

PROTEGO:

OPERATIONALIZING THE GENEVA CONSENSUS DECLARATION

Summary

<u>Valerie Huber</u> is an American anti-gender activist who began her career as an abstinence-only promoter in the US state of Ohio. <u>Based on her</u> "Christian beliefs," she founded several state-level, abstinence-only, and anti-comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) organizations to advocate for "the biblical standard of abstinence until marriage." Huber's national and international profile rose dramatically when former President Donald Trump's administration appointed her to a <u>top position</u> in the US Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). She is <u>best known</u> as the architect of the Trump administration's global anti-abortion initiative, the <u>Geneva Consensus Declaration</u> (GCD), which launched in 2020 while she was at the HHS.

Following Trump's electoral loss in 2020, Huber left the HHS and in 2021 founded a nongovernmental organization, the <u>Institute for Women's Health</u> (IWH), which she leads as its president and chief executive officer. While IWH claims to advance women's health, in fact, the group is effectively a mechanism to operationalize the GCD—a non-binding agreement—into practice. IWH has been carrying this out through their new initiative, Protego.

While there are few specifics on what is included in Protego's curricula and training documents, much is known about the project's intent and ambition from IWH's website, social media, and news coverage of the project's roll out in Guatemala. Protego is designed to be a partnership between IWH and government ministries; it is implemented through training of the public sector, including educational and health systems; and it is informed by Huber's background as an advocate for abstinence-only education and her work in the Trump administration as an anti-abortion proponent. It is likely IWH will initially target the 36 current GCD signatory countries.

Protego is anchored in IWH's <u>Women's Optimal Health Framework</u> (WOHF), which purports to equip "nations, health systems, and health providers with high-impact, low-cost, evidence-based interventions to support the health and wellbeing of women and their families." While this jargon-heavy description leaves out any particulars about what is substantively included in these interventions, Protego's pilot implementation in Guatemala reveals considerable detail of what the dissemination plan looks like in practice; we include a case study below.

Huber is actively working to expand Protego beyond Guatemala. In a January 2024 interview, <u>she claimed</u> that 15 countries "are considering scaling Protego," and she has expressed the hope that the US will implement Protego at the state level. In 2023 she promoted the project during embassy-level visits in Washington, DC. She also traveled to several other countries—including those that were not GCD signatories at the time—to spread the gospel of the GCD, soliciting interest for future government partners to both join the GCD and implement Protego. Huber <u>has said</u> her goal is to have 72 GCD member states.

Background: Who Is Valerie Huber?

<u>Valerie Huber</u> has no technical training in public health or evidence-based education. Late in her career, in 2009, she received a master's of education "from a distinctly biblical worldview" from <u>Baptist Cedarville University</u>. The school is a private, "Christ-centered," Southern Baptist Convention college in Ohio that has, since Huber attended, experienced <u>sexual abuse</u>, <u>harassment</u>, and <u>student shaming</u> scandals. Huber launched <u>her professional career</u> in the field in the late 1990s when she <u>founded</u> REACH, a "character-building and risk-avoidance" youth program. Huber quickly moved away from using abstinence-only framing in her work, rebranding it as "sexual risk avoidance" in order to decouple it from its religious associations and instead present the theme from a "<u>public health standpoint</u>."

Huber left REACH in 2004 to work in government with the Ohio Department of Health's Abstinence Education Program, overseeing their abstinence-only sex education programs until 2007. In 2006, Huber was temporarily suspended by the department for an ethics violation when she attempted to secure a state contract with Cox Creative, a Colorado-based company she had registered in Ohio. Following her tenure at the state level, she led yet another organization, Ascend (formerly the National Abstinence Education Association), which represents people who promote abstinence education. She also served on the board of Pregnancy Decision Health Centers, an anti-abortion center in Ohio.

In June 2017, Huber leap frogged to national prominence when the Trump administration appointed her chief of staff at the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Health at the HHS, overseeing a budget of US\$277 million for abstinence-only education. Within a year, she was HHS's acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Population Affairs, charged with federal family planning funding. She also served as Senior Advisor for Global Affairs before her appointment as US Special Representative for Global Women's Health.

Protego: Implementing the Geneva Consensus Declaration

Huber is the architect and lead promoter of the GCD, an anti-abortion manifesto with no enforcement power, signed by 36 countries, the majority of whom have problematic records on the rights of historically marginalized populations, including women and LGBTQ people. Despite the United States' withdrawal from the GCD in 2021 under the Biden administration. Huber has worked tirelessly to ensure the document's relevance, actively promoting the agreement to gain new signatories, and working in close partnership with GCD governments. On October 26, 2023, Huber brought together US Republican lawmakers, GCD signatories, representatives of anti-gender organizations to celebrate the third anniversary of the declaration.



¹ Melissa Cox, a Cox Creative co-owner, previously worked for the Medical Institute for Sexual Health, which supports conversion therapy for LGBTQ people.

Unveiling Protego

Held in Washington, DC, and hosted by IWH and the chair of the US Senate Pro-Life Caucus, Republican Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith of Mississippi, the event also included country cohosts Guatemala, Hungary, Indonesia, and Uganda.² The gathering culminated in the unveiling of IWH's Protego project ("I protect and defend" in Latin), which IWH promised would "fulfill the objectives" of the GCD by providing the implementing framework for governments,³ including their ministries of health, education, and foreign affairs.⁴

The gathering culminated in the unveiling of IWH's Protego project ("I protect and defend" in Latin), which IWH promised would "fulfill the objectives" of the GCD by providing the implementing framework for governments, including their ministries of health, education, and foreign affairs.

Before the official unveiling of Protego on Capitol Hill in October 2023, Huber had announced its creation a month earlier at the third annual <u>Demographic Summit</u> in Budapest, an anti-rights event presided over by Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. Hungary was the perfect setting for this first unveiling. While IWH provides much of the logistical and administrative support to maintain the visibility of the Geneva Consensus Declaration, the GCD must be hosted by a government. Initially it was the US under the Trump administration, then Brazil under the Bolsonaro administration, before transitioning to Hungary in November 2022.

While in Budapest for the Summit, Huber gave an <u>interview</u> to a Hungarian media outlet describing her work to "broaden the cooperation that exists between [IWH] and the Hungarian government, for example in connection with the international promotion of the Geneva Consensus Declaration on the Protection of Women and Families." She also noted in the interview that IWH was entering into a partnership with Hungary on Protego, though she provided no other details. At the time of writing, there has been no further public reporting on this partnership.

² Other <u>Republican US lawmakers in attendance</u> included Senators Steve Daines (Montana), James Lankford (Oklahoma), and Marco Rubio (Florida), and Congressmen Jim Banks (Indiana), Robert Aderholt (Alabama), and Chris Smith (New Jersey).

³ As of December 2023, the WOHE and parent guide landing website appeared to still be in development. According to the WOHF, IWH has an "International Health Council" comprised of unnamed healthcare providers, researchers, and experts. A WOHF sample resource on community healthcare workers is general and cites sources like the World Health Organization, while a second draft resource on mid-life years seeks to address the needs of women between 40-60 with a "Family, Faith, Community" component. The latter links to some legitimate, evidence-based sources, while also citing problematic groups like the Ethics and Public Policy Center. The draft parent guide outlines how the project supports "parents as primary educators of their children to share values, traditions, and faith regarding character, relationships, reproduction, and families."

⁴ The Protego project aligns with the <u>four pillars of the GCD</u>: "1) Protecting the health and thriving of women throughout every stage of life, 2) Asserting that there is no international right to abortion, 3) Defending the family as foundational to every healthy society, and 4) Protecting the sovereign right of nations to support these core values through national policy and legislation."

Protego in Practice in Guatemala

A two-page IWH <u>factsheet</u> briefly describes how Protego is "Defending a Nation and its People Through Effective Policy and Decisive Action." The Protego model is based on four components: women's health, education, law, and international engagement. The first three components are directed to families and children in-country and are to be implemented through government ministries like education and health. The last component, international engagement, is dedicated to developing "practical tools and training so partnering countries are better able to defend core values and grow the nation's influence in both multilateral and bilateral settings." That is, Protego wants to ensure that governments with whom they partner are trained to discredit and work against multilateral systems that promote the human rights of women, girls, and LGBTQ people. This is evident in the project's advocacy and policy components, which include "strengthening laws, policies, and protections for women and families, and building diplomatic skills to *limit the space for ideologies considered inconsistent, intrusive, or harmful to the nation.*" This is a cornerstone of anti-rights organizing, pitting international human rights norms against national sovereignty.

While IWH has announced that Protego will officially launch in January 2024, they began piloting the project in 2023 in Guatemala where Huber has built a strong relationship with the ultra-conservative government of outgoing President Alejandro Giammattei. In 2022, Giammattei designated Guatemala the "pro-life" capital of Latin America in a celebration attended by Huber. This self-designation is apt as the Giammattei administration's public policy on life and family has significantly advanced the criminalization of abortion and increased restrictions around access to CSE.⁵

In June 2023, Huber established a <u>formal partnership with the Guatemalan government</u> to "create, test, and implement a prototype of Protego." This was a six-step process that started at the highest level of government; the first step was for Huber to meet with Giammattei to formally request a partnership across different Guatemalan ministries. Huber's access to the Guatemalan executive branch is quite remarkable, and it is also highly unusual for a foreign NGO to ask for presidential approval for a health and education program.

Step 2: after Giammattei agreed to partner with IWH, he then appointed two high-level leaders as IWH's point of contact.⁶ The third step was coordination with various ministries to develop a plan of action, after which a multi-year memorandum of understanding (MOU) was signed with the Ministries of Health, Education, and Social Development. Protego does not limit itself to working with governments; the fifth step of Protego's framework is partnering with nongovernmental organizations and faith and business leaders.

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⁵ In October 2023, the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women <u>recommended</u> that the State of Guatemala modify its policy and urged the government to decriminalize abortion "and ensure that women and adolescent girls have adequate access," as well as "ensure that adolescents have access to information on family planning in accessible formats and indigenous languages, as well as to affordable modern contraceptives."

⁶ The minister responsible for developing a national plan and ensuring consistent policy implementation across the government, and the senior official in the Guatemala President's office responsible for domestic and international policy.

It is important to underscore this point of a multi-year MOU: Protego is designed to outlive political transitions. As IWH notes, "we anticipate this unique partnership will benefit Guatemalans for decades to come as its value transcends any Presidential administration." In the current Guatemalan political context, the issue is particularly fraught. During presidential elections in 2023, the Giammattei government attempted to disqualify their opposition from running; the effort failed and the progressive candidate, Bernardo Arévalo, won. Following the August 2023 elections, Giammattei's administration continued taking steps that signaled their unwillingness to ensure a smooth transition to power.

Arévalo's inauguration on January 14th was <u>delayed by more than nine hours</u> following a series of actions led by institutions and political forces linked to the Giammattei government, and amid concerns of a <u>possible coup d'état</u>. Guatemalans supportive of the new government <u>took to the streets</u>, and <u>an international delegation</u> headed by the Secretary General of the Organization of American States (OAS) urged the congress to fulfill their constitutional obligations. Arévalo was finally inaugurated at midnight. <u>Giammattei did not attend the ceremony</u>, becoming the first Guatemalan president not to participate in this passage of power. Prior to the inauguration, on January 10th, Giammattei traveled to Washington DC to appear before the OAS Permanent Council, after which <u>he met with Republican US congressmen</u> and <u>US Senators Ted Cruz (Texas)</u>, <u>Mike Lee (Utah)</u>, <u>Steve Daines (Montana)</u>, and <u>Bill Hagerty (Tennessee)</u>. Back in Guatemala on January 12th, Giammattei held the <u>closing ceremony</u> for his administration, and also <u>met with Ric Grenell</u>, Trump's former US Ambassador to Germany. Grenell's <u>tenure in Germany was marked by controversy</u>, with calls for his <u>dismissal from the post</u>, and expulsion from the country.

Shirley Rivera, president of Congress, was identified as one of the lead obstructors to Arévalo's installation. Rivera was a key player in the Giammattei government and the main implementor of his regressive policies. She was a speaker at the naming ceremony of Guatemala as the pro-life capital of Ibero-America, where she highlighted the importance of the GCD. In 2022, Rivera was part of an all-star rightwing coalition that included Valerie Huber, Michael Farris, executive director of Alliance Defending Freedom, and Damares Alves, a former high level official in President Jair Bolsonaro's government, who gathered in Guatemala to form an international pro-life, pro-family network.

Arévalo now inherits Protego, which is well under way in Guatemala. Through the Protego <u>action plan</u>, IWH will likely attempt to work with new members of the executive branch, and will continue collaboration with the ministries of education and health.



Huber (left) with Minister of Education Claudia Ruíz de Estrada (right), holding the "Guide for the Parents' School."

Ministry of Social Development and Ministry of Education

IWH has begun training officials from the Ministry of Social Development to use the "Guide for the Parents' School," developed by IWH in collaboration with the Ministry of Education (MINEDUC).

Ministry of Health

In early October 2023, IWH staff, including Huber and Alma Golden, traveled to <u>Guatemala</u> to <u>promote</u> the "AdGen3" at a meeting with the Ministry of Health. AdGen3 is a training for health care professionals "to help guide them in their approach to addressing sensitive topics, such as puberty." While it is impossible to verify, Huber has claimed that Protego's educational program is already being distributed to every family in Guatemala, and that they have reached 3 million children in public schools.

Secretariat of Planning and Programming of the Presidency

During her October visit, Huber also met with staff from MINEDUC and the Secretariat of Planning and Programming of the Presidency. Protego was included in the "Public Policy for the Protection and Institutionalization of Family Life," with Huber closely advising. According to Giammattei, this public policy involves 11 of the country's 14 ministries through 99 government programs. IWH and the Secretariat jointly presented progress made in the implementation of the public policy and highlighted Huber's support and advice. Huber was the guest of honor and in her speech, she highlighted the alignment between Guatemala's pro-life and pro-family policies and the GCD, and reaffirmed her intention to replicate the Guatemalan Protego model in other countries. According to Huber, Protego will continue operating under the new administration of president-elect Arévalo.⁷ In August 2023, a few months after the Guatemalan presidential election, Huber tweeted that she was meeting Arévalo, and that she looked forward to working with him to continue IWH's "partnership with Pres. Giammattei to advance optimal health and thriving for women, children, and families." It is unclear if Huber in fact met with Arévelo.

Funding Protego

IWH is positioning itself as a consultant to governments, with the expectation that the latter will pay for IWH's services. Given this, IWH's <u>factsheet</u> engages in doublespeak when it states, on the one hand, that "There is no monetary cost to the government for the implementation of the Protego model nor for the IWH consultative partnership." Yet, in the very next sentence, they detail how governments must defray IWH's "significant costs" by providing in-kind support and "transportation and security for in-country IWH visits." Also included in the IWH-government partnership is the expectation that governments will introduce IWH to "independent financial partners within the country to offset IWH partnership expenses."

⁷ "We anticipate this unique partnership will benefit Guatemalans for decades to come as its value transcends any Presidential Administration," claims the IWH "Protego-Partnering in Guatemala" <u>factsheet</u>.

⁸ "For leadership and expert national staff for development and implementation and in-country graphic design, printing, meeting space, media, and similar ancillary services."

Protego Goes Global

Huber said that she would like to see US states adopt Protego, and that 15 countries were "considering scaling Protego." On January 15, 2024, Huber gave an <u>interview</u> on the podcast, "Common Sense with Dr. Ben Carson." Carson, a member of Trump's cabinet—he was Secretary of Housing and Urban Development—questioned Huber about President Joe Biden's removal of the US from the GCD.⁹

Huber spun the truth on many issues, including advancing false narratives about "ideologies" that were undermining women's health. She also discussed her ambition to expand both Protego and the GCD, explaining that IWH created Protego after "talking to political leaders around the world" and that the project was a way to "effectuate what they agreed to" in the GDC. Huber said that she would like to see US states adopt Protego, and that 15 countries were "considering scaling Protego." On the GDC, Huber added that "it is a huge and important entity" and that she would "like to see it grow from 36 to 72 countries."

Huber clearly aspires beyond Guatemala, and she is using her government and diplomatic contacts with GCD signatory countries to promote Protego. From late July through September 2023, Huber tweeted photos of her tour of embassies in Washington, DC, where she met with staff from <u>Burkina Faso</u> on July 8; <u>Zambia</u> on July 31; <u>South Sudan</u> and <u>Iraq</u> on August 2; <u>Guatemala</u> and <u>Pakistan</u> on August 10; and <u>Mali on August 15</u>. All countries are GCD signatories, except for Mali. <u>It was reported</u> that during her meeting with Burkina Faso's ambassador, Huber discussed the Protego project and her desire to travel to Ouagadougou to meet with government officials to develop a partnership between IWH and Burkina Faso. It is quite possible that Huber has met with other embassies.

In October 2023, the same month as her Guatemalan trip, Huber also traveled to Chad to meet with the Chadian prime minister, the Minister of State, the Minister of Women, Family, and Child Protection, and the Minister of Public Health and Prevention. There she presented IWH's work that "defends human life, women's health, solidarity, and culture and religion." She also discussed "the significance of the [GCD]" with Prime Minister Salih Kebzabo. According to sources, the Chadian government is assessing whether to join the GCD, and it is also reviewing the Protego proposal, which would be overseen by the ministry of health. In addition to Chad, Panama and Peru may also be signing the GCD. Huber shared this update at the November 17, 2023, Transatlantic Summit V, hosted by the anti-rights group Political Network for Values in New York City at the United Nations.



Clockwise from the top left corner in chronological order of Huber's Washington, DC, visits with ambassadors and embassy staff from: Burkina Faso; Zambia; South Sudan, Iraq, Guatemala, Pakistan, and

⁹ Huber affirmed that she is "a committed Christian," and agreed with Carson that the time is right for a Christian revival in the US. Christina Littlefield, an associate professor of communication and religion at Pepperdine University who has studied Christian nationalists' calls for a revival, noted that this means "being in charge and basically controlling all areas of culture and essentially reviving a Christian America in very conservative political terms of what that would look like."

IWH and Project 2025

The "Mandate for Leadership, The Conservative Promise" (Project 2025) is a 900-page document produced by the Heritage Foundation, a rightwing US think tank, which lays out the blueprint for how a conservative government should be run. Specifically, "The 2025 Presidential Transition Project is the conservative movement's united effort to be ready for the next conservative Administration to govern at 12:00 noon, January 20, 2025." According to a report by the Global Project Against Hate and Extremism, "Project 2025 is an authoritarian roadmap to dismantling a thriving, inclusive democracy for all."

The Institute for Women's Health is a member of the Advisory Board of Project 2025, and Valerie Huber and Alma Golden are listed as contributors to the report. Huber's fingerprints on the document are clear, and there are many references to the GCD, including in the chapter on international organizations, which recommends:

"The U.S. government should not and cannot promote or fund abortion in international programs or multilateral organizations," and that the "U.S. will have a great impact by including link-minded nations and building on the coalition launched through the Geneva Consensus Declaration, with a view to shaping the work of international agencies by functioning as a united front."

"All U.S. foreign policy engagements that were produced and expanded under the Obama and Biden Administrations must be aligned with the Geneva Consensus Declaration and the work of the U.S. Commission on Unalienable Human Rights."

– The Heritage Foundation Project 2025

- "It is paramount to create a healthy culture of respect for life, the family, sovereignty, and authentic human rights in international organizations and agencies." Therefore, the chapter elaborates, "All U.S. foreign policy engagements that were produced and expanded under the Obama and Biden Administrations must be aligned with the Geneva Consensus Declaration and the work of the U.S. Commission on Unalienable Human Rights."
- There be an "end to blind support for international organizations," following the Trump administration model, which "withdrew from, or terminated funding for, the United Nations Human Rights Council, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United national Relief and Works Agency, and the WHO."
- "International organizations should not be used to promote radical social policies as if they were human rights policies."
- "All U.S. multilateral engagements must be reevaluated in light of the work of the commission [the U.S. Commission on Unalienable Human Rights], and initiatives that promote controversial policies must be halted and rolled back."
- Finally, the US "must return to treating international organizations as vehicles for promoting American interests—or take steps to extract itself from those organizations.

Given Huber's high-level role in the Trump administration, her high-level contacts with the government leaders of GCD signatory countries, and her contributions to Project 2025, should Trump be elected, Huber will most certainly have a prominent position within his second administration.

Institute for Women's Health Finances

IWH was incorporated in Washington, DC, in 2021 as a 501(c)3 "human services organization." According to its website, as of December 2023, IWH currently has 11 staff members and an additional 15 fellows and interns. In 2023, Alma Golden joined the organization as chief operation officer. Like Huber, Golden is a veteran antirights activist; her past activities include multiple positions at the US Agency for International Development (USAID) under the Trump administration. Golden also previously served in the previous Republican administration under George W. Bush. Like Huber, she has championed abstinence-only education and promoted "embryo adoption".

IWH staff clearly align with Christian fundamentalist, anti-CSE, and anti-abortion stances, as does its board, which includes <u>Diane Foley</u>—who served in HHS alongside Huber—and <u>Melanie Wollenberg</u>.¹⁰ Foley and Wollenberg have either run or are affiliated with anti-abortion centers in Colorado and Ohio. In fact, Wollenberg and Huber <u>served together on the board</u> of the Ohio-based Pregnancy Decision Health Centers, which promotes the use of the harmful and <u>medically unsound "abortion reversal pill"</u> and abstinence-only education.¹¹

At IWH, Huber is the principal officer for the organization, which states on its financial forms that it "is committed to building coalitions that revolutionize women's access to care." It appears that <u>two-thirds of IWH's spending in 2022</u> went to pay Huber's salary and the fees of the PR firm Pinkston Group. Pinkston is run by Christian Pinkston, a rightwing PR executive who was one of the contributors to "<u>two of the most deceitful political campaigns of the last two decades</u>."

IWH's growth is impressive; in less than two years the organization expanded from a one-woman operation under Huber to including over a dozen staff members. Their finances have <u>also multiplied</u>. According to the two available tax filings, IWH's budget has grown nearly 160% from \$258,250 in December 2021 to \$668,608 <u>a year later</u>. In an aside in her interview with Carson, Huber noted that IWH was not receiving funding from the US federal government, which likely forecasts her expectation for such funding should Trump come back to the White House in 2025. With IWH's personnel growth in 2022 and 2023 it is likely that this is also matched by an expanded budget. However, we will not have a clear picture until the next tax reporting period.

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¹⁰ Foley was the president and CEO of the anti-abortion, abstinence-only Life Network.

¹¹ Huber and Wollenberg appear on tax documents <u>starting in 2009</u>, and served on the center's board until 2015 and 2018, <u>respectively</u>.

Next Steps for Action and Mitigation

The Protego project raises several concerning issues. Its so-called "family centered approach" to healthcare is misaligned with both human rights and public health frameworks. Huber's past projects involve promoting abstinence-only education, in lieu of CSE, and promoting an anti-abortion agenda; positions that most certainly make up the core of the Protego project. Multiple studies show that abstinence-only education is a failure, and that criminalizing abortion does not reduce the incidence of abortion, it only makes it unsafe. Further, the promotion of this work in countries that have high rates of sexual violence, unplanned teen pregnancies, and staunch anti-sexual orientation and gender identity stances, if not outright anti-LGBTQ legislation like GCD champions Guatemala, Uganda, and Hungary, raises even more red flags.

Protego is clearly attempting to replace existing work on adolescent pregnancies, CSE, and other vital and scientifically sound health programs led by United Nations agencies. These include programs from the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), both of whom are frequently targeted by anti-rights groups for this line of work. Protego is setting itself up as an "alternative" educational and health model, which happens to fall in line with Huber's worldview. If indeed countries adopt this model, as Guatemala has done and as Chad is considering doing, this would have detrimental impacts on human rights, gender equality, and health outcomes at a time when the international community is working towards accelerating efforts to advance existing commitments, reinvigorate multilateralism, and respond to emerging challenges.

Given Huber's background, it is imperative to be able to review the Protego project in its entirety to understand what it offers, and what risks are involved when it is implemented at the national level through a ministry of health or education. This includes documenting the implementation of Protego and if, or how, it contravenes human rights agreements at the global and regional levels. If it turns out this project does not align with best health practices and human rights, governments, as well as regional and multilateral human rights bodies and health agencies, should be made aware of the risks and respond appropriately.

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