

**ICJ WORKSHOP:
AFRICAN COMMISSION ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES RIGHTS**

Kigali, Rwanda , 28 October-5 November, 1999

**MIGRATION, GLOBALIZATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS:
NEW CHALLENGES FOR AFRICA**

Presentation by *Patrick A. Taran*

Migration, Globalization and Human Rights. These are three central challenges shaping, or reshaping, the world, and especially Africa, on the eve of the 21st century. Migration, globalization, migration and human rights are the axis of conflict in the economic, social and political realms. These three central challenges point to several key issues for African NGOs and the African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

I. MIGRATION

Today, over 175 million people live, temporarily or permanently, outside their country of origin, according to United Nations figures. That is one in every 50 human beings. Hundreds of millions more have migrated or been displaced within their countries of origin.

Some 14 million of those outside countries of origin are recognized as refugees under the mandate of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR. At the same time, recent estimates by the International Labour Office calculate 70 to 85 million international migrants, some 20 million in Africa alone.¹

Seven Defining Trends

Migration has been a permanent and often positive feature of human history. However, several profoundly disturbing trends have emerged to indicate that the displacement of people has become a dramatic sign of our troubled times.

1) Increasingly severe breakdowns of economic, political, social and environmental situations are making it more difficult for people to survive and remain in their traditional communities and countries.

As well as factors mentioned earlier, armed conflict has increased substantially since the end of the cold war. However, most wars today are fought within states rather than between them. In particular, political and military forces are using ethnicity and religion to promote narrow projects of ethnic or religious nationalism that divide, even destroy, pluralistic societies, and displace people. By one recent count, there were 130 active armed conflicts around the world.²

2) Development of communications and transportation technology has facilitated travel, particularly for people seeking safe haven from intolerable conditions. It has also made many aware of the options and conditions elsewhere.

3) As a direct consequence, we are witnessing increased human displacement within and between all regions of the globe, now accelerated by the current «global economic crisis.»

4) Most refugee and migration movements are taking place within and among the countries of the South, those with the least resources to receive and assist large numbers of newcomers.

5) There is a frightening rise in racist and xenophobic hostility against refugees, migrants and foreigners in general. This hostility, often expressed in outright violence, is now widespread in countries in all regions of the globe, including Africa.

6) Migrants --and migration-- are becoming stigmatized as a major threat to host societies. Migrants themselves are increasingly associated with crime and other ills, in short, criminalized. Nowhere is this more apparent than in their now widespread designation as «illegals» (instead of undocumented or irregular migrants).

7) Governments worldwide, following the lead of industrialized countries, are imposing restrictive immigration controls and draconian «deterrence measures» against the movement of people. In national and international fora, the dominant considerations regarding displacement of people have deteriorated from assistance and hospitality to rejection and hostility.

All in all, the causes, characteristics and consequences of international migration have evolved substantially over the last two decades. However, conventional wisdom and organized responses have not.

The refugee/migrant dichotomy

A major dichotomy remains widespread between «refugees,» and «migrants.» Refugees are recognized as those fleeing political persecution and deserving of protection and assistance. On the other hand, for many, migrants remain a sort of fortune seeker leaving home out of choice to come elsewhere «to improve their economic situation,» no matter what problems that causes for host societies.

Certainly, legal definitions and practice need to recognize the particularity of refugees for practical and political reasons. However, our common conceptual framework must better reflect the realities of human displacement in the age of globalization. Today, it is often the breakdown of economic and social conditions that threatens survival. As I note below, there is a serious human rights contradiction in a dichotomy that polarizes concepts of refugees and migrants.

In the experience of many churches and NGOs, the old paradigms just don't address reality. Out of a three-year worldwide process to re-examine the realities of migration, the World Council of Churches developed a new understanding, a new paradigm, and a corresponding program of action.

Uprooted People

In a major policy statement adopted unanimously by its Central Committee in 1995, the WCC redefined its understanding of reality as follows.

People leave their communities for many reasons and are called different names --refugees, internally displaced persons, asylum seekers, economic migrants. As churches, we lift up all those who are compelled by severe political, economic and social conditions to leave their land and their culture -- regardless of the label they are given by others. Uprooted People are those who flee because of persecution and war, those who are forcibly displaced because of environmental devastation, and those who are compelled to seek sustenance in a city or abroad because they cannot survive at home.³

This more comprehensive definition reflects the experience of many partners working with refugees and migrants in all parts of the world. Most of the people they deal with have manifestly been compelled to leave their homelands.

More than that, this term also, at least in English, quite dramatically illustrates the experience of the subjects themselves: being uprooted. It conveys the tremendous physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual disruption that accompanies being displaced. That is, being torn away from the family, cultural,

community, religious, social and physical environment in which every human individual's identity is deeply rooted.

II. GLOBALIZATION

As we reach the end of this millenium, human displacement is accelerating. Why? Many reasons, But it is no coincidence that this acceleration of movement coincides with so-called globalization. I offer a provocative assessment of several key features of globalization which directly affect migration

a. A Characterization of Globalization

"Globalization" has become the catchword to describe the trends and initiatives restructuring national and international economic life. These initiatives seek global integration of economic activity, including production, marketing and consumption of goods and services. A major component of globalization is the elimination of restrictions on the free movement across borders of capital, goods, resources, technology, and services, *but not of labor*.

This globalization we are experiencing involves considerably more than the freedom of capital, goods and technology to move across borders. Many of the measures associated with globalization imply a broader freedom for capital. It seems to be a liberation of capital from social responsibility. Several key features accompanying globalization include:

- the reduction or elimination of taxes on corporate activities and earnings.
- absence of taxes on international movements or transfer of capital;
- a corresponding reduction in public health, education, welfare and other services funded by governments from tax revenues.
- freedom of export of capital «en mass» even in crisis situations, without regard to the destabilizing and destructive effects such mass withdrawals can have on entire nations and peoples.
- the reduction or elimination of regulations, not only on the international movement of capital, but on the generation of capital. «Deregulation» efforts seen in many countries tend to be particularly focused on reducing wage and labour standards, and workplace health and safety standards and inspections.
- explicit limitations on environmental protection standards in regional free-trade accords.

b. Some Consequences of Globalization

The reality emerging over the last several years differs substantially from the promises held out for this current model of globalization, especially in this region. The experience of an increasing number of people around the world has been of growing unemployment or underemployment, stagnation or decrease in earnings for those employed, disappearing job security, increasing poverty, reductions in access to health care, education, public transportation, housing, elimination of public benefits or "safety nets" for those without access to employment, in short, increasing marginalization and exclusion.

c. Debt and Structural Adjustment

I cite a few examples to suggest how some aspects of globalization have a direct impact on migration. First, debt and structural adjustment. In the 1950s and '60s, newly emerging states in Africa and countries in other regions experienced improvements in production and in earnings from export of commodities and resources. Significant increases in collective health, education, transportation and nutrition resulted, aided in part by government spending and subsidies.

Then came the collapse of commodity prices. After declining in the 1970s, prices fell by half for 33 primary products (in a group index) from 1980 to 1991.⁴ The result was a decline in per-capita income and the eradication of trade surpluses. Rapid increases in foreign debt followed as countries borrowed heavily to attempt to maintain standards, or to militarize in the face of rising discontent.

Rising debt and skyrocketing national budget deficits produced fiscal crises in many countries. The response from international lending institutions was to design and implement "structural adjustment

programs" to force governments to "adjust" to the consequences of price changes in the emerging global market.

Today, many governments face a situation where over half of their country's export earnings must go to pay the servicing of debt while the principal remains untouched. So governments borrow more money to pay debt and try to implement the conditions imposed by lenders. But the conditions are not neutral technical and administrative ones. Typically, the International Monetary Fund requires the imposition of structural adjustment policies that include devaluation of national currency (making imports more expensive), reduction of public sector spending, stimulus to exports, and easing of restrictions on foreign investment. Cutting public spending means cutting back jobs and services - services often intended for the poorer sectors of society. Reducing or eliminating subsidies on food or transport similarly affects the poor more than the rich.

Structural adjustment measures, applied in countries both in the North and the South, have reduced or eliminated health, education, and social services. In more developed, industrialized societies, reduced government expenditures bring staged reductions in expectations. In this process, people are provoked to fight each other over the incidence of these income losses: citizens against foreigners, the young against old, the employed versus the marginalized (welfare bums), public versus private, immigrants versus minorities, etc. In this process, foreigners, immigrants and refugees become visible and convenient targets and scapegoats, easy to blame as the cause of reduced services, increasing unemployment and worsened conditions.

At each level of cuts, there is less to defend. It is a slow breakdown of society a bit at a time. The breakdown of society is happening much more quickly, even catastrophically, in the marginalized countries. More people are being driven beyond marginalization to exclusion, excluded from any meaningful participation in the economic and social benefits of society. Rather, they are relegated to an existence of absolute misery and privation, even as the global capacity to produce goods continues to grow.

With inflation driving up the price of food at the same time that unemployment rates increase and government social programs are cut, more and more people have no option but to leave their communities of origin in search of work and food. These economic factors clearly have an impact that ultimately fuels migration.

d. Legacy of Colonialism

The breakdown of societies under pressures of globalization is compounded by the legacy of colonialism, especially in Africa. As Professor Susan Power Bratton (Messiah College, Pennsylvania) describes,

In Africa, the best land was taken by European interlopers, a pattern still found in many countries where the middle and upper classes, either white or black, retain control of a large portion of the most fertile properties. Industries in the colonies were discouraged by tariffs and in some cases by open political (and military) interference, while production of raw materials for export by white planters was encouraged. The conversion from relatively stable indigenous village economies that also supported local manufacture of goods such as cloth and iron products to plantations that shipped chocolate and bananas back to England and France left the African farmer landless and lost in an economic system that paid low wages, provided few personal benefits, encouraged purchase of manufactured goods from abroad, and extracted more taxes every time Europeans chose to argue among themselves by going to war. In addition, nomads were moved from their original territories, either because the pastoralists were considered a threat to complete government control of a region, European settlers wanted their lands, or the colonial governments wished to create game preserves for European hunters. The so-called civilization process actually discouraged skills and trades that have been fostered by indigenous agriculture and cottage industry, disrupted local food production, and left most

of the native residents of the colonies an illiterate lower class.⁵

e. «Jobless Growth» and the «Race to the Bottom»

The development of new technologies in the last two decades has accelerated increases in human productivity --the amount produced by human labour. Through automation and use of robotics, less and less human labour is needed for the production of more and more industrial goods. Similarly, more and more services, such as data processing, can be provided using fewer people through computerization.

Similarly, technological advances in many fields, from transportation to electronic data transmission, make it easier to produce goods and services anywhere in the world for consumption anywhere else.

Two principal results of these technological developments have been what is now called "jobless growth", and the «race to the bottom:» the relocation of many production and service activities to where labour costs are cheaper or cheapest and where standards are lowest.

Both the quantity and quality of jobs are declining today, relative to the numbers and qualifications of people entering and remaining in the job markets in countries worldwide.

From 1975 to 1990, world economic production grew 56 percent, but world employment rose only 28 percent. By 2,000, world production is projected to have more than doubled since 1975, but employment is expected to rise by less than half. In Mexico, one million new jobs will have to be created every year to match the rate at which young people are entering the work force; in Egypt, half a million jobs will be needed annually.⁶

Both "jobless growth" and the "race to the bottom" have profound impacts on migration. They increase pressures for people to migrate by eliminating possibilities of earning a living --even surviving-- in places of origin. And they underlie hostility and rejection of refugees and migrants in countries of destination which also face growing unemployment and underemployment.

As a Colombian former judge exiled in Rome described one aspect of attitudes towards foreigners, «*when westerners come to our countries to work, they are called "expatriate experts." When we come to their countries with our diplomas we become "migrant workers."*⁷

f. Free Trade

The conclusion of the so-called Uruguay Round of negotiations for the General Accord on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the establishment of the World Trade Organization set in place a broad new regime of "free trade." Agriculture is one of the sectors most affected. Many millions of people continue to remain on the land and make their living from small-scale, labor-intensive farming throughout the developing world. Agriculture remains the chief economic sector in most developing countries, often providing employment for half or more of the work force, 72% in Africa.⁸

However, small-scale farmers and agricultural workers in the South cannot compete on the "even playing field" set by the global market with huge, industrial-scale agricultural business enterprises in the United States, Canada and other developed countries, whose large scale and economic efficiency were developed with the aid of government subsidies. Trade liberalization under GATT is sending farmers and farm workers throughout the South the same way that the family farmers of the industrialized countries have gone: out of business, displaced from the land as migrants, and ending up seeking mere survival in urban centers.

"Farmers groups in the Philippines estimate that about 15,000 rice farmers will be put out of business annually ... This pattern can then be anticipated for the rest of the agricultural commodities whose quantitative restrictions (on imports) have been lifted."⁹ Philippine analyst Tess Oliveros goes on to highlight that, "based on the experience in the Philippines, when farming families are disenfranchised from

their lands, women end up competing with men for jobs in plantations and factories characterized by discrimination and stereotyping. Many also end up as domestic helpers in the Middle East and in the different parts of Europe where again, the risks of exploitation and oppression are great."¹⁰

Similar projections have been made in Thailand, Peru, Zimbabwe, Mexico and elsewhere. In at least some areas, employment losses in local manufacturing industries are also significant.

Liberalized trade conditions leading to increased volume of trade are already having negative environmental consequences by encouraging, on the one hand, increasing depletion of resources, such as by accelerating deforestation through logging for timber export and depletion of coastal seafood fisheries to supply foreign market demand. On the other hand, the poor are often dispossessed of access to land, fisheries, forests and other resources utilized to produce for export. As a result, they are forced into smaller and more fragile ecological niches with scarce resources they are forced to over-use just to survive. When these over-used places give out altogether, the affected people must move elsewhere to survive.

g. Investment

Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is also posed as a key input to creating conditions for people to retain minimum conditions of dignity and material security. However, as UNHCR points out in the 1995 *State of the World's Refugees*, "Investment decisions are made on the basis of potential returns, and foreign capital is normally directed to countries where the economic prospects are the brightest, rather than those affected by chronic instability and the highest levels of unemployment and emigration." As an International Labour Office study pointed out, "Moreover, FDI is fully in the hands of the private sector. Governments cannot always regulate it, nor can they provide the incentives to steer the money to Bangladesh instead of to Korea."¹¹

In fact, according to UN Development Programme figures, 83% of international investment by transnational companies goes to the industrialized countries. And only .2% (two tenths of one percent) goes to the poorest countries, which also only access .2% of available credit.

i. The globalization of culture and powerlessness

One of the most disturbing aspects of the globalization process --in its essence the emancipation of capital from social control-- is that the very capacity for collective political response is dismantled.

Political action at the international level is much easier for highly organized and powerful transnational business enterprises to accomplish than for popular, community based social movements. Even for most governments, influencing international institutions and policies is extremely complex and difficult. Furthermore, governments are perceived as being weaker in the face of deregulated capital movements and the power of giant enterprises. Indeed, governments are exploiting these perceptions to limit their accountability to their citizens, aggravating people's perception of powerlessness to effect change or defend their interests.

III. THE CHALLENGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL

Last December 10, we celebrated the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The central notion of human rights is "the implicit assertion that certain principles are true and valid for all peoples, in all societies, under all conditions of economic, political, ethnic and cultural life." Human rights are *universal* - they apply everywhere; *indivisible* - in the sense that political and civil rights cannot be separated from social and cultural rights; and, *inalienable* - they cannot be denied to any human being. This is the basis of the concept of «human rights for all» articulated in the Universal Declaration

As the current global economic crisis intensifies, we may be at a crossroads in the future of human rights.

Positions taken by some governments at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna already in 1993 signaled a challenge to several decades' progress in expansion and extension of human rights towards full universality, indivisibility and inalienability.

The extension of these universal human rights protections to vulnerable groups has been a long and difficult process. Two major covenants covering the broad definitions of political and civil rights, and economic, social and cultural rights were adopted in the mid-1960s. Together with the Universal Declaration, these are often referred to as the "International Bill of Human Rights", universally applicable to all human beings. However, in practice, it became evident that the principles elaborated in the «Bill of Rights» instruments were not applied to a number of important groups. As a result, specific conventions explicitly extending these rights to victims of racial discrimination, women, children, and migrants were elaborated over the three decades from 1960 to 1990.

A Crossroads for the future

We are now facing a key crossroads for the future of human rights. The conventions regarding women, children and victims of racism and discrimination have been widely ratified. However, resistance is growing to recognition of rights of the major remaining vulnerable groups: migrants and indigenous peoples. The 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families is not yet in force, and ratifications are slow in coming. Progress is stalled on elaborating an instrument recognizing rights, particularly collective rights, of indigenous peoples.

Furthermore, new challenges are being raised over whether economic, social and cultural rights are indeed at the same level with and indivisible from civil and political rights. Again, migration and uprooted people provide a marker to this dilemma.

As my earlier discussion of globalization implied, many people are displaced today due to violations of their economic, social and cultural rights, both individual and collective. However, current international law has tended to recognize only victims of violations of certain political rights -- refugees -- as needing protection and assistance. Contrary to the notion of *indivisibility*, those victims facing denial of economic, social and cultural rights that often threaten their very survival, as communities as well as individuals-- have no such recognition.

But the dilemma isn't limited to the lack of adoption or implementation of human rights standards for uprooted people. The dilemma is sharper in the restriction and denial in practice that such rights even exist.

One sharp manifestation of this is the now widespread categorization of persons as «illegal migrants.» In a word, this categorization renders such human beings simply outside the applicability and protection of law, contrary to the *inalienability* of human rights protection. The imagery of this characterization is of persons with no legal status, no legal identity, no existence. The practice is denial of fundamental human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article six of which states that every human being has a right to recognition before the law, article seven states that every person has right to due process.

The risk at this crossroads is great. The designation of persons as «illegal» and therefore denied both legal recognition and protection of their basic rights is establishing legal and juridical precedents in many countries and internationally. These precedents are very dangerous. If a major vulnerable group is de facto exempted from recognition of basic rights, it leaves open the door to measures further restricting or ignoring their rights. And once such a precedent is well established, it becomes much easier to extend such exemptions to other vulnerable, «undesirable» or unpopular groups, further undermining the *universality* of human rights protection.

IV. ACTION ON MIGRANTS RIGHTS

Put another way, recognition of migrants human rights is now the key to continued extension of human rights standards to vulnerable groups. Conversely, precedents set now in limiting or denying protection of migrants are the Trojan horse for globalization of restricted and reduced application of international human rights standards. At this historical moment, the key to upholding migrants rights, thus human rights overall, is achieving entry into force of the 1990 Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families.

Six point emphasize the importance of this Convention:

- 1** Migrant workers are viewed as more than laborers or economic entities. They are social entities with families and accordingly have rights, including that of family reunification.
- 2** The Convention recognizes that migrant workers and members of their families, being non-nationals residing in states of employment or in transit, are unprotected. Their rights are often not addressed by the national legislation of receiving states or by their own states of origin.
- 3** It provides, for the first time, an international definition of migrant worker, categories of migrant workers, and members of their families. It also establishes international standards of treatment through the elaboration of the particular human rights of migrant workers and members of their families. *These standards serve to uphold basic human rights of other vulnerable migrants as well as migrant workers.*
- 4** Fundamental human rights are extended to all migrant workers, both documented and undocumented, with additional rights being recognized for documented migrant workers and their families, notably equality of treatment with nationals of states of employment in a number of legal, political, economic, social and cultural areas.
- 5** The International Convention seeks to play a role in preventing and eliminating the exploitation of all migrants, including an end to their illegal or clandestine movements and to irregular or undocumented situations.
- 6** It attempts to establish minimum standards of protection for migrant workers and members of their families that are universally acknowledged. It serves as a tool to encourage those States lacking national standards to bring their legislation in closer harmony with recognized international standards.

20 UN member States must ratify the Convention for it to "enter into force." Nine years after adoption by the UN, twelve States have ratified or acceded to the Convention, six of them in Africa. The list included Ajerbaijan, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Cape Verde, Colombia, Egypt, Mexico, Morocco, Philippines, Senegal, Seychelles, Sri Lanka and Uganda. Bangladesh, Chile and Turkey have signed the Convention, the first step towards ratification.

Governments need to be convinced that ratification of the Convention is necessary. This will be achieved only by building awareness about the Convention with government officials, diplomats, politicians, NGOs and the public-at-large, nationally and internationally. It was not Chile under Pinochet, Iran under the Shah, nor South Africa under apartheid that rushed to ratify the Convention Against Torture. Nor can we expect Western countries to lead in bringing this Convention into force. Rather, African countries can and should continue to show leadership in making this key international standard an effective instrument.

Campaigning for ratification requires political and awareness-building elements. It requires human rights advocates and agencies to speak out. It requires building national ratification committees and campaigns, and gaining endorsements from a broad cross-section of society, including public officials, political parties, trade unions, churches and community groups. Your organizations can and should take the lead in calling for ratification and in organizing campaigns in your respective countries. Regional bodies like the OAU can play their role as well, putting the issue before governments, heads of State and public opinion across the region.

Global Campaign for Migrants Rights

In this intersection of globalization, migration and human rights, thinking globally and acting locally is no longer sufficient. We must also act globally, in analysis, strategy and day to day action. I draw this presentation to a close by illustrating two main elements of a global campaign for migrants' rights.

Progress on human rights will only be achieved by broad cooperation among different sectors and different regions. Recognizing this, an alliance of major intergovernmental and international non-governmental organizations came together last year and launched the Global Campaign for entry into force of the 1990 International Convention on migrants rights.

The Campaign Steering Committee now includes 14 leading international bodies in human rights, labour, migration and church humanitarian fields, such as the International Labour Organization, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Human Rights Watch, the Migrants Forum of Asia, and the International Catholic Migration Commission. Of course, the International Commission of Jurists was one of the founders.

This campaign has already contributed to putting the issues of migrants rights back on the agenda of a number of inter-governmental bodies. Since this campaign got underway, there have been three new ratifications and two more signatories to the Convention, more than in the previous two years combined. I would certainly urge that this workshop, and the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights, **endorse this campaign**, and find appropriate ways to take it up in national contexts.

UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights of Migrants

Also very important was the decision by the UN Commission on Human Rights in April this year to name a UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights of Migrants, for a period of three years. The symbolism alone of this decision is critical: naming of the special rapporteur acknowledges that violations of migrants human rights are as serious and as mainline a concern as torture, violence against women, racism and IDPs, where other Special Rapporteurs have been focusing attention for some time.

The special rapporteur has just been appointed. She is Gabriela Rodriguez of Costa Rica, and I am pleased to note that she is a member of Migrants Rights Watch. Her mandate includes:

- a) receiving information from all relevant sources, including migrants themselves, on violations of human rights of migrants,
- b) to formulate appropriate recommendations to prevent and remedy violations of these rights,
- c) to promote the effective application of relevant international instruments,
- d) to recommend actions and measures applicable at the national, regional and international levels to eliminate violations, and
- e) to take into account a gender perspective, as well as to give special attention to the occurrence of multiple discrimination and violence against migrant women.

It is now up to us working for human rights to compile and send to the Special Rapporteur the data that can provide the basis for identifying, preventing and remedying violations of the human rights of migrants.

Signs of Hope

So there are signs of hope. That this issue is now on the agenda here is especially hopeful. We hook forward to this hope being translated into concrete day to day activity and advocacy.

* * * * *

Includes material drawn from A Moment to Choose: A Resource Book, compiled and prepared by Helene Moussa and Patrick Taran, published in December, 1996 by the World Council of Churches Refugee and Migration Service.

Endnotes:

-
- ¹ . International Labour Office. *International Migration and Migrant Workers*. Committee on Employment and Social Policy. 265th Session. Geneva. March 1996 (GPN267-ESP-2): 4.
- ² . Kane, *op. cit.*: 18
- ³ . World Council of Churches. *Statement on Uprooted People*. September 25, 1995:1
- ⁴ . United Nations Development Program (1992). *Human Development Report 1992*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press: 59.
- ⁵ . Susan Power Bratton (1992). *Six Billion and More*. Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press: 145-146, citing data from William W. Murdoch, *The Poverty of Nations, The Political Economy of Hunger and Population*.
- ⁶ . Hal Kane (1995). *The Hour of Departure: Forces That Create Refugees and Migrants*. Washington, D.C.: World Watch Institute: 35, citing data from UNDP Human Development Report 1993, and Emma Tucker, "Global Pressures Are Getting Worse." *Financial Times*, January 31, 1994.
- ⁷ . Cited in Mariette Grange, "J'étais un étranger, et vous m'avez recueilli." *La voix Protestante*. Edition Parisienne, 22 Janvier, 96: 8.
- ⁸ . Peter Madden, "The Poor Get Poorer; The Impact of the GATT Uruguay Round on Developing Countries." London: Christian Aid booklet, April, 1994: 2.
- ⁹ . Tess Oliveros, "GATT and Women Farmers in the Philippines." *Caribbean Dialogue*, Nov-Dec 1994; Jan-Feb 1995, Journal of the Institute for Social-Economic Research, the University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago: 21-22.
- ¹⁰ . *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ . International Labour Organization (Geneva), "Stemming Emigration: Can trade and money help?" *World of Work* 10 (1994): 21.

Patrick A. Taran
Director,
Migrants Rights Watch
c.p. 135
15 route des Morillons
1211 Geneva 20, SWITZERLAND
Tel: (+41-22) 917 7817
e-mail: migrantwatch@vtx.ch