

THE CEDAW & THE GOVERNMENT'S OBLIGATIONS

Gender: The socially constructed roles of women and men that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex, in private and public life.¹

THE CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW) & THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The past four decades have seen the emergence in international human rights law of the concept that our experience of our rights, contrary to the assumptions of most international instruments, is not gender-neutral. Women's traditional exclusion from the public arenas where these instruments were written, and the failure of human rights instruments to address the private sphere, where much gender discrimination takes place, have perpetuated systemic and systematic gender discrimination. The Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination of All Forms Against Women is part of a larger movement to redress the historical abrogation of women's rights and guarantee women's equality henceforth.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- 1967 The United Nations' Commission on the Status of Women drafted the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, which contained all the international standards concerning women's rights adopted by the UN since 1945. This declaration was adopted in the same year and formed the basis for the later CEDAW convention.
- 1975 The first UN Conference on Women was held in Mexico City. This conference called for a UN Decade for Women, which was subsequently declared from 1976-1985. Also, the conference proposed drafting a convention on women's human rights.
- 1979 The Commission on the Status of Women formulated the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women -- CEDAW -- as the first comprehensive international treaty on women's human rights. The CEDAW is often called an international bill of women's rights, including civil and political rights as well as economic, social and cultural rights. Therefore it extends beyond the public sphere into the private domain of households and families, where much discrimination against women takes place.
- 1976 - 1985 During the Decade for Women, two more UN World Conferences on Women were held and extensive lobbying for the promotion of gender equality and women's rights was undertaken.
- 1993 The Vienna World Conference on Human Rights officially adopted the slogan "Women's rights are human rights," largely as a result of lobbying by the women's NGO community. Moreover, women's rights were defined as indivisible and universal, comprising civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights -- consistent with the CEDAW.
- 1995 The 4th World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China in September. This was the first global conference on women where issues concerning women in development were closely and explicitly linked to women's human rights. The Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), the final document signed by governments attending the conference, clearly reflects the spirit and premises of the CEDAW.
- 2000 In June, governments met again to review implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action five years later at the Women 2000 meeting (also known as Beijing + 5) at the UN in New York.

The CEDAW convention is a powerful instrument for holding governments accountable for creating the preconditions for gender equality. Although governments voluntarily ratify the CEDAW, once they have done so they are committed to observing it as a contract under international law. It is, in other words, a legal agreement with governments that spells out a code of conduct. That said, it must be recognized that the Convention lacks any punitive measures to be employed against governments that contravene its articles. The review process with the CEDAW Committee is viewed as a dialogue, where Committee members evaluate progress and suggest further courses of action. In the terms of the Convention, no automatic sanctions are imposed for actions that transgress its principles (*see the section on the Optional Protocol, below*), unless disputes between two States Parties are referred to the International Court of Justice.

World conferences such as the Women's Conference at Beijing are mainly political events marking the world-wide recognition of important issues and attempting to find consensus among governments about how to approach those issues. The Beijing Conference was also important because it reaffirmed that women's human rights are central to the pursuit of gender equality. At Beijing, governments that had not ratified the CEDAW were encouraged to do so. As of July 2001, 168 countries had ratified the Convention, making it one of the most widely ratified human rights treaties, second only to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

At the Beijing Women's Conference, governments also endorsed the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), a document written to serve as an international guideline for the formation of policies for women. The Beijing Platform for Action does not have the legally binding status that the CEDAW does. Furthermore, governments are not required to report individually on their adherence to the BPFA as they are to the CEDAW.² However, compared with the CEDAW, the BPFA is much more specific about how governments should work to implement programs for the achievement of gender equality. Under each of its 12 Critical Areas of Concern, the BPFA provides actions to be undertaken by governments and NGOs. Thus, while the CEDAW can then be seen as the government's binding commitment to the principles of gender equality, the BPFA is its pledge to take practical steps to ensure that progress toward this aim is made.

In its report on the 22nd Session, the CEDAW Committee noted,

The Convention and the Platform for Action adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women are closely connected. The Convention's rights and provisions encompass all areas of concern set forth in the Platform for Action and its monitoring process enables the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women to ensure compliance with both the Platform for Action and the Convention. It is the only international instrument that provides both the legal framework for the Platform for Action and the means by which it may be realized.³

Throughout this report, in addition to the articles of the CEDAW, we will make reference to relevant sections of the Platform for Action and its directions to governments for implementation of policies and programs for women.

STRUCTURE OF THE CEDAW

Like all conventions, the CEDAW begins with a preamble describing its contents and significance. The preamble is followed by articles that spell out:

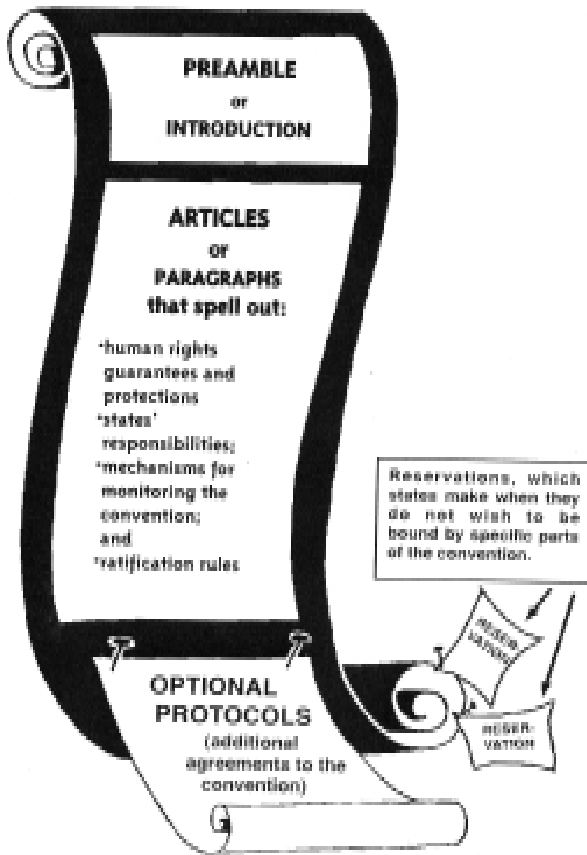
- Women's human rights guarantees and protections
- States Parties' responsibilities
- Mechanisms for monitoring the convention
- Ratification rules

The articles are divided into six parts:

Part I	articles 1 – 6
Part II	articles 7 – 9
Part III	articles 10 – 14
Part IV	articles 15 and 16
Part V	articles 17 – 22
Part VI	articles 23 – 30

Parts I to IV (Articles 1 – 16), which articulate the rights guaranteed and protected, are called the “substantive” articles of the Convention.

The following is a brief description of the provisions under each article.⁴ The full text of the Convention can be found on the UN Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) web-page at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw>.



This figure is reproduced from "A Walk through CEDAW.... The Women's Convention," *The Tribune (A Women and Development Quarterly)*, Newsletter 58: Women Moving Human Rights Centre Stage, May 1999, p. 6.

Part I

Article 1: definition of discrimination

Discrimination against women is: "Any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women... of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Article 2: policy measures to be taken

Governments condemn discrimination against women in all its forms and will work to end it. The principles of equality will be embodied in the national constitution. This article includes abolishing all existing laws, customs and regulations that are discriminatory, as well as taking measures to stop discrimination by any person, organization or enterprise.

Article 3: guarantee of basic human rights

Governments will take appropriate actions to ensure the

advancement of women and to protect their rights on a basis of equality with men.

Article 4: temporary special measures

Governments may institute affirmative action programmes, such as creating laws and quotas, to ensure women's advancement. These will not be considered discriminatory. The measures should be discontinued when equality is achieved.

Article 5: sex roles and stereotyping

Governments will strive to eliminate cultural and traditional practices that perpetuate discrimination and gender stereotyping of women.

Article 6: prostitution

Governments will work to eliminate trafficking in women and the exploitation of prostitution of women.

Part II

Article 7: political and public life

Governments will work to eliminate discrimination against women in political and public life and shall ensure women the right to vote and to hold political office, to participate in the formulation of policies at all levels of government and to participate in non-governmental organizations.

Article 8: participation at the international level

Governments will take action to ensure women the opportunity to represent their government at the international level and to participate in international organizations.

Article 9: nationality

Governments will grant women equal rights to change or retain their nationality and that of their children.

Part III

Article 10: equal rights in education

Governments will act to eliminate discrimination against women in education. This includes giving women equal access to education and vocational guidance; the same curricula, examinations, standards for teaching and equipment; and equal access to scholarships and grants. It also means elimination of stereotyping in education and textbooks, as well as equal rights to health and family planning information.

Article 11: employment

Governments will eliminate discrimination against women in the workplace. Women will have the same employment rights as men, including free choice of profession, employ-

ment, training, and equal remuneration and benefits. Additionally, they will have the right to maternity leave and special protection against harmful work during pregnancy.

Article 12: health care and family planning

Governments will eliminate discrimination against women in health care and provide access on an equal basis with men to health care services, including family planning.

Article 13: economic and social benefits

Governments will act to eliminate discrimination against women in the economic and social arenas. Women will have equal access to family benefits, loans and credits, and an equal right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.

Article 14: rural women

Governments will consider the particular problems faced by rural women, recognizing the special roles they play in economic survival of their families and their unpaid work. Governments will act to eliminate discrimination against them and ensure their equal participation in development and in all community activities. This article also enshrines the right to adequate living conditions -- housing, sanitation, water, transport and communications.

Part IV

Article 15: equality before the law

Governments will give women equality with men before the law, including rights to make contracts, administer property, appear in court before tribunals, and to choose residence and domicile.

Article 16: marriage and family law

Governments will seek to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters related to marriage and the family. This includes equal rights to enter into marriage, the right to freely choose a partner and the right to enter into marriage only with free and full consent. It also includes the right to freely choose the number and spacing of children and the same personal rights for husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation. Finally, it entails equal rights and responsibilities regarding ownership, management and disposition of property.

Part V

Article 17: the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

The CEDAW creates a 23-member committee, composed of independent experts in the fields covered by the convention, to

implement its provisions and to monitor compliance. Committee members are nominated by their governments and elected by secret ballot by States Parties to the convention.

Article 18: reports of States Parties to the Committee

Governments who have ratified CEDAW must submit a report to the committee, indicating the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures they have taken to implement the convention, as well as the progress made and difficulties encountered in this respect. The initial report is to be submitted one year after ratification, and subsequent reports every four years.

Article 19: rules of Procedure

The committee adopts its own rules of procedure and elects officers (a chairperson and so on) for a two-year term.

Article 20: Committee meetings

The committee meets twice a year for three weeks (in January and in July) at the UN headquarters in New York, with 10 countries from a mix of the various world regions scheduled for review in each session.

Article 21: Committee reports

Through the Economic and Social Council, the CEDAW committee reports annually on its activities to the UN General Assembly. It may make suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of reports and information received. The UN General Assembly transmits these reports to the Commission on the Status of Women for its information.

Article 22: role of specialized UN agencies

The specialized agencies may attend CEDAW sessions on the implementation of provisions in areas that fall under the scope of their activities and may be invited by the committee to submit reports on the implementation of such provisions in the countries under review.

Part VI

Article 23: stronger provisions in national & international law

If national or international law is more conducive to the equality between men and women than CEDAW, the convention shall not affect those provisions.

Article 24: commitment of States Parties

States Parties commit themselves to adopt all necessary measures at the national level aimed at the full realization of the rights recognized in the CEDAW.

Articles 25-30: administration of the convention

States are entitled to ratify or accede to the Convention with reservations. This means that a government can keep aside an article of the Convention so that it is not obliged to comply with its provisions. Any reservations may not be incompatible with the object and purpose of the treaty, and they may be withdrawn at any time. Article 29 provides that any dispute between states regarding the interpretation of the convention may be submitted to arbitration, or, if the terms of the arbitration cannot be agreed upon within a six-month period, to the International Court of Justice. (Note: Burma made a reservation to this specific article.)

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Each time it meets, the Committee adopts and issues General Recommendations. Since the Convention was first written in 1979, the international dialogue on women's human rights has grown tremendously, expanding the interpretation of concepts enshrined in the Convention. The Committee's ongoing interaction with governments, women's organizations and other NGOs continues to broaden and define the scope of the Convention as it applies to women's lives. General Recommendations give further explanation to governments about specific aspects of rights covered by the Convention, and guidance as to how these should be addressed in governments' obligatory reports. At the end of each session, the new General Recommendations are adopted by consensus, unless disagreements are lodged by governments (something which has occurred on occasion). Once the General Recommendations have been accepted, they function as part of the Convention, and may be referred to by Committee members and NGOs while reviewing a government's implementation. By way of example, while violence against women implicitly runs counter to all the rights enumerated in the Convention, it is not explicitly mentioned in the original text. However, General Recommendation No. 19, adopted in 1992, deals extensively with violence against women and government obligations to eradicate it.

CEDAW MONITORING MECHANISMS⁵

The twice-yearly CEDAW Committee meetings at the UN in New York are the main monitoring mechanism for governmental compliance with the provisions of the Convention. Governments are obliged to submit initial reports, establishing a baseline against which progress towards eliminating

gender discrimination will be measured, to the Committee within a year of ratifying the Convention. After this, they are required to submit periodic reports every four years. Governments are scheduled to appear before the Committee after their written reports are received, and there is a considerable backlog of reporting countries at present.

At each meeting, reporting governments present their reports to the Committee in public session. One Committee member serves as a country rapporteur for each of the governments presenting during the session, reviewing and summarizing all the information received from various sources about the country. Her job is then to give a preliminary presentation – which includes an assessment of the country report – during closed-door sessions. In addition to the government reports, the CEDAW committee considers factual information coming from other sources, such as NGOs, the media, academia and specialized UN agencies, which is shared among the Committee during their planning sessions.

The Committee's 23 experts, all of whom have studied the country reports prior to the government's presentation, then address their questions to the government representatives following the order of the substantive articles of the Convention. They laud governments for areas in which progress has been made, request clarification and further information on situations of particular concern, and offer advice as to how advancement could be achieved. In the case of initial reports, government receives the questions during the session. The government must respond to questions arising out of the first day's dialogue in writing and also present their answers to the Committee orally in a second public consultation, usually within three days of the initial meeting. For periodic reports, questions are sent in advance of the session to the government and the country's UN mission, so that representatives may provide the answers in their first meeting with the Committee. If it is not possible for a government to provide adequate additional information during the session, the Committee requests that its answers to their questions be incorporated into the next periodic report. The country rapporteur drafts Concluding Observations on that country after dialogue. At the end of the session, the Committee releases its Concluding Observations, including recommendations, on each government's report.

In recent years, NGOs have been playing an increasingly important role in the CEDAW monitoring process by producing what have become known as “shadow,” or alternative, reports. These are usually prepared by a coalition of NGOs in or from a country and include concerns and issues that are frequently not adequately covered in the government’s report. Shadow reports can be conveyed to the members of the Committee, who are usually quite happy to have supplementary information, prior to the session for consideration. With the assistance of the UN Division for the Advancement of Women and IRAW, the Committee has also established a practice of meeting with NGOs during the first week of each session in order to hear their concerns. NGOs are given

the opportunity to present interventions (short oral statements addressing the Committee directly that cannot exceed a time limit, usually of five to seven minutes). In addition, NGOs can sometimes meet and talk informally with committee experts about specific issues and concerns, before and after the committee’s working sessions. NGOs are also able to attend the public sessions, but they can participate only as observers while committee experts question government representatives.

THE SPDC AT THE 22ND SESSION OF THE CEDAW

Burma ratified the CEDAW Convention on 22 July 1997, and the Convention came into force in the country a month later, on 21 August 1997. The SPDC presented its first report to the Committee in January 2000 at the 22nd CEDAW Session. Much of the material incorporated into this publication by Images Asia was first presented to the CEDAW Committee in the form of a shadow report. A shadow report was also submitted to the Committee by exiled women’s groups from Burma. In order to present these reports, members of the Asia Pacific Center for Justice and Peace, the Burmese Women’s Union, EarthRights International, Images Asia, the Karenni National Women’s Organization, the Shan Women’s Action Network, and the Tavoyan Women’s Union also attended the 22nd CEDAW session in New York. We worked together to lobby Committee members outside the formal meetings about critical issues confronting Burmese women. Prior to the government’s presentation, the Burmese women’s groups held a noon briefing at the UN, which began with a video address to the CEDAW Committee by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Following the screening, four indigenous women related the human rights abuses they had personally experienced and observed while living in Burma.

On 21 January 2000, U Win Mra, Ambassador to the Myanmar Permanent Mission at the UN, appeared before the CEDAW Committee along with Daw Khin Aye Win from the Rangoon University Department of Psychology, Daw Khin Ohn Thant, and the Mission’s junior secretary, Ma Maw Maw, to introduce the SPDC’s country report to the Committee. Reporting guidelines for countries clearly state that initial reports should provide concrete data wherever possible and address all the 16 substantive articles of the Convention. However in their oral

COMMENTS FROM INTERVIEWEES

Prior to the CEDAW session, we asked women if they were aware that the SPDC government had ratified the CEDAW and what they thought of it. Here are some of their observations.

I don’t think they’re a good government for women. They only act to benefit themselves. They serve neither the people nor the country. (CINT 60)

During the past 10 years, the SLORC have been saying that they will upgrade the position of women. But in fact it’s not true. Actually, they don’t really understand how to give women their rights, rather than oppress them. They only understand how to be opportunist. They also don’t try to understand the worst sufferings of the people. ...They’re only looking out for the people who support them, male or female. They always said that they uphold women’s rights.... Only for those women who support them will the SPDC give the chance and put them at the top. Intelligent or not, it doesn’t matter. The really capable and active girls will be jailed if they go against the government. This is their only idea. I absolutely don’t believe that SPDC will encourage and uplift women. (CINT 91)

I don’t think the government will really take responsibility for women’s rights. I don’t trust them. It’s because they always lie. They always spread lies as news. So I think they signed [the CEDAW] to give a good impression to the world. But I don’t think they will follow according to what they signed. (CINT 97)

THE OPTIONAL PROTOCOL TO THE CEDAW

Optional protocols are human rights treaties in themselves. They are usually written to provide additional procedures or more specialized sections relating to human rights conventions. Optional protocols are open for adoption by all countries that have ratified the original treaties. Although the idea of providing an additional mechanism to the CEDAW was suggested as early as 1976, work on the Optional Protocol to the CEDAW did not begin until 1993. The drafting process proceeded with a great deal of debate over finding language both adequate for redress of women's grievances and acceptable to states. The 21-article treaty was adopted by the Committee for the Status of Women on 12 March 1999 and accepted by the General Assembly on 6 October 1999. As of July 2001, 68 states had signed the protocol, and 23 had become party to it by ratifying. With its ratification by 10 states complete as of 22 September 2000, the Optional Protocol entered into force three months later, on 22 December 2000.

The Optional Protocol to the CEDAW provides a mechanism that gives women as individuals or in groups the right to complain to the CEDAW Committee about violations of the Convention by States Parties. This is known as the communication procedure. It also allows the Committee to conduct investigations into grave or systematic violations of women's human rights in countries that ratify the Optional Protocol. This is known as the inquiry procedure.

The procedures remain untried thus far, so it is still too early to see how the Protocol will be practically applied. Many women's organizations question whether it can be effective in addressing the most serious violations of women's human rights, as these often occur in states resistant to international criticism and intervention. Since its mechanisms are only available to women in ratifying countries, at present the emphasis is on encouraging as many states as possible to sign on.

Even when a state agrees to abide by the Protocol, several issues remain potentially problematic. Perhaps the most obvious is that women must be aware the procedures exist before they can have recourse to them. Women from repressive countries, where the state is often the direct perpetrator of human rights violations, have also expressed concerns about complainants' safety during the process, and the requirement that complainants exhaust all domestic legal remedies before resorting to the Protocol. In some countries, such as Burma, this would require proving the justice system is not adequately functional, and therefore there is no justice to access or exhaust. Filing a complaint would also require resources, presumably provided by women's organizations and legal aid groups, which are often not available to ordinary women in these countries. The complaints procedure is potentially lengthy; in cases involving incarceration or egregious injury, it is not unlikely that women could die or suffer further violations before their cases are settled. The inquiry procedure requires the consent of the state party for members of the Committee to visit the country to confirm evidence provided. In either procedure, governments are provided an "opt out" clause in Article 10 which allows them to refuse to recognize the competence of the Committee to conduct an inquiry. (However, States Parties are prohibited under Article 17 from reserving any of the Protocol's articles.) Thus, while the adoption of the Optional Protocol represents a momentous step forward in the development of international standards on women's human rights, its real efficacy will only become known when it begins to be used.

After learning about the Optional Protocol, one woman from Burma commented,

How can anyone send a letter to the UN without the officials knowing? You would need a mechanism that will reach the right people in Burma. Right now it seems that the mechanisms are only available to the wrong people. How would the individual know the information [that such a Convention exists]? You would need an information campaign to let the people know, but in Burma, the government won't let anyone do such a thing! CINT 01

Nonetheless, it is hoped that the SPDC or any other future government of Burma will ratify the Protocol.

presentation, the SPDC delegation chose to focus primarily on only two areas, maternal health and education.

Immediately following the government's presentation, Committee members raised queries and requested further detail regarding the issues the government addressed. Government responses to specific questions asked by the Committee members were heard on 26 January 2000. The Committee's Concluding Observations were released following the end of the Committee session on 4 February.

In their examination of the government, the CEDAW Committee members were frankly critical of many of the statements in the government report. In particular, they repeatedly criticized the government for the paucity of reliable sex-disaggregated data supplied to evaluate the implementation of the Convention in Burma. Throughout their dialogue with the government delegation, Committee members intimated that they questioned the SPDC's commitment to the Convention, noting that without any budgetary allocation, they did not understand how the National Women's Affairs Committee was to implement programs. One member commented that despite the fact the SPDC had not entered reservations to any of the substantive articles of the Convention, they seemed to have *de facto* reservations to virtually every article.⁶ Concern was also expressed over

...the absence of an enabling environment for women in the country. As long as there [is] neither a democratic constitution nor a strong civil society in place, all actions [will] be regarded as token, never as substantial.⁷

The Committee commented that internal ethnic and political conflict constituted serious obstacles to the full implementation of the Convention. In particular, the absence of data on ethnic minority women and women in rural areas made any assessment of how the rights of these women were guaranteed difficult. Committee members expressed their concern about violations of women's human rights in ethnic areas where conflict is ongoing, including forced relocations, forced labour and sexual violence perpetrated by the military. The experts also requested further information regarding access to services for women living in internal relocation sites, border areas and in refugee camps in neighbouring countries. Committee members made special mention of the regime's use of forced labour and the ILO's investi-

gation into the problem, calling for assurances that the practice had ceased.

The Committee asked for more information regarding the assessment and prevention of trafficking of women and girls and their exploitation for prostitution, given the magnitude of the problem. They reminded the government that their obligation was to women's health (physical and mental) throughout the life cycle, not simply to women as mothers, and requested further data of the effects of HIV/AIDS on women, noting the rapid spread of the epidemic in Burma.

Questions and concerns were also raised about whether laws would be amended in accordance with the CEDAW, and about prosecution and punishment in cases of violence against women, particularly when the offenders were military. Given that the constitution-drafting process is ongoing, experts asked which constitution is currently in force in Burma and how the new constitution was expected to provide guarantees of women's human rights. The Committee also inquired about the availability of legal protection mechanisms for women, in the community and in the case of work disputes.

From the beginning of their dialogue, Committee members repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction with government efforts to promote women's participation in elections and in public decision-making, noting that the country's popularly elected leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, Asia's first woman Nobel prize-winner, had been put under house arrest for her activities. They also voiced concern for Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's personal safety, and for that of other politically active women who had been imprisoned for their activities.

Excerpts from the dialogue between the government and the Committee are included in the following chapters of this report, which address specific areas of women's human rights. UN press releases about the meetings, as well as the government report and the Committee's Final Report on its 22nd Session are available on-line from the UN's Division for the Advancement of Women at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/22sess.htm>. The Committee's comments were also communicated to then Special Rapporteur on Burma, Rasjoomer Lallah, who made note of the violations of women's

human rights in his report to the UN General Assembly in October 2000.

The apparent impact that individual women and women's organizations were able to make during the CEDAW reporting session at the UN, and at other UN human rights fora, gives hope that women's human rights issues will have greater prominence on the international agenda in the future. Burma is scheduled to deliver the second periodic report to the CEDAW Committee four years from the initial report in 2004.

NOTES

1. United Nations Secretary-General, "Integrating the gender perspective into the work of United Nations human rights treaty bodies," HRI/MC/1998/6, p. 5.
2. Although questionnaires were distributed to governments prior to the Women 2000 meeting about their implementation of the PFA, there was no review of individual states' progress. Instead, the information was used to compile a general document gauging the international success of PFA implementation to date.
3. United Nations, "Report of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women," Twenty-second session (17 January-4 February 2000), Twenty-third session (12-30 June 2000), General Assembly Official Records, Fifty-fifth session, Supplement No. 38 (A/55/38), p. 3.
4. This section is modified slightly from "A Walk through CEDAW.... The Women's Convention," The Tribune (A Women and Development Quarterly), Newsletter 58: Women Moving Human Rights Centre Stage, May 1999, p. 14-15.
5. This section summarizes information presented in "Looking More Closely at One Convention," The Tribune (A Women and Development Quarterly), Newsletter 58: Women Moving Human Rights Centre Stage, May 1999, p.18-20.
6. Burma reserved Article 29, which allows referral of disputes between states to the International Court of Justice. This is a procedural, not a substantive, article.
7. UN Press Release WOM/1166, "Committee On Elimination Of Discrimination Against Women Concludes Consideration Of Myanmar Report," 26 January 2000.