CASABLANCA
DECLARATION
For the universal abolition of surrogacy

DÉCLARATION
DE CASABLANCA
POUR L'ABOLITION UNIVERSELLE
DE LA GESTATION POUR AUTRUI

Submission to the Australian Law Reform Commission

for its review of Australian surrogacy laws, policies, and practices.

July 2025

Submitted by :

Association DECLARATION DE CASABLANCA

POUR L'ABOLITION UNIVERSELLE DE LA GESTATION POUR AUTRUI

Represented by Mr Bernard Garcia

[redacted] and contact@ declaration-surrogacy-casablanca.org

102 avenue des Champs Elysées

75008 Paris – France

www.declaration-surrogacy-casablanca.org

The following contribution is written by the Casablanca Declaration.

The “Casablanca Declaration” is an international group of experts, researchers and practitioners, lawyers, doctors and psychologists who have been working for many years on the subject of Surrogacy. This international organization, active in North and South America, Africa, Europe and the Middle East, seeks to protect women and children from the international surrogacy market.

The surrogacy industry has organized itself into an international market in which women of child-bearing age are the basic resource. This market exploits women's reproductive capacities, and will be worth 14 billion dollars in 2022. Growing rapidly, it is estimated to reach $129 billion in 2032.

Taking advantage of inequalities in wealth between and within countries, surrogacy’s merchant intermediaries organize meetings between customers able to fork out tens of thousands of dollars and women in precarious situations selling their reproductive capacity.

Today, **surrogacy is the reproductive exploitation of women for commercial purposes. It's a new form of human trafficking that only concerns women**. The practice exposes women to severe physical and psychological violence, which can lead to death.

**

This is why the Casablanca Declaration organization, in response to the ALRC's call for contributions, would like to draw the Commission's attention to the testimonies of human rights violations that have occurred as a result of surrogate motherhood (I.), to underline the contradiction of this practice with international treaties and the human rights they recognize (II.), and to emphasize the need for the only possible means of regulation: the universal abolition of surrogate motherhood (III.).

Part 1: Insights from people with personal experience of surrogacy 3

1) Gloria, twice a surrogate mother in the USA 4
2) Kelly Martinez, three-time surrogate mother 6
3) Olivia Maurel, a child born from surrogacy 8

Part 2 : Reform Principles: Understanding the extent of violations of children's and women's rights 10

1) Dignity 10
2) Equality between men and women 11
3) Trafficking 11
4) Child's best interests 12
5) Eugenics 12
6) Violence against women 13

Part 3 : Possibilities for reform: The need for an International Convention for the Universal Abolition of Surrogacy 14

Part 1: Insights from people with personal experience of surrogacy

On numerous occasions, the association Casablanca Declaration has tried to alert public decision-makers and lawmakers to the emergence and development of a **new type of violence based on the reproductive exploitation of women and girls,** the main form of which is surrogate motherhood.

This conviction is based on the testimonies of many people from all countries, of the suffering caused by the process of experienced surrogacy, whether in the context of so-called "altruistic" or "commercial" surrogacy.

For example, in the US, many surrogate mothers are speaking out against the abuses they have experienced.

The Center for Bioethics and Culture Network (CBC) has collected dozens of testimonials from surrogate mothers, all describing the same pattern of exploitation: **a promise of easy money, a contract turning them into a means of production, dehumanization throughout the process** and a strong sense of having been exploited and ultimately trafficked.

In the USA, two of these testimonials are worthy of note: [redacted].

But many more can be found on the website Legalize Surrogacy Why Not, published by a "*network of concerned surrogate mother survivors, egg donor survivors, people born of surrogacy, and other advocates, activists, and women's rights leaders*":

- https://www.legalizesurrogacywhynot.com/who-we-are

1) [redacted], twice a surrogate mother[1] in the USA

[redacted] is a US mother with two children, one of whom is disabled. She is a military wife, like 15-20% of American surrogate mothers.

Interviewed in 2024, she first describes the promises that led her to begin her first surrogate pregnancy, then the pressures to continue:

> *"The first time I researched what being a surrogate mother entailed, I realized it was a bit of a dream job. You can help your family by helping someone else build their family. It's not taxed, you can stay at home as a stay-at-home mom, and it's an almost perfect job since you're available for your family almost all the time.*
>
> *The agencies tell you about something special, a "quest" of sorts. They tell you that you're going to be the most important person in someone's life, and I'm not going to lie to you, who wouldn't want to be the most important person in someone else's life? [...]*
>
> *I gave birth the first time as a surrogate mother in February 2020 and started the second surrogacy in July 2021. I hadn't planned to do it a second time. But the agency started calling me very soon after the birth, trying to pressure me to start a second surrogacy. The first surrogate was for a Spanish couple and the second was for an American couple from California."*

She also highlights the role of agencies, **commercial intermediaries who take the side of sponsors and maintain a stranglehold on surrogate mothers**, going so far as to **censor their expression.**

> *"At my first meeting with the intended parents, I was particularly clear about my specific needs as the mother of a child with a disability. Among other things, I wanted to make it clear that I really couldn't travel: as my husband is in the army, I absolutely have to be available all the time. Once the contract is signed, the intended parents take out additional insurance for the surrogate mother.*

[1] [redacted]: Military Wife & Mother Speaks Out About Surrogacy Experience »

Once the contract is signed, the agency puts us in touch with a sort of social worker who is supposed to accompany us through the process. This person is supposed to give us advice, help us with medical appointments...but it's definitely not someone trained in medicine or anything else. Most of the time, it's a former surrogate mother. In fact, it reminds me of a kind of pyramid system, as well as being a surveillance system: every time a surrogate starts to say publicly on facebook groups what's wrong, she's immediately deleted by the assistant.

It happened to me: I was attacked for giving a bad image of surrogacy. During my first surrogacy, my testimony was all over the agency's networks, but the second time I said something was wrong, I was immediately deleted."

During pregnancy, it is the surrogate mother who suffers the full brunt of medical complications, without receiving adequate support.

« While everything was going well with the intended parents, once the contract was signed, they quickly changed their tune. I called the agency several times, telling them I couldn't go on. But their answer was always the same: I'd have to reimburse legal fees, health insurance and medical examinations. So I really felt I had no choice.

And it all got worse during the pregnancy. On the day of the embryo transfer, the father of intention, with whom I'd had no exchange before, made a very inappropriate comment, I felt really bad and my social worker just laughed. Then I immediately became very ill during the pregnancy: I couldn't stand the daily hormone injections (necessary for the surrogacy to continue). I then had hyperemesis gravidarum, and received no help from the agency. And because of the insurance policy the parents had bought, I couldn't get treatment, even though I couldn't do anything on my own, not even shower.

The contract with the agency specified that I couldn't make any medical decisions on my own. I had to refer to the agency, otherwise I was in total breach of contract. The intended mother asked to see my medical records. The obstetrician told her no, but the agency gave her my password so she could access it. As a result, I no longer had any medical rights.
[…]

I managed to give birth vaginally, even though it was terribly painful. When he was born, I didn't want to see the baby. I was fighting to stay alive for my children, without any help: it was me, while I was struggling, who had to keep the intended parents informed. The agency's social worker was absent.

The intended parents didn't respond. At the time of the birth, they weren't there. The obstetrician got upset and told me I'd done my job, that it was time to focus on my health, and that he'd let the intended parents know that if they wanted to see their child, he'd be in the nursery.

I didn't want to see him anyway. The only link I got was a note from them from a nurse who just wrote "thank you".

The exploitation of the surrogate mother continues, as she must consent to the administrative procedures of the surrogacy contract:

After giving birth, I continued to bleed for 19 weeks. But nobody wanted to take me in: I was no longer interesting. It was at this point that the intended parents needed my original birth certificate for their procedures in Spain (where SURROGACY is illegal).

They agreed to take care of my medical problems on the sole condition that I provide them with this certificate. It's really exploitation, extortion.

And that's not all: the intended mother wanted breast milk for the child. For this, I had to provide her with authorization, as the gestational carrier, to have access to the maternal milk bank. But I refused. So the agency's social worker took over my account and issued the authorization, pretending to be me. As a result, I was summoned by the hospital for fraud, which had spotted that someone had been impersonating me.

Once that was over, I realized. I was fired. I was treated like garbage. I was spoken to in a disgusting way. I realized that I was a victim of human trafficking and that I had signed a contract to be exploited. And as I was being paid, I was asked to keep quiet.

My mental health has been in danger ever since. I'm on medication, my children have been in therapy ever since, my marriage has been shaken. I have to cover these costs because the insurance has obviously stopped.

As a surrogate mother, our whole life is controlled by the agencies and the intended parents from the moment we sign the contract. They don't care about our happiness. Some contracts even stipulate that in the event of an accident, they must keep the surrogate alive until the child is born.

The agencies lie. I was told that my payments would not be taxed. This is not true. »

2) [redacted], three-time surrogate mother[2]

Like Gloria, [redacted] has suffered the long-term consequences of surrogacy.

She has testified publicly on several occasions, **notably to the American authorities and the UN,** about her experience. A mother of three, she has had three surrogate pregnancies, giving birth to twins for a French couple, a child for an American couple, and twins again for a Spanish couple.

For her first surrogate pregnancy, the agency did not explain to [redacted] the legal steps she would have to take after the birth, and asked her to travel in a manner incompatible with her state of health, even going so far as to put her in danger:

« *The agency called to tell me that immediately after the twins were born, I would have to go to Des Moines to get the birth certificates. It was a surprise.*
This was a difficult trip for me to make, as I'd given birth to one twin vaginally and the other by C-section, so I wasn't quite over it yet. But I did what the agency asked.

And then I got another call from them saying that I now had to go to Chicago because something unexpected had happened and the couple couldn't leave the States without the babies' passports. I was battling an infection from childbirth but my husband & I put our two young children in our car and made the trip to Chicago. The couple then explained to us that surrogacy was not legal in France and that I had to go to the French consulate the next morning. I tried to call my lawyer, but it was 9pm and I couldn't reach him or the agency.

[2] [redacted]

I went to the French consulate the next day, and everything was in French. I couldn't understand a word. I was asked to sign a seven-page document, and I had no idea what I was signing. No one translated for me. I was terrified, signed the papers and left. »

Despite this traumatic experience, a surrogacy agency convinced [redacted] to embark on a new surrogacy using one argument: that of her financial precariousness:

"Money was still very tight for our family and I thought this might help".

A financial precariousness that would also be the driving force behind the third surrogacy:

"time passed and our family continued to grow with the arrival of our third child and finances are still an issue for us."

This third surrogacy did not go well: [redacted] developed pre-eclampsia which put her at risk. Financial troubles added to poor relations with the intended parents:

"Things were going very well with the couple until they found out they had two boys. They had paid extra at the fertility clinic to implant a girl embryo and a boy embryo, so when they found out it was two boys, things changed.

At 30 weeks, my Rapid City doctor admitted me to the hospital due to dangerously high blood pressure, bordering on stroke. After a few days in the hospital, my doctor said we had to do an emergency C-section or I could have a stroke. The boys were born 10 weeks premature. The couple came to the hospital just to check if they were really two boys.

They returned to Spain and there I discovered that they hadn't paid the medical bills. The hospital demanded $8,000 and the agency completely abandoned me - they weren't responsible."

From this experience, [redacted] draws one conclusion:

> *"I am a broken woman who has been used and exploited. I regret my decision to be a surrogate.*
>
> *I thought that by being a surrogate, I would be able to continue what I love being pregnant, helping others while earning money. If that sounds too good to be true, it most likely is. My eyes are open now: I've been exploited, lied to and caused so much pain and heartache."*

3) [redacted], a child born from surrogacy[3]

The spokeswoman for the Association Casablanca Declaration, [redacted], belatedly discovered that she had been born as the result of a surrogacy procedure carried out in Kentucky (USA).

She then made the connection with the personal tragedies she had experienced and this abandonment at birth. Following this discovery, she decided to bear witness to the suffering that this mode of conception has created in her life, and to commit herself to the universal abolition of surrogacy.

[3] [redacted]

She shared her testimony recently in a conference in Tirana (Albania)[4] :

> "*I am [redacted], 33 years old, married and the mother of 3 incredible children. I am an atheist and I'm a big believer in fighting for human rights, for a just society in general, and I am also a very proud feminist wishing to fight for women's rights, and a very big advocate for children's rights in this very particular world we live in today.*
>
> *But what really brought me here today to speak in front of all of you, is my very particular story:* ***I am a pure product of surrogacy****, pure product that has been advocating very harshly against surrogacy since June 2023 on social media and by joining the Declaration of Casablanca which aims towards the universal abolition of the practice by the use of an international treaty, I became very proudly their spokeswoman.*
>
> *I came into the world through surrogacy, in Louisville, Kentucky, in the United-States, on the [redacted]. A date that will be forever engraved in my heart as it is the day that my country, the United States of America, by letting surrogacy be legal, asked me to pay a high price as a newborn, to be able to satisfy a couple's desire to have children: that is to lose my mother forever.*
>
> ***This trauma caused me many harms during my life****: I sunk into drugs, alcohol, I'd always put myself on the edge to fill the void of having lost my mother and my origins and I even committed several suicide attempts. At the time, I was going through a huge identity crisis: how could I possibly know who I was without knowing where I came from?*
>
> *It wasn't until my 30th birthday that my husband's mother offered me a DNA test that would provide me physical proof that I had been born from a surrogate. This DNA test showed my real ethnic background, but also connected me with my cousin, my uncle, my half-brother, my half-sisters, and eventually, my biological mother with whom I exchanged a great conversation.*
>
> ***This relieved me from many questions I had in my head, but left me with great pain knowing that my surrogate mother had been an easy prey for the surrogacy market already back in the day***."

The discomfort caused by the realization that they are the product of a contract is experienced in a different way by adult children born of surrogacy, who may themselves find themselves in a conflict of attachment with the sponsors who raised them and with whom they sometimes share a genetic heritage.

While its promoters emphasize that the fact of having been desired and the object of complex procedures can only be a positive element in the life of children born of surrogacy, the awareness of having been manipulated and the object of a contract is not neutral.

In this respect, the feedback obtained from children born of IVF or adoption can shed light on the wounds felt by children born of surrogacy, but also the unspoken aspects of their situation.

For example, in a public speech in March 2025, Elon Musk's child, Vivian Jenna Wilson, linked her gender transition to the selection of her sex at the time of conception by selective IVF:

[4] [redacted]

« *My assigned sex at birth was a commodity that was bought and paid for. So* ***when I was feminine as a child and then turned out to be transgender, I was going against the product that was sold. That expectation of masculinity that I had to rebel against all my life was a monetary transaction****. A monetary transaction. A MONETARY TRANSACTION*. »[5]

Part 2 : Reform Principles: Understanding the extent of violations of children's and women's rights

The practice of surrogacy is directly contrary to diverse international treaties and recognised human rights, whether it is an "altruistic" or "commercial" surrogacy.

1) Dignity

The "Charter of the United Nations"[6] reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women.

The "Universal Declaration of Human Rights"[2] states that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and that it emphasizes in its preamble that recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world, and that disregard and contempt for human rights have led to barbaric acts that have outraged the conscience of mankind.

Surrogate motherhood is a violation of the primacy of the human person, of the integrity and the non-patrimoniality of the human body, since it is based on the instrumentalisation and exploitation of women's bodies and their reproductive capacities for the benefit of third parties, with no other objective than the satisfaction of their individual desires.

For example, the European Union has clearly condemned the use of surrogacy from **2015 onwards in its annual report** "on human rights and democracy in the world and the European Union's policy on the matter"[7], specifying that:

> "*the practice of surrogacy,* ***undermines the human dignity of the woman*** *since her body and its reproductive functions are used as a commodity; considers that the practice of gestational surrogacy which involves reproductive exploitation and use of the human body for financial or other gain, in particular in the case of vulnerable women in developing countries, shall be prohibited and treated as a matter of urgency in human rights instruments*"

[5] [redacted]

[6] https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text

[7] https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-8-2015-0470_EN.html

However, countries that prohibit the use of surrogacy have not yet made provisions for cross-border surrogacy, creating serious discrimination and a de facto hierarchy between women citizens protected on their national territory and women in countries that allow the practice, thus creating categories of women vulnerable to instrumentalisation and exploitation.

By opening up the possibility of instrumentalising and exploiting women for their reproductive capacity, surrogacy humiliates women, undermines the very notion of human dignity and undermines it for our societies as a whole.

2) Equality between men and women

In its Article 3, the "Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women"[8] calls upon States to "*to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men*".

Surrogate motherhood, which leads to the specific appropriation of women's reproductive capacities and entails, and psychological risks, constitutes a violation of the principle of equality between women and men and reinforces and perpetuates this inequality.

3) Trafficking

The "Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime" [9] defines trafficking in persons and calls upon States to prevent and combat trafficking in persons, paying particular attention to women and children.

Reproductive surrogacy meets the three criteria set out in the Protocol to qualify the offence of trafficking in persons according to which consent is irrelevant: Surrogate mothers are r**ecruited** (criterion 1), by means of three lies, **fraud or deception** (criterion 2): that her child will not be sold, that she is not the mother, that the child she gives birth to is not her own or the purpose of reproductive **exploitation** (criterion 3).

The "Slavery Convention of 26 September 1926" [10] defines slavery, in Article 1, as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the attributes of the right of ownership are exercised".

In surrogacy, the "clients" acquire both, the right to take the "fruits" of the surrogacy, one or more children and a real right of use over the person of the surrogate mother once the contract is concluded, or a court decision is taken in accordance with local practice or legislation, in so far as she is made to relinquish her most fundamental rights over bodily autonomy in accordance with the requirements of the commissioning parents and of the surrogacy industry.

On April 22, 2024, for example, the European Parliament adopted by a large majority an amendment to Directive 2011/36/EU on trafficking in human beings, drawn up in 2011. **The amended text confirms**

[8] https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm
[9] Palermo Protocole https://treaties.un.org/doc/Treaties/2000/11/20001115%2011-38%20AM/Ch_XVIII_12_ap.pdf
[10] https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/slavery-convention

the criminalization of the exploitation of forced marriage, illegal adoption and surrogate motherhood.

4) Child's best interests

The "Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption"[11] which, in order to prevent the abduction, sale or trafficking of children, requires in its Article 4 that the consent of the parents at birth, and in particular that of the mother, be obtained after the birth of the child.

The "Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography"[12] provides in Article 2 that the sale of a child is defined as "any act or transaction whereby a child s transferred by one person or group of persons to another person or group of persons for payment or other consideration".

The "Convention on the Rights of the Child"[13], in Articles 7 and 9, "*guarantees the right of the child to know his or her parents as far as possible and to be cared for by them" and that "states parties shall ensure that the child shall not be separated from his or her parents against their will*".

The surrogate mother who becomes pregnant and gives birth to the child is excluded by contract, law or court order from the relationship with the child. The real and scientifically established maternal-foetal epigenetic link is abruptly severed to the detriment of the surrogate mother's psychological well-being and erased from the child's genealogy, as is the genetic contribution of the egg donor.

In her 2018 thematic report **on the sale and sexual exploitation of children** (A/HRC/37/60), the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the sale of children **recognized that the criteria for the sale of children were applicable to most surrogacy arrangements**[14]. There are three elements in the definition of sale of children: (a) "remuneration or any other consideration" (payment); (b) transfer of a child (transfer); and (c) the exchange of "(a)" for "(b)" (payment for transfer)".

She invited States to "***adopt clear and comprehensive legislation prohibiting the sale of children, (...) in the context of surrogate motherhood***".

Pre-arrangements and/or financial compensation prior to birth of the child is the very principle of surrogacy, which constitutes a violation of the above-mentioned international conventions drawn up to protect children.

5) Eugenics

The "Convention on Human Rights and Biomedicine", known as the "Oviedo Convention"[15], establishes in Article 2 that "the interests and welfare of the human being shall prevail over the sole interest of

[11] https://www.hcch.net/en/instruments/conventions/full-text/?cid=69
[12] https://treaties.un.org/doc/Treaties/2000/05/20000525%2003-16%20AM/Ch_IV_11_cp.pdf
[13] https://treaties.un.org/doc/Treaties/1990/09/19900902%2003-14%20AM/Ch_IV_11p.pdf
[14] https://www.ohchr.org/en/special-procedures/sr-sale-of-children/surrogacy
https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=A%2FHRC%2F37%2F60&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False
[15] https://rm.coe.int/168007cf98

society or science" and in Article 14 that "*the use of techniques of medically assisted procreation shall not be allowed for the purpose of choosing a future child's sex, except where serious hereditary sex-related disease is to be avoided*".

Surrogacy is contrary to the principle of the primacy of the human being as defined by the Oviedo Convention, in the sense that the use of a surrogate mother to procure a child is tantamount to subjecting a woman to the desires of others through the use of invasive medical acts and treatments that have nothing to do with health care.

The choice of the sex of the commissioned child, and the genetic selection of embryos, are among the "services" offered and openly advertised by surrogacy companies.

6) Violence against women

The "Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence", known as the "**Istanbul Convention**"[16], defines the concept of violence against women in Article 3 as (b) "all acts of gender-based violence that result in, or are likely to result, physical, sexual, psychological or economic harm or suffering to women" and (d) "gender-based violence against women" shall mean violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately".

Surrogacy is a form of violence, especially medical violence inflicted on women, in so far as the deliberate acts, performed on the body and person of a woman, (**a woman in good health and without desire for a child**) necessarily cause damage to her physical integrity and re likely to deteriorate her health and lead to physical and/or psychological suffering, surrogacy contracts subordinate the woman to the commissioning parents and that medical acts carried out in the context of the pregnancy favour the interests of the commissioning parents to the detriment of the woman bearing the child.

The actual UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls is expected to focus her thematic report to the General Assembly 80th session on surrogacy and violence against women and girls (in October/November 2025)[17].

It is of the upmost importance to read this report to understand the extent to which the process of surrogate motherhood violates the rights of children and women.

[16] https://rm.coe.int/168008482e

[17] https://www.ohchr.org/en/calls-for-input/2025/call-input-thematic-report-special-rapporteur-violence-against-women-and-girls

Part 3 : Possibilities for reform: The need for an International Convention for the Universal Abolition of Surrogacy

The Declaration of Casablanca[18] for the universal abolition of surrogacy, an initiative of international civil society, was signed by 100 experts of 75 nationalities, was made public in Casablanca (Morocco) on 3 March 2023.

The aim of this text is to commit States to adopt measures against surrogacy in all its forms and modalities, whether paid or unpaid. It includes in its annex a proposal for an International Convention for the Universal Abolition of Surrogacy.

This text is not the property of any structure. It is available to any State, organization or person who wishes to save humanity from the scourge of surrogacy. No authorization is required from anyone to use the content of the Declaration or the proposal for an international Convention appended thereto.

These experts, mainly jurists, doctors and psychologists, both researchers and practitioners in their respective fields, came to the conclusion that the international dimension of surrogacy demands an international response, and that an international Convention would be the only effective means of finally abolishing surrogacy.

These professionals have **no financial interes**t in seeing surrogacy abolished, unlike some of those seeking to have surrogacy accepted. It should be borne in mind that surrogacy is above all a huge market likely to generate business for clinics, lawyers, agencies and other intermediaries. This industry operates like a procreation enterprise, treating women as mere means of production and pregnancy and childbirth as functional processes, where the child becomes a commodity.

Following in the footsteps of the abolition of slavery, the Casablanca Declaration recommends abolishing surrogacy worldwide through an international convention.

Pending the adoption of an international convention to abolish surrogacy, the Casablanca Declaration calls on member states to take effective measures to combat it.

It is a mistake to think that it would be possible to prevent nationals from engaging in international surrogacy arrangements by regulating surrogacy at a federal level or through state legislation. As such, any surrogacy agreement violates the rights of both the child (treated as a commodity) and the surrogate mother (whose body is made available).

- **By legalizing commercial surrogacy, the Australian government would be going against the binding international commitments it has made, and casting doubt in the international community over its ability to protect the rights of women and children.**

- **The Casablanca Declaration sincerely hopes that Australia will not be making such a grave mistake that will diminish its international standing.**

There is only one way to effectively protect women and children, and that is to abolish this practice worldwide.

[18] https://declaration-surrogacy-casablanca.org/text-of-declaration/