer in their attitude of equality of all races, of a kind of economy which they consider gives greater equality than other types of economy in the world, of a kind of political government which they say is government by workers for workers they are quite sure that if they make those promises there are masses of people in the world who will feel that they are better promises than we of the democracies can make, and that is why they single out over and over again the United States and the United Kingdom for attack--the United Kingdom on colonial policies, the United States on racial policies, the way we treat minorities--because there is no better forum for propaganda than the United Nations.

### *The United Nations Is a Forum*

You are talking in every committee to the representatives, in the last meeting of 58 nations, in the next I think of 60 nations. That is quite a forum! There are quite a number of people that can hear what you are saying and you cannot blame the U.S.S.R. for feeling that they are offering what they feel will appeal to the people throughout the world who have perhaps not felt that they were on a basis of equality, who have perhaps felt that their economic security was a little insecure. There are a good many peoples of the world who have often been not only one day away from starvation but actually have starvation among them, and yet they have seen a few people who still have a good deal.

So this offering--it is only promises, of course--and that is another thing we must remember. The U.S.S.R. can

make promises because very few people get in to verify what they promise, but the United States, the United Kingdom, the other democracies, they are all open to inspection, so it is very easy to find out what actually goes on, and that is one of the reasons why it is so important that we in the democracies make human rights and freedom a reality. It is true that these very words that are in Article 2 have been in our own Bill of Rights, but we felt it was a domestic question. We had plenty of time. We could set our house in order when we felt the time had arrived. We could have a little more time for education. We could let people gradually grow out of their prejudices. Now it is a part of the great question of whether democracy or communism really offers most to the people of the world. It is no longer a domestic question. It is an international question, and for that reason you can't wait any longer. You are open for inspection.

### *We Are Inspected*

Nothing ever happens in any part of the United States that, if we are in session, whether it is the Human Rights Commission or the General Assembly, that wherever I am sitting the U.S.S.R. delegate doesn't manage somehow to tell the story of what has happened, and then he will turn to me and say, "Is that what you consider democracy, Mrs. Roosevelt?" And I am sorry to say that quite often I have to say, "No, that isn't what I consider democracy. That's a failure of democracy, but there is one thing in my country: we can know about our failures and those of us who care can work to improve our democracy!"

You see, there is one very interesting thing. Communism is perfect! I have never heard one of the U.S.S.R. delegates say that there was anything that could be improved! Now that is interesting about something which still remains human, because human things are rarely perfect, but I have never heard one U.S.S.R. delegate acknowledge that you could improve something in communism.

Another thing which is interesting is that all through the Declaration the value of economic and social rights is emphasized. The U.S.S.R. delegates fought for those and many of their suggestions are included in those articles, but they still abstain on the whole from the Declaration. They fought for those economic and social rights because to them those are the really important things. They never offer anybody freedom and I have often wondered whether those who listened to their promises ever noticed that freedom was left out.

### *Conceptions of Freedom*

The interesting thing is that they are quite safe in doing so because many of the peoples to whom they talk don't know the meaning of freedom as we know it. In Japan, for instance, freedom only means license. There was no character in the Japanese language which meant freedom as we understand it, so that when we tried to explain what freedom meant, they had to evolve a new character, because when they speak of a child who acted with complete irresponsibility and complete license, they said he was acting with freedom.

That is something we must remember, because when you argue with Mr. Vishinsky, he will say there is no such thing as absolute freedom, and of course you and I know that is true. All freedom is conditioned by the freedom of other people, but nevertheless there is for human beings something very precious, which we know as freedom, the freedom to help govern ourselves, the freedom to help develop the future. These are very important things for us, more important perhaps than the actual assurance by the state of certain economic and social rights.

Now I am going to read you just one Article, because it will explain to you why it was impossible for the U.S.S.R. to vote in favor of this document, and it will show you the cleavage in thought which somehow, some day, we have to bridge. We are not going to bridge it right away. It is going to take time, but the understanding of it is necessary before we can begin to decide how we can work. The Article is one of freedom of movement. It reads:

Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and return to his country.

The amendment they wanted to that was:

Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country according to the laws of his country.

That would have meant that the law said you couldn't leave your country without permission of the government.

Naturally, in discussion it was brought out that many countries have regulations. I have to pay my income tax; I have to take the little piece of paper from my doctor saying when I was vaccinated. I must have been vaccinated within the last three years or I can't come back. But when that is done, I can leave and come back, and I can move anywhere within my own country and can do it when I wish, and I can settle where I wish.

After defeat of the amendment, I went over to talk to Mr. Pavlov, and I said: "Mr. Pavlov," (I should say that he speaks French very well) "do you see no difference between the regulations which my country puts on freedom of movement, and the regulations of the U.S.S.R. which forbid a citizen to leave without permission from his government, and to give no permission?" He looked at me and he said: "All regulations are the same." Now that is a very interesting thing because that is a good illustration of where we think differently.

Now, I don't expect that gulf to be bridged for a long while. But I do feel that we can reach the point where we can live in the same world, but I think the only way we will reach it is if we show in the democracies that our beliefs are as strong; that we intend to crusade just as much as they do, and that we are as determined that all human beings shall eventually have the rights and

freedoms set forth in this document, and that we are not going to be intimidated; neither are we going to be despondent.

I think they count on wearing out our patience, on making us feel that it is hopeless, on getting us discouraged to the point where we will give up and decide that there is no way to live in the same world. The day we do that we have lost, and I hope, therefore, that we will concentrate on making our own selves, our own communities, our own country, the real democracy that we have given lip service to for so many years. And in doing that, that we will be the spearhead and the spiritual and moral leader of all the other democracies that really want to see human rights and human freedoms made the foundation of a just and peaceful world.

### *For Better World Understanding*

In the United Nations we are trying to work for better world understanding. You would feel, I am sure, that we in the United Nations ought to find the answers. I agree that we ought to, since we have delegates from so many nations. There were fifty-eight delegates at the last meeting in Paris, and there are going to be sixty at the next meeting. That makes a good many delegates in the General Assembly, for each delegation is composed of five delegates, five alternates, and quite a number of advisers. You get to know and to talk to many people from different countries. And this, perhaps, ought to give us the answers on how to promote world understanding. But I confess that at each meeting I learn

something new. Surprising facts are thrust upon me that I had never thought of before. So I have come to feel that one of our troubles is lack of awareness of the differences between peoples.

I will illustrate for you by something that happened to me in Paris. I have always been assigned to Committee III. That is the committee that deals with education, cultural, and humanitarian subjects. When I was first put on this Committee, I felt quite sure that one reason for the assignment was that our delegation was worried about having a woman as one of the delegates. They said, "Committee III--that's safe. She can't do anything there." Sometimes I think it has not been quite as safe as they thought it would be at the beginning. But I want to get back to my story, because it illustrates the points of our difficulty in understanding. The Committee was discussing, at the last meeting in Paris, the Declaration of Human Rights. On my right, since we sit alphabetically, was the delegate from Uruguay, and he was making many objections and giving many legal arguments. I thought, in order to save time, the delegate from Chile, who sat in the Commission on Human Rights, might explain some things to him, so I asked Mr. S. if he would have a talk with the delegate from Uruguay and explain certain things to him. He looked at me and said.

"I have been on the Human Rights Committee for quite some time and have become accustomed to this document, and you must let him become accustomed to it because it is an Anglo-Saxon document."

"But," I protested, "It is the result of eighteen nations and they were not all Anglo-Saxon nations."

He insisted, "It still is an Anglo-Saxon document. In time, the delegate from Uruguay will grow accustomed to it, but just now he is very much shocked, just as I was when I first read it."

I had been thinking that it was a joint document which we had produced and I was sure there were a great many things in it that were not the result of Anglo-Saxon thinking. You see how unaware we are of the fact that other nations think of things that come up in terms of not representing their thinking, or their type of law, or their type of religious feeling, and, as my Chilean colleague said, it had taken him time to grow accustomed to it but finally he began to agree with the strange ideas that were Anglo-Saxon. I don't know whether it should always be just that way, for certainly sometimes we should become accustomed to thinking in their terms, as well as having them thinking in our terms. That flow backwards and forwards of ideas and understanding is one of the great contributions of the United Nations, but it isn't the only thing that must take place before we get to the bottom of what it is that divides people. The increase of intellectual understanding, the exchange of ideas, and the gradual coming to see what affects other people on the intellectual levels is very important, but there are other things, too.

I have thought a great deal, of course, about our first and most important difficulty, which is the U.S.S.R. I

suppose you read what their delegates say to us. They say: "Perhaps in the military and economic sense you have the upper hand." (They never say, "We have . . ." they say "perhaps.") "But time is on our side. We can afford to wait, because our ideas are much stronger than yours; our ideas, our belief in communism, are going to gain the world. It makes a great appeal because we believe in basic human rights. We believe that all races, all people are equal; we believe that men and women are equal."

The Committee gets long dissertations about that equality and occasionally it will cause a funny incident to occur. One day we had listened for one hour to a gentleman talk on the equality of men and women in the U.S.S.R. A little later, he happened to accept an invitation to lunch with us that day. The Russians will seldom accept an invitation without another member of their delegation going along, but he came alone. At the table some remark was made and he turned to me and said, "That is just women's gossip," and I said, "Oh, no, if men and women are completely equal then there is no more 'women's gossip!' If you really believe they are equal in the U.S.S.R., then you must not say it is women's gossip; it is men and women's gossip."

He looked at me and said not another word.

When they state what they believe, they are very sure of their philosophy of equality, and they state it so simply that they are certain that the downtrodden people of the world will accept it much more easily than they will accept our democratic theories. They say, "Our

government is a government of workers, for workers. Our economy is perhaps having a little hard time at present, but basically, as commodities increase, everybody will share alike. There will be none of this having a great deal for certain groups as you have in your decadent democracy; we will all share alike." That sounds simple, doesn't it? And, of course, there is something in what they say when one considers that they are offering these ideas to people who are perhaps, not more than a day away from famine. Nearly all of these people have seen small groups in their midst having a great deal and the masses having little, and to them these promises are very alluring. The question is whether people who are better off are willing to accept such promises with no proof. We Americans surely have difficulty making our promises sound as simple as theirs.

It is quite possible to know what goes wrong anywhere in our country, and those of us who really care can work to make our democracy better. Of course we cannot get in to see what happens in the U.S.S.R. and therefore it isn't profitable to make statements that can't be proved. I have had in my briefcase for two sessions a report from our embassy in the U.S.S.R. telling me a great many things which are probably true but are difficult to prove for no one has actually seen them. They are only hearsay. It is not our fault that we have not seen these things. We have not been allowed to see them. But I have never used that document.

In the last session of the 3rd Committee we had as a delegate, for a short time, from the United Kingdom, a

young member of Parliament. This British delegate had sat through some pretty stiff attacks on the United Kingdom's colonial policy. There is never a time when we touch on the problems of a colonial country, that the U.S.S.R. goes not give us at least an hour of attack on the United Kingdom. I realized that our job was to get the Declaration of Human Rights accepted, and I knew that the U.S.S.R. would like very much to delay it so that we wouldn't have time to vote on it. Up to the time of the last meeting, they always abstained from voting, saying that they could not commit their government to an unfinished document, but at Paris it was a finished document, and it would be difficult to go home and say that they had abstained on a declaration of human rights. That was not going to be easy, so the delaying tactics were used to confuse us so that we would take longer. I am sorry to say that, unwittingly, a number of our other colleagues helped the delay. They were really interested in certain points and wanted to have a chance to talk them over. These colleagues were from the South American countries and they had a document on human rights in which they took great pride. They had the Declaration of Bogota and some of them were anxious, for reasons of pride, to have the same wording used in the universal declaration. Every time one of them would make a very long speech concerning this, it was amusing to watch one of the delegates from the U.S.S.R. or a satellite country go to him and say, "That was a most enlightening speech--wonderful--I hope tomorrow you will make another speech on some other point. We need enlightening." And it always meant tomorrow they made the other speech.

Also, the delegate from England couldn't take the constant attack on his country for all its colonial policies. The next day he spent one and a quarter hours answering the Russians, which of course he had to do. For if one fails to answer an accusation they were sure to say, "Oh, Mrs. Roosevelt did not answer yesterday, so of course what we said must be true." The United Kingdom delegate gave his rebuttal, which was fine, but he then proceeded to launch forth on an attack of the Russians which lasted well over an hour. If it had ended there, we could have spared the time, but instead we have two solid days, four full sessions, in which every member of the satellite states, as well as the U.S.S.R., answered the speech of the United Kingdom's delegate, and the U.S.S.R. could deny everything in it because it was hearsay; there was no complete proof. You can say that people who have come out of Russia have said certain things, but the U.S.S.R. can say that these people lie. Shortly after this incident, England sent a new delegate to serve on Committee III. This delegate was Mrs. Corbett Ashby. I immediately said to her, "Look, we have a declaration to get through. We have spent two days listening to attacks and the answers. Do you think it is more important to get the declaration through or to attack the U.S.S.R.?" While it is true that the Russians must be answered, Mrs. Ashby agreed that it was more important to get the Declaration of Human Rights through. By bringing the Declaration up for a vote, we would obligate the Russians to say why they had to abstain. This was more revealing for the rest of the world, and perhaps in the long run more revealing to them, than all the attacks we could have made. It certainly leaves less bitterness. I believe we must never

compromise a principle. We must be very persistent, very patient, because we have a long way to go in understanding.

I was talking the other day to a very learned gentleman on how we could ever understand the U.S.S.R. He said, "Read Diderot," and I thought, "Oh, when will I get time to read Diderot, and why?" So I thought I had better ask honestly why I should read Diderot. He said, "Because all the rest of Europe received its civilization from Rome, but the Russians, from their first beginnings, drew their civilization from the Byzantines. You will find more explanation for Russia by going back to Byzantine thought than you will in trying to think of Russia as a part of the European scene." But I haven't had time to read Diderot. I am going to try, for I do know that there is a great deal for us to learn.

One thing that makes it hard to learn, is that we are never talking to people. You are always talking to government representatives who are saying what they were told to say. You never know what they think as individuals. Our delegation says what it thinks in the hope that it may be taken back to their country, for they have very extraordinary powers of memory and concentration, and I think they report very clearly.

You who are teachers probably understand some things that I am still groping about. I would like to know how it is possible for the Russian delegation to work in the way it does. There is no other delegation whose leader always takes part in the final argument in the General Assembly. But their leader never fails to argue, not only

the things that were argued in committee, but every single point that has been worked over in every committee. He displays a complete grasp of every detail and every single thing that has happened during the work of that committee. With us, the United Kingdom, and nearly all the other delegations, the delegates who clear the work in the committees are the ones who argue the points in the final General Assembly. But Mr. Vishinsky has argued for the U.S.S.R. every time....

The Declaration of Human Rights was looked upon as so important because many people believed it to be one of the things on which we might build understanding in the future, if enough nations could agree on what the basic rights and freedoms were. Even though the Declaration has no legal binding value, it is a document to be used for education in preparation for a Covenant. The Covenant won't cover many things, but the Declaration includes the aspirations that we hope, in time, to achieve. It was written with the aim in view that all the countries that accepted it would make a study of its ideas.

We have even included a resolution asking the governments to see that schools and colleges become sufficiently familiar with the document to quote from it and to discuss it intelligently. It is quite true that it has no legal binding value and that is why some people say, "It is just words--more words--and we have plenty of words--why do we bother with more words?" Well, the Declaration is only half of the Bill of Rights. The second part of the Covenant, if accepted, must be ratified by each nation and that will have legal binding

value as a treaty....

A criticism that is often made about this Declaration is that rights alone are set forth, but that with every right there goes a responsibility, and that those responsibilities are not set forth with each article. That was discussed for a very long time, and it was decided that, if you tried to set forth with each article all the responsibilities, it would make a very long and detailed document that would not have the same impact on people as a declaration that was shorter and more concise. After all, this is the Declaration of rights and freedoms, and so it was decided to have one article as a general over-all limitation and that reads--

Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone is 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. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

The feeling was that this article covered in a general way and would not detract from the really important thing which was to get down on paper, for people all over the world, with different backgrounds, customs,

and stages of development, the basic idea that every individual had certain rights and freedoms that could not be taken away from him. It gave respect and importance to the individual, which is, of course, a basic tenet of democracy.

Now, I think, perhaps, you would be interested in the article on religion. We thought we had consulted most of the interested people who were represented by consultants in the Human Rights Commission. We found that one group had had no representation. They had never asked for it. But when it came to the final decision, that group differed among themselves as to the interpretation they could put on certain things in their own religious law, and they nearly voted against the whole Declaration because they did not think they could accept just one thing in this article. The article reads:

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.

And the group that had not asked for representation and with whom we had not consulted beforehand was the large group of Mohammedans, and they said, through their representatives in Committee m. "We can't accept that because in our religion you may not change your belief." Saudi Arabia stuck to that until the end. And Saudi Arabia abstained from voting. Pakistan changed.

And the statement of the head of their whole delegation before the Assembly was as follows: "I think our delegate misinterpreted the Koran. The Koran says that 'he who will shall believe; he who cannot believe shall disbelieve.' The only unforgivable sin is to be a hypocrite!" I repeat this statement at every opportunity, for I think it is something all of us would do well to remember. He voted for the Declaration.

### *Education*

You might be interested in the article on education. There is one point in it that I regret very much and voted against, but it was included and I will tell you why when I have read it.

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.
3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

That number three was put in by the Catholic nations. They were very insistent on the right of the family and the right of parents. We realized that they said this because they aimed to prevent a repetition of Hitler's training of youth, and of course of the Communistic training of youth. On the other hand, this statement caused other difficulties to arise. For instance, I know families in my own country-area with whom one really had to fight to get them to allow their children to have more education than they themselves had had; I am not quite sure that always the parents' rights rather than the rights of children should be the permanent, final decision. I think the parents naturally have great rights. You couldn't educate children against the will of their parents along certain lines, but the children have a right to certain opportunities for education and should be allowed to take advantage of them. It was very difficult for me to accept paragraph 3, but I was outvoted. We had a full and complete argument, and it was easy to understand why anyone familiar with Hitler's youth training, and Communistic training today, should want to safeguard their children against it. You do have to adjust to different countries at different times and anything that is completely rigid will put us in a straight-jacket. This, after all, is just a statement of standards and aspirations and a very good document for us to become educated upon--but when you come to the Covenant it is going to be extremely difficult and extremely necessary for us to watch every single thing that we agree to.

I can't tell you much more, but I hope that I have given you some idea of some of the problems that come in

writing international documents and some of the problems that exist when you start out to really achieve world understanding. I have a feeling that in practice this document will do a great deal for even those countries where it will not be published. It will not be published in any of the satellite countries, but, curiously enough, knowledge seems to seep through even Iron Curtains. And I can't help but believe that working together on some of these things and writing them down may be a good basis for beginning a little more understanding and confidence. Much of our difficulty today lies in our fears. We fear the Russians; they fear us. How you get away from fear, I don't know yet. I am hoping that if we can stay together, and work together, each year that we live we perhaps will build a little more confidence and destroy a little of the fear.

All of you who are going to teach the next generation--the generation that is going to live with this when we are dead--can perhaps teach them the willingness to be patient, to experiment, to believe in human beings even when they seem so contrary and so difficult. I get so angry sometimes with my U.S.S.R. colleagues. Then each time that I do, I say to myself, "Remember that you really like these people as people. If you could meet them as people you would like them. So try to begin again with good will, with a sense of objectivity, of understanding why it is so hard for them.

They couldn't possibly accept this document because freedom of movement is one of the articles. They don't allow any freedom of movement. There are lots of things that they can't accept, and it will take them a long

time. Children growing up today are going to live in a world that is a very adventurous world and not a very secure one. After all, many generations have lived that kind of life. It takes more character, more calm, but perhaps the challenge of today is the ability to stay in the United Nations and watch ourselves as the leading democratic nation of the world, a nation which all the world watches. If they can see that our beliefs are as strong as theirs and that we are not going backward, they might begin to live in the same world with us and make some compromises. That is almost as important as to have more military power and more economic power.

We have a difficult job because all of our failures are seen. At the same time, our successes are seen and, for that reason, I hope we are going to be strong enough, and imaginative enough, and take the future with enough spirit of adventure so that we will live it with joy and never grow hopeless. Never get a feeling that we cannot succeed, because I think with the help of all of you, and the help of many other people in our country, we can succeed. All we can do is pray that we will grow more tomorrow and that others will grow with us, and together we will be able to win a peaceful world."



Gifts  
Of  
Speech

**Alison M. Kolwaite**

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11/24/98 03:34:34 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc: John Dankowski/WHO/EOP, Virginia Apuzzo/WHO/EOP, Michael D. Malone/WHO/EOP

Subject: Weekly Announcements

PLEASE POST  
**INTERN WEEKLY EVENTS**  
**November 24- December 4, 1998**

**TOURS**

National Archives

Monday November 30, 1998 1:15 pm

FBI

Friday December 4, 1998 2:40 pm

Library of Congress

Thursday December 10, 1998 3:00 pm

Pentagon

Friday December 11, 1998 3:00 pm

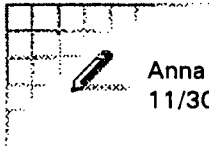
Tour sign-up sheets are available one week before the scheduled tour date in the Intern Office. Directions are also available. Please arrive at the tour location 15 minutes before the scheduled tour time. If you cannot attend a tour you have signed up for, please remember to call the Intern Office to cancel.

**Speaker Series**

will host  
Janet Reno  
United States Attorney General  
Thursday December 3, 1998  
1:30 pm  
Room 450

Have a nice Thanksgiving.

Message Sent To: \_\_\_\_\_



Anna J. Fenner  
11/30/98 11:03:38 AM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: Intern Speaker Series

The Intern Speaker Series will host:

**Janet Reno**  
United State Attorney General

Thursday, December 3, 1998  
1:30pm  
OEOB 450

Message Sent To: \_\_\_\_\_

recommendations helped to pave the way for the inclusion in the Social Security Act of 1935 of the federal-state programs for aid to dependent children, for maternal and child-health services, for services for crippled children and for child-welfare services, and for the subsequent development of these programs in our states and territories.

The standards set up in these conferences are very much the same standards that any able and intelligent parent will set for himself in contemplating the upbringing of his own family. First we consider the health program, which brings us to the question of maternity and infancy care. As a result of the conference in 1919, the Sheppard-Towner Act was passed in August, 1921. It brought before the people statistics on the shocking loss of mothers and of infants during the first year after birth. The right of children to normal family life received recognition, and today mothers' pensions keep families together even in the face of economic disaster through the loss of fathers or the impairment of their earning capacity. In turn, we came to consider education and recreation. Today we are considering the more difficult question of the right of youth to work, and last and most difficult of all, though most important, we are considering the moral values which our children must acquire if they are to feel a sense of responsibility for themselves and their neighbors, and so develop the type of democracy which they have inherited into a more perfect instrument of self-government.

Again in Miss Lenroot's words: "The 1940 conference has counted the gains made for children even during the years of economic depression and has planned, for the coming ten years, that we seek to provide for children in every community in the United States the essential services and benefits for the preparation of responsible citizens of a democracy. The conference emphasized the fact that the family has the primary opportunity and responsibility for the care of children and for introducing them to the experiences that lead to a full personal life and to successful community life. The report recognized the economic and social factors that condition family and community life. It points out the gains that can be made for children through joint planning and effort on the part of individuals and groups in each community, through the leadership of state agencies, and through federal action that provides for nationwide programs."

**Making the Most of Their Dollars**

The people who attended the conference and who listened to the President's speech can go back to their own communities, influence public opinion and demand:

1. Some kind of medical program.
2. That all our citizens take an active part in shaping the policies in the public schools; that all of us know our public-school teachers and give them any help and assistance that they desire.

NO (child) How are the

children

In many

SPICE 3

Nicole Rappaport Child Care Conference Report

93  
Green Street  
Child Care  
Columbia

married, and they had gone back on the vaudeville stage, where they had worked before. Two children had come to them, whom her mother cared for. As vaudeville actors do, they traveled from place to place, winter and summer, sometimes making fairly good money, sometimes having pretty lean years, always spending everything they had, but, on the whole, it was a gay life, and a happy one, for they loved each other. Then the dread disease of tuberculosis took hold of the man, and the Government took him back and gave him care in a Western hospital. She had to go on the road alone, to feed and house her mother and the children, and give her husband the little extras which meant so much to him. Now and then she would manage to get to see him. Six months before, they had a happy day together, and then came the telegram telling her that he was desperately ill, and, taking all she had, she went, only to see him die and to bring his body home. She was a realist and did not dramatize her situation, so tears were few, and even in her sorrow there was a certain gaiety, for she said, "We had good times, and I hope the children will have them too. Now I must be getting back to work."

Without curiosity, I would never have heard that story and I would have missed the lift which you get when you meet with courage that faces heartache and a future of hard work and anxiety and still can be gay, for this will mean much to you when your own road is rough, as it is sooner or later for every traveler in this most interesting world.

In its simplest form, curiosity will help you to an all-around education. That is why little children are so often living question marks. They naturally desire to know about the world in which they live, and if they lose that curiosity, it is usually because we grown people are so stupid.

I once knew a little boy who found the dictionary fascinating reading, because it gave him information about such a great variety of subjects, and he read it straight through from cover to cover; and to this day he will come out with the most astonishing pieces of information gleaned from that old dictionary!

The thoroughness with which a child will pursue a subject until it has been completely mastered, going over it again and again, until it becomes so thoroughly familiar that you think it must be tiresome, is something which we should all respect, and, instead of trying to curb and stop this type of curiosity, we should always encourage it.

As a wise old horse trainer once said to me about a little boy, "He will sure go far in life, for when he wants to know a thing, he wants to know all there is about it, and he don't give up until he is sure he understands it all." Horses and people have a good deal in common, and a good horse may be terrified by something, but if he is well trained his fears will be conquered and he won't give up until he has mastered those fears and understands how to handle himself in all the situations that he habitually encounters.

A man who trains horses will usually understand people, particularly little folks, who are making their first struggle to understand the world. He will be interested in watching the development of a personality, and, as a rule, he himself will be an interesting personality.

What we talk of as personality is nothing more than the effect of experience and knowledge, filtering through the emotional system of an individual until it becomes part of his inner consciousness and radiates from it in what we recognize as personality. If we feel a person has a negligible personality, it usually means that that person has lacked the curiosity to see life and really understand it. It is quite easy to see a great many things and yet to be so lacking in curiosity and in understanding that one does not know what they mean.

I went to a play once, and in a part which was really tragic, the audience laughed. It was not the playwright's fault, nor yet the actor's, but what was shown upon the stage was so foreign and inexplicable to that particular audience that, instead of seeming tragic, it seemed funny. Laughter and tears are closely allied, but on this particular occasion, it was not nervous laughter, the laughter that verges on tears, but quite patently an inability to believe that a situation such as that play described could exist. On the whole, that particular audience had never been curious about that particular phase of life.

### Rubbing Elbows With the Slums

In addressing a fairly rich city audience, I tried to describe certain conditions of life in a distant part of our own country, and thinking if I chose something which all of them possessed, and which was entirely lacking in the homes of the families I was trying to picture, it would mean something to them. I said that until the depression had forced us to set up relief and to find some projects on which women could work, there were innumerable families throughout certain portions of the country that had never known what it was to sleep upon a mattress. I was met with blank faces, and before I said another word, I realized that my audience was thinking, "Well, what did they sleep on?" because it had never occurred to them that it was possible to sleep on anything but a mattress. There might be poor ones or good ones, but that anyone did without a mattress was absolutely impossible for that audience to comprehend.

It is not always our own fault when we lack curiosity, for our environment may have prevented its development. The lack of curiosity in parents will often mean that they will try to eliminate it in their children, and thus keep their homes from stimulating the youthful urge to acquire knowledge.

A few years ago, when I was conducting a class in the study of city government, we took up one of the functions of the government—namely, public health. This is closely allied to housing, so I suggested that our group visit some of the different types of tenements. There was considerable concern among some of the mothers, for fear some illness might be contracted. It apparently never occurred to them that hundreds of young people lived in these tenements all the time, nor that, very likely, there entered into their sheltered homes daily people who served as delivery boys, servants and workmen, who spent much of their time in tenements; so, even if the sheltered children did not visit them, the tenement home radiated out all that was good

## Insuring Democracy

I do not think that I am a natural-born mother. I had dolls as a little girl, but I cannot remember being concerned about them, and even though I was some years older than my little brothers, and of necessity had to take a certain amount of responsibility about them, I do not think I ever did it with the maternal affection which is seen in some small girls.

I did have a sense of duty and of obligation and that was fostered in me by my mother and then by my grandmother. If I ever wanted to mother anyone, it was my father and not my baby brothers. That sense of obligation to smaller and weaker children remained with me through my school years and gained great impetus through my first year of teaching some classes of small girls in a New York City settlement house. There I saw with my own eyes some of the disadvantages of conditions brought about by economic insecurity.

I think I approached my own motherhood with a keen sense of responsibility but very little sense of the joy which should come with having babies. It was a long time before I gained enough confidence in my own judgment really to enjoy a child. I do not know that even today I have it, but the old sense of responsibility is still with me. I never felt, even as a young woman when I did nothing outside and put all my energies into having children and keeping house, that I was right about my plans for bringing up my children. I often wonder today why I have been so fortunate to have some of the children develop a sense of respect and friendship for me, because I administered discipline not because I wanted to, but because of the convictions of others, and my love was always overshadowed by my duty. I enforced certain rules, I lived up to certain habits in the family and only rarely departed from the strict supervision and suggestion of others.

I remember that it took all of my courage, and the fact that everybody else in the house had the flu, to trust myself to move the youngest of our five children into my own bedroom and take complete responsibility for him when he had an attack of bronchial pneumonia. I could get only one trained nurse and she had complete care of one of the other children who had double pneumonia. Practically everybody in the city and in the house was laid low, and so I had to rise to the occasion, otherwise I doubt if I would have felt like trusting myself to carrying that amount of responsibility without direction from others close at hand all the time!

But all children, it seems to me, have a right to food, shelter, and equal opportunity for education and an equal chance to come into the world healthy

*Collier's* 105 (June 15, 1940): 70, 87-88.

3. That all of us take an interest in recreation programs designed not only to be of value to children in school, but to help our young people who are unfortunate enough not to find suitable jobs immediately.
4. That in every community we set up, in conjunction with the nearest employment service, an auxiliary to help young people to obtain the most suitable jobs.

This last year we have come to realize that instead of thinking only of what should be done for the mother in pregnancy and at the birth of her child, we should find out what economic situation forced the mother and child at these crucial moments to be a burden on the community. Instead of being concerned with obtaining proper diets for small children through charitable agencies, we should be concerned with the education of the average girl and boy so they will make the most of their dollars, to learn through practical experience how to make use of food in order to keep well.

If we relate the immediate problems of the child to the problems of the family as a whole, we will find ourselves concerned with housing, medical and dental care, education and recreation. We will be interested in wages and hours for labor, and we will try to figure out an adequate family income.

We are beginning to realize that what the family can do must be supplemented by what the community can do for its children. Population and income studies show that in many cases the ability of a community to supplement the family income and to contribute to a child's well-being is particularly low in the areas where we have the greatest number of children.

Where the local income falls short I think the state or even the nation should be called upon to make this equality of basic rights applicable to every child.

### **A Menace to All Workers**

We are learning that rural slums may be quite as bad as city slums. We are learning that it is not because of the adult members of the family alone that we must do away with these slums. The children born and brought up in them are apt to be conditioned for the future by their earliest environment. What happens to our children is the concern of the whole nation because a democracy requires a standard of citizenship which no other form of government finds necessary. To be a citizen in a democracy a human being must be given a healthy start. He must have adequate food for physical growth and proper surroundings for mental and spiritual development. Under a dictatorship it may be sufficient to learn to read and write and to do certain things by rote, but in a democracy we must learn to reason and to think for ourselves. We must make our decisions on the basis of knowledge and reasoning power. In a democracy we must be able to visualize the life of the whole nation. When we vote for candidates for public office to be our representatives, we must decide on the qualities to be required of the men and women who are to hold public offices.

and get the care they need through their early years to keep them well and happy. And though one may not trust oneself to direct their lives, every mother should encourage them to self-confidence and should give them the feeling that whatever happens in life, there is a place where they can turn for understanding and help.

If you have this feeling about your own children, you should have it about all children, and for that reason I have always been interested in the problems of the children in our communities. Under the standards which we have set to guide us in the upbringing of our children, we used to be very individualistic, with, however, certain strongly marked influences such as those of the church, and group traditions in which we had grown up. For instance, in New England the customs of the Pilgrims shaped the child's education, just as later the Quakers had a great deal to do with the character and upbringing of the young Philadelphians.

### To Make Better Citizens

Thirty years ago the President of the United States felt that we needed to bring together, to formulate standards for our guidance, the people who had some influence on the general thought of what should be done for the children of the nation. This became the first White House Conference on Children under President Theodore Roosevelt. Since then there have been three others—1919, 1930 and 1940.

As Miss Katharine Lenroot, of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, says:

The 1909 conference called by President Theodore Roosevelt stated a principle that is now recognized in all parts of the country: that the home is the place for children and that no child should be deprived of his home for reasons of poverty alone. The stimulus of this conference led to the creation of the Federal Children's Bureau in 1912, a national center of research to serve the growing child-welfare movement.

The 1919 conference called under President Woodrow Wilson's auspices formulated a set of child-welfare standards that have guided and still guide the programs of public and private children's agencies and state and federal legislation affecting children.

The 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection called by President Herbert Hoover brought together an outstanding series of reports describing the content and character of care and protection needed for children and revealed the limited extent to which such services were available for many children. The findings on medical care raised to a new level the recognition of the care needed for the health of mothers and children in the United States. The committee reports on hazardous occupations for minors laid the groundwork for the later regulation of the employment of minors in hazardous occupations under the Fair Labor Standard Act of 1938. The discussion throughout the country of the Children's Charter and other conference

Humanity must "either recognize the fact that what serves the people as a whole serves them best as individuals"

--Eleanor Roosevelt

"To be afraid is wasting your time, if you keep busy helping others you have no time to be afraid."

--Eleanor Roosevelt

**CHILD RIGHTS****unicef**   
United Nations Children's Fund

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## Journals

- **HEALTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS, an international quarterly journal.** Harvard School of Public Health.
- **HUMAN RIGHTS QUARTERLY; a comparative and international journal of the social sciences, humanities and law.** The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- **THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF CHILDREN'S RIGHTS.** (A Publication of the Children's Rights Publications Foundation), Kluwer Law International, (NL) Kluwer Academic Publisher.
- **NEW YORK LAW SCHOOL JOURNAL OF HUMAN RIGHTS.** New York Law School.

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**CHILD RIGHTS****unicef**   
United Nations Children's Fund

## Selected Child Rights Publications

### UNICEF New York Library

- **The best interests of the child: Reconciling culture and human rights.** Oxford: Clarendon Press for ICDC, 1994. 297 p.; bibl. ISBN/ISSN: 0198259263
- **The handbook of children's rights: Comparative policy and practise.** New York: Routledge, 1995. 248 p. ISBN/ISSN: 0-415-1ten60-2
- **Human rights: A compilation of international instruments.** New York: UN, 1993. ISBN/ISSN: 9211540925 (ST/HR/1/Rev.5)
- **The ideologies of children's rights.** Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 1992. 369 p. ; bibl. ISBN/ISSN: 0-7923-1800-5 (International studies in human rights; vol.23)
- **Implementing the Convention on the Rights of the Child: Resource mobilization in low-income countries.** Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 1995. 262 p.; bibl. ISBN/ISSN: 90-411-0090-3
- **The international law on the rights of the child.** Boston: Martinus Nijhoff for Save the Children, 1994. 435 p.; bibl. ISBN/ISSN: 0-7923-2687-3 (International studies in human rights; v.35)
- **It's only right!: A practical guide to learning about the Convention on the Rights of the Child.** New York: UNICEF, 1993. 78 p. ISBN/ISSN: 9280630563
- **Rights of the child. Sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography.** New York : UN, 1994. 18 p. ISBN/ISSN (E/CN.4/1994/84/Add.1)
- **The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: A guide to the "Travaux préparatoires."** Boston: Martinus Nijhoff, 1992. 712 p. , bibl. ISBN/ISSN: 0792316908
- **A voice for children: Speaking out as their ombudsman.** London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1991. 249 p. ; bibl. ISBN/ISSN: 1853021180
- **The whole child: A project to introduce the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to 8 - 13 year-olds.** London: UNICEF-UK, 1989. 54 p. ; photos. ISBN/ISSN: 1870322171

*For copies of the above titles, please send your request to the publisher.*

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Eglantyne Jebb 1923 (founder of Save the Children)

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## **TOWARDS A CHILDREN'S AGENDA**

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The 1995 World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen confirmed the need for change in policies to improve human welfare and well-being, both in the post-industrial countries of the North and the developing countries of the South. Save the Children welcomes this approach, but believes that the goals of the Declaration will be achieved only if children and their needs, interests, and perspectives are placed at the centre of social and economic policy, alongside and equal to those of adults. This report explains the impact of current development approaches on children's lives, spells out the need for a Children's Agenda, and discusses how this could be accomplished in reality.

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## **THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD SET: THE WHOLE CHILD, IT'S OUR RIGHT, KEEP US SAFE AND TEACHERS' HANDBOOK**

This set of resources introduces learning about the rights of the child across the curriculum. In 1989 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Many countries, including the United Kingdom, have ratified the Convention, which has become

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These A4 topic books for 8-13 year olds introduce the articles of the Convention through classroom activities and case studies from children's experiences around the world.

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Teachers' handbook: provides the full text of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, together with a brief history of children's rights, a description of the work of Save the Children and UNICEF-UK and applications of the materials for subjects and themes in the National Curriculum of England and Wales.

Save the Children and UNICEF/UK with the Oxford Development Education Unit 1990

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## **LEEDS CHILDREN'S RIGHTS SERVICE**

Project report September 1991 to December 1992 and

Project report January 1993 to March 1994

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**£1.00 1992 A4 8 pages; £1.00 1994 A4 8 pages**

## **REVIEWING THE REVIEWS**

Day care for young children in Yorkshire and Humberside

This report evaluates the way in which Yorkshire and Humberside authorities have undertaken their new duty under the Children Act to review services for children under eight. It provides pointers for improving the process in the future and draws conclusions which will be helpful to those working with services for the under eights.

**Liz Trinder, Save the Children**

**£2.00 1993 A4 ring bound 94 pages ISBN 1 870322 70 3**

## **FOR BETTER OR WORSE**

## Research into the impact of the Children Act 1989 on the work of family court welfare teams

The findings of this research cover family court welfare teams in 45 probation areas across England and Wales. The four aspects of practice investigated were; the effects of timetabling; working with children; the place of conciliation; and anti-discriminatory practice. The research was carried out in the summer of 1993, eighteen months after the implementation of the Act.

**Brian Cantwell, Humberside senior family court welfare officer and Liz Trinder, Save the Children**

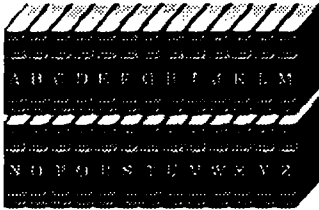
**£1.00 1993 A4 30 pages**

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Save the Children produces a wide range of resources for professionals, academics and practitioners working with children in the UK and overseas. Free catalogues are available. For further information contact:

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## children: an overview

A child is a person, and not a *subperson* over whom the parent has an absolute possessory interest. The term "child" does not necessarily mean minor, but can include adult children, and even adult nondependent children. Children are generally afforded the basic rights embodied by the constitution. The equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment is said to apply to children -- born within a marriage or not, but excluding children not yet born. There are both state and federal sources of child-rights law.

## menu of sources

### Federal Material

#### *Federal Statutes*

- [42 U.S.C. § 1983 - Civil Rights of Children](#)
- [42 U.S.C., Chapter 67 - Child Abuse Prevention and Adoption Reform Act](#)
- [42 U.S.C., Chapter 7 - Social Security Act](#)
- [42 U.S.C., Chapter 6 - The Children's Bureau](#)
- [25 U.S.C., Chapter 21 - Indian Child Welfare Act](#)

#### *Federal Judicial Decisions*

- U.S. Supreme Court:
  - [Recent Decisions Involving Children](#)
  - [Historic Decisions Involving Children](#)
- U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals: [Recent Decisions Involving Children](#)

### State Material

#### *State Statutes*

- [Uniform Laws Dealing with Children](#) -- including:
  - Uniform Parentage Act
  - Uniform Child Custody Jurisdiction Act (Adopted in All States and the District of Columbia)
- [State Family Law Statutes](#)

#### *State Judicial Decisions*

- N.Y. Court of Appeals:
  - [Decisions Regarding Children](#)
  - [Commentary from liibulletin-ny](#)
- [Appellate Decisions from Other States](#)

### International Material

*Conventions and Treaties*

- [Convention on the Rights of the Child \(20 Nov 89\)](#)

**Other References**

*Key Internet Sources*

- Federal Agency: [Administration for Children and Families of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services](#)
- [The ABA Center on Children and the Law](#)
- [ARC Journal](#)
- [Families of Adult Prisoners](#)
- [Child Welfare Homepage](#)
- [Childrens' Defense Fund](#)
- [Children's Rights Council](#)
- [National Child Rights Alliance](#)

[Other Family Law Topics](#)

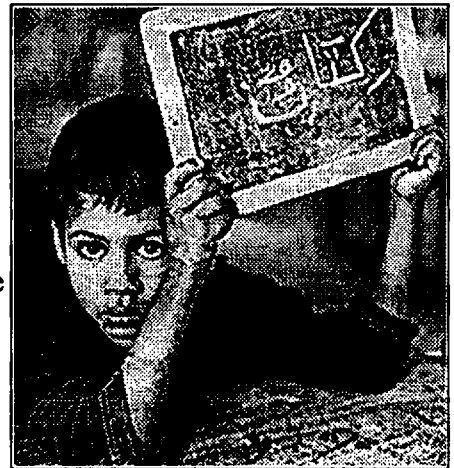
THE PROGRESS OF NATIONS 1996

# THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD



## Translating principles into law

*Of 43 countries whose reports have been reviewed, 14 have incorporated the Convention into their constitutions. 35 of the 43 have passed new laws or amended existing laws to conform with the Convention.*



International treaties bind ratifying countries to principles that they are obligated to honour. One way to honour them is for countries to create a legal framework to carry out a treaty's provisions. Some examples:

In Tunisia, changes were made to child-related legislation even before ratification of the Convention (30 January 1992). Education laws were passed in 1991, for example, mandating education for all 6-to-16-year-olds, and penalizing parents who don't send their children to school.

After ratification, the Tunisian Government, with the help of legal professionals and international experts, completed a two-year review of national legislation to bring it into line with its treaty obligations. The result was the new Code for the Protection of the Child (31 October 1995), recently adopted by the Tunisian Parliament. Details were submitted to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, which congratulated Tunisia for legislative measures that go beyond the minimum standards of the Convention and are in many cases "more conducive to the realization of the rights of the child than those contained in the Convention."

Other countries have found that they have few laws that specifically protect children. Ukraine, for example, is finalizing a new Children's Act that will be the first legal instrument to protect children's rights.

*Photo: Tunisia - penalties if children are not in school. ©*

## Sex exploitation

Some countries have begun extending legislative protection to children at risk of sexual and other forms of exploitation. In Sri Lanka, parliamentarians quoting the Convention passed four amendments (September 1995) to strengthen laws related to child sexual abuse, child labour, and adoption.

Similarly, the Philippines has taken measures to define and penalize child prostitution and trafficking.

Belgium and Germany recently extended their national jurisdiction in cases of child prostitution and pornography so that adults could be prosecuted for such crimes against children committed outside their national boundaries. They join other countries such as Australia, Denmark, France, Japan, Norway, Sweden, and the United States that have passed similar legislation.

## Law and labour

Several countries have recently adopted a minimum working age, including Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Portugal. Burkina Faso has revised child labour legislation to bring it into line with the Convention.

In Indonesia, a new Convention-inspired Education Bill, introduced in May 1994, has increased the length of compulsory education from six to nine years. It is hoped that this will improve compliance with the minimum working age of 14.

A number of countries that have reported to the Committee have been asked to give children greater legislative protection. The new nation of Belarus, for example, has been informed that existing laws on labour, the family and marriage, and criminal procedure need amendment to bring them into compliance with the Convention. Belarus passed a Rights of the Child Act in 1993.

In some nations, children of refugees or disenfranchised minorities remain vulnerable to violation of their rights. The Committee has asked Romania, for example, for more effective measures to combat prejudice against Gypsy children, whose school attendance is at very low levels.

The Committee also expressed concern about the care and legal protection afforded to immigrant or refugee children, particularly unaccompanied children awaiting deportation in France. In Canada, the Committee observed, the principles of non-discrimination have not always been given adequate weight by those dealing with refugee and immigrant children.

Countries with federal systems face special legislative challenges when it comes to incorporating the Convention into legal frameworks. In Argentina, for example, each of the 24 provinces would need to bring its laws into conformity with the Convention; so far, only the province of Mendoza has passed a new law on children and adolescents. In Canada, another federal system, the Convention is not part of the nation's constitution or federal law, but can nonetheless be 'referred to' by authorities adjudicating cases involving child rights.

The use of the Convention in court cases is still rare, although at least 16 countries say it can be - and sometimes has been - invoked in court. A French court has used the Convention to argue that poor teenage drop-outs should be covered by state social security, while an Australian judge cited the Convention in deciding a child custody case. Nevertheless, as Nicaragua's representative candidly admitted to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, most citizens are probably not even aware that they can cite the Convention to support court cases.

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# THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD



## Justice for juveniles

*22 of the 43 countries have trained law enforcement officials and judges in the principles of the Convention, improved juvenile correctional institutions, and/or no longer imprison children with adults.*

"Children in the criminal justice system suffer the worst of both worlds. They are denied many of the rights and considerations extended to children in civil law, but lack the full rights of an adult in the criminal justice system," writes Barry Anderson, a lawyer who heads the youth crime section of the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders in the United Kingdom.

In Rwanda, where the 1994 genocide and war claimed up to a million lives, the Convention has been a vital instrument in protecting the rights of children and youngsters under the age of 18 who are in the unusual and desperate situation of being accused of genocide and murder. Citing Convention clauses that protect children in conflict with the law, UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross are working with the Government to transfer most of the remaining 2,300 child prisoners still being held in overcrowded adult prisons. Some 200 have already been moved to UNICEF-run rehabilitation centres (February 1996). UNICEF also hired five lawyers to represent the children.



Less dramatically, the Convention is changing the landscape of juvenile justice in a number of other countries. At the suggestion of the Committee on the Rights of the Child, Viet Nam's Ministry of Justice, working with the Centre for Human Rights, UNICEF, NGOs and the National Committee for Protection and Care of Children, is reviewing the judicial process for juveniles, and training judges, policemen, and other legal professionals on how to apply the Convention. As part of reform in juvenile justice systems, several countries, including Bolivia, France, the Philippines, and Romania, have trained judges and law enforcement professionals on child rights.

The Spanish Constitutional Court, specifically citing article 40 of the Convention in a 1991 decision, established legal guarantees for children between 12 and 16 years of age who are accused of breaking the law. The Court called for a general overhaul of the juvenile justice system, which began the following year.

*Photo: Laws are needed to protect young prisoners. ©*

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Also on the basis of the Convention, Bolivia, El Salvador, Mexico, and Peru have enacted new justice codes for children. Pakistan and Tunisia have also modified criminal laws regarding minors.

In 1993, France enshrined in law a new right of minors to express themselves in court in accordance with article 12 of the Convention. Judicial practice in Belgium is moving towards ensuring the same right.

In virtually every one of the 43 country reports so far reviewed, the Committee on the Rights of the Child has called for additional legal reform on the basis that national legislation relating to age set for criminal responsibility and to the administration of juvenile justice was generally incompatible with articles 37 and 40 of the Convention. In the case of Peru, the Committee observed that suspects between the ages of 15 and 17 who are accused of terrorist acts do not have access to the specialized courts, district attorney offices, and defence lawyers that are available to other juvenile offenders.

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# THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD



## A treaty goes to war

The influence of the Convention is proving especially important in situations where all normal protection for children has broken down.

Sierra Leone, for example, cited the Convention in demobilizing child soldiers involved in the country's civil war. UNICEF moved 1,500 young boys from Rwandan refugee camps in Zaire to civilian centres, to prevent their involvement in hostilities. In Sri Lanka, the age of army recruitment was recently raised from 15 to 18, and the Government used the Convention to resist army attempts to draft under-age youths.

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*Photo: The right to be educated not exploited, to be at school not at war. ©*

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In an extraordinary new role for the Convention, two rebel groups - the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and the South Sudan Independence Movement - have agreed to abide by Convention principles to protect women and children. Treaties bind only ratifying countries, but in this case two internal contenders for political power have also accepted the Convention.

In another case of the Convention being applied in the midst of turmoil, UNICEF has suspended assistance to education programmes in parts of Afghanistan where fundamentalist Muslim groups have closed schools for girls.

Children in many nations continue to be victims of adults' wars - losing their parents and their homes, losing their childhood and their opportunity for education, losing their limbs and their lives to the machinery of violence. The Convention seeks to protect children from these worst manifestations of adult failure. A small beginning has been made.

### ...and to school

*13 of 43 countries have built the Convention into curricula or courses.*

Many countries are now including human rights in their school curricula,



among them El Salvador, Portugal, and Sri Lanka. In 1991, Denmark also launched a campaign to convey the principles of the Convention to the public; materials on child rights were distributed to all young people from the first to the tenth grades.

Egypt is integrating principles of the Convention into the curricula of law and social work schools, as well as police academies, while Zambia's School of Law plans to start a postgraduate diploma on human rights, with course work devoted to child rights. Chile has adopted a different approach (1994), by setting up an institution called the 'Defender of Schoolchildren' to deal with children's complaints against school authorities.

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# THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD



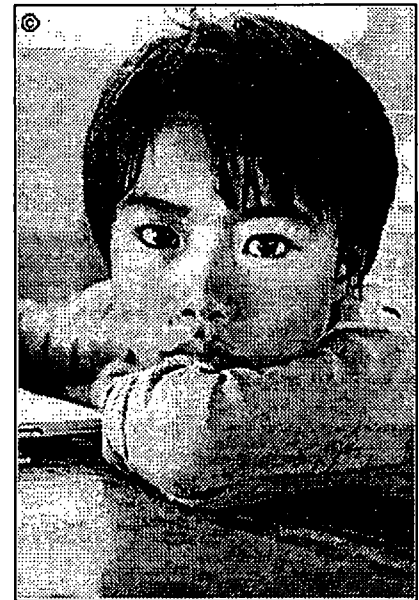
## The right to a name and a nationality

*7 of the 43 countries have made efforts to promote birth registration.*

The right to a name and nationality is one of the most fundamental human rights. But millions of children spend much of their lives without this legal identity and the benefits and protections it affords.

Children who are not registered do not officially exist. On an individual level, this can complicate enrolment in school and expose them to illegal adoption, trafficking, exploitation as cheap labour, or involvement in prostitution and criminal activities. Lack of a complete registration system means that government, not knowing the true number of its citizens, is hampered in planning for their needs.

Some governments are now giving the matter attention. In Ecuador, where an estimated 1 in 10 children under the age of 12 are not legally registered, the Government's Civil Registry has issued identity papers to a total of 322,600 children between 1990 and 1995. To ensure that this is not a once-only effort, civil registration procedures have been simplified and the Government has mounted a publicity campaign to stress the importance of a legal identity for children.



*Photo: The right to a name and nationality is enshrined in the Convention. ©*

New attempts to promote birth registration are also being made in Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Peru, and the Philippines, while Bolivia's Civil Registry recently issued new identity documents for 50,000 urban children under the age of 16.

For those children whose births are registered, the Convention seeks to end the practice, common in both industrialized and developing countries, of indicating on birth certificates whether the child was born out of wedlock (leading to possible legal and social discrimination). The Governments of Lebanon and the Philippines recently eliminated any reference to the marital status of a child's parents on identity papers.

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# THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD



## The right to know about rights

*40 of the 43 countries are informing people about the Convention.*

People who know their rights are better able to claim them. Making the Convention and its provisions widely known is therefore an essential step in promoting children's rights.

Different countries have publicized the Convention in different ways. Viet Nam organized a 'Get to Know the Convention' contest that drew 250,000 entries from schoolchildren. The Jamaica Coalition on the Rights of the Child has conducted an island-wide public education campaign on child rights. Mozambique staged 'national elections' on child rights in 1994.

In Nicaragua, a children's movement is attempting to educate children as well as adults about child rights. In France, a media campaign is informing young people of their right to consult a lawyer. In Sweden, copies of the Convention have been distributed throughout the country, including translations for immigrant communities in Arabic, Farsi, Kurdish, Spanish, and Turkish.

Many other countries have also translated the Convention into local languages. In Poland, NGOs have organized media crusades, including a regular television show that educates the public about the Convention and targets abuses. Namibia has launched a set of family law booklets that are a popularized version of the rights of children. In Colombia, the Government's public awareness campaign conducted through the media, the bureaucracy, and the schools is called 'There Are No Small Rights'.

The notion of children having rights is a relatively new concept, and many countries are running training programmes for teachers and social workers. Thousands of educators in the Dominican Republic are now using the 'Teachers' Guide on the Rights of Children'. In Swaziland, child rights have become an integral part of the training curriculum for rural health motivators, the country's largest group of social workers.

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# THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD



## NGOs submit alternative reports

The Convention on the Rights of the Child specifically invites the involvement of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The response so far has shown that they are one of the main engines by which the treaty can be translated into action. In several countries, NGOs are working with government to help draft legislation and to disseminate the basic messages of the Convention.

In Nicaragua, legislative reform is being assisted by the Nicaraguan Coordinating Body for NGOs Assisting Children. In the Philippines, a national programme for sexually exploited children and street children is a joint effort by governmental, non-governmental, civic and church groups; this network provides trained personnel, protection, referral, and community-based services that cover some 17 cities and include approximately 300 local projects.

In the Caribbean, the Jamaican Coalition on the Rights of the Child helped to convince the Government both to ratify the Convention and submit its report to the Committee on time. The Coalition also prepared its own report. In several countries, such alternative reports have been effective in drawing attention to child rights issues. In the United Kingdom, the Children's Rights Development Unit enlisted the support of over 150 voluntary organizations in drawing up its 350-page alternative to the official report of the UK Government.

In Belgium, human rights NGOs monitor Convention violations and frequently conduct inquiries. In Jordan, a newly established group, 'NGOs for Child Rights', coordinates child rights promotion in the country. In Zaire, NGOs have been active in exposing violations of human rights such as child labour in mines and the rape of young girls.

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THE PROGRESS OF NATIONS 1996

# THE CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD



## The Convention: From acceptance to observance

The Convention on the Rights of the Child has become the most rapidly accepted human rights treaty in history. As of end-February 1996, it had been ratified by 187 out of 193 governments. Switzerland and the United States have signed, indicating their intention to ratify. Only the Cook Is., Oman, Somalia and the United Arab Emirates have neither signed nor ratified.

The worldwide support from organizations of all kinds has given the Convention momentum. But the Convention does not bring change in the same way as a particular project in a particular country or neighbourhood. It works by bringing changes in laws, institutions, attitudes, and eventually in ethos, policies, and practices. The process may be slower, but the scale is greater.



At the centre of this process is the international Committee on the Rights of the Child. All ratifying governments are obliged to report to the Committee within two years - specifying the steps taken to bring national laws, policy and practice into line with the principles of the Convention. The Committee then examines the facts, taking evidence also from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and meets with each government to discuss its child rights record. The 'concluding observations' of the Committee are then made public. Five years after making a first report, all ratifying governments must again report to the Committee.

*Photo: The Convention is only six years old, but it is time to begin asking what practical effects it is having on the lives of children around the world. ©*

"This is an unspectacular, even bureaucratic process," says the former chair of the Committee, Hoda Badran, "but it is aimed at bringing change inside national establishments - in national institutions, national plans, national legal systems, national policies - and we have seen enough in five years to know that it works."

The Convention on the Rights of the Child came into force only at the beginning of the 1990s. Nonetheless, it is time to begin asking what practical effects the Convention is having on the lives of

children around the world. Drawing on the reports of the 43 countries whose submissions had been reviewed by the Committee on the Rights of the Child as of end-1995, and on other sources, UNICEF has compiled this preliminary account of how the Convention is gaining traction in the real world.

*The Progress of Nations* will continue to monitor the long march of the Convention from universal acceptance to universal observance.

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*Reports by Jennifer Parmelee; data and research from Teresa Albanez, Maissa Hamed, Edita Nsubuga and Rebeca Rios-Kohn (UNICEF).*

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Random Facts:

When she was a child, Mrs. Clinton collected money for UNICEF at Halloween. This was her first experience with the UN

### **Comments on Eleanor Roosevelt and Univ. Dec. By HRC**

#### *1. Column, 10/14-15*

One thing I've learned since becoming First Lady is that wherever I go, Eleanor Roosevelt has surely been there before me. I've been to farms in Iowa and factories in Michigan where Mrs. Roosevelt paid a visit half a century ago. I've been to schools and colleges named for Mrs. Roosevelt and walked the halls of hospitals she toured before I was born.

Even when I go to other countries, Mrs. Roosevelt has doubtless been there first. When my daughter and I went to Pakistan and India last spring, we discovered that Eleanor Roosevelt had traveled there in 1952, and even had written a book about her trip.

#### *2. Column, 10/14-15*

Traveling now through South America, I find myself thinking often about Mrs. Roosevelt. And I'm convinced that if she were still alive today, nothing would thrill her more than coming to watch children perform at the Circus School in Brazil. It's a place I'm visiting on this trip where runaway children learn the principles of discipline and teamwork, and build self-confidence through acrobatics and trapeze training. Not only do these children show a renewed interest in education and improved attendance in school, they perform before sellout crowds every weekend.

#### *3. Column, 10/14-15*

Wherever she went, Mrs. Roosevelt celebrated the richness of the human experience. She appreciated every person's potential to do something great with very little. Perhaps that is why people all over the world, including here in South America, remember her with such admiration and fondness. She was in the words of historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, "a woman for all times and all people."

#### *4. Column, 6/4/96*

Historians Doris Kearns Goodwin and Blanche Wiesen Cook both have shared their thoughts about Eleanor Roosevelt, someone I wish I could have talked to in person about the role of the First Lady. In fact, I occasionally have imaginary conversations with Mrs. Roosevelt to try to figure out what she would do in my shoes. She usually responds by telling me to buck up or at least to grow skin as thick as a rhinoceros.

5. *United Nations Economic and Social Council Chamber, 12/10/97*

Some of humanity's greatest lessons emerge only after the deepest tragedies. This Declaration took shape in a world ravaged by the horrors of militarism and fascism. In the wake of the most violent revelations of the depths to which human being can dehumanize one another, the world as whole was ready at last to agree upon those standards for human rights.

6. *United Nations Economic and Social Council Chamber, 12/10/97*

Thankfully, in the half-century since the birth of the Declaration, we have as a global people managed progressively to expand the circle of full human dignity. Because of this document, individuals and nations alike have a standard by which to measure fundamental rights. Many of the countries that have emerged in the last 50 years have drawn inspiration from the groundwork for the world's war crimes tribunals. And it has prompted governments to set up their own commissions to safeguard basic liberties.

7. *United Nations Economic and Social Council Chamber, 12/10/97*

And yet some critics continue to dismiss women's suffering as minor. But are they? In 1958 Eleanor Roosevelt wrote: Where do human rights begin? In small places, close to home, so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. Yet they are the world of the individual person -- the neighborhood he lives in, the factory, farm, or office where he works. Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere.

8. *POTUS Remarks in honor of Human Rights Day, 12/9/97*

Under the wise, compassionate leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt, half a century ago 18 delegates from China to Lebanon, Chile to Ukraine forged the first international agreement on the rights of humankind. On December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration without a single dissenting vote. I am very proud that the First Lady, who has traveled the world to advance human rights, especially for women and young girls, will take part in tomorrow's United Nations commemoration.

Over the past half-century, the Declaration's 30 articles have formed a constellation of principles to which all people can aspire. They have entered the consciousness of people all around the world. They're now invoked routinely in constitutions and courts. They set a yardstick of humanity's "best practice" against which we must all now measure ourselves.

But as Eleanor Roosevelt said, words on paper bring no guarantees, and I quote: unless the people know them, unless the people understand them, unless the people demand that they be lived. Promoting respect for human rights is a fulfilling -- but never fulfilled -- obligation. Fifty years since the charter was forged, human rights still persist. Human rights are still at risk from Burma to Nigeria, from Belarus to China. Although more than half the world's people now live

under governments of their own choosing, democracy's roots are still fragile in some countries; others are besieged by forces ranging from drug cartels to organized crime. And even in democracies, human rights, which so often mean minority rights, are not guaranteed.

9. *POTUS Remarks in honor of Human Rights Day, 12/9/97*

Finally, I commend the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Foundation for their efforts to teach a new generation of Americans that the future of human rights is "in their hands." Eleanor Roosevelt understood that our greatest strength abroad was the power of our example at home, our commitment to work together across the divides to create one from many and opportunity for all.

10. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

I hope each of you associated with this college will continue to have, opportunities to consider the many ways in which these extraordinary public servants helped lead our nation through very difficult, stressful times. There is no comparison to the circumstances in which my parents--your grandparents--found themselves in facing the Great Depression, facing the second World War. What never flagged throughout that period, no matter how difficult circumstances were was the faith that the American people had, fueled in large measure by their confidence in themselves and their future despite the odds that America would continue to be great, America would grow, America would solve its problems.

11. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

I am a die hard Eleanor Roosevelt fan. I have read her autobiography, her newspaper columns, and many books about her and President Roosevelt. And from the first time I can remember hearing about her, I have always admired her. I was born in 1947, the year before she was sent by President Truman to serve on the United States delegation of the United Nations. Once there, she oversaw the writing and passage of the UN Declaration on Human Rights. I have also read that document which she championed and I'm always struck at how this woman at the end of the second World War, the beginning of the Cold War, continued to emphasize the themes that she had sounded throughout the years. Namely, that we must cooperate, we must find ways to work together.

12. *Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

I almost cannot even imagine the courage it took for her, at the dawn of the Cold War, to persuade delegates from so many different nations to sign their names on behalf of human rights. Although I admired Mrs. Roosevelt over the years, I must say that over the past few years I have felt an even greater affection for her. And have taken on occasion to having imaginary conversations with her. Now I am sure that there will be a talk show host somewhere who will point out with great glee that I have gone over the edge and am talking to myself and talking to Mrs. Roosevelt on a regular basis, but I believe the world, and particularly our country, would be better off if we all spent a little time talking with Mrs. Roosevelt and less time yelling at each

other and listening to people yell at each other. And on occasion when confronted with a particular situation I might say to Mrs. Roosevelt, "Oh my goodness, what do I do now?" And in my imaginary conversation -- my mind's eye -- she would listen to me calmly and look at me seriously and now say very much. I would then go on doing the best that I could and another occasion would arise when I would attempt to seek some pearls of wisdom from this woman who seemed to embody grace under pressure and I might say, "how did you handle this sort of thing. How did you deal with all of the concerns that you had and all of the difficulties that you faced?" And again in my mind's eye I would see her listening calmly and not saying very much. And finally the more I learned about her the more I understood what she dealt with on a daily basis as she persistently and passionately carried forward with what she believed would make the world better. That she could not answer my questions because in her view one simply went about life and did what was expected and did it to the best of one's ability.

So every time I begin to harbor thoughts like, "why haven't we solved this problem by now?" I imagine Mrs. Roosevelt shaking her head and saying something like, "the thing always to remember is to do the thing you think you cannot do." Or perhaps I see her again in my mind's eye saying, "these problems that we faced today are problems that we faced in the past. We have made progress, there are many, many improvements in the way that we treat one another, and we know we have more to do but continue to persist." I have found great inspiration in her example not only for the questions I ask and the role in which I find myself now, but more than that for the humanity and the dignity with which she led her life.

### *13. Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

She was often attacked and criticized but there was never any confusion in her own mind about what constituted a meaningful life. She refused to be categorized or stereotyped which of course greatly frustrated her critics. She was one of those rare people who strikes that elusive balance between "me" and "we." Between our rights and expectations as individuals and our obligations to the larger community. She conceived herself as a citizen. Someone who was there trying to make sure that democracy worked well. Someone who wanted to help educate other citizens about what they could do.

### *14. Women and the United Nations Conference, 3/14/95*

It is impossible to think about the history of the United Nations, or the role of women in the United Nations, without thinking of Eleanor Roosevelt...When she came to the United States there were many who dismissed her arrival. They thought she came as a token, the widow of a great President, and she faced considerable personal challenges in undertaking the work she did. We know from various histories and from Mrs. Roosevelt's own writing that she was assigned to a committee where they said she could do no harm. She was assigned to the Third Committee: the Social, Cultural and Humanitarian committee. Apparently, assigned by men who had no idea what she was capable of doing. She made from the very beginning it her mission to insure that the committee, which deals so directly with the stuff of life, was one that had a very important portfolio. We also know that she was alternately perplexed and amused by what she viewed as an obsession with rule making among her male peers. As the men around here would sometimes

argue for hours over matters that Mrs. Roosevelt felt did not deserve minutes of conversation, she would sit and knit.

It turned out to be not only a controversial job for her but one that took tremendous diplomatic skill. Among her critics was the very powerful American John Foster Dulles. Who at the end of the Assembly finally did say to her and I quote "I must tell you that when you were appointed I thought it terrible, and now I think your work has been fine." She wrote about her reaction to that statement in a letter home, and I quote, "so against the odds that women inch forward."...

Her role within the Assembly, although sometimes not welcome, and certainly never easy, was very important. She outworked most of her colleagues. She did turn that Third Committee into one of the most important of the entire Assembly. She became instrumental in decisions about the fate of refugees. And she negotiated over many very sensitive issues with a great deal of success.

Her greatest achievement, as we all know, was to help persuade 55 nations to sign a bill of human rights, something that had never been done before. Even with her successes she was under no illusions about the capacity of this organization, or any government body or agency, to effect changes on its own. The United Nations she said soon after its founding, is "a piece of machinery and the peoples of the world have to make it work. You make it work by what you do in your own communities, by the things you build there which spread out through your representatives into your national government."

That observations by Mrs. Roosevelt hold special weight today when all nations are grappling with a range of human problems at a time of shrinking resources and increased global competition. There is no panacea, no magic bullet that will suddenly empower women or free people from the bondage of inhuman living conditions. Progress depends on our working together in partnership to create conditions around the world that enable women, men and children to reach their God-given potentials and flourish within their own families and societies.

#### 15. *Women and the United Nations Conference, 3/14/95*

If one looks at among Mrs. Roosevelt's great accomplishments certainly the Bill of Human Rights continues to challenge all of us. Although international humanitarian law had been evolving before the United Nations, human rights in general and women's rights in particular, were not widely recognized. On December 10, 1948 the General Assembly adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Eleanor Roosevelt played a major role in the drafting and adoption.

#### 16. *Women and the United Nations Conference, 3/14/95]*

In paying tribute to Eleanor Roosevelt, as part of this conference, we would do well to consider her great vision, her compassion and her common sense approach to solving very difficult human problems. For her, no political obstacle was too large, no cultural gap was too

wide, no difference of opinion was too serious to overcome. And as Ambassador Albright has reminded us, no controversy was to be avoided. One of my favorite quotations from Mrs. Roosevelt is that she often said her work was to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable.

## **HRC Comments on Children**

### *1. Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/??*

I've just returned from a trip to Central Europe where I visited several countries that are making the difficult transition from communism to democracy. Even there, citizens and governments are recognizing that the needs of children must come first if their countries are to become flourishing democracies.

As a modern society, we know more about what children need to develop than ever before. But we still have too few organized ways of supporting parents in the most important work they do. We have not figured out how to replace the extended family, clan or village that looked out for children in earlier times. As a result, many parents don't get the information or the help they need to become the best possible mothers and fathers that they can be.

It is time to make a change for our children's sake. Advances in technology and the global economy along with other developments in society have brought us much good, but they have also strained the fabric of family life, leaving us and our children poorer in many ways.

### *2. Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/??*

We all have roles to play in finding ways to make sure all children fulfill their God-given potentials. When it comes to children we all have experience -- and we can all claim a kind of expertise. We have all been children. We all love our children. We all have visions and aspirations for what they can become. We think of and talk about them constantly, during coffee breaks, PTA meetings, on front porches and phones, in letters and e-mail. No other subject takes so much of our time, and touches our souls so deeply.

### *3. Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/??*

Our children are, in the beginning and in the end, the best reason for our being, the greatest of all our gifts and works. There is no subject more important, no issue that should be more decisive, than how we see and treat our children. Children have no vote; they have no say in the political, business and economic decisions made by our nation. That is why we can and must be their voice.

### *4. Remarks at Roma Children Foundation, 10/11/98*

I have always been struck by how street children are able to survive in conditions that would often not be possible for us. And seeing the children here today, as I have, I have seen the same brightness and intelligence, and quickness that enable them to survive

under difficult circumstances, and will permit them with proper help to become productive citizens in this society.

I know that many Roma children are particularly at risk. I have visited programs for Roma children in the Czech Republic and in Hungary, and now here, in Bulgaria. And I am so impressed that you see so clearly that all of our children in today's world have to be given opportunities to succeed. Because every child's future will affect our own.

#### *5. Chicago Public Schools Principal Luncheon, 6/3/98*

I have a wonderful quote I heard recently from the choir director of a youth choir in Oakland California. When he was justifying his efforts before the school board to get additional funds to enroll more kids in his choir because the choir had taken off, and more kids wanted to get in. He said, "You know a child can be in a gang, or a gang of singers."

We've got to create safe places where the children can find their own identities again: maybe on the sports team and on the field, and maybe in a choir as well, or maybe sitting quietly and practicing an instrument, or trying to draw something that a teacher has already modeled. And I think that it's so critical in these days when so many kids have so much going on in their lives. You know. You know what they bring to school. And, it's not just poor kids, it's all kids. There's just so much going on around them that they have to sort out.

#### *6. International Development Girls' Education Conference*

In Bangladesh, I visited a school run by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, a non-governmental organization that believes that education -- especially girls' education -- is a pre-condition for economic development. Because of that belief, some of the BRAC schools have been burned by extremist groups. But the schools keep being rebuilt and families keep sending their children to attend.

I also saw where the Bangladesh government is attempting to provide incentives for families to keep their daughters in school. Families get food each week if they send their children, particularly their girls, to school. To help give girls the chance to go to secondary school, the government actually deposits a small amount of money in a family banking account as long as the daughters attend school.

I have seen the results of President Museveni's promise of Universal Primary Education in Uganda. I have been in classrooms that are absolutely filled with children -- 70, 75, 80 third graders -- a very big challenge to any teacher. But instead of being frustrated the teachers I have met have been proud. Proud because children are coming to school and everyone is working very hard to create the materials and train additional teachers to meet this challenge. Overwhelming pride is felt because for the first time, more girls than boys are attending school.

There have also been results in Guatemala where the government and the Foundation for Sugar Producers teamed up to offer small scholarships to girls in rural schools because they knew that the drop out rate between the first and second grades for girls in those schools with scholarships was only one percent compared to 30 percent nationwide. In another Guatemalan program, afternoon school sessions have been introduced to accommodate girls who must carry out domestic and agricultural work in the mornings.

In Malawi, the villagers were not only asked why girls are not attending school, they were asked to come up with solutions. They performed plays and skits. They waived school fees. They took responsibility for enrolling girls in school. As a result, enrollment increased from 50 to 83 percent.

In the Community Schools Program in Egypt, the number of girls enrolled in school increased from 2,000 to 35,000 because schools were located closer to homes, making them safer and more accessible. Curricula were designed so that they were culturally appropriate and approved by village leaders. Girls were trained to be sure that they were understanding how important this gift of education was and parents were asked to become actively involved as well.

As we look across the globe, therefore, we see success stories everywhere. Yet, right now, there are still 100 million children worldwide who are out of school, and two-thirds of them are girls. 900 million people cannot read or write, and sixty percent of them are women. Two-thirds of the children who complete less than four years of primary education are girls and countless others do not even have access to a primary school, let alone a secondary school.

#### *7. International Girls' Education Conference*

I remember so well being in a small village about 40 minutes outside Lahore, Pakistan where I visited a school that had been built to give the girls in that area primary education. I sat out in the courtyard in front of the school and talked with mothers of children who attended. One mother told me about her 10 children -- 5 girls and 5 boys. Her worry was that she had sent all of her children to school, to primary school. And when her boys graduated from primary school they had gone on. They had gone to the nearest secondary school continuing their education. But when her daughters finished the village school, there were no secondary schools nearby for girls and she was not willing to send her daughters off alone to attend school far away. So, she asked me, and she asked all of the officials who were with me, if they could please have a secondary school built for girls near their village.

#### *8. National Conference on Youth Violence*

Every young man or woman, every boy or girl, has a God given potential that we at our herald give up on. And it is incumbent upon us, as representatives of the adult community of this

society, to recommit ourselves to youth. The young people who are here are pledging to you, "If you don't give up on yourself, we will not give up on you."

#### *9. National Conference on Youth Violence*

We see it everyday as we pick up our newspapers. I picked up a newspaper here in Washington today and read about another thirteen year old gunned down on the street corner. In Washington last summer, gun shots were fired at a public swimming pool packed with children trying to escape the 90 degree heat. A few months ago, a four-year old girl was fatally shot in the head when groups of youngsters opened fire on an elementary school playground. And during the past week a one year-old was grazed by a bullet from a gunfight. That thirteen year-old who died, it appears his killer is also thirteen years-old. What does it say about a society that has graduated from taunts and yells and thrown punches and raised fists--, that all of us remember from school yard fights, neighborhood fights in the past. To thirteen year-olds being gunned down on street corners, a four year olds being killed on playgrounds, and one year olds being grazed by bullets.

#### *10. National Conference on Youth Violence*

Let's just stop for a minute and ask ourselves, "Haven't we wasted enough lives, haven't we lost enough young men and women to prison instead of college? Haven't we turned our back too many times on the God given potential of every one of our young people?" I don't care what race they are, I don't care where they live, every single young person in this country, has a spark about them that we have for too long allowed to be extinguished by a level of violence, hatred, and divisiveness that still stalks this country. We can do much better than that, all you have to do is look at the faces of the young people around you today. We know we can do better. But we cannot unless we stand up and are willing to be counted. I hope you will not only attend this conference, I hope you will not only work on what needs to be done back in your own hometowns, I hope you will take the time to let your member of Congress know why you are here, what you stand for.

### **HRC Stories**

#### *1. Column, 3/24/98*

For most Ugandans, the night of October 9, 1996, marked the end of a day celebrating the country's Independence Day. For Angelina Acheng, it was the beginning of a nightmare. That evening, her 14 year old daughter, Charlotte, was kidnapped from St. Mary's School in Aboke, Uganda, by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a terrorist group based in Southern Sudan that abuses civilians in Northern Uganda. The kidnapers broke the windows of this girls' boarding school. They tied up the girls, all of whom were younger than 16. They beat those who dared to cry. And then they took away 139 of them -- 75 percent of the student body -- and sent them into a life of unspeakable horror. Many, like Charlotte, have not returned.

When I met Angelina at the White House a few weeks before I came to Uganda, she spoke movingly about her daughter and told me about the organization she and other local parents had formed -- the Concerned Parents Association. They work to save their children and all the other children held captive by this group. Since 1994, with 10,000 children in Uganda. These children are literally being snatched away from their homes. The boys are used in battle as human shields. The girls are sent into slave labor, raped and given away as "wives" to rebel commanders. They are often forced to kill other children who don't obey or -- worse yet -- who try to escape.

The LRA invokes the name of the Lord, but there is no greater sin than making children kill children or even the parents who brought them into this world. Followers of the LRA call themselves soldiers, but they are cowards. Only cowards would hide behind children in battle.

The plight of these children is part of a growing and alarming trend. It used to go without saying that innocent women and children were not supposed to be the targets of war; now increasingly, they are not only targets but even compelled to participate.

One of Charlotte's classmates who managed to escape talked about what happened when another girl tried to flee: "The girl was brought in front of us, and the rebels told us to stomp her to death. We killed the poor innocent girl...If we did not kill the girl, we were going to get shot by guns. We prayed for that girl in our hearts, silently, and asked God to pardon us and forgive us because it was not our will to kill her."

Another rescued student from St. Mary's school said, "I saw people's legs being cut off with either a panga or an ax. I saw a young baby of a few months held in hand and being beaten to death against a tree. Innocent people were being killed in a way I never thought a human being could (act toward) another human being."

One girl simply wrote: "I'm pleading with you to find a way of stopping this rebel activity so that we children of Northern Uganda could also share in the peace that other children around the world are sharing in. ...We need peace."

## *2. Makerere University, Uganda, 3/25/98*

There are three children with us today that I just had a chance to meet with before I came out to see you. Their names are Isaac and Janet and Betty. They were kidnapped by the LRA in the north. They managed to escape, eventually finding refuge. As I looked into their faces and their eyes, I saw the faces and eyes of children the world over. And I thought to myself as I looked at these young men and women of Uganda that we owe them and the thousands more like them everything we can do to make sure that they, too, have a chance, like the children I saw yesterday, to grow up in peace, to be educate, and to look forward to their own families and futures.

## *3. Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/95*

I remember particularly a story that Doris relates in her book. When Mrs. Roosevelt was in California she went once with Helen Gahagan Douglas a writer, an actress, and later a congresswoman from California to the San Joaquin Valley. They were going to tour migrant labor camps and they were driving along when Mrs. Roosevelt spotted a row of migrants' shacks. She asked to stop the car so she could get out. She marched across the a field of mud and muck to inspect the migrants' living conditions. And as she approached one of the workers realized who she was and said matter-of-factly, "Oh Mrs. Roosevelt, you've come to see us." It seemed perfectly normal that the President's wife would get out of a car and walk across a field to talk to migrant workers.

#### *4. Dedication of Eleanor Roosevelt College, 1/26/98*

One of my favorite stories, again, takes place in California. She went to the West Coast to tour this part of the country on behalf of the President shortly after Pearl Harbor was bombed. You can imagine the swelling fear that existed in our state here. You can imagine the prejudice against Japanese-Americans. Editorials described Japanese-Americans as traitors, spies, and worse. Their houses and businesses were searched and many Californians were convinced that their former neighbors were now their enemies. As the hysteria mounted, Mrs. Roosevelt took it upon herself to pose with a group of Japanese-Americans. She issued a statement accompanying the photo that said, "Let's be honest. There is a chance now for great hysteria against minority groups -- loyal Americans born Japanese and German. If we treat them unfairly and make them unhappy we may shake their loyalty which should be built up." This act of honesty and courage so enraged so many in California that the Los Angeles Times essentially called for her removal from public life. But of course she continued to speak out against the unfair treatment of anyone -- Japanese-Americans, German-Americans, anyone who she believed was mistreated. And she particularly worked to reverse her husband's policy of internment camps here in California and elsewhere.

#### *5. Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/?*

In Kansas City, where I was part of a conference to discuss what we all can do to help children, I met educators, parents, business leaders and community activists who have already achieved much on behalf of their children. I heard how the city government offers employees up to four hours of paid annual leave to participate in their children's school activities; how dedicated volunteers are staffing evening and summer youth programs to keep their kids off the street and out of trouble; and how the local newspaper is dedicating many resources, reporters and pages of newsprint to cover children's issues thoroughly.

In Kansas City, I saw billboards all over town asking citizens the question, "Is it good for the children?" It is a question more Americans should ask themselves before making decisions for their families, their communities, and their country.

#### *6. Fifteen Minute Speech, 7/19/?*

At another children's conference in Colorado, I learned how the state, businesses and community groups are cooperating to create better child care options; mentorships for new parents; and health care coverage for children all over Colorado.

#### *7. National Conference on Youth Violence*

Look how programs like Police Partnerships for Children, programs where police officers will take their time to work with young people, coupling that with community policing where we again get police officers on the street. Somebody that a young person can hopefully find some support from, but if we turn our back on these partnerships that police are offering, we lose an opportunity to transform our police officers not only into instruments of punishment but also instruments of prevention.

#### *8. Remarks for Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand, 11/25/96*

“Yesterday in Chiang Rai I visited a program started by the faculty at this university called Thai Women of Tomorrow. It offers girls education, vocational training and options for jobs -- alternatives to desolate and desperate lives of prostitution. Most of all, it encourages parents to appreciate their daughters as people not property, and to give girls a sense of their own value and promise.”

Earlier today at the new life Center I saw another program that is bringing hope to young women who are receiving education and training that will allow them to pursue their life ambitions with confidence and dignity.”

“When I was in Chiang Rai yesterday I visited some hill tribes in villages outside the city. In one village I met young women who participate in the Thai Women of Tomorrow program. I also spoke to a local businessman who supports the program financially. He said that he got involved out of sense of charity. But within months, he said, he was surprised to find that the girls were hard-working, quick to learn new skills, and determined to make better lives for themselves. Now he has decided to open a factory in Chiang Rai that will employ girls from the school”

#### *9. -- Remarks at UNICEF 50th Anniversary, 1/26/98*

“Because we believed it could be done, we can look to the 10th anniversary of the World Summit for Children, knowing that the majority of goals have already been met by the majority of nations. Because we believed it could be done, the percentage of children immunized against killer diseases has dramatically increased -- to 80 percent. And because we believed it could be done, a full 2.5 million more children will live past their 5th birthdays this year than they did just eight years ago.

At the Jose Fabella [Fa BAY ya] Memorial Hospital in the Philippines, I met mothers who were learning about breast feeding their newborns. In Senegal, I visited a village that is improving health, education, and nutrition -- especially for women and girls. And in Nepal, I went to the Kalimati Clinic, where Save the Children kits are helping women deliver healthy babies.”

## *Eleanor Roosevelt Book*

1. Her work for UNICEF forced Mrs. Roosevelt into tightrope walking between pressure from other nations and her obligation to represent the American position. She suddenly became aware of 575 million children in distress in the Middle East, the Far East, Africa, and Latin America who had been “ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed for generations.”

2. Mrs. Roosevelt was supposed to speak at Bushnell Hall in Hartford, Connecticut, about the United Nations:

Three thousand people were expected. But by the time Mrs. Roosevelt arrived, only about three hundred people were scattered through the vast auditorium. Mrs. Roosevelt arrived, stepped onto the stage and looked around. “Oh let’s all come down front and be a big family,” she said with her big smile, motioning the scant audience to come forward. Then she gave her speech. Afterward, someone asked her if she felt disappointed when after taking the trouble to come to our city, only such a small crowd appeared. “If I can reach one person only with my message about the United Nations,” said Eleanor Roosevelt, “I feel that my efforts were rewarded and my time was not wasted.”

3. In June 1940, Clarence Pickett, head of the Friends’ Service Committee, asked Mrs. Roosevelt to bring together leaders of various groups for a concerted effort to rescue European children. She called a meeting and helped organize the United States Committee for the Care of European Children, of which she became honorary chairman. This was the only secular organization established exclusively to aid refugee children. It was designed to bring them from Britain, Finland, Poland, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France and place them in foster homes in the United States. On behalf of the committee, Mrs. Roosevelt urged Americans to take them into their homes and to request that Congress ease their admission into the United States. She complained of “horrid legal details” which slowed down the rescue program: “Red tape should not be used to trip up little children on their way to safety.”

4. After the invalidation of the NRA by the Supreme Court had left children unprotected, she wrote in a telegram to a member of the Houston Labor Standards Committee:

The President has said in letters sent out to people who have asked him as to his stand ...the obvious method of maintaining the recent gains made by NRA codes is through ratification of the child labor amendment...As far as I am concerned, I have taken every opportunity to reiterate my stand in favor of the ratification of the child labor amendment.

Where the exploitation of children was concerned, she accepted no compromise. In reply to critics who claimed that the time was inopportune for ratification because families were dependent on the earnings of their children during the depression. Mrs. Roosevelt said that such

arguments should not influence the passing of fundamental laws. To those who objected to increased interference by the government family life, she said, "We already tell people they must have their children vaccinated."

5. Mrs. Roosevelt devoted her long career to defending the rights of labor and minority groups, to seeing that adequate housing and standards of child welfare and education were maintained, and that all groups could benefit from the same opportunities. In these activities she regarded herself not as a crusader but as a citizen performing her basic duties in the democratic community... Because of her early association with the Women's Trade Union League and the National Consumers' League, Mrs. Roosevelt took a special interest in the abolition of child labor and the protection of the rights of women in industry. One of her more important goals in the 1930's was the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment, a continuation of the long struggle. "No civilization should be based on the labor of children," she said at her press conference.

6. Appropriately, President Truman nominated the former first lady to be one of America's delegates to the United Nations. At the UN, her name became synonymous with the effort to compose a declaration of human rights embodying standards that civilized humankind would accept as sacred and inalienable. For three years, she argued, debated, lobbied and compromised until finally on December 10, 1948, the document she had fundamentally shaped passed the General Assembly. Delegates rose in standing ovation to the woman who more than anyone else had come to symbolize the cause of human rights throughout the world. Even those from the United States who had most opposed her nomination to the delegation applauded her efforts. "I want to say that I take back everything I ever said about her," Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan commented "and believe me, it's been plenty." At times a figure of scorn and ridicule during the New Deal, Roosevelt was now fast becoming a national heroine, even to former enemies.

#### *7. From Mrs. Roosevelt's Column*

A little incident at one of the picnics, which I have held annually for the Wiltwyck boys at Hyde Park will, I think, emphasize how much a personal contact means for these youngsters whose background is often such an unhappy one. As I was greeting the boys on their arrival at Hyde Park, one little white boy stopped in front of me and said:

"Mrs. Roosevelt, do you remember me?"

"Yes," I answered, "I remember all of you. I have seen your school and many of you were here last year. Of course, I remember you."

The little boy with a determined face, looked me straight in the eye and said: "Mrs. Roosevelt what's my name?"

I had to explain that there were 100 boys and that I could not remember all of their names because I was an old lady and my memory was not as good as it once was.

He then told me his name. But he was so anxious to be identified by someone that, within five minutes, he stood before me again demanding:

"Mrs. Roosevelt, what's my name?"

To have a friend who knows you by name gives you a sense that you are not alone in the world. This is above all else what every single one of the Wiltwyck boys needs.

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#### 8. *From National Women’s Democratic Club Reception Speech, 1/10/95*

One time Mrs. Roosevelt was invited scheduled to speak at the clubhouse on Dupont Circle and Edith Helms (Mrs. Roosevelt’s Social Secretary) was asked to introduce her. She couldn’t think of what to say and Lindy told her, “Don’t worry something will come to mind.” And when the time came to introduce Mrs. Roosevelt, Edith Helms stood up and simply said: “She is here.” And that’s all she needed to say.

9. Eleanor Roosevelt was a busy lady. In 1947, for example, her regular activities included: serving as a delegate to the United Nations; going on a long lecture tour; hosting a radio show and a television show; writing a daily newspaper column and a monthly magazine column; working on a multi-volume autobiography; serving on the boards of several organizations; and regularly making public appearances at various events.

Thus, that same year, when parts of the world were enmeshed in turmoil, the columnist Josephus Daniels wrote that the most startling news in the world came not from Turkey or Tibet, but from Hyde Park, where Eleanor Roosevelt had uttered the words, “I am tired.” Mrs. Roosevelt wrote Daniels a letter explaining that, “I had been walking around with pneumonia. so it was true that I was weary. I am fine, now, however,” she added, and she quickly resumed a schedule so busy, that it had once led her husband to pray, “O Lord, make Eleanor tired.”