

ODUMUNC 2025 Issue Brief United Nations World Summit on Children



Strategies to Ensure the Welfare and Development of Children

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD	2
CHILDREN-RELATED ISSUES	4
CHILDREN-RELATED GEOGRAPHIC EXAMPLE	S.5
COUNTRY AND BLOC POSITIONS	9
SOME POSSIBLE PROPOSALS FOR THE UN SPECIAL SESSION	9
CONCLUSION	.11
RIRLIOGRAPHY	11

Introduction

While globalization hugely increased global economic development, around the world reducing many disparities between rich and poor, the problems of children often are overlooked. Some of the most serious violations are noted by Amnesty International, an activist organization,

Around the world, 61 million children do not attend primary [elementary] school. An estimated 150 million girls and 73

million boys are sexually assaulted every year. In some countries girls as young as nine are forced into marriage and children as young as six are judged as adults in criminal courts. At least, 330,000 children are held in immigration detention in 80 countries.¹

Since the 1980s, great progress has been made by the international community addressing the needs of children. Above all, the United Nations' 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, also known as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), found universal international agreement on the importance of ensuring children get the support and services they need to lead fulfilled lives.²



The SDGs stress the importance of ending poverty and hunger and ensuring education.³ Other UN agreements and regular resolutions by the UN General Assembly

 $\frac{children.}{children.} 3. \ \underline{https://www.ohchr.org/en/children/childrens-rights-and-2030-agenda-sustainable-development}$

¹ Amnesty International, 2024.

² United Nations. 2024. "Children's rights and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." *OHCHR and*

³ 'The 17 Goals', Sustainable Development Goals, https://sdgs.un.org/goals





leave no doubt about the sincerity of the global commitment.



Despite these achievements, problems remain serious, world-wide and in specific situations. Most Member States agree on the need to raise awareness and advocacy to children's rights issues. But what should be the role of the UN? What is the exclusive responsibility of each sovereign Member States? The Member States represented at ODUMUNC 48 will face difficult choices as they work to *Ensure the Welfare and Development of Children*.

Convention on the Rights of the Child

The foundational document guiding global responses to the problems of children is a treaty, *The Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CRC), agreed by the Member States of the UN on 20 November

1989. The CRC came into force on 2 September 1990, in accordance with Article 49 of the Convention. It remains the foremost international instrument for safeguarding children's rights on a global scale. The Convention defines a child as anyone under age eighteen. The unifying of principle of the CRC is Article 3, which holds in three subsections that,

- 1. In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.
- 2. States Parties undertake to ensure the child such protection and care as is necessary for his or her well-being, taking into account the rights and duties of his or her parents, legal guardians, or other individuals legally responsible for him or her, and, to this end, shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures.
- 3. States Parties shall ensure that the institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care or protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision.⁵

instrument of ratification or accession" (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, OHCR, 1989, 14). https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child

⁴ Article 49, stipulates, "1) The present convention shall enter into force on the thirteenth day following the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession. 2) For each state ratifying or acceding to the Convention after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirteenth day after the deposit by such State of its

⁵ Convention on the Rights of the Child, 20 November 1989, General Assembly resolution 44/25, https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-rights-child





The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child



The CRC is a long document, with detailed rights. It leaves most responsibility in the hands of the signatory states. As sovereign states, they are expected to formulate their own national responses to the goals and objectives established in the Convention. Many of the disputes over fulfillment of its terms hinge on how states are acting to meet those responsibilities.

Compliance with the CRC is entirely up to states that have signed and ratified the document. They work to align it with other UN human rights and global development frameworks. In conjunction with the UN Charter (1945) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the Convention finds that everyone (children included) are entitled to, "all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color,

sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." The main issues on advocating for this level of compliance is that it pressures State Parties and can force them into actions they may find detrimental or unhelpful towards ensuring children's rights in their own territory.

Although the Treaty has 140 signatories, challenges persist. For instance, the U.S. refused to participate in the Convention for years. American critics argue the US should not allow the UN a voice in its domestic affairs. Only under the leadership of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright in 1995, did the US begin the ratification process. To this day, the US Senate refuses to ratify the treaty, to make it part of domestic law.

The CRC's legitimacy has been weakened by the lack of Great Power support, as great powers like China, Russia and the United States all show reservations, strongly held beliefs that the CRC will undermine national sovereignty by giving the UN the authority to determine the best interests of their children.

CRC critics note that the CRC can enable interference in the private lives of families, mostly infringing on the parents' rights to educate, raise, and discipline their children. Thus, in many different circumstances, states opt to act unilaterally in ways that conflict or contradict the CRC protocols when it comes to safeguarding children's rights within their borders.

How to deal with such rule breaking is a major challenge for the Member States of

https://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREA TY&mtdsg_no=IV-11&chapter=4&clang=_en

⁶ OHCR, 1989, 1.

⁷ United Nations Treaty Collection (UNTC), 2024,

[&]quot;Chapter IV Human Rights." 1.





the UN. Some, led by the European Union, UK, and some governments in Africa and Latin America, demand the Convention be given teeth, and would punish violators for their actions. They favor trade sanctions against violating countries. Others, led by China and much of East Asia and the Non-Aligned Movement, note that states ultimately are the only sovereign authority, and their decisions must be respected by other states.

Children-Related Issues

Child Slavery: According to Anti-Slavery International's 2024 data, '12 million children are living in slavery.'8 They represent a quarter of the world's population who endure modern-day slavery, which in its worst forms involve trafficking, debt bondage, forced labor, forced marriage, and sexual exploitation. What makes the issue of child slavery particularly grotesque is that it remains globally persistent, with '3 million children in forced labor and 8.9 million children in forced marriages.'9 These discriminatory acts against children remove their rights of attaining dignity, education, and physical and emotional health development. Such miscarriages of justice are evident across all continents, but especially telling in the Sudanese context.



Source: Alvin Powell, 'Handmade horrors', *Harvard Gazette*, 24 February 2014, https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2014/02/handmade-horrors/

Child Soldiering: The child soldiering issue has also violently trapped many children from different geographic regions and cultures. These children have also been denied access to education and health programs, while they have been given weapons and are themselves weaponized as agents who propel war and civil unrest. Another UN report shows that 2023 was the worst year in nearly a decade in marking the highest number of violations against children. This same report cites, '5,301 were killed and another 6,348 injured in 2023, marking a rise of 35 per cent over previous vears.' 10 These figures also coincided with surging rates in the recruitment of children to fight wars, which also involved a 15% total of girl recruits. The UN found that child abductions in 2023 continued at high

⁸ Anti-Slavery International. 2024. "Ending Child Slavery." *Anti-Slavery*, n.d. https://www.antislavery.org/what-we-do/ending-child-slavery/

⁹ Anti-Slavery International. 2024.

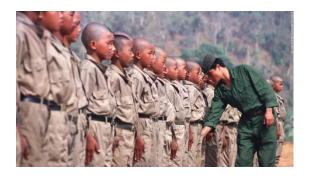
¹⁰ Africanews. 2024. "UN report shows 2023 was worst year for children in armed conflict." https://www.africanews.com/2024/06/27/un-report-shows-2023-was-worst-year-for-children-in-armed-conflict//





levels with 4,356 verified victims. ¹¹ Staying put in Africa, like Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is a hotbed of children rights violations.

The United Nations has not ignored the child soldier problem. In 2000 it created The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict (OPAC), the child soldier treaty. Under the convention, signatory states agree to prohibit conscription (drafting) children under the age of 18, to ensure that voluntary military recruits are no younger than sixteen and prevent child recruits (aged 16-17) from taking combat in hostilities. The treaty also forbids non-state armed groups (NSAGs), responsible for much of the child soldier problem, from recruiting anyone under the age of eighteen for any purpose. Enforcement, especially among non-state armed groups, is weak. 12



Source: Ibrahim Abro, 'The Recruitment of Children for Armed Conflicts', *DLP Forum*, 21 October 2022,

https://www.dlpforum.org/2022/10/21/the-recruitment-of-children-for-armed-conflicts/

Gender-Based Violence: Relative to the previously discussed cases, gender-based violence against girls remains at soaring rates, since they are routinely denied access to enrichment resources more than boys are. Doek's 2003 article asserts, '68 million girls do not receive any education at all.' 13 Rather than being educated informally or formally, girls are told to stay home with their mothers to cook and clean and that becoming educated in other ways are unattractive pursuits. Even with Article 28 of the CRC codifying that primary school education is compulsory for every child, different societies find loopholes when it comes to educating girls. 14 In these scenarios, the traditional gender norm mindsets are prioritized over a prolonged and comprehensive education of young girls. Janna Jihad of Palestine stands as a testament to this sad reality.

Children-Related Geographic Examples

Democratic Republic of Congo: In the DRC, armed conflicts between the military and rebel groups have taken its own devastating toll on the country's youth. Like the UN's 2023 global report about children in armed conflict, another 2023 report, with DRC specific data, compiled by the UN found that, "almost 4,000 grave violations were verified in the Central African country

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Optional_Protocol_on_t he_Involvement_of_Children_in_Armed_Conflict#Nati onal_responses_(examples)

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Optional Protocol on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict', Wikipedia,

¹³ Doek, J.E., 2003. "The protection of children's rights and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Achievements and Challenges." *St. Louis University Public Law Review* 22, no. 2, p. 236 https://scholarship.law.slu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1335&context=plr

¹⁴ Ibid.





last year." ¹⁵ Congolese children have been used by both warring factions as they vie for control of the country's vast natural resources. In her DRC report, Basheer alludes to this point by mentioning, "more than 1,800 children have been recruited by armed groups in 2023." ¹⁶

Enforcement remains a major problem, especially against NSAGs beyond the reach of UN Member States governments. The UN has tried to stop this escalation 'naming and shaming' tactics concerning the armed groups. However, this has been underwhelming. For example, a recent UN annual report found that, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, for example,

More than 650 children were verified to have been killed or maimed last year, the majority by three armed groups — CODECO, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), and M23. Thirty of these casualties were attributed to the military and police. Meanwhile, in 2023, sexual violence was committed by the armed groups against 279 girls and two boys in the DRC. ¹⁷

This downward spiral of children rights in armed conflict situations is witnessed well beyond Africa, with recruiting a major issue in Gaza, Mali, Myanmar, Sudan and elsewhere.

Haiti: Recent reports from Haiti show boys and girls forced to join gangs to try and secure their protection. Nevertheless, they continue to face rampant abuse, while being

forced into a life of criminal activity. A 2024 Human Rights Watch (HRW) report suggests,

hundreds if not thousands, of children 'driven by hunger and poverty' have in recent months joined gangs and were forced to commit criminal acts ranging from extortion and looting to killing and kidnapping. ¹⁸

In these cases, boys are often trained to become informants, including crash courses training in the use of weapons and ammunition. They are then employed in clashes against the police and other law enforcement authorities in the country. Girls are at risk of rape, forced to cook and clean for warlords, and then abandoned in impregnation cases. The UN authenticates these tragic ends by reporting, "at least 3.661 Haitian children were killed in 'senseless' gang violence this year." ¹⁹ The lack of institutional culture in Haiti to protect the rights of its children to access health and educational resources is also a key factor for why children play a bleak role in Haiti's armed conflict crisis. These barriers sadly persist elsewhere.

Sudan: Sudanese children have been repetitively victimized by the horrors of various Sudanese civil wars. Sudan's current war is no different as the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), both have been found responsible for, "indiscriminate airstrikes, shelling, and attacks on civilians, hospitals, schools, and

https://www.voanews.com/a/congo-s-children-recruited-raped-and-killed-in-conflict/7675260.html

¹⁵ Esheer, M., 2024. "Congo's children: Recruited, raped and killed in conflict." *VOA*.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Al Jazeera. 2024. "Haiti's gangs are recruiting child soldiers, rights group says."

https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2024/10/9/haitis-gangs-are-recruiting-child-soldiers-rights-group-says

19 Ibid.





vital infrastructures such as water and electricity supplies." ²⁰

Children are the ones in the crosshairs of these war crimes as UN fact finding indicates that SAF and RSF forces have obstructed their access to humanitarian pathways delivering those in dire need with the proper assistance. The UN also reports an unfortunately high rate of sexual violence, which includes the rape and forced slavery of children that have been internally displaced or forced to migrate.²¹

These children have been left with little to no other options to acquire the much-needed resources that have been destroyed during the country's period of civil unrest, so they are put in dangerous situations of placing their trust in dishonorable forces that wreak harm onto them. These same conditions intersect with other immediate dangers facing children living in armed conflict environments.

Syria: The Syrian civil war, raging since 2011, has seen various stages, featuring different combatant groups at different times. One thing all have in common is a willingness to arm children—soldiers under the age of eighteen—to fight. Islamic factions have been widely accused of using children as suicide bombers. The Syrian Government forces are accused of. Forcibly recruiting boys into its army and special units.

Suspicion that children are used by armed factions creates further difficulties. The Kurdish People's Defense Units (YPG), a military arm of the ethnic Kurdish minority in Syria, was implicated by a2023 UN report, Children and Armed Conflict, which accused the YPG of endangering the lives of Kurdish and non-Kurdish Syrian children. The report holds that YPG militiamen detained more than 800 minors based on their "associations" with other armed groups.²². The same report finds that the YPG has forcibly recruited hundreds of child soldiers into their ranks in 2023. At the same time, over 800 children were thought to be recruited into other armed groups. 23

To maintain governmental control in Syria, President al-Assad's forces '...operate extensively to recruit child soldiers into their ranks.' ²⁴ This predatory behavior competing for child recruits even goes as far as targeting schools and hospitals as attack zones. These escalations of violence against children are also employed in nearby Israel and has a generally a negative impact on the safety of girls.

Gaza: The war that began on 7 October 2023 when Hamas, the ruling organization of Gaza, attacked Israel, killing roughly 1,180 Israelis and Israeli residents and capturing 251 to hold as captives, including 30 child hostages, transformed the lies of everybody in the region.²⁵

<u>Kurdish-militias-conscripted-more-than-200-child-soldiers-in-2023-60946.html</u>

https://apnews.com/article/children-hostages-israel-

²⁰ Mundhra, S. 2024. "Sexual slavery, child soldiers, and ethnic cleansing: UN report unmasks horrors of Sudan war." *Firstpost.* https://www.firstpost.com/world/sexual-slavery-child-soldiers-and-ethnic-cleansing-un-report-unmasks-horrors-of-sudan-war-13812899.html

²¹ Ibid.

²² Prime Asia News. 2024. "UN: Syrian Kurdish militias conscripted more than 200 child soldiers in 2023." https://www.asianews.it/news-en/UN%3A-Syrian-

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ 'About 30 children were taken hostage by Hamas militants. Their families wait in agony', Associated Press. 27 October 2023,





The consequences of the war have been especially severe for the children of Gaza. Humanitarian assistance, coordinated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) has not been adequate to meet all the needs of Gaza's 2,140,000 people, including children, who make up half its population. ²⁶

The loss of family income and homes deprived the children of Gaza especially, as has the end of formal education and many medical services. Families struggling to find shelter and food and clothing often cannot serve the needs of their children. According to UNICEF, 700,00 children are among this displaced, living in tent cities or other improvised housing. The total number of children among the 44,000 Gaza residents killed (including both Hamas and other military group combatants, and civilians) is unknown. Palestinian authorities do not break down the numbers. One estimate in April 2024 estimated the total was 14,500.²⁷

The situation is less severe, but still serious for Palestinians in the West Bank. For example, at age seven, a Palestinian girl named Janna Jihad (Struggling Against the Enemies of Islam), was used by adults who made her the youngest press card-carrying journalist in the world. Jihad was used by her family and Palestinian activists to expose the conflict in her village in the West

palestinians-gaza-orphanc8e9f6dd703a9c14161eeb6ca9e25417 Bank, under Israeli military occupation since 1967. Under occupation, Jihad and other children allegedly are denied basic human rights under the CDC. She exposed discrimination, which Amnesty International refers to as, 'abrupt arrests while they and their families are asleep at home and the denial of rights to education and freedom of movement, as their paths are blocked by barriers and checkpoints which force delays on any journey.' 28

The Israeli-Hamas conflict was singled out in the UN's Children in Armed Conflict report as a worsening situation, with a 155 percent increase in what the report categorizes as "grave violations" against children.²⁹ The UN's response to this crisis has been to place both Israel and Hamas for the first time to its list of children's rights offenders.

Verification is still ongoing with thousands of reports concerning children's fatalities still needing to be checked. Explosives launched in heavily populated areas by Israeli armed and security forces seem to be the main culprit driving the issue. The UN report supports this assertion as, "8,000 'grave violations' against 4,247 Palestinian children and 113 Israeli children were filed in 2023." The reasons for the rapid escalation of this crisis like the other ones can be attributed to a continuous rise in child

territory/education-under-attack-gaza-nearly-90-school-buildings-damaged-or-destroyed-and-no-university-left-standing

²⁶ Linah Mohammad, 'Children make up nearly half of Gaza's population. Here's what it means for the war', NPR, 19 October 2023,

https://www.npr.org/2023/10/19/1206479861/israel-gaza-hamas-children-population-war-palestinians

²⁷ 'Education under attack in Gaza, with nearly 90% of school buildings damaged or destroyed, and no university left standing', Relief Web, 16 April 2024, https://reliefweb.int/report/occupied-palestinian-

²⁸ Amnesty International. 2024. "Children's Human Rights." *Amnesty International*. https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/child-rights/

²⁹ Tawfik, N., & G. Wright. 2024. "Israel and Hamas added to UN list for violating children's rights." *BBC News*. https://bbc.com/news/articles/cv223vlerdvo ³⁰ Ibid.





poverty and the lack of access to educational and health resources globally speaking.

Country and Bloc Positions

China: Chinese diplomats strongly support the goals of the CDC. But they insist that each sovereign country be solely responsible for implementation, that the international community cannot judge or criticize fellow UN Member States. On this, as on all issues. China seeks to safeguard the sovereignty of domestic policy and ensure its own authority over its own people, as well as the people of the renegade province of Taiwan. 'China's continuing and vehement insistence on respect for other nations' sovereignty is not only a cornerstone of its foreign policy but a foundational ethos for the government of a nation that has traditionally struggled to maintain control at its edges — from Xinjiang and Tibet in the far west to Hong Kong and Taiwan off its east coast.' 31

European Union (EU): the 27 Member States of the EU, and others that join the group in much UN voting like Norway, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, strongly support the universalization of the CDC and tightening standards on the rights of children for all countries. All countries must support universal standards and responsibilities, they insist. EU states put their money where their mouth is, with generous foreign assistance to support the welfare and education of children. But they insist that aid be carefully overseen by their government authorities to ensure there is no fraud or abuse in its use, and any misuse is prosecuted. They will not cave in to NAM

governments that demand aid recipients be in control.

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM): the 132 countries of the UN's largest voting bloc are especially concerned with reversing the effects of colonialism and foreign intervention in their own affairs. They demand more financial aid from foreign colonial countries of Europe and the United States to support the needs of their children. They further insist that any assistance come without foreign oversight or supervision, ostensibly to prevent fraud and misuse of the money, but they see it as taking control away from the aid recipients and enhancing neo-colonial control of foreigners. They are generous donors of aid, in other words, but insist on careful oversight over use of any money they offer.

United States: The US strongly supports the goals of the CDC and all international action to enhance the rights of children. Although it refuses to join the convention itself, for its own domestic sovereign reasons, it believes all countries should adhere to its principles. The US is especially critical of enemy states like China, Cuba, Iran, Nicaragua, North Korea and Venezuela, and urges that UN action target those violators above all, and be less preoccupied with universal principles, which the United States maintains only help violators.

Some Possible Proposals for the UN Special Session

In terms of offering different strategies to ensure the welfare and development of children, there are many proposals to be

28 September 2024, https://apnews.com/article/china-united-nations-general-assembly-51ea58a6cd821656382f06ad0b3b93bc

³¹ Ted Anthony, 'China, at UN, warns against 'expansion of the battlefield' in the Ukraine war', *Associated Press*,





considered. The Special Session is not limited to the suggestions below, but they may offer a useful starting point for deliberations.

Keep things as they are with the UN system taking a restrained role and the CRC remaining as the most crucial international treaty of its kind. By staying the course, it allows the UN to be seen more as an ally of Member States, rather than intruder in the domestic affairs of CRC State Parties. Hopefully, this can create a more cooperative environment for discourse on children's rights expansion to be peaceful. However, a drawback of this approach is that things remain as chaotic as ever before over this issue with a sustained growth of child victims worldwide.

The UN system must seek the guidance and capabilities of non-UN agencies to administer enforceable compliance from CRC State Parties.

This may suggest Plan International takes on the mantle demanding more human rights justice be guaranteed to girls on a global scale, since it has already implemented a Girls' Rights Platform as its mission. This Platform recommends more legally binding safety rails for ensuring girls' rights. For example, it calls for,

1) addressing girls' double burden of gender-andage based discrimination and commit to the realization of girls' rights, 2) take measures to bridge the gaps between women's and children's rights that currently render girls invisible, 3) ensure that norms and frameworks for producing future international policy and agreements better reflect the challenges girls face, and most importantly 4) urge states to comply with international standards to advance girls' rights.³²

This method can include UN partners and sponsored programs, like providing Ukrainian children in the aftermath of the Russian invasion with adequate schooling, COVID/flu vaccines, and other much needed services that they have been deprived of. They make it a priority to educate grassroots projects on children's rights about their efforts every International Day for the Protection of Children.³³

All involved organizations should make it mandatory each year to commemorate this holiday a new trust building, and enforcement legislation ought to be added to strengthen the CRC. Naturally, a discernible problem with such action is the pushback it will receive from unruly State and multilateral actors that have different worldviews on what children's rights ought to be.

Create a special task force for conflict zones where children's rights are seriously violated.

These task forces will be properly trained and educated on each of their specialized areas. They will also be diverse in its assemblage, with both domestic and foreign agents representing the taskforce. This will facilitate a united front standing up to children's rights injustices. It guarantees that neither side will try to take full control of taking on destructive forces in the region that jeopardize children's rights.

These task forces will have military forces from the different countries of individuals represented in the taskforce to use in the specific conflict zones if need be. This strategy can be effective in stymying the violence perpetrated against children in the geographic areas discussed throughout this brief. However, the violation of children's rights can be heightened by this proposal if States feel that it is a clear-cut intrusion to their national sovereignty.

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³³ United Nations in Ukraine. 2024. "International Day for Protection of Children: The Continued Impact of the War." https://ukraine.un.org/en/270232-international-day-protection-children-continued-impact-war-childrens-rights-ukraine





Conclusion

The perpetuation of children's rights abuses has increased even after a nearly universal ratification of the CRC and other legislations documenting the need for changes on how the world addresses children's rights guarantees.

Recalling how the UN employed SDGs and adopted Resolutions 77/78 to bring much needed improvements to the matter is a decent starting point, but more changes need to be made and agreed upon by all involved parties in these international dictates. ³⁴ Offering the addition of more General

Comments to these treaties can also boost their effectiveness to solve this volatile pandemic of children's rights regressions.

The work of the Special Session at ODUMUNC 48 can give the issue stronger language to compel world governments to become less lenient towards any encountered children's rights violations. Even so, given the tendency of these governments to retract their commitments to comply with CRC protocols from time to time, it is vital that more than just words are added to grander scheme solutions.

The proposals suggested here offer the UN Member States represented at ODUMUNC 48 paths forward to protect children's rights across the globe.

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³⁴ United Nations General Assembly, "Resolution 77/8," U.N. Doc. A/RES/77-8 (November 11, 2022).





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