1

**PM-1 3 1/2" x 4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT**

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

MicroD
OPTICAL PRECISION

13644 L. JENNY ROAD • EVANSVILLE, IN 47711 USA
TEL: 812/425-1001 FAX: 812/425-1002

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

THE CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRAFFIC
IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN:
A COMPARISON OF INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES
WITH FEMINIST RESPONSES

by

RHONDA WILLIAMS, B.A. (Honours)

A thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of International Affairs

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

August 20, 1991

copyright

1991, Rhonda Williams

National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-75927-5

Canada

The undersigned hereby recommend to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of this thesis,
submitted by RHONDA WILLIAMS, in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Christopher J. Maule, Director
The Norman Paterson School
of International Affairs

Professor J. Vickers, Supervisor

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines modern international slave traffic in women and children using a socialist feminist framework. Particular attention was paid to institutional responses in comparison with feminist responses. A short history of the so-called "white slave" trade is presented, along with an overview of international agreements made in the hope of eradicating the trade. A supply and demand model was set up in order to examine issues such as poverty, sexism, racism and capitalism which underlie each side. My conclusions were that institutional responses have not been effective in eradicating the trade, which actually appears to be growing, and that feminist responses have provided assistance of a more immediate and practical nature to the victims. Finally, I conclude that changes in social and cultural attitudes towards women and children are necessary in order to eradicate the traffic.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all of the special people who have assisted me in writing and completing this thesis. First, I would like to thank my family for their continuing faith in me and their unfailing support of my efforts. In particular, my mother's emotional and financial support have been of immeasurable assistance to me. My friends have provided encouragement, guidance and help in many ways. I am deeply appreciative. My special thanks to Anthea Mulakala and Margaux Beland for their advice and support.

Professor Jill Vickers and Professor Jared Keil have provided invaluable academic guidance in all phases of the preparation of this thesis, and I owe them each a debt of gratitude. Their comments have been insightful and thoughtful, giving me the opportunity to make the thesis the best I could. I also appreciate the interest shown by various other faculty members at Carleton University.

To my partner, Sanjay Soni, I owe thanks not only for his help in editing and printing (form over substance!) this thesis, but also for his interest and encouragement at all stages of the work. It has been important to me to share this work with him, and I am deeply indebted to him for his faith that I could accomplish this.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>ACCEPTANCE SHEET</u>	ii
<u>ABSTRACT</u>	iii
<u>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</u>	iv
<u>LIST OF APPENDICES</u>	viii
<u>INTRODUCTION</u>	1
<u>CHAPTER 1</u>	7
DEFINITIONS	8
PARAMETERS	11
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	14
METHODOLOGY	21
INTRODUCING THE PROBLEM	25
PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION	29
<u>CHAPTER 2</u>	32
SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF HISTORICAL SLAVERY	32
HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS REGARDING SLAVERY	38
MODERN INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE	46
CANADA'S POSITION	64

FEMINIST RESPONSES	66
 <u>CHAPTER 3</u>	 77
THE "WHITE SLAVE" TRADE	77
CONTEMPORARY TRAFFIC	83
TRADE FLOWS	85
REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES	88
Forced Prostitution	88
Subordinate Forms of Marriage	95
Children	100
Domestic Slaves	112
 <u>CHAPTER 4</u>	 117
WOMEN AND CHILDREN AS A FORM OF PRIVATE	
PROPERTY	117
DEMAND FOR PROSTITUTION	121
DEMAND IN THE MARRIAGE MARKET	132
THE DEMAND FOR CHILDREN	135
DEMAND FOR DOMESTIC SERVANTS	141
CONCLUSIONS	143
 <u>CHAPTER 5</u>	 144
IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES ON WOMEN	144
The Colonial Heritage	144
The Post-Colonial Era	148

THE IMPACT OF CURRENT ECONOMIC POLICIES	
ON WOMEN	150
MILITARIZATION	164
RESULTING LACK OF CHOICES FOR POOR WOMEN	179
 <u>CHAPTER 6</u>	 183
CONCLUSIONS	183
PERSONAL CHANGE	191
 <u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	 235

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix	Description	Page
1	Relevant Organizations	194
2	Definitions and Terminology	200
3	Signatories to Conventions (Chapter 2)	202
4	Text of Selected Conventions	222

**THE ONLY HOPELESS QUESTS
ARE THOSE WE FAIL TO DARE**

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude:
slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited
in all their forms.

United Nations' Universal Declarations of Human
Rights, Article 4

INTRODUCTION

When people in the West think about the international slave trade, they assume that it was eradicated in the nineteenth century. It is my argument in this thesis that international slave trading persists around the world, and that, in spite of numerous international conventions which purport to abolish slavery, it appears to be flourishing rather than diminishing. In fact "the phenomenon of trafficking is not a reminiscence of a nineteenth century past, but a reality or a possible future for many girls and women in Third World countries." (Van der Vleuten and Roerink, 1989:2) My examination will show, that the international trade in human beings is confined almost exclusively to women and female children, and that this fact helps to explain the virtual invisibility of modern slavery. Like other forms of violence against women and children, such as spouse and child battering, child sexual abuse and other forms of violence which are also often rendered invisible, the international slave traffic remains invisible.

In addition, I will show how international conventions recognize the particular vulnerability of these two groups, yet fail to provide effective

measures to protect them because the conventions fail to address the underlying issues of sexism related to the supply and demand. The conventions view the problem as primarily a human rights issue, and barely acknowledge the sexist nature of the traffic, in spite of the recognition that specific groups are victimized by the traffic. Third, I will demonstrate that individual countries fail to enforce, systematically, measures which would protect women and children from the international slave trade. Finally, using a feminist analysis of modern-day slavery, I will contrast how feminist alternative actions address the issues concretely, while actions taken at the state or international institutional level have been ineffective in actually assisting individual victims or in terminating the trade.

In this thesis I will demonstrate that, in spite of convention after convention against the trade, international traffic in human beings persists. Most nations pay lip service to the notion of the eradication of slavery, but there is no real political will to undertake institutional measures sufficient to eliminate the trade despite public denunciations of the trade by almost every nation in the world. Rodney Stamler, former head of the RCMP Drug Enforcement Unit, suggested to me that many parallels can be drawn between drug traffic and slave traffic in this regard. He also made the point, however, that without massive publicity and a political will to enforce against slave traffic, there will be little institutional action to achieve eradication. (Stamler, 27 February 1990, "What are we doing about crime in the global village?")

By contrast, feminists active against the slave trade are not waiting for politicians, law makers or law enforcers to take effective action. With a number of other women, for example, Kathleen Barry, the author of Female Sexual Slavery, has formed an international network against female sexual slavery. Women from the network, and outside of it, have formed groups such as Stichting Tegen-the Netherlands, Women's Information Centre-Thailand, AGISRA-Germany, FIZ-Switzerland, and others to liaise with "mail-order" brides in their new countries, to demonstrate against sex-tourism, to prevent those with a history of sexual abuse from adopting foreign children and to exchange information among themselves. They take concrete actions aimed at actually assisting victims, or preventing the traffic in the first place, rather than addressing the issue on a moral or theoretical plane but failing to follow through with substantial action as seems to be the major approach of "officialdom". The groups attempt to cooperate with one another on specific cases and in the distribution of information¹.

The outline of this thesis is as follows. In Chapter One, I offer some definitions of slavery and the international traffic in human beings, and outline the parameters of my research. I then present an overview of the theoretical and methodological framework used for the thesis. This details the thought process involved in choosing the theoretical framework and the research method chosen given the constraints of researching an illegal

¹ Please see Appendix 2 for definitions and an explanation of terminology used throughout this thesis.

activity in a social science context. I then introduce the problem of modern international slavery from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present. Finally, in this chapter, I give an overview of the identity and orientation of the researcher following an important principle of feminist research methodology which is to acknowledge the subjectivity of the researcher. (Harding, 1987:9; Deles and Santiago, 1984:16)

In Chapter Two, I outline the sociological aspects of historical slavery. I trace the evolution of the international traffic from the spoils of war to labour for plantations to the "white slave trade" to the point where only women and children are subject to the international trade, most often for sexual use. I also examine views of slavery as natural or as socially constructed. In this chapter I present an historical overview of the international instruments regarding slavery, with a detailed examination of the modern institutional response to international slavery. In particular, I present Canada's position with regard to international slavery. Finally, I show how some feminist responses to the problem differ from institutional responses.

In the third Chapter, I examine the roots of the current international traffic. These roots lie in the "white slave trade" of the late nineteenth century. I present numerous examples of methods of procurement used by nineteenth and twentieth century slavers, including common ploys used to entice potential slaves. At this point I show how there are varied levels of coercion associated with enslavement. In this chapter I also offer representative examples of twentieth century slavery, including forced

prostitution, subordinate forms of marriage, children in the sex industry and children victimized in illegal adoptions, and domestic (servant) slaves. I also offer evidence of the complicity of police and other officials in the international trade. Finally, I introduce a supply and demand model and outline the supply side of twentieth century international slave traffic. In particular, I present poverty and patriarchy as the root causes of the existence of a supply of potential sexual slaves among third world women and children.

In Chapter Four, I present the demand side of the model. I examine the concept of women and children as a form of private property, and how their sexual, reproductive and labour capacities are therefore exploited. In this regard, there is a market in the sex industry for the exploitation of sexual capacities. I examine the historical derivation of prostitution from enslavement, and how slave owners profited from the rental of the sexual services of their slaves. I discuss the current demand for sexual services, and some of the theories as to why it exists. The demand in the marriage market, the adoption market, and the domestic slave market are also discussed in terms of the extension of the concept of women and children as a form of private property.

In Chapter Five, I present some of the current world policies which have a direct impact on the lives of women and children, which through the feminization of poverty and the limitation of choices consequently available to women faced with survival make them vulnerable to sexual exploitation. These policies have a direct impact on the supply side of the international

slave trade. I examine structural adjustment, international Official Development Assistance (ODA) policies and practices, and militarization, and demonstrate their connection to the demand side of the trade. I show how economic and "development" policies and practices create situations of poverty and hopelessness which lead people to make decisions about their lives and the lives of their families which they would not otherwise make, such as selling their children or becoming "mail-order brides" thus serving the supply side of the trade. I also show that the presence of both military personnel abroad and indigenous military personnel are important variables in creating a demand for prostitutes, the sexual exploitation of children, pornography, temporary wives and adoptive children.

In the final chapter I present a summary of the research and my conclusions. The analysis restates my position that women and children are subject to enslavement because their subordinate position in society relative to men, their relative powerlessness, their poverty, and their consequent urgent need to survive by whatever means necessary, serves to create a supply for the trade of human beings. I also argue that feminist responses launched with no official and little financial support have had a greater positive result than the institutional response of the world community and its international organizations.

CHAPTER 1

Traffic in women is to forced prostitution what the old slave trade was to traditional slavery; in each historical context the uprooting of the victim from the native culture can break the remaining lifelines that could still lead to physical redemption.

(Sawyer,1986:103)

As I have told people about researching international slave traffic in women and children, a common response has been, "But slavery was abolished in the nineteenth century!" What I have learned is that abolishing the international slave trade is not the same thing as eradicating it. Actions taken at an institutional level to abolish the current incidence of international slave trade are ineffective because the conventions fail to address the underlying reasons for the trade. These reasons include patriarchal attitudes and practices which continue to consider women and children inferior to men; as property, which can be used, abused and exchanged at will. Racial stereo-typing and discrimination also play important roles in the continuation of the trade. In addition, in most countries not even minimal efforts are made to enforce existing domestic laws regarding the traffic.

International slave trafficking is illegal and those engaged in the trade make efforts to conceal their activities, often by disguising the traffic as some other legal or quasi-legal activity. As in the international illegal drug trade, profits made from slave trafficking are large and are worth protecting. Therefore, procurers and slavers continue to engage in

international trafficking of human beings, most of whom are female. Although it is difficult to estimate how many of the approximately 200 million people currently enslaved are women and children, virtually all of those traded internationally women and children. (The Economist, 6 January 1990:42) In fact, international traffic in slaves flourishes around the world. (See figure 1a and figure 1b)

DEFINITIONS

The United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1956, defines a slave as someone "over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised". Article 1 of the Convention outlines four major types of slavery:

- a) Debt Bondage, that is to say, the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his [sic] personal services or those of a person under his [sic] control as a security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined;
- b) Serfdom, that is to say, the conditions or status of a tenant who is by law, custom or agreement bound to live and labour on land belonging to another person and to render some determinate service to such other person, whether for reward or not, and is not free to change his [sic] status;
- c) Any institution or practice whereby:
 - i) A woman, without the right to refuse, is promised or given in marriage on payment of a consideration in money or in kind to her parents, guardian, family or any other person or group; or

- ii) The husband of a woman, his family, or his clan, has the right to transfer her to another person for value received or otherwise; or
- iii) A woman on the death of her husband is liable to be inherited by another person;
- d) Any institution or practice whereby a child or a young person under the age of 18 years is delivered by either or both of his [sic] natural parents or by his [sic] guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to the exploitation of the child or young person or of his [sic] labour.

In addition, apartheid and similar practices are considered to be related to slavery as crimes against humanity (International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid). A 1984 report from the UN Working Group on Slavery described apartheid as "a collective slavery-like practice". (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/20/Rev.)

International slave trafficking has to do primarily with involuntary, forced or coerced international migration. Traffic in women is generally for the sex industry, but forced labour (domestic servants), subordinate forms of marriage and adoption are also connected to the traffic.

One of the reasons that signatory countries may find it difficult conceptually to enforce laws against slavery as defined in the Consolidated Convention is that in many cultures and jurisdictions it may be hard for legislators to distinguish between local customary and current legal treatment of wives and children, and practices forbidden by the provisions of the convention. There is not a sharp demarcation between

local family relations and conditions, and the definitions of slavery included in UN conventions against slavery. The "control" permitted under patriarchal ideology over children and women creates an inability to believe that some acts against them are "really" wrong.

While the UN definitions are useful, they are not necessarily definitive. There are certainly other degrees of enslavement, and these may include those working under terrible conditions in export processing zones (EPZs) for example, or those working "voluntarily" in brothels. It is assumed that if people "choose" an occupation voluntarily, and are paid for work performed, they cannot be considered to be enslaved. Whether or not such people are enslaved may depend on a number of variables. These variables may include: the other choices available; the regularity of payment of wages; the forced payment of fees for lodging, food and other "services"; and the amount of coercion used to persuade people to take up a certain occupation.

It is difficult to quantify the extent of the institution of slavery globally, although some recent estimates do exist; however they are just estimates. Early in 1990, it was estimated that there were at least 200 million people enslaved globally, and probably more. (The Economist, 6 January 1989:42) Few of those enslaved are subject to international traffic but are more likely to be held in debt bondage, serfdom, apartheid within their own countries or occasionally in a regional grouping of countries. The international traffic in persons is most difficult to quantify as there is very little reliable information available about the illegal traffic. Since

only infrequent convictions are made of slavers and procurers, it is difficult to even estimate the numbers of those enslaved, or enslaving.

Slavery or slavery-like practices such as debt bondage, within some countries is visible because it is often considered acceptable through custom, tradition, or economic imperative and, is therefore not hidden from view. Those who are in the most vulnerable positions in society through sex, class, poverty, caste, custom or for other reasons, are the most likely to be subject to enslavement.

PARAMETERS

In this thesis, I will describe the current situation regarding international traffic in persons. It is my hypothesis that the existing international traffic in persons is restricted mainly to women and female children, and that it is so restricted for specific reasons having to do with the subordinate position of women and children in all societies in the world, patriarchal practices and privileges which pervade all societies in the world giving men effective "ownership" of women and children, as well as a real lack of recognition of the economic contributions of women and children in national accounts. The reasons that the traffic continues despite international conventions against it have to do with an institutional failure to address the underlying causes of the traffic, instead treating it as a human rights issue with no particular structural societal issues attached to it.

There is no evidence of international traffic in adult males, and in fact

most of the international instruments specifically mention women and children, but not adult males. This has been the case since the end of the nineteenth century when international bodies were beginning to deal with the "white slave trade". Most contemporary traffic is related to the sex industry, international marriages, international adoptions and domestic servants.

The reason that adult men are not subject to international traffic in the same way that women and children are, is that there is not an international demand for adult male slaves, nor are adult men considered to be forms of property in the same way that women and children are. This can be attributed to the fact that sexuality, marriage and families are structured within patriarchal societies to advantage males, and to exploit women and children. The sexual and reproductive capacities of males are not in demand in the sex industry or the marriage market to the extent that women's capacities are in demand. In addition, men frequently have a greater access to choices about their occupation, their marriage and their location than women have, due to their greater access to most resources.

I have chosen to examine the magnitude of the problem instead of concentrating on one geographic location or a specific type of international traffic. This approach allows me to understand the structural issues which lie beneath this practice, rather than examining the practice in isolation from other international relationships, such as military and economic relations between and among states.

As stated this thesis is concerned with international slave trafficking in women and children, and therefore, I will not deal with debt bondage, serfdom, or apartheid, all of which tend to be confined within national boundaries. That is not to say that these are not important issues, but rather that they are outside the scope of this thesis.

Another issue which the United Nations Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery has considered, based on submissions which come to them, is that of trafficking in human body parts. While this does occur in the international arena, I have not considered the practice in my thesis. I have no doubt, however, that some of the reasons underlying this practice are the same ones which underlie the slavery I will examine, as the cases of trafficking in human body parts I have read involve the poor and vulnerable as the victims. As evidence is still slight and unreliable at this time, however, I have not included this practice in my thesis.

Finally, I have not examined female mutilation/circumcision in this thesis, although some of those writing on slavery do include this practice in their argument. The practices of female or male genital mutilation are domestic in nature while my focus is the international exchange of women and children as slaves for sexual use and profit. Again, however, some of the reasons for which this practice is carried out (such as control over women's sexuality), also underlie international slave trafficking.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

I have chosen to use a socialist feminist framework, modified and informed by the aspect of race, to look at the problem of international slavery. This allows me to use a class analysis which includes structural economic issues, a development perspective and a gender analysis. In addition, I take race into account as a critical factor in the current international slave trade.

Socialist feminism combines aspects of Marxism and radical feminism. The central tenet of socialist feminism is that every issue is a women's issue. It has as its main goal the abolition of both class and gender, which are seen to be socially constructed divisions. Socialist feminists advocate the complete restructuring of current social orders, which put men at the top of hierarchies. They pursue social change of structures and institutions, and ultimately the end to hierarchies. Some follow the radical feminist concept of a possible limited separation between women and men, because they see men, not merely "the system", as an enemy. Through structural societal change, socialist feminists hope to end all forms of exploitation and to create a society in which the social construct of gender is socially irrelevant.

Socialist feminism rejects the concept of a division between private and public spheres of existence, believing that actions taken in one sphere have a direct impact on the other sphere, and therefore the two cannot be separated. Socialist feminism establishes a connection between class and sex (a connection also made by Engels), but it denies the socialist

contention that class is fundamental, while sex is secondary in the analysis of society. I would add that race is also a fundamental factor in the interplay between different groups.

An important aspect of socialist feminism for this thesis is that it broadens the Marxist conception of the material base of society to include aspects of reproduction and sexuality. There is a recognition that the manner in which sexuality, marriage and families are structured has had a direct impact on women's oppression, and that it is important to challenge societies' accepted norms in this regard.

One weakness of socialist feminism as a framework for analysis is that while class is recognized as a determining factor, race is not adequately addressed. There is a recognition that differences cut across gender lines, and that women in different groups, while sharing a universal oppression with all other women, also share important interests with men of their own group (nationality, age, ability, religion, class). Race, however, is not usually accorded the same theoretical status as class or gender by socialist feminist theorists. Consequently, I have turned to feminist theorists arguing from the perspective of race as a determining factor for this aspect of my analysis. I have a strong reservation about the absence of the aspect of racism in the socialist feminist analysis as I consider the relations of the races, as well as those of classes and sexes, to be socially rather than naturally constituted, varying with changes in social organization.

Black feminists critique socialist feminist analysis for generalizing the situation of white Western women to that of all women. (Harding, 1987:97) Just as patriarchy generalizes "man" to include all of humanity, so white feminists generalize "women" to include women of all races, whereas the reality is that the situation faced by different racial groups varies considerably. Women can, and do, participate in the oppression of other women on the basis of race or class.

Explicit account must be taken of the fact that the context of sexual slavery is societies which are not only male dominated, but also class structured such that the wealthy are able to exercise a disproportionate amount of power. Socialist feminism critiques traditional Marxism's failure to recognize that our non-working lives are important to society's construction, but itself fails to adequately address sexuality. Socialist feminists contend that the manner in which we define our sexuality is very political. Third World feminists are drawing connections between the spread of capitalism and exploitation of women's sexuality in advertising, in prostitution and especially in terms of reproduction. (Mies, 1986:53; Sen and Grown, 1987:47)) Socialist feminism specifically rejects the commodification of sexuality by contemporary capitalism, of which slavery is the quintessential example. In addition, it is important to recognize that class structures are almost racially structured, with women and children of colour usually being found at the bottom of the hierarchy.

It is important to examine the economic relations aspect of the socialist feminist framework to understand how women come to be in the position

that they can be objectified as commodities and made into products for international trade. The world economy only partially takes account of the economic contributions of women despite the signing by over 150 countries of the Forward Looking Strategies (FLS) at Nairobi in 1985. Paragraph 120 of the FLS states that:

The remunerated and, in particular, the unremunerated contributions of women to all aspects and sectors of development should be recognized, and appropriate efforts should be made to measure and reflect these contributions in national accounts and economic statistics and in the gross national product. Concrete steps should be taken to quantify the unremunerated contribution of women to agriculture, food production, reproduction and household activities.

Since economic measures are one of the main ways of attributing status and value in the capitalist world, those whose work is not visible in the measurement are therefore automatically considered lower in status and importance. It is estimated that the unpaid labour of women in the household, if given economic value, would add one-third or \$4,000,000,000,000 (U.S.) to the world's annual economic product.

The vulnerable position of poor women leaves them few alternatives as they find themselves supporting children and frequently other family members. As time goes on more and more households are headed by single women, with approximately 26%-33% of all households in the world now being headed by women. (Enloe, 1989:166) Most women in the world, whether married or not, with or without children, need to be able to earn an income. They become workers in the formal and informal sectors in large numbers. Those with access to education may have some choice in

the employment they take up, although even they are likely to face barriers based on sexual discrimination when they seek employment or advancement. Some women may have role models of women in differing occupations to copy or strive toward. Many have neither role models nor any access to education whatsoever. Employment options available to poor women are limited but poverty in a capitalist world makes income-earning work of some kind imperative.

Cultural factors may influence some women to accept positions which women from other cultural backgrounds would not consider. In particular, certain cultures have strong traditions regarding the responsibility women bear for family members, and family responsibilities force many women to do whatever they can in order to ensure the survival of their extended families. Some of these women find themselves working in the sex industry, married to men they abhor, serving as domestic servants for a pittance, or worse. Some of them become slaves in a desperate effort to survive.

Socialist feminism presents an analysis of the world where women are oppressed on the basis of both class and sex. This means that even those women in the uppermost classes may still be oppressed on the basis of sex. I would argue race also constitutes a basis for oppression in all classes. This is possible because the power structures in the world are dominated by white males, and because the structures are based on having power over others rather than sharing power with others. The structures thus created have the interests of the creators at heart, and in order to

maintain that relationship of those with power to those without, the structures are inherently unfair to those without power. Women of some classes or races may have access to some power, though they are rarely themselves power holders, yet they are still of necessity operating within established patriarchal systems.

In a continuing effort to eliminate class and wealth barriers, socialist feminists have come to believe that they have an important role to play in the development process taking place around the world. Women around the world are beginning to insist on having a say in the process which is affecting their lives and their cultures so profoundly. Women expressed themselves eloquently on these questions during meetings held in various locations during "the decade".

The United Nations Decade for the Advancement of Women (1975-1985) ("the decade") saw the undertaking of many projects and programs designed to enhance the economic and social position of women within different societies. These projects were undertaken because women were gradually perceived by policy makers and planners to be necessary to the development process, but not sufficiently integrated into it. Studies have shown that projects undertaken during the "decade", instead of improving the status of women in the developing world, often made it worse instead. "With few exceptions, women's relative access to economic resources, income, and employment has worsened, their burdens of work have increased, and their relative and even absolute health, nutritional, and educational status has declined." (Sen and Grown, 1987:16)

One of the basic problems in "integrating" women into development is that no account was initially taken of the differential impact of development policies on women and men, in terms of class, race, access to resources, access to decision making, and access to other supposed benefits of the development process. It was understood, indirectly, that class and access to wealth were important, but sex or race were not perceived to be in any way important. It was felt by planners that development projects were inherently good, and assumed that the benefits would be evenly distributed throughout the project community. There was no active attempt to discover if this was true.

World economic conditions, political systems and patriarchal institutions all place women and children at the bottom of any list of priorities. All governments and institutions continue to be dominated by men. Poor women and their children are frequently the most severely affected by development and economic policies adopted by their governments, such as structural adjustment, increasing militarization, and export-oriented industrialization (EOI) strategies. Yet poor women are also in the worst position to cope with such issues, having usually been deprived of access to education, bearing the major responsibility for family welfare and being the most poorly represented in officialdom (including lacking access to informal male networks or patron-client relationships). Their class, their sex, their race, and their relative economic position give them few allies or champions. Their poverty gives them little time or energy to deal with anything beyond bare survival. Without allies in more privileged and monied classes, these women and their children are susceptible to

questionable propositions.

METHODOLOGY

My hope in undertaking this research was to gain some understanding of the structures of international traffic in women and children, and to share this understanding with others. I have discussed my research with numerous people over the course of writing this thesis. The responses I have had to the topic range from shock and despair to interest and encouragement. But most people are fascinated and are interested to learn more details.

I have relied mainly on archival and library research for my data. I chose to concentrate on this method because of a number of constraints:

1. Because of the highly illegal nature of the subject I felt that it would be extremely difficult, and possibly dangerous, to conduct field research.
2. Because the traffic is spread around the world, I felt it would be useful to address common structural issues, rather than individual incidents of the traffic, or the pattern in a particular geographic region.
3. Because much of the material available regarding international slave traffic is anecdotal, and I have been told that this type of material is unacceptable for social science research, I have focused on material that was unchallengeable. Anecdotal information is used for illustration only.

Since United Nations documents regarding international slave traffic are readily available from the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, and they include submissions from many different countries, groups and organizations it seemed reasonable to rely primarily on this large store of archival data. This material has been most useful in setting

out official positions of different countries over time, demonstrating the international institutional response to the problem, providing documented examples of incidents of slavery, and the current trends in the traffic. As I felt less and less satisfied with the institutional response to the trade, however, I also wanted to include material with a more experiential base, and have therefore included information which presents this point of view.

My second source of primary data was obtained by attending lectures, workshops and conferences that I felt might lead me directly or indirectly to people with an interest in the subject. I found that this was a very useful and successful method of collecting data. In particular, I found the lecture by Rodney Stamler entitled "Crime in the Global Village", (27 February 1990) sponsored by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and Carleton Law Association, most useful in drawing parallels between international drug trafficking and international slave trafficking. He confirmed my belief that without a political will to eradicate the trade, and wide exposure in the media, there will be no successful attempt on an international institutional level to stop the trade. Stamler suggested that I check INTERPOL's proceedings from an international symposium held in St. Cloud on Traffic in Human Beings in 1988 to understand the perspective of police forces around the world.

The most important contact I made through this method, however, was with Lin Lap Chew, whom I met at the 1st World Summit on Women and the Many Dimensions of Power, in Montreal, in June 1990. Lin Lap Chew

works with Stichting Tegen (Foundation Against Trafficking in Women) in the Netherlands. She was also among the group of women who met with Kathleen Barry and others in Rotterdam in 1983 to establish a network against female sexual slavery, and she also attended the World Whores' Congresses. She confirmed my beliefs that there is no international traffic in adult males, and that there are feminist groups worldwide which are attempting to take concrete actions to help victims of the trade.

Lin Lap Chew described to me the manner in which her group operates, how they identify victims and the cooperation they have developed with, and subsequently received from, health and police officials in the Netherlands. She also provided copies of newspaper articles to which I would not otherwise have had access. It was quite thrilling to make a connection with someone actively engaged in trying to eradicate the trade, as my efforts to locate any such person or group in Canada had not been successful up until that time.

The third method I used to collect primary data was to write to people or institutions I felt might be interested in some way in international slave traffic, such as the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, the Association for Middle East Women's Studies, Intercede, the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, and the Women's Program at the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, among others. This has not been a particularly successful method. A number of people have not responded to my inquiries, and many of those who did respond did not have any help to offer me other than moral support.

These are primarily Canadian sources, although I did write to people in other countries as well. This method, however, did allow me to ask the RCMP to assist me in obtaining vital pieces of information from INTERPOL, which I found very useful in setting out the law enforcement aspects of this issue.

I had originally hoped to contact and work with a group in Canada directly involved in actions against international traffic in women, in order to become closely involved in the practical aspects of the issue. However, I have been unable to find or establish contact with any such group. A number of my efforts in this direction have led me to dead ends, without any contacts to follow up. I found this quite frustrating, as it meant that I had to keep my research on a more impersonal level than I had hoped.

My survey of the literature on the subject was also disappointing, although it made me realise that my research will contribute to a sparse coverage. I found that much of the literature which is available treats slavery in an historical context, and there was very little information on international slave traffic subsequent to World War I. The few sources I did find are useful, but limited in their scope. For example, one source treats only child sexual slavery in the United States (Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988), and another deals with slavery only in relation to diplomats (Ashman and Trescott, 1988). In addition, few of the sources currently available address the demand side of the question with any depth of analysis. For this aspect of the trade I turned to indirect sources regarding prostitution, and feminist works responding to the

question of forced prostitution.

Additional secondary material came to me through colleagues, but this was also frustrating, as it was in no way methodical or controlled. An interesting contact was made this way though with Highroads Productions in Toronto. Highroads Productions was a film company which was researching a film on contemporary forms of slavery. Although their scope is much broader than my own, it was encouraging to find others in Canada researching the problem.

INTRODUCING THE PROBLEM

The institution of slavery has a long history throughout the world and has co-existed with most religions. All states and most religions forbid slavery today, but many either practice it or close their eyes to its practice within their jurisdictions. There is a persistent illusion that international slave traffic was abolished in the nineteenth century. The trade in so-called "black ivory", the trade of slaves from Africa to North America and the Caribbean, was eventually eradicated through various international measures such as British measures to prevent shipping of slaves, public agitation by abolitionists, the American civil war and so on. Since the "black-ivory" type is the form of slavery familiar to most people in the West¹, they believe that all slave traffic ended with the

¹ In addition to the trade in Africans in the West at this time, there was also a trade in Polynesians and Melanesians for work on sugar plantations in Australia. The slavers were known as "blackbirders". (Palmer, 1871)

emancipation of the slaves during the civil war in the United States of America.

At the end of the Victorian era, a form of slavery which was termed the "white slave trade" (in contrast to the trade in "black ivory") came to the attention of the public and legislators. It was related to international traffic in women and girls for sexual purposes, and was distinguished as "white" because European and North American women were transported, exchanged and sold in North America, Europe, East Asia, Latin America and the Middle East² (Willis, 1910: 23). At the time the legislative interest in the "white slave trade" began in the late nineteenth century, the international trade in black Africans had been virtually eradicated.

A number of international bodies began to legislate against the "white slave trade" in the late part of the nineteenth century, because of agitation from first-wave feminists³, the media, and others. Eventually,

² Women of other colours and nationalities were also traded at this time, but the trade was known as the "white slave trade", nevertheless. Part of the demand for the women came from huge numbers of migrant males working outside their country of origin at the end of the nineteenth century. For example, Asian railroad workers in Canada were prohibited from bringing their wives and families to Canada. They created a demand for brothels, and as many preferred Asian women, Asian women were imported to "staff" the brothels. Modern international slave traffic is still known as the "white slave trade" despite the fact that the majority of those enslaved are not white.

³ See Barry's Chapter 2, "Josephine Butler: The First Wave of Protest", in Female Sexual Slavery.

the League of Nations tried to deal with the issue in the 1920s. Measures taken during this period were specifically meant to legislate against the "white slave trade" which in the definition of the time included only women and the sex industry. These measures proved completely ineffective against the enslavement of millions in forced labour and sexual slavery under the Nazis during World War II.

The United Nations attempted to eradicate emerging types of international slave traffic (such as the burgeoning trade in children) in the late 1940s and early 1950s, having the events of World War II freshly in mind. These measures also proved to be ineffective against sexual slavery and other forms of enslavement victimizing only women and children (such as adoptions, mail-order marriages, etc.).

The trade in "black ivory" was primarily for the purpose of labour slavery. The globalization of industry has almost eliminated the need to move large pools of labour to different countries for plantation work or factory production, which is how most of those enslaved under the "black ivory" ideology or labour slavery, were used. The machine age curtailed the economic viability of labour slavery. Where there is still a need for labour pools (such as there was in Kuwait before the Gulf War), "guest workers" and migrant labour within a region fill the need. In the information age the global factory, where components are manufactured around the world for final assembly at some other point, is the norm. In addition, Export Processing Zones (EPZs), which usually have relaxed immigration regulations, cluster together and draw together a local or

regional labour pool. The need to transport labour to a distant location is largely non-existent. Most of the demand for adult male slaves traded internationally has therefore dried up.

Wealth is no longer based on land and land production, but in manufacturing (which the global factory does anywhere), services (available anywhere) and information (which is exchanged electronically), so the need for vast labour pools on the land is obsolete. Capital is now willing to move to locations where labour is cheap and docile, and where other conditions (such as tax breaks and a friendly political climate) are favourable. Migrants in the Third World move to cities or industrial areas such as mines or manufacturing areas, from their subsistence farms to provide cheap, and usually docile, labour in modern sector industry. The exception to this is that there is still a demand for labour slavery in the household, and that means that the demand for domestics remains strong.

Women are less likely than men to migrate from rural areas to cities in most parts of the world except Latin America and parts of Asia. But women form a large proportion of international migrants, many migrating under government sponsorships such as the one which brought thousands of Sri Lankan women to the Middle East as domestic servants. (Seager and Olson, 1986:17) For many migrating women, the new lives they find are no better, or they are worse, than the lives left behind because of exploitative working conditions, the absence of an accustomed familial or social network and actual abuse.

Migrant women are very likely to end up in the sex industry if they migrate from rural areas to cities in the Third World. An unknown percentage of these women will become enslaved in that industry and some of them will be transported abroad. This is because there is a demand for sexual slaves around the world. Many of those sexually exploited as domestic servants will easily fall into this trap as they are often inexperienced and young, or they are forced into it. (Barry, 1979:68)

Under the demand lie many reasons to enslave, including the need to have power over someone else, greed, lust, and cruelty.

Modern international slave traffic is covert, and as it concerns mainly women who become sexual slaves, and who may come to be perceived as prostitutes rather than slaves, there is little understanding of the trade or sympathy for its victims. There is no public agitation by abolitionists, except for feminists, no new legislation and no war expected with regard to the issue.

PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION

All scholarship is to a certain extent subjective, as the writer or researcher cannot possibly eschew her values and personal history. I am a feminist, and this informs and directs my choice of research topic, the questions I ask, the methodology I choose to conduct my research, the comparisons I make, and the conclusions I draw. Male researchers who have ignored this subject have also had a subjectivity, some as potential contributors to the demand for sexual slaves. I am a socialist feminist,

and this forces me to question the success of existing structures and practices under patriarchy and capitalism. In terms of international development, it makes me realize that it is not good enough to attempt to "integrate" women into existing structures, but that some of the structures themselves must be fundamentally altered in order to benefit women fully and to fully include women.

I do not believe that there is an objective reality, but that "facts" are reflected in a subjective reality which consequently dictates the questions which are asked, the methods used to answer the questions, and the conclusions drawn from the answers. Compare for example, the historical accounts of the arrival of Europeans in North America with the point of view of Amerindians. While both groups participated in the same events, undoubtably their versions of these events would differ markedly. Similarly, I hope to shed some light on events taking place in the world around me which many people may view as isolated and unconnected to other events, systems or structures by asking questions, finding answers and drawing conclusions in a slightly different manner than others have used.

In choosing a topic for research, I had certain requirements to fulfil, including that the topic be related to international development, that it also be related to international management and that it also include primary research. In addition, I wanted to select a topic which would allow me to further develop my growing interest in women and development, and feminist theory. The choice of international trafficking

in women and children as a topic allowed me to discuss the problem in the context of international development, it allowed me to examine the management of the problem at the international level, and it included primary (archival) research. As the traffic is confined to women and mostly female children, I have been able to develop a feminist analysis which explains this problem and places it in a global context.

In this chapter I have introduced the problem of international slave traffic in human beings in the world today. I have supplied UN definitions and broadened the scope of these definitions somewhat. In addition, I described the parameters of my research, mentioning the areas I have both included and excluded and why I chose to do so. I presented a theoretical framework for my discussion of the problem, and outlined my methodology. Finally, I identified myself and gave reasons for some of the choices I made regarding my research. In the next chapter, I outline the historical evolution of slavery, and the situation of international traffic in slaves in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER 2

In the last Chapter, I outlined my research and methodology, and I introduced the problem of current international slave trade in women and children. In this chapter I will examine how slavery has evolved over time, and how it was mainly women and female children who were the victims of the practice. I will also compare the response to twentieth century international slavery at the institutional level and from feminist organizations.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF HISTORICAL SLAVERY

Slavery having predated and outlived so many civilizations, its apologists can almost be forgiven for believing it to be a part of the natural order of things. Eve was told by God that Adam would rule over her and enslavement by a hypothetical First Man of a woman or enemy was seen by cultures older than Judaism as a necessary consequence of a law of nature.
(Sawyer, 1986:1)

In his book Slavery in the Twentieth Century, Sawyer notes that apologists for slavery identify it as a part of human nature. In fact, slavery can be clearly identified as a social construction which, although it has occurred in many cultures, is anything but natural. Gerda Lerner describes this construction in her 1986 book The Creation of Patriarchy.

Lerner gives a history of the rise of both the concept of slavery and slavery itself in early historical periods. She points out that slavery

seldom occurred in hunting/gathering societies, but appeared with the rise of pastoralism, agriculture, urbanization and state formation. (Lerner, 1986:76) In other words, slavery appeared in societies concurrently with the advent of ownership and private property. She argues:

Slavery is the first institutionalized form of hierarchical dominance in human history: it is connected to the establishment of a market economy, hierarchies and the state...it represented an essential advance in the process of economic organization, an advance upon which the development of ancient civilization rested. Thus, we can justifiably speak of 'the invention of slavery' as a crucial watershed for humanity.

(Lerner, 1986: 76)

According to Lerner, it is necessary for certain preconditions to be present before slavery occurs. A surplus of food is required, because slaves have to be fed to be useful¹ (unless of course there is a virtually unlimited supply of slaves as was the case in Nazi Germany during World War II). (Lerner, 1986:76) There have to be ways of disciplining prisoners and turning them into slaves. For effective institutionalized slavery, there has to be a visual or conceptual distinction between those enslaving and those enslaved² (ie. either a skin colour difference or

¹ It can be argued that slaves are in fact the producers of food for the non-producing elite. It may be that there must be enough resources for sufficient food to be produced to feed both the slaves and their owners, no matter which group produces the food.

² Although the Greeks, for example, enslaved "other" Greeks, the concept of the city state was so strong that any people from other locations were considered to be "other". In Athens, even long-time residents were not granted citizenship unless they had been born in the

membership in a different group/class). (Lerner, 1986:76)

Lerner argues that the concept of slave status had to be institutionalized. Institutionalizing slavery meant that customs and laws were created which both formally and informally governed relations between owners and slaves. Public recognition and acceptance of the practice accompanied institutionalization. Lerner also argues that the invention of slavery required the concept of the "out group" or "other" in order to be effective. She goes on to argue that men had already experienced marking off a group as "other", and subordinating them - the women of their own group. (Lerner, 1986:77)

Race is one way that people construct a notion of the "other". It is evidently easier to oppress "others" than those who are of the same group as the oppressor. It is for this reason that in times of war derogatory names are found for the enemy in order to make them an "out-group", and therefore not deserving of human compassion and caring. Recent examples of this are "Arggies", "Gooks", "Nips" and "Jerrys". In the same way, enslaved women have been derided for their "otherness", and derogatory names have been assigned to them. This has the effect of depersonalizing the women and making it easier to oppress and exploit them.

In his book, Capitalism and Slavery, Eric Williams (who later became the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago) argues that racism was the

city.

consequence of slavery, and that slavery was not the consequence of racism (Williams, 1964:7), which disagrees with Lerner's point that slaves have to be "other" in some way. In his own account of the history of black enslavement by white Europeans, however, Williams shows how white Europeans used other white Europeans as indentured labour, but there was always a definite understanding that these people would serve their contracted term and then be free to act as they themselves chose. Blacks, on the other hand were bought from others, no contract was ever made with them, and they could not expect freedom, except under the most exceptional circumstances. It was believed that blacks as a group were inferior to white Europeans as a group. This is racism, and this belief was institutionalized over time, allowing the creation by white people (in this case) of a hierarchy among the races which placed black people at the bottom. Similarly, there has been a hierarchy among the sexes since very early historical times which places women at the bottom. Social structures created ideologies which allowed one group to enslave another because of beliefs in inferior races and sex.

Social relations were constructed within societies in early historical periods which allowed men to dominate, and hierarchies to form and flourish. Men, women and children each had their roles and tasks within the division of labour which was consequently constructed. One of the actions taken by men was to exchange women and children through marriage for political and economic purposes. (Lerner, 1986:77) Lerner concludes that we can see how integrally definitions of gender affect the formation of the state through roles and behaviour deemed appropriate to

the sexes and expressed in values, customs, laws and social roles over the ages. (Lerner, 1986:212)

Lerner argues that through the combination of sexism and racism, men enslaved women, and that this enslavement preceded the formation of classes and the subsequent class oppression. (1986:213) According to Lerner, it was especially important to control the sexuality of women as the concept of private property became prevalent. She even suggests that the enslavement of women may represent the first accumulation of private property. (1986:213) Men wanted to ensure that the material wealth and the status they acquired in the public sphere was passed on to their own children. Thus it was vital that wives bore only children fathered by their husbands. The sexuality of women was therefore restricted by cultural and legal pressures and prohibitions.

In economies in which children were a labour resource, the childbearing capabilities of women were an especially valuable resource. In every known slave holding society, it was women of conquered groups who were first enslaved; their sexual and childbearing services, as well as their children, were appropriated by their owners. Initially men of conquered groups were killed instead of being enslaved, because they were perceived as a threat to the conquering group and there was no use envisaged for them. Later, conquering groups learned how to enslave men and appropriate their labour, both of conquered groups and of subordinate groups within their own societies. (Lerner, 1986:213) This development of a technology of exploitation and oppression links sexism

and racism as devices fundamental to economic "progress" as it has been practised in Western "civilization".

Women as a group have little sense of their own history and how it differs from that of men, because women have lacked the access to the institutions creating the symbols which are used to define what is and was important. It is significant that only in the times that women have a wide access to education, and consequently access to symbol systems, that they begin to educate themselves and others about "herstory". Women with and without formal education, nonetheless struggle against patriarchy around the world. They have become less willing to accept the roles defined for them by men within patriarchal societies, and have struggled for emancipation from patriarchal structures, as well as for the abolition of patriarchy. Since patriarchy is so entrenched in all societies' institutions and structures, it is a struggle which will take much time, much energy and many friends.

Slavery of women and children is one of many of the consequences of the lack of access to the creation of symbol systems, since patriarchal interests create and control all of the symbols which describe and depict women and children. For some time the images created have been of inferior and/or submissive women and children. This imagery makes it relatively easy to create structures which facilitate the enslavement of women and children. Just as the ideology of racism made it easier to enslave blacks in past centuries, so the ideology of sexism makes it easier to enslave women. Since women and children are almost always grouped

together as a category, children are easily included in the slavery.

The traditional versions of history we are presented with show women as marginal to the events of history and, at best, victims of historical process. This vision damages the self esteem of women and their ability to envisage an alternative society. Updated versions of history, such as Lerner's The Creation of Patriarchy, point out that some women in the past struggled against oppression and some women collaborated in the oppression of other women. Currently, women in all societies are leaving patriarchal thought behind and striving for a new order of values and definitions. They take as their models those who struggled against oppression in the past. These women and others like them are struggling against the current enslavement of women and the structures which make this continuing form of enslavement possible. Through sharing their knowledge with other women, they make it more difficult for patriarchal interests to isolate women and subsequently enslave them.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS REGARDING SLAVERY

The Peace Treaties of Paris of 1814 and 1815, the Declaration of the Congress of Vienna of 1815, and the Declaration of Verona of 1822 set out the general principle that the slave trade was repugnant to general principles of justice and humanity. The treaties urged nations to prohibit trade in slaves and called upon signatory states to take action against the trade. Late in the nineteenth century, a number of other treaties dealt with actions aimed at eliminating slave trade at sea. The international

treaties were aimed at the suppression of slavery as well as of the slave trade. (United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:45-46)

After Britain passed the Emancipation Act in 1834 and the United States effectively ended slavery in the U.S.A. with their bloody civil war (1861-1865), numerous attempts were made finally to eradicate the slave trade and international slave trafficking. In the years between 1839 and 1890 more than 300 international agreements were signed. None of these turned out to be effective. Pressure from the British Anti-Slavery Society resulted in the convening of the Brussels Conference of 1890. The Conference created mechanisms needed for genuine progress, including the General Act of Brussels. A permanent International Slavery Bureau was then set up as a result of the Act. The cooperation of such unlikely heads of state as the Shah of Persia, the Sultan of Zanzibar (the location of a slave market for many years), and King Leopold of Belgium (a former promoter of slavers), brought trade from Arab and African areas to a halt. Until the beginning of World War I when the Bureau closed, the trade in "black ivory" was at a virtual standstill. The Bureau had the effect of limiting the trade to certain territories. (Sawyer, 1986:217) At the close of the War, the Bureau did not resume its activities, and without opposition the international slave trade revived and slavery persisted in its traditional locations, including Persia and Zanzibar. (Sawyer 1986:217)

The nature of the international agreements began to alter at the beginning

of the twentieth century. In 1904 several states³ agreed to take action to protect women and girls from a slave trade which was then becoming known as "the white slave trade". They signed the International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic on May 18th in 1904. The signatory states agreed to collect and co-ordinate information related to the "procuring of women or girls for immoral purposes abroad." (Williams and Castel, 1981:273)

A convention in 1910 expanded the protective concept of the 1904 agreement. Contracting parties to the 1910 International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade were expected to punish those who:

to gratify the passions of others, hired, abducted or enticed for immoral purposes, even with her consent, a woman or girl under twenty years of age, or over that age in case of violence, threats, fraud or any compulsion, notwithstanding that the various acts which together constituted the offence were committed in different countries.

(Williams and Castel, 1981:273)

The 1921 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children of September 30th expanded the scope of the two previous instruments by protecting minors of either sex. This Convention was concluded under the auspices of the League of Nations, (Williams and Castel, 1981:273) however, the League was forced to deal with a more general type of slavery very quickly.

³ See Appendix 3 for lists of signatories for all of the international conventions mentioned in this chapter.

Originally when formulating the Covenant of the League of Nations, the founders took into account only slave traffic in women and children. Other forms of slavery were assumed to have disappeared, and without the Slavery Bureau, little contradictory information was put before the League. The welfare of the peoples of the mandated territories, however, was the responsibility of the League, and through annual reports received by the Mandates Commission, references to slavery came to the attention of the League.

It was soon realized by the League that the problems were serious, widespread and required prompt attention. A Temporary Slavery Commission was appointed in 1922 to assess the situation and make recommendations. Evidently the members of the Slavery Commission were quite startled by the material they examined. They thought that they had been called upon to deal with the "dying embers" of the world slave trade, and instead they "quickly discovered that the slave systems which were in blazing activity in several parts of the world involved several millions of human beings". (Sawyer, 1986:218) The Temporary Slavery Commission recommended the preparation of yet another international convention to deal with the problem, as well as the revival of the Slavery Bureau. A draft of the International Slavery Convention was signed in 1926 on September 25. (United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:46) Under Article 7, signatory countries were merely required to "undertake to communicate to each other and . . . to the League of Nations any laws and regulations they might enact with a view to the application of the provisions of the present Convention."

The International Slavery Convention of 1926 defines slavery as "the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised". The slave trade was defined in the Convention as including:

all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him [sic] to slavery; all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him [sic]; all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a slave acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves.

(United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:46)

While the Convention was somewhat useful in furnishing this definition, its inadequacy in terms of practical actions to eradicate the traffic soon became apparent. The League of Nations recognized that analysis of the problem was needed and, in 1927, appointed experts to inquire into the conditions in which "traffic in women and children was carried on in selected countries of the American continent, Europe and the Middle East". (Williams and Castel, 1981:274) The experts defined international traffic as "the direct or indirect procurement and transportation for gain to a foreign country of women and girls for the sexual gratification of one or more other persons." (Williams and Castel, 1981:274) An extension of the inquiry to Asia and the Far East, with a new group of experts, issued a report in 1932 which supported the conclusions drawn by the earlier group. They noted that "the principal factors in the promotion of international traffic in women in the East is the brothel." (Williams and Castel, 1981:274)

In 1933 the International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, "Declared as punishable offenses the acts of procuring, enticing or leading astray, even with her consent, a women or girl of full age, for immoral purposes to be carried out in another country." (Williams and Castel, 1981:273) Even preparing to commit or attempting to commit these acts was considered to be punishable.

With the exception of the 1926 Slavery Convention, all of the conventions make specific reference to the immoral purposes of the traffic, however they avoid the question of prostitution finding that it was considered to be within the exclusive competence of national jurisdiction. The experts appointed in 1927 found it very difficult to separate the international traffic from national commercial "vice". In their final report they came to the conclusion that the existence of licensed houses was an incentive to both international and national traffic. (Williams and Castel, 1981:274)

After the connection was clearly made by the report of the experts between international traffic in women and children and licensed houses, it was argued that the retention or abolition of such houses was no longer merely a national consideration. Rather it was of international concern that such houses be abolished. A draft convention was prepared in 1937 by the League of Nations to secure concerted action in the international arena for the abolition of licensed brothels, and punishment of those managing brothels or exploiting the prostitution of others. The second World War interrupted the conclusion of this convention.

In 1947, the United Nations resumed the study of the League of Nations' draft Convention of 1937. This led to the adoption of the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others¹ by the United Nations General Assembly on December 2nd, 1949. In addition, an ad hoc Committee of Experts on Slavery was appointed in 1949 and recommended ways in which various United Nations agencies could help eradicate slavery. As well as recommending that the United Nations should assume responsibility for the 1926 League of Nations Convention, the Experts also urged that a permanent Committee of Experts be appointed to oversee the Conventions. (Sawyer, 1986:221) They also recommended that a Supplementary Convention was needed in order to extend the definition of slavery to include debt bondage, sale of women into marriage and sham adoption of children. The Supplementary Convention was adopted on April 3, 1956. (Sawyer, 1986:221) The purpose of the Convention was to "safeguard the dignity and worth of the human person and to protect the individual, the family and the community by eliminating prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution." This convention attempts to consolidate the various previous conventions and protocols dealing with this subject. (Williams and Castel, 1981:275) It is also referred to as the Consolidated Convention.

The question of expertise in this area continued to be a problem for the UN. The ad hoc Committee of 1949 had urged the UN to appoint a

¹ See Appendix 4 for text of the Convention.

permanent Committee of Experts on slavery. This was not done, and slavery became the responsibility of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). In 1964 ECOSOC appointed Mohammed Awad (United Arab Republic) as a Special Rapporteur on slavery. He presented a Report on Slavery in 1966, in which he too emphasized that the UN, "should establish a committee of experts to deal with the problem of slavery in all its aspects, and to act as an advisory body to the Economic and Social Council". (307) Around this time the subject of discussion altered once again, in an attempt to consolidate all forms of enslavement under one heading. The question became "slavery and the slave trade in all their practices of apartheid and colonialism". (Sawyer, 1986:223)

Finally, in 1967, the Commission on Human Rights debated slavery for the first time. They referred the matter to the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities which again appointed Mohammed Awad as Special Rapporteur. He presented an interim report in 1971, shortly before his death. The matter drifted for another two years before the Sub-Commission recommended that the UN needed a permanent mechanism for considering slavery defined as the various agreed upon types. In 1974 the Human Rights Commission forwarded this recommendation to the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

MODERN INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSE

By its' decision 16 (LVI) of May 17, 1974, ECOSOC authorized the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to establish a five member working group to undertake to review developments in modern slavery. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/5) Each year since 1975 the group has held a session to review developments related to slavery⁵. (The United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:51) This group works in concert with two other related working groups: the Working Group on Communications and the Working Group on Indigenous Populations. (Sawyer, 1986:224) The Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery (as it is now known) meets once each year in Geneva for one week prior to the Sub-Commission's annual session.

The Group receives reports from states and from specialized agencies, non-governmental organizations, secretariat bodies and INTERPOL. From these materials the Working Group formulates recommendations which the Sub-Commission forwards to the Commission on Human Rights and ECOSOC.

How well does the present system work? If an individual incident of enslavement came to the attention of the group in August, they might

⁵ The 15th session of the Working Group was scheduled to take place from 31 July to 3 August 1990, in Geneva. The five members of the group were Mrs. M.C. Bautista (the Philippines), Mr. I Diaconu (Romania), Mr. A. Eide (Norway), Ms. F.Z. Ksentini (Algeria) and Mr. L Varela Quiros (no country listed). (United Nations Handbook, 1990:55)

recommend to the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities that the government of the state concerned should be questioned regarding the alleged incident. The state might be asked what action they intended to take as a party to the 1956 Supplementary Convention on Slavery, if indeed the state involved were a signatory nation. The Sub-Commission would inform the Human Rights Commission at the earliest during the following March, and any recommendation would be implemented by the permanent staff of the Secretariat of the Centre for Human Rights, subject to the approval of ECOSOC in May or June. If the state concerned issued a denial, the incident would be considered to have been resolved, unless some group such as the Anti-Slavery Society took it up once again. (Sawyer, 1986:226)

This complicated machinery and the many layers of responsibility are too cumbersome to have any chance of achieving acts of individual liberation. Yet this Working Group is the result of recommendation after recommendation for a group of experts to address the problem. Clearly there is a significant gap between what can be achieved by machinery at this level and what is urgently needed at the level of enslaved individuals. Although the aims of the Working Group appear not to include individual liberation, they also do not appear to include addressing structural issues related to the continuation of international slave trafficking. Their role is to collect reports from countries and organizations with regard to the current conventions. Any recommendations they might make are in the context of the current social order.

The value of this Working Group is in its attempting to elicit responses from individual states regarding the situation of slavery in their country from time to time. It also provides a forum for groups such as the Anti-Slavery Society and others to bring their observations and concerns to the attention of the world. Absolutely no concrete action, however, can be expected from this level of an international body. Documents at this level abound with recommendations to "study the problem", to "write reports", to "call for responses from signatory nations", and so on. There is no evidence that more responsive actions will be taken.

In 1982, the UN Commission on Human Rights asked the UN Department of Public Information to take measures to generate "greater public awareness of the continued existence of slavery and slavery-like institutions and practices, and to mobilize international action for their eradication." (The United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:52)

In 1983, the Sub-Commission recommended that the Commission on Human Rights ask the Secretary-General to call upon all States, intergovernmental organizations, United Nations agencies, non-governmental organizations concerned and INTERPOL to supply information to the Working Group. It further recommended that the Commission request the competent United Nations bodies and specialized agencies to offer States such co-ordinated legal, technical, administrative, educational, financial and other practical assistance to eliminate conditions conducive to slavery and slavery-like situations. (The United Nations and Human Rights, 1984: 52)

At the UN sponsored World Conference of the International Women's Year in Mexico City in 1975, governments of countries where the practice of prostitution and exploitation of women and young girls existed were urged by those attending to take energetic action to put an end to forced prostitution and traffic in women. (United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:49) Resolution 7 on the Prevention of the Exploitation of Women and Girls, which was approved at the conference, requested that the Secretary-General explore the possibility of undertaking a world-wide survey of houses of prostitution where torture was practised, in cooperation with concerned specialized agencies. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/11:1) This call for action brought no results.

The United Nations Commission on the Status of women adopted resolution XXVII which concerns measures to combat prostitution. The resolution requests the Secretary-General to prepare a report regarding the implementation of the UN conventions on slavery, including probable causes and consequences of prostitution and the socio-economic conditions which are likely to promote it. ECOSOC endorsed this resolution in its resolution 1980/4. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/11:1)

A subsequent conference of women, the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held in Copenhagen in 1980 decried the lack of interest shown by governments and non-state international organizations. The Secretary-General of the United Nations was asked to submit a report on prostitution throughout the world. (United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:49) The women at this conference also invited states which had not

already done so, to ratify the Consolidated Convention of 1956. Governments were urged to recognize that women and children were not commodities, and that every woman and child had the right to legal protection against abduction, rape and prostitution. They were reminded that women and child prostitutes had the right to legal protection against maltreatment to which they might be subjected simply because they were prostitutes. (United Nations and Human Rights, 1984: 50)

In spite of the presence of the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, states have been slow to ratify the UN conventions. Some states will ratify almost anything and ignore the obligations, yet by the time UN Special Rapporteur Jean Fernand-Laurent's report on slavery was published in 1983 only about one-third of UN member nations had ratified this Convention, including a number quite notorious for tolerating blatant activity in this field. While some states perceive ratifying a convention as a futile gesture, other countries do not ratify it because they are influenced by motives such as expedience (i.e. the opportunities to earn much needed foreign exchange) in tolerating the activities the conventions seek to abolish.

Fernand-Laurent's report was the result of a request from the Economic and Social Council to the Secretary-General to appoint a special rapporteur to make a synthesis of the surveys and studies which had previously been carried out. His report led to a number of recommendations by ECOSOC to member states that they should draw up policies aimed at:

- a) Preventing prostitution by moral education and civics training, in and out of school.
- b) Increasing the number of women among the State's personnel having direct contact with the population concerned.
- c) Eliminating discrimination that ostracizes prostitutes and makes their reabsorption into society more difficult.
- d) Curbing the pornography industry and the trade in pornography and penalizing them very severely when minors are involved.
- e) Punishing all forms of procuring in such a way as to deter it, particularly when it exploits minors.
- f) Facilitating occupational training for and the reabsorption into society of persons rescued from prostitution.

United Nations, E/1990/33:23

ECOSOC goes on to "suggest", "recommend", "encourage" and "invite" states and other bodies to do various things.

After reviewing the question of the prevention of prostitution in 1983, the General Assembly concluded that prostitution, and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution, were incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and endangered the welfare of the individual, the family and the community. (United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:50)

Bearing in mind that the prevailing economic and social conditions were largely responsible for the continued existence of these social problems, and that women and children were all too often the victims, the Assembly

urged Member States to take all appropriate humane measures, including legislation, to combat prostitution, exploitation of the prostitution of others, and all forms of traffic in persons. In addition, Member States were invited to cooperate closely with one another in the search for missing persons and in the identification of procurers to INTERPOL. The Centre for Human Rights was requested to prepare one study on the sale of children and another on the legal and social problems of sexual minorities, including male prostitutes. (United Nations and Human Rights, 1984:51)

The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities approved a programme of work for the Working Group on Slavery for the period of 1989-1991 at its fortieth session by resolution 1988/31. The themes to be discussed in these three years were: prevention of the sale of children, of the prostitution of children and of the use of children in pornography (1989); eradication of the exploitation of child labour and of debt bondage (1990); prevention of traffic in persons and of the exploitation of the prostitution of others (1991). (United Nations, E/CN.4/ Sub.2/AC.2/1990/5)

Approximately once each year, the Secretary-General of the UN asks all States, UN organs, specialized agencies and intergovernmental organizations concerned to submit information to the Working Group. The attention of these groups is drawn to the yearly theme, and they are invited to submit specific information regarding the theme to the Working Group.

In their responses to the Working Group, many national governments merely reiterate that slavery is illegal in their country, and therefore it does not exist. For example, Saudi Arabia reported to the Working Group on Slavery in November of 1989 that, "Slavery, slave trade and institutions and practices similar to slavery do not exist in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/ AC.2/1990/4:1) Some nations enumerate their legislative provisions against the trade, and proclaim that since they have this provisions, slavery cannot exist in their nation. One has only to think of any illegal activity, such as drug trafficking or murder, to realize that provisions against practices does not mean that those practices do not exist.

The states submit similar responses regarding the main themes of the year. For example, in April 1990 the People's Republic of the Congo submitted the following response in regard to the theme of eradication of the exploitation of child labour and of debt bondage, "The exploitation of child labour and debt bondage are practices unknown in the People's Republic of the Congo." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/5:2)

Some states and groups do submit detailed responses, however, the states' responses tend to be quite defensive, and not very informative. Special interest groups' responses tend to be much more informative and specific. Some of the non-governmental groups try to make connections between cause and effect, which states, generally speaking, do not

attempt. For example, the International Federation Terre des Hommes⁵ argues that,

The debt burden of the majority of developing countries is an aggravating factor in the exploitation of child labour. It is common knowledge that heavily indebted Governments have been forced to cut back spending on social welfare for deprived segments of their populations, thus leaving them destitute.

United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:5

The group claims that some of the causes of child labour include extreme poverty, adult unemployment and underdevelopment. The conditions force children to engage in activities which contribute to the family income. Unfortunately, groups such as Terre des Hommes are without the power to change international policies which contribute to these issues. They may be able to exert influence, and bring some issues to the attention of international agencies and national legislators, but their efforts are primarily directed toward addressing the effects of the problems, and not the underlying conditions which create the problems.

5 Terre des Hommes was founded in 1960 in Switzerland by Edmond Kaiser, and is a registered foundation. The group aims to come to the immediate assistance of children in distress. The group is without political, religious or ethnic affiliation. The primary worldwide activities are concerned with national and international adoption as well as emergency care, health care and education, immunization, family support, training, street children programmes, help for imprisoned children and children released from prison, community programmes for children and mothers, and homes for orphaned children.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)' submitted a brief to the Working Group in February of 1990, in which they, "deplore the coercive measures ...applied by certain developed countries against Third World countries as a means of exerting political pressures...", and they, "acknowledge the urgency of reducing...interest rates, and extending payment, grace and consolidation periods so as to alleviate the debt burden of developing countries..." and they, "appeal to the Governments of the developed countries to accord exemption from debt repayment to countries suffering from famine and to show special appreciation to countries that have succeeded in meeting their international foreign debt obligations." The IPU, "urges all debtors and creditors to seek...a lasting, fair, and mutually agreed solution to the external indebtedness of developing countries." Finally the group, "recommends to the Parliaments of countries represented in the IPU that they place the food question and the debt problem of developing countries on the agenda of their sessions." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/ AC.2/1990/6:9 - emphasis added) The words this group uses to appeal for action demonstrate clearly how powerless the group itself is, and that action can only come from a concerted effort by member nations.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union was founded in Paris in 1888. The aims of the Union are to work for international peace and cooperation through dialogue. Its primary activities are to foster contacts and the exchange of experience among parliaments and parliamentarians of all countries. It also considers questions of international interest and through expressing its views on issues, attempts to bring about action by parliaments and their members. Parliamentarians of 112 countries are members.

Some of the groups submitting information to the Working Group however, are able to take action, and report that they have done so. For example, the Law Association for Asia and the Pacific⁶ (LAWASIA) has recently held three seminars on child labour and exploitation. They published papers presented at these seminars and a publications list from their Human Rights Committee. The Association informed the Working Group that they intend to send an observer mission to India in 1990 to examine bonded labour and child labour. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:11)

In February of 1990, Socialist International Women⁹ submitted information

⁶ The Law Association for Asia and the Pacific was founded in 1966 in Australia. The group promotes the administration of justice, the protection of human rights and the maintenance of the rule of law. They attempt to advance legal education, diffuse knowledge of the laws of member countries, promote development of the law, further international understanding and goodwill, and foster relations and intercourse between lawyers. Organizations and individuals in twenty countries are members.

⁹ Socialist International Women was founded in 1955 in London as a successor to International Socialist Women's Secretariat which was set up in 1907. The group tries to strengthen relations between members, exchange experiences between members on ways of promoting a knowledge and understanding of the aims and tasks of democratic socialism among member women of their respective countries, extend relations between members and other socialist-oriented women's groups which desire cooperation, promote action programmes to overcome discrimination in society, and to work for human rights, development and peace. The members exchange visits, hold seminars, hold international women's day activities, carry out projects for help to women in developing countries. They contribute their views on such topics as the new international order, development and disarmament, the future generation and socialism and

regarding conferences they had recently held to the Working Group. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:12) The first conference, held in 1989 resulted in the adoption of an Action Programme entitled "The Sex Industry", and it included a debate on the trade in pornography, prostitution, sex tourism, and mail-order marriages. A conference held later in the same year discussed the theme "Prevention of Sexual Exploitation - A Challenge for Action".

The World Federation of Trade Unions¹⁰ proposed that the Working Group seek contacts with, and co-operation from trade union movements in those countries where the slave trade exists. They suggest closer ties with the ILO and other UN bodies. Finally they urge the Working Group to, "...deal with the communications of individuals who have fallen victims

carry out projects for help to women in developing countries. They contribute their views on such topics as the new international order, development and disarmament, the future generation and feminism. There are member organizations in close to 60 countries and territories.

The World Federation of Trade Unions was founded in 1945 in Paris, and now boasts representation of over 214,000,000 members in 76 countries. The Federation aims to consolidate and unite the trade unions of the world, irrespective of race, nationality, religion or political opinion. They attempt to strengthen the solidarity of the international trade union movement by encouraging systematic exchange of information and experience, helping workers to organize trade unions, promote training in questions of international unity, increase their class consciousness and represent the interests of workers in international organizations and institutions. The Federation holds periodic meetings and publishes a variety of newsletters, pamphlets, leaflets, and posters.

[sic] to various forms of slavery and slavery-like practices." (United Nations, E/CN.4/ Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:15) The group raises the interesting question of why the Working Group does not focus on individuals. A possible explanation is that since the small group of five meets only once a year, and has no resources of their own, they must work through UN agencies to gather information and to take any type of action. This is a considerable constraint, which almost of necessity precludes any focus on individuals.

Socialist International Women sent the Working Group a brochure on its Fourteenth Triennial Conference, held in Stockholm in June 1989. An Action Programme adopted at that conference provided that SIW, "should urgently debate the trade in pornography, prostitution, sex tourism and mail-order marriages." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/ac.2/1990/6:12)

The Working Group also receives information from other United Nations organs. In 1990, the Centre for Social Development and Humanitarian Affairs reported that child labour and debt bondage, "has been a matter of concern to our activities and the problem is being addressed [at the] Eighth United Nations Congress on the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders to be held in Havana from 27 August to 7 September 1990." (United Nations, E/CE.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/5:15) Other agencies, however, have not included slavery in their programs. The United Nations Fund for Population Activities, the United Nations University, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization all reported that they had no relevant information to share with the Working

Group.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recognized that since women and children constitute the majority of the worlds' refugee population, and need greater protection than men, "...in view of their vulnerability to rape, physical violence, sexual abuse and harassment, as well as prostitution", planning is needed to ensure protection assistance activities for refugees address the special needs of women and children. Yet what they propose to do is to, "...identify and assess their needs." This does not indicate that action will be undertaken after needs have been "identified and assessed." (United Nations, E/1990/33:21)

In September 1988, INTERPOL held an international symposium on the traffic in human beings in St. Cloud, France. The Chairman initiated a discussion concerning terminology, and the discussion resulted in the Delegates agreeing to substitute the term "slavery" for the term "white slavery". This agreement was meant to bring the discussion into the twentieth century rather than employing nineteenth century terms. It also implies a recognition that "white slavery" is no longer an accurate description of the trade, if it ever was since the majority of slaves are women of colour.

At the symposium, the delegate from the Netherlands gave a presentation

concerning a working party established in September 1987¹¹. The working party noted the discrepancy between the number of cases prosecuted and the number of incidents of trafficking. They attributed the discrepancy to "Intimidation and threats on victims by offenders, the victim's fear of authorities and fear of deportation [as] contributing factors...as well as strict legal requirements of evidence gathering." The Minister of Justice of the Netherlands made recommendations to Parliament as a result of the suggestions made by the Working Party:

1. increase the maximum penalty to 6 years' imprisonment for forcing a person into or keeping a person in prostitution.
 2. provide a lighter burden of proof.
 3. making it a punishable offence to bring, by force, threat, deception or abuse of circumstance, a person into prostitution.
- (International Symposium, 1988:4)

The presentation made a distinction between, "fully independent prostitutes and those abused or forced to comply with conditions such as those imposed by the criminal milieu." (International Symposium, 1988:4)

That is, the Dutch presenters recognized prostitution, but not sexual slavery, as a choice some women might make.

By contrast, the Spanish delegate suggested that people engaging in prostitution should be, "...considered victims and should be helped to find normal roles in society...adequate tax controls could prove an effective weapon in the fight [against prostitution]." In response, the

¹¹ The proceedings from the Symposium do not give any other details about this working party, such as whether it was contained within the police force for example.

delegate from France said that "the causes of prostitution were numerous and varied from one country to another." The discussion of "normal roles in society" and "the causes of prostitution" clearly demonstrates the attitude that all prostitutes are victims, and does not usefully distinguish between those who choose prostitution as a profession and those who are forced into it against their will. (International Symposium, 1988:7)

INTERPOL submitted a report on the symposium in one of their regular reports to the Working Group. At the INTERPOL General Assembly in 1989, they unanimously adopted a resolution asking the General Secretariat of the UN to conduct a study in collaboration with appropriate UN bodies. The study would be undertaken with a view to improving international cooperation in combating offenses against minors. INTERPOL's General Secretariat has continued to assist member nations in "identifying persons suspected of procuring or otherwise trafficking in women and children." (United Nations, E/1990/ 33:22) Once again, beyond "studying" and "identifying", there is no mention of concrete action to be taken to actually alleviate the situation for individual victims.

The final recommendations of INTERPOL's 1988 symposium were to improve the exchange of information between member countries; to improve the sensitivity of police to victims' fears of the procurers; member countries were to establish data bases regarding organized crime involvement in the traffic; high priority was to be given to investigations of child pornography. (International Symposium, 1988:18)

It is very surprising, however, that INTERPOL reported to the Working Group in 1990 that, "As regards the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, very few cases have been reported to the General Secretariat in the recent past." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/5:17) INTERPOL concludes that they cannot make any assessment of the problem based on such "sparse information."

There are a number of international instruments which address the issues of international traffic in persons and the status of women: the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)¹², adopted in 1979; the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights¹³, adopted in 1948; and the League of Nations' Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery adopted in 1926. In addition The Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction and The Convention on the Rights of the Child address the issue specifically in regard to children.

Unfortunately, the recognition of rights is not sufficient to establish the use of such rights. Many states question the representativeness of these instruments on the ground that they reflect an idealized Western and bourgeois conception of equality. Moreover, the inherent incompatibility of the world's various social, economic and cultural systems make the

¹² See Appendix 4 for text of Convention.

¹³ See Appendix 4 for text of Declaration.

instruments difficult to apply since it is difficult to even agree on what actually constitutes enslavement. Women from countries where this Western conception of equality is not accepted are thus at a disadvantage, as they have to struggle for their rights in a philosophical framework where their own conception is denied legitimacy. (Houle, 1989:39) Women in countries where equality is officially espoused know that much of this equality is political rhetoric and little more.

The present international system is not organized to respond in any practical or helpful way. Nor is it able to avoid obstruction and denial. Given that it is often governments which are implicated in these cases (through police force and/or military force involvement, or the actions of individual government representatives), they are hardly likely to extend invitations to Commissions to investigate the claims.

There is a problem with access to sovereign territories and of enforcing compliance with ratified Conventions. Sawyer argues that closer cooperation with the ILO, which has experience with on-the-spot enquiries, would be helpful in this regard. (1986:229) In addition, Sawyer feels that INTERPOL could be more fully utilized by the Working Group, using its skills with extradition to full advantage against traffickers in women and children. (1986:230)

Institutional responses to the issue of international slave traffic have been to discuss the question, study the problem, pass international conventions without any power to enforce them and to endlessly set up small groups to

work on the problem. Yet the evidence indicates that the traffic is not only not being eradicated, but is actually growing, particularly in the area of child slavery. This is because there are tremendous overarching structural forces which are not fundamentally altered by discussions, studies, conventions and working groups. Economic principles under capitalism ensure that if there is a demand in a market, this demand will be met with a supply if at all possible. Since many social and economic forces in our global village merge together to create conditions which facilitate the supply side of international slavery, there is no difficulty in finding a supply of slaves. In addition, those willing to gain through this exchange, the procurers, slavers and slave-owners are also anxious to benefit from this lucrative trade by supplying merchandise. Since the demand for slaves is strong, especially in the commercial sex industry, the trade flourishes.

CANADA'S POSITION

In a report to the Economic and Social Council's Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery in 1988, Canada reported that "slavery and the slave trade do not exist in Canada." (United Nations, E/CN/Sub.2/AC.2/1988/4, Add.1) While the Canadian report clarifies how the Criminal Code, the Civil Code and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms would or could protect people from enslavement, there is no explanation of whether or not Canada takes measures to supervise the employment of women and children, to protect them from being exposed to the danger of prostitution, in compliance with Article 20 of the Consolidated Convention; and whether or not Canada exercises supervision over the offices or

agencies engaged in finding employment for women or children abroad to conform with Article 6 of the 1904 Convention, to which Canada is a party without reservation. Williams and Castel suggest that Canada is not meeting its obligations in this regard. (1981:281) There is also no indication of whether or not Canada arranges for appropriate publicity warning the public of the dangers of international traffic in persons as required in paragraph 2 of Article 17 of the Consolidated Convention.

Since a number of the Articles of the Consolidated Convention were substantially covering the previous agreements, there is some question first of why Canada did not sign the Consolidated Convention, and second of why Canada is not meeting its obligations regarding the Conventions it has signed. It is especially curious that Canada did not sign the Consolidated Convention, given the fact that it was one of the states which voted for the resolution (United Nations, 317(IV)), which approved the Consolidated Convention and proposed it for adoption by UN member nations. (Williams and Castel, 1981:282) Williams and Castel argue that by not signing Canada followed the lead of the United Kingdom and the United States, neither of which signed the Consolidated Convention. There is evidence that Canada did not sign because of a position adopted by the Departments of Justice and National Health and Welfare, that there was no need to be a party to an instrument which would be perceived to be of limited value without the signatures of the UK and the USA. (Williams and Castel, 1981:282)

The official position which Canada expresses in its submissions to the

Working Group is that several articles of the Convention fall within the jurisdiction of the provinces, and that consultations between federal and provincial authorities are needed in order that all jurisdictions comply with the obligations of the Convention. This is true; however, it is a condition which has also been operative with regard to numerous other international conventions, yet the differences were resolved and Canada has signed most other international conventions, even those which were controversial.

Changes to Canada's Extradition and Immigration Acts would need to be made in order for Canada to comply with the obligations of the Convention. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/ AC.2/1990/4:5) A Canadian Department of Justice report from June 1984 states that, "This country's federative system, its corresponding division of powers, and its prudence with respect to a sometimes vague and overreaching terminology, account for Canada not signing the 1949 Convention". (Sansfacon, 1985:10) Evidently the matter comes up periodically at meetings between the provinces and the federal government, but the matter is not yet resolved as it is not considered a priority by the Department of External Affairs, according to a letter from Mr. Rochon. (Rochon, personal letter, 19 March 1990)

FEMINIST RESPONSES

In this section I will contrast some feminist responses with the institutional responses just outlined.

Feminists were among the first to respond to the "white slave trade" in the

nineteenth century. Kathleen Barry, in her book Female Sexual Slavery, argues that the emergence of the "white slave trade" was directly linked to the regulation of prostitution. (1979:14) First-wave feminists such as Josephine Butler, Emma Goldman and Christabel Pankhurst, focused on the political position of women vis-a-vis men. (Barry, 1979:37) Pankhurst argued that the lack of representation in Parliament led to a lack of fair wages for women, leaving them vulnerable to white slavers. (Quoted by Barry, 1979:36) If prostitution was unregulated women would be able to work for themselves, and would not be forced to congregate under the "protection" of pimps and slavers, according to first-wave feminists.

Representatives of the Canadian Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes (CORP) argue that first-wave feminists "joined with the Moral Majority." (Bell, 1987:204) and that they supported laws made at the time with regard to prostitution. Barry describes how feminists such as Pankhurst, Goldman and Butler asserted a connection between morality and prevailing political conditions, and that they actually placed the focus on those creating and maintaining the institution of prostitution. (Barry, 1979:36-37)

The ostensible reason for regulating prostitution was to control venereal disease, which had been spreading through the armies of Europe with serious consequences for the fitness of the soldiers. The regulation had the effect of state sanction of prostitution, but it also encouraged the formation of brothels because it was easier for physicians to examine prostitutes who were all gathered together. This meant the segregation

of women who had formerly lived more casually within their own neighbourhoods. Barry argues that regulation made forced prostitution a widespread practice, because the social and geographic isolation of the sex industry facilitated the involvement of criminals. (1979:15)

The Contagious Diseases Acts (Britain, 1864-1869) galvanized Josephine Butler into action, as she considered the Acts to be formalizing and legalizing the sexual enslavement of women. (Barry, 1979:15) Butler, who had been involved in rescue work with prostitutes for some time, organized the Federation for the Abolition of Government Regulation of Prostitution to campaign against the Acts because the measures in the Acts applied to women only. The Acts were enforced only near military locations, but all women in these areas were subject to the measures of the Acts, including forcible vaginal inspections or imprisonment. For a woman to venture outside of her home was to risk being identified and treated as a prostitute. (Barry, 1979:16)

In contrast to many of her contemporaries Butler recognized that the problem lay with those who profited from the trade. She demanded a fundamental change in values which she believed would lead to a society based on the individual freedom and self-respect of all members of society. Public indignation was aroused and a coalition of feminists, religious moralists and others gradually formed. The campaign became known as the purity campaign. But it was not purification of the State that the coalition wanted, but rather the return of women to repressive Victorian roles. This directly undermined Butler's feminist goals. (Barry, 1979:29)

The paternalism of the purity campaigners was rampant. The emphasis shifted from the oppressors of Butler's scenario to the prostitute as victim in the eyes of the purity campaigners. Feminists differed on these issues, some demanding the right to celibacy in marriage (so as to protect themselves from sexually transmitted diseases), some demanding the right for adult women to chose prostitution as a profession, and others demanding fair wages for working women so that they need not resort to prostitution if they did not want to practice it.

The term "white slavery" was not one commonly used by Butler, as she did not distinguish between white, black, brown, yellow or red. The term, however, had the effect of appealing to white racists who concluded that the international traffic could affect their families as the trade in "black ivory" never could have.

The issue of "white slavery" in the early twentieth century inevitably became entangled with other issues such as suffrage because it was perceived as a women's concern. Subsequently, World War I occupied everyone's thoughts. After the war, the League of Nations was formed, and it was thought that the issue would be effectively dealt with in that forum. While the League of Nations did promulgate several international agreements, and it did appoint experts to study the question, the trade continued between the wars. A very different type of slavery during World War II prompted the UN to take up the question very soon after its formation. It was some time, however, before feminists addressed this question again in detail.

Kathleen Barry first wrote about the continuance of female sexual slavery in her 1979 book Female Sexual Slavery, and then formed an international network to address the issue in 1983 in Rotterdam. At the time that Barry wrote, she discovered that "white slavery" had "become an historical artifact." (xi) The international network saw women from twenty four countries meet in Rotterdam to discuss forced prostitution, traffic in women, torture of female prisoners, sex tourism, military brothels, and sexual mutilation.

The result of the workshop was that those who attended set up non-hierarchical regional groups in which feminists could combat the traffic by setting up shelters and organizing training for women escaping forced prostitution, as well as by demanding that local authorities prosecute procurers. The women involved drew international support from the network, and were able to spread the news of their activities around the world through the network. (Barry, 1979:Introduction)

The network formed by Barry and other feminists at Rotterdam continued on an informal basis during the 1980s, with the International Women's Tribune Centre in New York functioning as the contact address. Some of the members of the network met in Nairobi at the UN Women's Forum in 1985, and at the New York Conference on Global Trade in Women in 1988. An international newsletter, containing articles regarding traffic in women and other relevant information, was launched in 1989 in response to needs expressed at these meetings.

In the United States, Margo St. James, a former prostitute who later worked with Barry and other anti-trafficking activists, began to speak out about the rights of prostitutes in the early 1970s. She attended the UN Decade of Women Conferences in 1975 (Mexico City) and 1980 (Copenhagen), and the 1976 International Tribunal on Crimes Against Women in Brussels, and began to make international connections. She met Gail Pheterson, from the Netherlands and they combined Gail's feminist networks and Margo's hooker contacts. After working together on some conferences, they co-directed the First World Whores' Congress in Amsterdam in February 1985. Pheterson chronicled that Congress and the Second World Whores' Congress in her edition of A Vindication of the Rights of Whores, 1989. The book is a collection of writings about and by prostitutes from around the world, as well as the proceedings of the two World Whores' Congresses. The book allows prostitutes to voice their own concerns regarding their working conditions, what they feel led them to chose prostitution as a profession, procurers, regulation and legislation.

In a Statement on Prostitution and Feminism presented by the ICPR at the Second World Whores' Congress in Brussels on October 1-3, 1986, feminists and prostitutes recognized where they have differed in their opinions of one another. The Statement expresses their common views. In particular, the section on migration of women through prostitution/trafficking is of relevance to the topic of slavery. The ICPR takes a clear stand against child prostitution under any circumstances. In the case of adult prostitution, however, the ICPR;

objects to policies which give women the status
of children and which assume migration through

prostitution among women to be always the result of force or deceit. Migrant women, also those who work as prostitutes, deserve both worker rights and worker protection. Women who are transported under conditions of deceit or force should be granted compensation and choice of refugee status or return to their country of origin.

(quoted in Pheterson, 1989:104)

The English Collective of Prostitutes (ECP) was formed within the Wages for Housework Campaign in 1975 in England. From 1976-1980 they cooperated with Margo St. James and her organization, COYOTE. St. James was working with anti-trafficking activists, notably Kathleen Barry, at the UN Conference on Women in Copenhagen in 1980. The ECP was opposed to Barry's growing movement, as they saw it as worsening the lives of prostitutes through state regulation and monitoring. Those who chose the profession wanted to be free to practice it without state interference in a manner which was meant to protect prostitutes, but which could in fact restrict them. (Pheterson, 1989:37) A division developed between the groups and continued for some time, although an attempt was made to heal the rift at the First World Whores' Congress. There was no consensus on how the question of trafficking should be approached between the different factions.

The ECP opposed the UN resolution in traffic in women because they wanted a clause included to note that prostitute women and children should not be treated as criminals. Barry supported the resolution without this clause. Over time Barry's initial differentiation between prostitution and forced prostitution was seen by St. James to emerge as an uncompromising condemnation of any type of commercial sex. St. James

eventually came to share ECP's view that Barry's crusade ultimately worsened the lives of those who chose to adopt prostitution as a profession. (Pheterson, 1989:36-37)

In the 1980s the Foundation Against Trafficking in Women, which is centred in the Netherlands, has been very active in representing the interests of women forced to work as prostitutes both within the Netherlands and at international fora. They recognize that some women choose to work as prostitutes, but they speak against those who take advantage of "the weak position of women, especially women in the so-called Third World in order to make a profit out of their work." (Pheterson, 1989:101)

As poor countries get poorer and poorer, more and increasingly younger women are regarding themselves and their sexuality as the only commodities which are marketable....Criminal rackets and individual exploiters are organized internationally to cash in whenever they can. And in order to resist this we have to organize ourselves internationally too.

Lin Lap Chew at the Second World Whores' Congress at the European Parliament
Brussels, 1-3 October, 1986
(quoted by Pheterson, 1989:101)

Over the past several years, there have been other meetings between feminists and prostitutes to discuss the feminist response to prostitution, and how prostitutes and their interests may be represented in the women's movement. Prostitutes' organizations are well aware of the history of prostitution and the current world conditions regarding prostitution. One example of this dialogue is contained within Laurie Bell's Good Girls/Bad Girls: Sex trade Workers and Feminists Face to Face. The Canadian

Organization for the Rights of Prostitutes (CORP) discusses with Bell the connection between feminists and morality, claiming that feminists working on the "white slave" issue in the early twentieth century "got into bed with the Moral Majority and supported all of these laws that we're now having to operate under." (1987:204) They argue that feminists have not supported them in the past, and have constantly been trying to "save" the prostitutes.

VENA Newsletter, published by the Research and Documentation Centre for Women and Autonomy, in the Netherlands, devoted an issue to Traffic in Women, and various articles in the issue discuss different aspects of the traffic. In addition a list of organizations around the world is given, along with a partial description of some of the organizations' activities. The activities include organization of workshops, setting up shelters, setting up training programs, counselling programmes, provision of legal and social services for prostitutes, providing information about violence against women, publication of information related to trafficking in women and children and the sex industry.

In the Philippines, Sister Mary Soledad Perpinan has been instrumental in forming the Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women (TWMAEW) which demonstrates against sex tours to the country. TWMAEW has demanded that the governments of Japan and the Philippines close down tourist agencies that use sex to sell tour packages, establishments which house prostitution, and prosecute all who profit from the sex trade as well as those involved in the production and distribution

of pornography. Perpnan argues that struggling against the traffic is difficult because of the extent of the involvement of so many people. According to Perpnan, the traffic is pervasive and "People who profit from sexual trafficking in women and children span the spectrum from taxi drivers to hotel managers, pimps to law enforcement officers." (1985:22)

Perpnan is also active in another group concerned primarily with traffic in women which is called STOP (Stop Trafficking in Philipinas). STOP directs its activities against national and international participants in the trafficking industry. It is a national (Philippine) coalition of over 200 public and private organizations. The activities of STOP include rehabilitation for prostitutes, prevention of trafficking in women, legal research, and educational projects on the problem. (Perpnan, 1985:22)

The activities undertaken by feminist organizations are for the most part, practical measures meant to aid the victims of the traffic. Most of the publicity regarding the traffic is generated by women's groups around the world. In addition, by their very existence, feminist groups challenge prevailing patriarchal ideologies which underlie trafficking in women and children. Their actions further challenge specific patriarchal practices and institutions, such as marriage and prostitution.

In this chapter, I have presented a history of modern international slave practices, and both institutional and feminist responses to the traffic. I have outlined how international instruments provide a framework for actions taken at the institutional level but which also fail to address the

underlying issue of demand for and supply of slaves. In contrast, I have demonstrated that actions taken by feminists are primarily of a practical nature, but also actions which challenge prevailing notions about women as property.

CHAPTER 3

In this chapter I will show how the current international slave traffic in women and children is virtually invisible in the world at large, in contrast to the openness of slavery in previous eras. It is a hidden traffic portrayed with very little purposeful media attention, although it does show up in popular culture, in pornography, magazines, newspapers, and on television, usually in the form of sexual slavery. In this discussion, I examine the supply side of the international slave trade.

THE "WHITE SLAVE" TRADE

As discussed earlier, late in the nineteenth century, after the trade in black Africans had been virtually eradicated, an emerging form of slavery was labelled the "white slave trade". It ostensibly involved the enslavement by non-whites of white European and American women for sexual purposes. Upon examining the literature more closely, however, I found that even at that time, women of colour were enslaved and traded internationally. Although the mythology of the time presented an image of innocent young white girls enslaved in Arabian harems and Oriental opium dens, the literature of the early twentieth century shows that the traders were frequently white, and European or American. The practice was supposed to imperil innocent young white women in Europe and North America, who were supposedly then sold to "men of colour". This was also largely untrue. Many white men were involved as procurers, pimps and purchasers (either of slaves or of slaves' services). Many "women of colour" were also traded in the market, providing an exotic flavour for

white customers and servicing non-white migrant workers.

Writers at the time considered "white slavery" to be a terrible threat to the social fabric of their society. Women and men, such as William Willis and Olive MacKirdy, worked actively to educate the public about the issue, in the belief that only through public education could the practice be eradicated. "Public indignation can work an easy and certain cure, once this public indignation is aroused." wrote Sister Mildred of the West London Mission. (quoted by Willis, 1910:69) Activists felt that the press had an important role to play in informing the public about this potential peril to their daughters' well being, and "...though the subject may be a delicate one, its avoidance will only be productive of fresh harm." (Willis, 1910:23)

As the movement against the regulation of prostitution in Britain expanded, cases of international trafficking between England and other countries were documented. Procurement was usually either through newspaper advertisements which offered positions as domestic servants, or through offers of marriage.

There was a general call for raised morals with regard to "white slavery", temperance, homosexuality, and so on. In the United States Clifford Roe, a U.S. district attorney in Chicago, wrote that, "Friends who try to aid in the extermination of panderers hinder the very cause they would help reform by dragging it into the fights for other reforms." (1910:222) Roe referred to the fact that as the issue of "white slavery" was taken up by

groups primarily concerned with another issue, such as temperance, the focus on slavery was distorted, if not lost. The amalgamation of those concerned primarily with what they viewed as a decline in morals (the purity campaigners), and those concerned rather with the actual plight of the victims of the slave trade was an uneasy one. This led to the later international agreements which had very paternalistic overtones as women were to be "protected" by the agreements, rather than recognized as autonomous adults with the right to choose to practice prostitution if they wished.

The economic aspects of the trade were well recognized by writers at the time. Sir Percy Bunting, the editor of the Contemporary Review, stated before the International Commission on the White Slave Traffic in London in the early 1900s that:

No one can be surprised that while vice is practised, and money can be made out of it, it should give rise to a trade carried on by third persons, entrepreneurs, and their agents, or that the trade should, with the facilities of modern civilization, have command of large capital and resources. Certain it is that there is a regular trade in young girls who are bought and sold, imported and exported...that the trade is influenced by the ordinary laws of supply and demand.

(quoted by Willis, 1910:16,
emphasis in original)

It was well recognized that if there were no profit in the trade, it would immediately cease. "Money is the basis of the whole business; and as, were there no demand, there would be no supply, no small share of the responsibility for White Slavery lies on man's shoulders." (Sister Mildred quoted by Willis, 1910:67)

Willis describes how slaves were treated like any other merchandise for sale in the international market. Traders wrote to one another and cold bloodedly arranged to buy and sell one another's "merchandise". Traders even referred to their human wares as "live stock", showing the complete lack of regard for the humanity of those enslaved. (Willis, 1910:29)

Those writing about the traffic at the time seemed to think that the profit motive was the only operative ideology. While the profit motive was a major part of the trade, sexism also played a major role. I argue that it continues to do so today since the concept of women and children as a form of private property is pervasive across cultures.

The methods of procurement described by writers such as Willis and MacKirdy directly reflect the methods used today. Young women who were victimized by the "white slave trade" were women looking for work who were enticed by seemingly genuine advertisements in newspapers for nurses, companions, housekeepers, entertainers, chambermaids and so on. These women were generally from the lower classes, as few women of the middle and upper classes worked outside of the home during the late nineteenth century in Europe and North America where most of the literature on the "white slave" trade originates.

It was also common for young women to be sexually "compromised" by a seemingly affectionate man, who subsequently demanded that the woman prostitute herself, and who backed up his demands with coercion and/or brutal violence. Once again this was easier among the working classes,

as those of the other classes were usually well protected by their families. Willis concluded that most of the recruiters were men, as it was easier for men to gain the confidence of unsuspecting women because the morals of the time kept many young women in complete ignorance of the ways of love and sexuality. Many of the women were sold on the international market, going to European countries, North America, South America, Australia and Asia. (Roe, 1910:215; Willis 1910:51-60)

Sir Bunting described to the International Commission on the Slave Traffic how, despite the fact that victims needed help, they were assigned a pariah status in the society. Once a woman was transported to a foreign country "...in which she has no friends, and of which she does not understand the language..." (quoted by Willis, 1910:16), she was beyond help according to Sir Bunting. The women were kept in a constant state of debt, they were not allowed out alone, and disobedience resulted in violent discipline. The slave traders crushed individuality quickly. In the event that a woman escaped, the slavers cooperated with one another, circulating her photograph and combining to track her down. (Willis, 1910:26)

While there had been some international discussion of the problem by the time material appeared about the "white slave trade", first-wave feminist activists insisted that preventing the traffic was much more desirable than limiting it after it had already occurred. They reiterated their call for public education at every opportunity. Some of those writing on the subject seemed to find it especially vile that the procurers were only

lightly punished when convicted, and demanded more effective legislation to curb the traffic. Legislation was forthcoming; however, its efficacy over time has proven to be poor. (Willis, 1910:120)

Sister Mildred, quoted at length by Willis, firmly stated that victims of the "white slave" trade had no wish to lead immoral lives, but were victims of circumstance. She urged parents not to condemn their daughters if they "went astray", because those girls cast out were the easiest prey for procurers. Roe exhorted parents to educate their daughters about the dangers lurking in the world about them. (1910:221) Fear and necessity drove the women, in Sister Mildred's opinion, especially the necessity to feed a child. (quoted by Willis:70) Neither suggested that sons should be educated not to purchase sexual services, or to create an egalitarian society. There seems to be an implicit hypocrisy in the whole debate, that women were to be protected, but not that men were to cease using the women's bodies for a fee.

Finally, some of those writing about the "white slave trade", gave suggestions to eradicate the traffic. Three main recommendations were made: publicity; amendments to laws so that procurers could be arrested more easily, and receive more severe penalties; and international cooperation to render the import or export of women from one country to another impossible. (Willis, 1910:104; Roe 1910:224) They did not publicly address the demand side of the issue or suggest that men should be admonished from purchasing the services of prostitutes, yet this seems an obvious extension of the purity campaign.

First-wave feminists, on the other hand addressed the issues of female poverty, lack of female access to political power (i.e. the suffragettes), the lack of female access to education and so on. Pankhurst did in fact recommend that men "alter their way of life." (Quoted by Barry, 1979:37)

All the writing about the "white slave trade" no doubt contributed to the measures which were taken in the first part of the twentieth century. Despite the attention which was paid to the problem, even Mackirdy recognized that some of the attention was prurient and without any constructive impact. The traffic continued almost unchanged over the decades of the twentieth century, with the exception of the massive slave labour movements of the second World War, in spite of the efforts made in the international arena. Attention was paid to the problem from time to time by legislators and international bodies, but without addressing the issues of sexism, ownership of women and children, the feminization of poverty, the commercialization of sex, and pornography, the legislation was bound to fail.

CONTEMPORARY TRAFFIC

Not much has changed since the beginning of the twentieth century and the initial identification of the "white slave trade". The methods of procurement remain very similar, as do the conditions of enslavement. In addition, there are a number of parallels between international drug traffic and modern international traffic in persons. Today there are three main forms of international slave traffic involving the sex industry (forced prostitution), international adoptions (which may or may not be related to

the sex industry), and domestic servants.

According to Rodney Stabler, formerly the Director of Drug Enforcement with the RCMP, there are several similarities between international drug trafficking and international slave trafficking. Some of them include the systems used to transport and sell slaves, the involvement of organized criminal elements, and difficulties in international cooperation for enforcement against the traffic. Stabler contends however, that without political will and media attention, international traffic in persons will not achieve the status and recognition of international drug trafficking, nor will effective measures be taken to eradicate the international trade. (27 February 1990) It is amazing how similar his recommendations are to those presented by the "anti-white slavers" of the late nineteenth century.

It appears that as the trade has become entrenched, and mainly poor women have been sold to rich men, the traffic has come to involve more and more "women of colour", as the largest numbers of poor women reside in the Third World. Lin Lap Chew described it as the "browning" of the sex industry. (personal communication: June 1990) This may explain the lack of interest among liberal do-gooders in the First World, where the majority of the people are still white. When recognized at all, it is seen to be a problem of "coloured" women, just as drug traffic is perceived to be a problem among "coloured" people.

As mentioned earlier, reports regarding the current trade are collected by INTERPOL and the UN's Working Group on Contemporary Forms of

2

PM-1 3 1/2" x 4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

MicroD
RESOLUTION TARGETS

NEW CUMMINS ROAD, BIRMINGHAM, AL 35244 USA
TEL: 205/991-1000 FAX: 205/991-1001 E-MAIL: MICROD@BELL.COM

Slavery. The definition of slave traffic used by INTERPOL was drawn from combining provisions from several international conventions. In the INTERPOL definition, it is an indictable offence to "...hire, induce or lead astray a woman or girl with a view to making her engage in prostitution in a country (territory or state) other than that in which she usually resides." (Barry, 1979:283) In addition, disguised traffic was distinguished from traffic in women proper. In the INTERPOL definition disguised traffic is "...the act of hiring women in one country with a view to making them engage in certain types of employment in another country (as dancers, cabaret artistes, barmaids, etc.) and in conditions in which they are subjected, incited, or exposed to prostitution." (Barry, 1979:284)

The INTERPOL definitions are useful in that they demonstrate that there is a recognition that most of the trade is related to the sex industry, and to women. They obscure the fact that there are other forms of slavery than those which lead women into prostitution, such as the importation of domestic servants who then exist as virtual slaves. In addition, there is no recognition of the fact that both female and male children are victims of the traffic.

TRADE FLOWS

A 1975 INTERPOL report identifies numerous international networks of slave traffic in women. The patterns of slave traffic identified in the INTERPOL report and presented in Kathleen Barry's book Female Sexual Slavery, show trade flowing from:

- Latin America to Puerto Rico and beyond, to Southern Europe, Turkey, and the Middle East;
- Spain and Italy to Australia;
- France, the Netherlands, Federal Germany, Argentina and Uruguay to Belgium;
- Canada and the U.S.A. to Bermuda;
- the Middle East, Greece and Spain to Cyprus;
- Thailand and the Philippines to Hong Kong;
- South Asia to the Persian Gulf countries;
- South-East Asia to the Middle East and central and Northern Europe;
- Europe to some of the richer countries of West Africa; and
- a regional European market, in part supplied by Latin America and exporting French women to Luxembourg and the Federal Republic of Germany;
- a regional market in the Arab countries.

Since this report, a number of additional networks have been identified and are presented in The State of Women in the World, flowing from:

- the Dominican Republic to Netherlands Antilles and from there to the Netherlands;
- the West Coast of the USA to Japan;
- Mexico to the west coast of the USA;
- South-East Asia to Australia;
- Paraguay to the USA (especially New York City and Florida);
- Senegal to the Middle East;
- France to the Middle East (especially to Morocco, Algeria).

These trade flows clearly show that the traffic is not restricted to any one area of the world, but that it takes place everywhere, with the possible

exception of some socialist countries. While few countries with highly planned economies seem to be involved in the international traffic, there is emerging evidence of a national traffic in women to become brides in The People's Republic of China and kidnapping of women across the border to Hong Kong (The Globe and Mail, 4 December 1989:A5), as well as some traffic from the Soviet Union to Canada. (Kaihl,1991) At the 1988 International Symposium on Traffic in Human Beings, the delegate from the People's Republic of China expressed concern about an increase in international traffic in women, and related criminal activities since The People's Republic of China adopted an "open door" policy with regard to the West. (International Symposium on Traffic in Human Beings, September 1988:10-11)

There is also evidence of traffic from the Philippines to Japan (Suguro, 1988:42-43) which is mainly in "brides"; suspect adoptions of children from the Philippines, Taiwan, El Salvador, Sri Lanka, Peru and Mexico to the USA, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden and other Western countries (Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988:149), and adoptions from West Africa to Britain (New Internationalist, 04-02-90:28); a thriving traffic in mail order brides from Southeast Asia to North America and Western Europe (Krich,1986:34-46); traffic in prostitutes from Latin America and the Caribbean to the Netherlands (Casas, Cordero and Foderingham, 1988:24); and traffic in domestic servants from Somalia, Bolivia, Pakistan, and Peru to the USA (Ashman and Trescott, 1987:248-273).

The international traffic is evidently not simply a flow from South to North, but rather involves the flow of poor women (and children) toward rich men. Those who can afford to purchase whatever they want, including other human beings, appear to be doing so. Those who are poor, with few options may sell anything, including their children or their own bodies. The traffic often involves women of one race being sold to men of another race, which shows how the trade relies on preconceived or stereotypical notions about racial attributes or cultural characteristics, such as the subservient wife. The class and race elements of the traffic are graphically demonstrated in some of the examples to follow.

REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES

Over the next several pages, I want to give the reader several examples which demonstrate the methods used to procure slaves, and the treatment some of them subsequently receive.

Forced Prostitution

Around the world women serve as prostitutes, some having chosen the profession and some having been forced into it. The demarcation between the two groups is not clear. The United Nations Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery has a special relevance for women in so far as it encompasses and helps to define one of the main ways in which women are enslaved today: forced prostitution. Forcing a prostitute to adhere to the trade is what makes it slavery. The distinction between the free and the forced prostitute is a blurred one, however, and

was dismissed by the Special Rapporteur on Slavery appointed by the United Nations in 1982, Jean Fernand-Laurent¹. He stated in his report, which I mentioned earlier, that "even when prostitution seems to have been chosen freely, it is actually the result of coercion". (Fernand-Laurent, 1983:8) I would add that even when the choice is freely made, it is important to consider what options the women were choosing among. Prostitution inevitably occurs in societies where women are perceived as sex objects and where they are denied economic equality and independence. (E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/11:2)

Lin Lap Chew maintains that it is critical to understand that for many women, prostitution must be viewed as a survival mechanism, and that coercion may take many forms. Prostitute women need to be valorized for their determination to survive and to provide the means of survival for their families, according to Lin Lap Chew in the discussion I had with her. (Personal communication, Montreal, June 1990) Even if these women can be considered to have been coerced, they have still made the choice to accept this fate rather than the alternative, which in some cases would be death. That is surviving.

In her article "The Dynamics of Sex Tourism: The Case of Southeast Asia", Truong Thanh-Dam argues that "Prostitution can be viewed as a female strategy for survival." (1983:541) She further argues that there are terms of comparative advantage relative to other opportunities.

¹ Fernand-Laurent was appointed partially in response to the demands of women at the UN Conferences on Women.

Thanh-Dam argues that the feminist movement has stressed, "the economic function of the cultural subordination of women in ensuring the reproduction of labour power." (Thanh-Dam, 1983:541) This cultural subordination is reinforced by sexual codes of conduct established by patriarchy to ensure the undisputed paternity of children. Under prevailing marriage customs in some countries, women are explicitly exchanged for economic gains, thus denying them the free choice of partners. Some women are also forced to enter into matrimony in order to gain social "acceptance" from their families and their communities. Some women may gain limited rights by entering into matrimony. In this context, women who are the unhappy victims of such social customs regarding marriage may be forced to turn to their last resource, namely their bodies, if the marriage becomes intolerable. They have few options. In this context, the sale of sex can be regarded as part of women's strategy for survival. (Thanh-Dam, 1983:541)

Most cultures and ideologies explicitly devalue women by placing their roles, their work and their activities lower than those of men in the social order. Women are also devalued by being placed at the bottom of the moral or religious order. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/11:4) In these societies, it is not hard to understand the entry of some women into prostitution. The UN Commission on the Status of Women stated that, "It is economic necessity which motivates women to resort to other more remunerative activities such as prostitution." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/11:4) In poor countries, prostitution is, with few exceptions, a matter of struggle for survival in a socially and

economically hostile environment, which provides women with few viable alternatives. The UN Commission on the Status of Women considers the problem of prostitution in developing countries to be a social disorder related to poverty, lack of education and skill, and low incomes. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/11:4) In developed countries, it is a means of attaining a level of income above the minimum. In terms of income, prostitution is generally substantially more attractive than other unskilled occupations that are traditionally considered suitable for women. The Commission argues that in developed countries prostitution is usually the outcome of individual disorders related to alienation, alcoholism, and addiction. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/ AC.2/1982/11:4) These opinions show a male bias, and lack any acknowledgement of coercion in the trade and sexism in the society. In addition, poverty in the "developed" countries is ignored. Poverty is often a significant factor when women chose to practice prostitution, as there is very little training required, and there is always a ready market for those who need the money.

Prostitution relies on misconceptions about both the prostitute and her customers. Since patriarchal societies so severely limit the sexuality of their "good" women, those who become prostitutes are held to be "bad", and at best sexually deviant. It is clear that prostitution exists where men are prepared to purchase sexual services, and so it is men who both create and perpetuate the institution of prostitution. But men are not considered to be deviant or bad for doing so, it is women who are socially stigmatized for working as prostitutes. (United Nations,

E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/11:3) In reality, prostitutes are usually forced into their profession out of economic need, abuse by their spouses, sexual abuse as children, incest, limited educational and occupational opportunities, or through a search for a more independent life or better career opportunities.

Freedom of choice is illusory when the above factors are taken into account. Some victims of the sex trade are sold by their families and have no choice in the matter, and very little knowledge of any alternatives. If the victims do resist, their resistance can quickly be broken:

researchers who monitor this sphere of human rights agree that overt or subtle pressures are usually found and, once the unsophisticated girl has been removed from her country of origin, they are magnified until she is exposed to cruelties of an altogether different category...the uprooting of the victim from the native culture can break the remaining lifelines that could still lead to physical redemption.

Sawyer, 1986:103

It is true that the social setting is important in determining the actions of the victims once they discover their true situation. As I carried out my research, I have often been asked why the victims do not just leave once they are confronted with the reality of forced prostitution. There are several reasons why they stay.

In the case of false contracts, the woman has usually incurred some kind of obligation or debt to her supposed "employers". Often her transportation or her clothing has been paid for by the person or group which then coerces her into working as a prostitute. She is obliged, by

force if necessary, to pay the debt (which will no doubt have exorbitant fees added to it) back before she will be allowed to return home. If she has travelled from her own country to a country in another part of the world, it is unlikely that she will know either the customs or the language. Without her accustomed social network and the knowledge of how the new society works, she can be told anything by her "employers" or her "husband", and she has few means of verifying that information. In many countries authorities are not trustworthy and many of those who come from these countries are unwilling to turn to the authorities for help, if they are even aware of where to turn if they wanted to do so. There have been reports since the time of the "white slave trade" of police authorities assisting the slavers, rather than the enslaved. (Perpinan,1985; Barry,1979) She can be threatened with deportation, jail, or something worse. (International Symposium, 1988:8) It should be noted that the UN Commission on the Status of Women reported in 1982 that in many cases, "victims refuse to co-operate when the police try to gather evidence...because of threats made by their procurers [they] dare not confide in the police." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/11:3)

All of these contextual reasons contribute to women remaining in the sex industry and accepting work as prostitutes, presuming they are given any choice in the matter at all. If these reasons are not enough, many, many women are subject to violence, or what is known in the flesh trade as "seasoning", to force them to comply. Under such alienating circumstances work becomes not an endeavour which embodies and personifies life, or something which is a source of personal gratification,

but simply a means of physical survival.

In its treatment of women and children as commodities, international slave traffic represents the complete objectification of human bodies. The sexuality of those enslaved is completely exploited, and their own choice is disregarded. If an enslaved woman is a lesbian, for example, and is forced to have sex with males, her whole sexual being is denied.

Women are also exploited by governments to meet their needs at the time. South Korea is in the process of expanding its tourism industry and to attract foreign tourists it is willing to use the bodies of women. Korean women prostitutes, who are issued identification cards to use as hotel passes, are told in orientation sessions that in, "Your carnal conversations with foreign tourists do not prostitute either yourself or the nation, but express your heroic patriotism." (quoted from Jill Gay, of the Washington based Institute for Policy Studies in The Ottawa Citizen, 17 March 1990:H5) So not only their bodies are exploited but also their patriotism and their feelings about themselves. They too have become instruments of state policy.

Although poor countries are willing to benefit from the sexual exploitation of women and children, through foreign exchange earnings⁷, a steady stream of tourists, and cosy relations with the military authorities of guest nations. they are rarely willing to valorize those who make it possible to

For example, prostitution is Thailand's second largest producer of foreign exchange. (Morris, 17-03-90:H5)

carry out these activities.

Subordinate Forms of Marriage

One of the UN definitions of slavery is subordinate forms of marriage, whereby a woman is considered to be property and may be promised or given in marriage on payment of money or goods to her parents, guardian, family or any other group or person, without the right to refuse. The husband of a woman, his family and his clan has the right, in this type of marriage, to transfer his wife to another person in exchange for money or goods. Finally, a woman upon the death of her husband is liable to be inherited by another person.

In contemporary slavery practices, women may marry only to find themselves forced into prostitution. While they may have voluntarily entered into the marriage, they may not have been fully aware of their husbands' intentions for their future employment. Although they may not actually be exchanged for money or goods, their bodies and sexuality may be exploited without consent, or with coerced consent, for money or goods.

According to a West German Ambassador to Thailand, many Germans have gone to Bangkok ostensibly as tourists and have married Thai women in order to force them into the sex trade in Germany. This represents an extension of the practice of sex tourism, and treats women as objects, almost as souvenirs. Once back in Germany, the "husband" appropriates his wife's earnings from the forced prostitution. (Sawyer, 1986:102;

Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism, 1983:63) This seems to be a costly way of procuring until one looks more closely at the economics of such a marriage. Once in his home country, the procurer is in a position to drop the pretence of affection, and by a mixture of mock affection and brutality, is able to appropriate his wife's earnings, which may be considerable.

International pen pal clubs are frequently a front for mail-order marriage agencies. The way the mail-order marriage business works is that men from the industrialized world respond to advertisements for pen pals in a variety of magazines or newspapers and send for information. Recent advertisements in Harper's Magazine advertise "Singles with traditional values", "Beautiful Oriental ladies", and "Meet women worldwide". (July 1990:77-78) The ads promise free sample photographs, names and addresses. Those interested contact the agency to ask for detailed brochures, and after paying fees they begin to receive catalogues with the names, addresses and photographs of the women who seek "friendship/marriage." (Harper's Magazine, July 1990:78) The women can be ordered like any other catalogue merchandise, and if one is found to be unsuitable, then another one may be substituted. It is even possible to get a woman on short notice, although this may cost extra.

The Ecumenical Coalition of Third World Tourism argues in Tourism, Prostitution, Development: Documentation, that newspapers and magazines refuse to relinquish their part in this trade, which the authors argue is only a cover for involuntary prostitution, and persist in

accepting and publishing advertisements in "...evidence of the deep-rooted conviction of their owners that they have the right to make a profit out of the 'natural wealth' of the Third World." (1983:63) It is very obvious that a number of people profit through the marriage bureau business, including the bureaux themselves, those accepting advertisements, and finally some of the procurers who use these services. While some women find satisfactory marriages, adventure, or friendships by this method, and thus may manage to escape wretched poverty, or unsatisfactory family situations, many others find completely unexpected misery.

Women who marry and travel to the country of origin of their husbands may find themselves imprisoned in their new homes and expected to perform all the domestic labour in the household, rear children of this and possibly previous marriages, as well as be a sex partner for their husband. (Brown, 1989:D1) These women may be the lucky ones. Some mail-order brides have found themselves as the sex "toy" for their husbands' entire athletic club, or forced into prostitution and handing their earnings over to their husbands. (Ecumenical Coalition, 1983:68) As the brides are from other countries, they are often not familiar with local languages, customs, or traditions and may have few opportunities to form relationships with people other than their husbands. Deprived of kin and support groups, and struggling with the language, most of the women are powerless. They are also made to feel that they owe something to the man who has paid for their marriage and brought them to new lands, whereof they had great expectations. In addition, they may be threatened

by their new husbands with either deportation or violence, or both. The laws of the host country may give such women few rights and little protection.

Proponents of mail order marriage services argue that these unhappy situations are not the norm and that most marriages of this type turn out at least as well as other marriages. There are two points in response to this argument. The first is that catalogues in the mail-order marriage industry objectify women. "Human beings, after all, they become anonymous merchandise stacked in neat catalogue rows." (Krich 1986:45) Women do not pay a fee to have themselves advertised in the brochures. Men pay a fee which varies according to the quantity of women with whom they wish to correspond. Women are not given access to the men's addresses until the men write to them. This makes it a buyers' market. (Krich,1986:36) Many women who participate in this industry are desperately poor and willing to do almost anything to alleviate their economic situation. There is a huge supply of women, particularly in Asia, but increasingly in Latin America and elsewhere, anxious to participate in this industry as they see it as a way to obtain a better life while maintaining their integrity. After all, marriage is still an honourable estate. There is no hint in the catalogues of the socio-economic conditions which drive women to offer themselves in this way. If there were another way, it is debatable how many women would choose this method of finding a mate, especially as it involves leaving behind all familiar social support networks, including their families, their communities, and their countries.

In Western countries, which is where most of the "buyers" involved are from, there is an increasing demand for passive women from men who are unable to adjust to changes resulting from the women's movement. (Krich, 1986:37) Women from Third World countries are characterized in advertisements as having "traditional" values, which the potential buyers stereotype as submissive. There is also racial stereotyping, in that women from some cultures are thought to be more sexually adept than others.

Procurers trade on the stereotypes held by Western men about women of other races. Lin Lap Chew told me that over the years she has lived in the Netherlands, the change in the racial composition of prostitutes from white to coloured has been very evident, and can be seen in the windows of the red light districts where prostitutes sit waiting for customers.

The mail-order marriage route is a slow process and usually requires an investment in time (writing letters). Some agencies do have a last minute convenience service which offers brides in six to eight weeks and does not involve travel for the men. (Ecumenical Coalition, 1983:66) Some men may correspond with a number of pen pals and may attempt to try them all out. It is common for a man to go to a Southeast Asian country and meet a number of the women with whom he has been corresponding, sleep with as many as possible (some of the mail-order marriage agencies provide facilities for this) (Ecumenical Coalition, 1983:66) and possibly choose one of the women as a bride.

The second point is that no monitoring is done after the couple returns to the husband's country. No one in the husband's country of origin has the interests of the women at heart. Women who marry and emigrate to a new country are usually at the mercy of their husbands until citizenship is granted. The husband "...holds the power to deport her if she doesn't play by his rules. It is in this sense that every mail-order bride, no matter how willing, is captive." (Krich, 1986:45) That may not be the only way in which women are captive, as many are forced into prostitution or actually held as virtual prisoners in their homes.

Children

The UN Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery defines a child as any person under the age of 18 years, and also defines child slavery as:

Any institution or practice whereby a child or young person under the age of 18 years is delivered by either or both of his [sic] natural parents or by his [sic] guardian to another person, whether for reward or not, with a view to exploitation of the child or young person or of his [sic] labour.

Prohibition under Section 1, Article 1, (d)

If an adult is enslaved, for political reasons or as a labourer, or even in forced prostitution, they may be able to forge out a future if eventually released. If a 5-year-old prostitute survives physically, and is released, they nevertheless have been seriously psychologically injured or destroyed. They will most likely have suffered physical injuries as well. (Sawyer, 1986: 79) It is essential to protect children, in order for them

to have an opportunity to realize their potential and contribute to world development. At the moment however, children are increasingly subject to enslavement and sale in the international human marketplace. Sawyer sees the purchase and use of children as property as the primary growth area of twentieth century slavery. (1986:7)

Sumanta Banerjee, in two articles for the British Anti-Slavery Society, "Child Labour in India" and "Child Labour in Thailand", investigated conditions of child slavery in Thailand and India. She found that Buddhism has had an unforeseen effect on child exploitation in Thailand. She argues that the idea of giving away or even selling a child, which is repugnant to many religions and cultures, has been a respectable Thai tradition for many centuries. Presenting a boy to a monk was seen to be a worthy gesture. In times of famine it seemed even more sensible to give children to those more able to care for them. No stigma attached to such an act and it was accepted as natural for a fee to be paid by the monk. It was the one opportunity for poor boys to obtain an education as well. The modern extension of this activity is evil, according to Banerjee, because as a result of current economic conditions, children are now sold into slavery in the sex industry or into terrible working conditions in factories. (Banerjee, 1985:31)

Banerjee argues that the necessity for the practice of selling one's children has been caused by the almost total separation of the worlds in which urban and rural Thais live. According to Banerjee, most poverty stricken peasants in the north-east, when they have sold or leased their

children through an employment agency, have had no idea of the true nature of the likely destination or employment of their children. Some parents were brutally informed during 1984, when the destruction by fire of a brothel in which the children had been chained to the beds led to the death of five young prostitutes and wide publicity throughout the world. (Banerjee, 1985:31)

The tragedy of the brothel fire gave an insight into the typical economics of child prostitution. One of the five girls had been handed over by her parents for an advance equivalent to about \$45, conditional on her performing unspecified tasks. It was found that she had been beaten to make her comply with performing sexual services for adult male customers. (Banerjee, 1985) Smucker argues that rural poor are selling their children to survive under harsh economic conditions, and that the government does little to battle the traffic due to the foreign exchange earned through sex tourism involving children. (1990:A8)

In Paraguay, young peasant girls (15-18) are purchased from their parents and exported to brothels in the United States or Europe. (Barry, 1979:68) According to Barry, "Female slavery and the traffic in women in and from Paraguay are attributed to the corrupt military dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner." (1979:68) Some of the girls end up working as domestic servants in the United States, others as prostitutes, and some working in a mixture of the two jobs. In Paraguay itself, the eyewitness report of Ada Rodriguez revealed that girls 8-14 years old "were purchased from poverty-stricken parents...and sexually abused [in a

brothel] by the military government's VIPs." (quoted by Barry, 1979:69)

In Thailand, authorities do little to curtail this form of slavery which, apart from psychological damage and sexually transmitted diseases, has many horrifying physical consequences. A list of these was compiled from medical reports and read to the United Nations Working Group of Experts on Slavery in August, 1984. It included: rectal fissures, lesions, poor sphincter control, lacerated vaginas, foreign bodies (such as vibrators) in the anus or vagina, perforated anal and vaginal walls, death by asphyxiation, chronic choking from gonorrhoeal tonsillitis, ruptured uteruses, bodily mutilation, and death in childbirth.³ The abuse of helpless young children is horrifying.

According to John Pilger, child slavery is increasing in Thailand. (1982:10) Although the Thai Ministry of Labour denies the allegation, the situation has been documented by local and foreign investigators. Young children, in addition to being sold by their parents, are kidnapped from poor farm families and put to work either in small factories or brothels. In both cases the children are paid poorly, if at all, and their work contributes to increasing Thailand's gross national product. (Pilger, 1982:10-12)

It certainly appears that desperate economic circumstances lend

³ Taken from 'Sexual Exploitation of Children', statement from the Anti-Slavery Society to the UN Working Group of Experts on Slavery, 1984.

themselves to the concept of children as a good to be traded as the need arises. The children then, unknowingly become tools in international development, just as they have previously been the unknowing victims of economic policies. Boonchu Rajanasathien, a former vice premier of Thailand, and a well known banker spoke to a meeting of provincial Thai governors in 1980 and said:

Within the next two years, we have need of money. Therefore I ask all governors to consider the natural scenery in your provinces, together with some forms of entertainment that some of you might consider disgusting and shameful because they are forms of sexual entertainment that attract tourists... We must do this because we have to consider the jobs that will be created for the people.
(quoted by Siriporn Skrobanek in the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism, 1983:13)

Regula Renschler argues that women and children perform work as prostitutes because they have no other choice. She quoted Sawai Chandee, a Thai girl prostitute, in a lecture she gave at the University of Bern on May 18, 1982:

My parents never know how I earn my money. I love my mother and my brothers and sisters more than anything else. I want to help them, so that they may have a better life than I do.

and a Senegalese girl:

My only source of income is my body. If I were to work as a house maid, I wouldn't even earn enough to eat and I don't have any other qualifications. I live from prostitution but I know very well that it is not a good thing to surrender oneself to a trade with emotions and one's body.

Smucker also quotes the feelings of a young prostitute, 12 year old Oh:

When I hate myself, I cut myself [with broken glass] when I am high on glue. Pick up the

bottle and feel nothing.
 (The Globe and Mail, 17 July 1990:A8)

Although sometimes parents fulfil the role of pimp, pushed by poverty, the pimp is not missing from the scene. The small-time pimp, in his (most pimps are male) guise as employment agent, devotes some of his attention to placing girls in brothels and to satisfying the appetites of the paedophile, either by providing children for his sexual use, or by arranging child pornography. More ambitious procurers think in terms of exporting children to Europe or the Middle East. (Sawyer, 1986: 104)

Kidnapping still has its place in the traffic of children as well. In 1976, at least eight teenage girls were abducted in Brussels and taken to Zaire, where they were forced to work as prostitutes. Belgian police held a riding instructor and two sons of the Consul General from Zaire in connection with the kidnapping. (London Times, 7 April 1976) In 1982, INTERPOL's National Central Bureaux in Denmark, Ireland and Italy were asked by their Washington bureau to investigate the record of an American arrested for attempting to sell babies under the auspices of an international adoption ring. The buyers were in the United States, and each paid the American considerable sums of money. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/6:1)

Manit Thamaree was arrested in Bangkok in July 1985 for the production and distribution of child pornography that showed thousands of children being raped by Western adults, and the organization of packaged sex tours which arranged for Western males to have sexual intercourse with

young Thai children. He received a 12 month sentence. His distribution list for the United States alone amounted to more than 200 customers. Thamaree offered correspondents in the United States the opportunity to visit Thailand and rape children. After Thamaree's arrest, thousands of negatives and prints were found in his home of white males raping Asian children. Notations on the reverse side identified the perpetrators as Americans, Australians or Europeans of different nationalities. His arrest was unique in that it involved the international cooperation of law enforcement agencies in Michigan, the U.S. Customs Service, and the Bangkok police. (Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988:143)

Rodney Stamler pointed out that it is difficult to arrange this type of international law enforcement cooperation because each agency has the interests of their own nationals in mind, and will be very careful in sharing information about citizens. (Stamler, 27 February 1990) In addition, Barry mentions that at the level of governmental or international authority, the levels where action might be taken to eradicate the traffic in slaves, "one finds at best suppression of evidence and at worst complicity in it." (1979:67)

Campagna and Poffenberger give several examples of child slavery in their book. One of their sources is a Nykanen-Collins Report from NBC, in July 1985. Nykanen purchased a child sex tour from a London travel agent, as part of the research for the report. When he arrived in Bangkok, a pimp whom he met through the Bangkok branch of the multinational travel agency delivered a 13-year-old girl to his hotel room.

The child was for his sexual use during his stay. (1988:142) The connection which international companies based in Western countries have with the international slave trade, becomes clear in this example.

Mark Morgan, a former Mormon church worker, was charged with using a foster home as a front to offer customers sex with young boys in Bangkok. Thai police suspected that he was closely associated with the California based Man/Boy Love Association. (The Globe and Mail, 17 July 1990:A8) It is not only girls who are at risk in this traffic, but also boys. There is little tolerance for homosexual practices in some developing nations, and the boys involved in this trade face special types of harassment and prejudice, yet they are earning a much needed income through this work.

In the Philippines, children were lured by a group of French men to perform sexual acts for a film, which was entitled, "Child Prostitutes in the Philippines" when it was shown in France. The men had purportedly come to the country to make a documentary film on children. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/ 1983/8/Add.1:4)

The Thai government estimates that there are 20,000 child prostitutes in the country, but Sunprasit Kumprapan, the coordinator of the Centre for the Protection of Children's Rights puts the figure at 800,000 boys and girls between 12 and 16. He bases his estimate on surveys of brothels and venereal disease units. (The Globe and Mail, 17 July 1990:A8) There are no similar statistics available for the other top tourist areas of child sexual slavery, which are Sri Lanka and the Philippines, but Smucker gives the

number of boy prostitutes in each country as above 10,000. Campagna and Poffenberger also quote an estimate from the National Legal Resource Centre for Child Advocacy and Protection that 1.2 million children in the United States are involved in sexually exploitative activities (1988:3); however, Campagna and Poffenberger make no connections between tourism and child sexual slavery. Barry, by contrast, makes this connection in her discussion of procurement methods. She argues that there is a demand for sexual services anywhere where men congregate in groups away from their families. (1979:70) International business conventions, for example, create conditions leading to the demand for sexual services.

In a study conducted by Radda Baren of the Anti-Slavery Society and Defense for Children International⁴ (quoted in "Sexual Exploitation of Children", 1985:13-14), on the sexual exploitation of children, Baren concentrated on child prostitution, child pornography, sex tourism, and the sale of children for sexual purposes. She distinguished between sexual abuse within families and outside of families. She gave what she termed a conservative estimate of the numbers of children involved throughout the world as being in the hundreds of thousands. Baren noted that increasing numbers of young children (as young as five years) were involved, and that increasing numbers of boys were involved. For Bangkok alone, she gave an estimate of 30,000 prostitutes under age 16.

⁴ A statement regarding the findings of the study was presented by the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights to the Working Group on Slavery at their tenth session held in Geneva Switzerland in 1984.

Although Baren acknowledged that some of the prostitution was voluntary, she argued that most of it was forced and that many children were, "sold directly or indirectly into prostitution and there are recorded cases of children who were kidnapped and imprisoned in brothels." (1985:13) There was the additional sale of children for pornographic photographs and films. There was a high demand, according to Baren, for this type of pornography in Western Europe and North America, as well as in many non-Western countries.

Baren argued that one of the most disturbing elements in the sexual exploitation of children was in "its association with tourism which is blamed on increased international travel over the past forty years." (1985:14) She noted that the demand for child prostitution and child pornography was huge.

Baren concluded that, "Attempts to eradicate these forms of exploitation will fail unless attitudes toward sex are changed." In addition, she argued that, "The sexual exploitation of children is linked on the one hand with poverty and exploitation in general and on the other hand with sexual attitudes and cultural practices." (1985:14)

Child Adoptions

Save the Children Fund has discovered in Britain that there are a large number of West African children (about 1,000) being advertised in Nursery World for adoption each year. They estimate that nearly twice as many children are fostered by word-of-mouth. Save the Children has

found that in a number of cases children were being fostered by people with criminal convictions for violence and indecent assault on their own children. Fearing for the safety and the future of the children, they have pressured the British government to tighten the Children's Act so that pre-placement checks on proposed foster homes and parents will be done on private fostering to bring it in line with the practices of local authorities. (New Internationalist, 02-90:28) In a situation where children are fostered by adults with a history of violence and sexual assault, one can assume that the adoptive children, adjusting to a completely unknown culture, are also at risk from such attacks. In addition, as Campagna and Poffenberger describe in their book, these are ideal circumstances for adults to involve the children in what the authors call "sex rings", where the children will be sexually abused by adults.

The Nykanen-Collins report mentioned by Campagna and Poffenberger studied reports by United States Naval Intelligence agents stationed in the Philippines who confessed to a growing concern over the adoption of children for immoral purposes by some American servicemen. The report concluded that it is easy to adopt children abroad, bring them to the States and then sexually abuse them. Economic conditions in Third World nations, especially countries along the Pacific Rim, provide a multitude of minors and women whose purchased services and bodies serve to advance illegitimate goals. (1988:142)

According to a report presented to the UN Working Group on Slavery by Terre des Hommes - Liban, "the sale of children is often practised under

cover of adoption because years of war have destroyed the social structures of all the communities [in Lebanon] and left many scattered or orphaned children." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/8) The report notes that illicit networks are deeply involved in the illegal adoption industry, and that, "Such networks comprise persons with the means to provide all the official documents needed to certify that an adoption has taken place in accordance with the law. Such transactions are often covered up by highly placed individuals." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/8) The report implicates doctors, midwives and parents in the clandestine adoption market, and puts the price of a child at \$10,000-\$30,000 U.S.

Terre des Hommes also reported that they have received information regarding an illegal adoption channel between Europe (particularly France), Canada and Brazil. The supply originates in northern Brazil. The adoptions evidently take place with the complicity of the local magistrate for minors who provides the necessary authorizations which enable foreign adoptive parents to take the children out of the country. (United Nations, E/CN.4/ Sub.2/AC.2/1989/8) Prospective adoptive parents make an advance payment of \$4,000 U.S. This payment is merely for the initial fee, and is increased many times during the course of the adoption. (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/8)

Terre des Hommes views the sale of children as an organized international activity, and they urge the UN to undertake an organized international response. They argue that, "the primary cause of the sale of children is

underdevelopment and poverty which have destroyed the framework of the family cell", and that since mothers are at the most marginalized social levels, "the woman is often the last mainstay keeping the family together...the last bulwark protecting the child from abandonment and sale." They further state that when the mother, "deserts her family or sells her child, it is because she has reached the end of her tether." (United Nations, E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/8)

Domestic Slaves

That slavery continues to exist within households is dramatically demonstrated by the evidence of slaves brought with staff of diplomatic missions and by other high-status persons to Europe, Britain and the U.S.A. (Sawyer, 1986:14; The Ottawa Citizen, 18 November 1989; Ashmen and Trescott, 1988:248-273) For example, Sawyer quotes J.P.R. Montgomery:

On 16 April 1984 in Marylebone Magistrates Court I heard the evidence for the prosecution in a case in which two Kuwaiti sheikhs were accused by their Indian and Sri Lankan servants of having taken their passports, forbidding them to leave the house, fed them irregularly and insufficiently, worked them very long hours, paid them nothing and beaten them both almost daily with a whip or with a length of electric flex. (Sawyer, 1986:14)

Ashmen and Trescott give a number of examples of diplomats to the United States, and residing in New York or Washington, holding slaves. They detail the conditions of slavery, the escapes of the women involved, who were mainly domestic slaves, and the efforts made by various agencies to assist the women. The difficulties of prosecuting those with diplomatic

passports are great. Diplomats enjoy immunity from prosecution in the host country under the Geneva Convention on Diplomatic Relations, no matter what crimes they commit. Some efforts are undertaken by the embassies to which they are accredited from time to time, but the dealings are delicate and complicated. The slave holders are often highly placed in the diplomatic mission, and officials in the host country must be very careful not to offend the other country involved. Ashman and Trescott conclude that while the Vienna Convention obliges diplomats to respect and obey the laws of the host country, little attention is paid to that provision. They also note that the problem of domestic slavery is encountered in other countries, and they mention England, France and Switzerland. (1988:272)

Some of those in a position to take action against domestic slavery at the international level are, according to Barry, practising it themselves. She states that some UN officials and diplomats "engage in the . . . practice of domestic slavery." (1979:65) For example, in 1977 I.G. Patel, then the United Nations Deputy Administrator for Development (a post which was the equivalent to United Nations Undersecretary General), was sued in the United States for keeping a Philippine girl in involuntary servitude and peonage. Patel maintained his diplomatic immunity, and resigned his post. He returned to India where he became the governor of the Reserve Bank of India. The girl, Natividad Diza, cooked, cleaned, provided childcare, served the family and guests and did the laundry. She worked 14-19 hours a day, without holidays for three years. She had been procured in the Philippines by Ruben Mendez, another United Nations

official. (Barry, 1979:66)

The methods used to coerce the domestic slave are similar to other forms of disguised enslavement. Passports are held by the slave holder, the slave is under strict prohibitions from leaving the home/workplace, the slave holders pay the women little if any wages and give them no time off from a gruelling work schedule. Since few of the slaves speak the local language, and many of them are uneducated, they have very little idea of any options they might have in terms of obtaining help. If the woman has children who are either left in her home country, or brought with her, they can be used as a tool to ensure the woman's compliance.

Many of those women in Washington who are brave enough, and find the opportunity to seek help, find themselves at the Spanish Catholic Centre according to Ashman and Trescott. Octavio Lendon, the acting director of the centre estimates that he sees between twenty-five to thirty such cases a year, but wonders how many other cases there might be. (1988:262)

There have also been incidents in Canada, as the Ottawa Citizen reported in November, 1989. One woman was held for eighteen months during which she worked 20 hours a day as a nanny. Others were not paid and were not allowed out of the house. Some were physically or sexually abused. A spokeswoman from a group in Vancouver which assists the women, Christine Davidson notes that, "...the way the system is set up, it's very easy to abuse domestic workers because they're in a powerless

position." Phil Rankin, a Vancouver lawyer who called a press conference to discuss the problem, said that, "These people are indistinguishable from chattels...I really see a racist, sexist thread running through the domestic workers program." (The Ottawa Citizen, 18 November 1989:G5)

Enslavement of domestic servants is also found in England in non-diplomatic households which lack the protection of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. Sawyer mentions cases of rich households of foreign nationals who import and keep slaves, arguing that the most objectionable aspect of this abuse is the vulnerability of women in slavery-oriented society and the plight of the most defenseless section of the community, the children of the slave class. (Sawyer, 1986:14)

The four main types of modern international slavery - forced prostitution, subordinate forms of marriage, child slavery and domestic slavery - share common elements in terms of providing a never-ending supply for the traffic. Poverty, especially in the Third World, is one factor which contributes significantly to the traffic in all categories. International development policies and international economic policies create socio-economic conditions which foster slavery in the context of international tourism, international militarism, the demand for foreign exchange and the high cost of domestic labour in Western countries. Sexist and racist attitudes of those with purchasing power creates a market for the traffic. Procurers take advantage of these factors and victimize women and children in the international slave trade.

In this chapter I have outlined historical origins of slavery and the ideological links between capitalism and slavery; the difference between international slave trading in the middle of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, noting its shift in focus from manual labour to female sexual slavery; and given some examples of the current state of the international slave trade. I have discussed the types of coercion used, the continuum of voluntariness and the degree to which human sexuality is exploited by patriarchal/capitalist interests. In the following chapter, I will discuss some of the factors which contribute to the demand side of international slave trafficking today.

CHAPTER 4

In this chapter, I will primarily address the demand for forced participation in the sex industry, as most of the demand for slaves in the current international market is in this sector. I will also discuss the demand in the marriage market, the market for children in the sex industry and in the adoption market, and the demand in the domestic servant market.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN AS A FORM OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

Women are the possessions of men and men have created the rules governing the exchange of women among men. Women have not created any rules governing the exchange of men.
(Driver and Droisen, 1989:16)

In Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality, Clark and Lewis¹ argue that husbands became the owners of their wives and children, who were also held in common by the extended family in the event of the death of the husband. The husband had the right to exclusive use and disposition of the property in question, and others had the duty to return any property to its lawful owner. Wives had the duty to obey and submit to their husbands, were legally prohibited from leaving them and were liable to serious penalties for adultery. Minor male children and female children had an obligation to obey their fathers. In the opinion of the authors,

¹ Lerner and Brownmiller also deal with this issue.

"the conversion of women and children into forms of private property resulted from the evolution of social and legal institutions designed to ensure effective control to men over the certainty of their future offspring." (Clark and Lewis, 1977:114-115)

In his book, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, Frederick Engels argues that once men acquired private property (usually in the form of herds), they secured it for themselves and their families by instituting monogamous marriage. By controlling women's sexuality men assured themselves that their children were indeed their own. Through establishing a double standard for sexual behaviour, men created a demand for prostitution, which Engels described as an indispensable prop for monogamous marriage. Engels argued that women's "enslavement" was caused by the development of the institutionalization of private property, and therefore, the abolition of private property would result in the liberation of women. (Engels, 1940 [1884]:67) Engels notes women's collaboration in this system, as does Lerner.

Women became, and in many cases remain, forms of private property. In some cases, "the sexual and reproductive capacities of women became the sole qualities which gave women value." (Clark and Lewis, 1977:115) In the case of the current form of international slavery, this is a critical concept. Women are bought, sold, traded and used without regard for their own personal needs or wishes. For the most part, it is now the sexual capacities of these women which give them value in the international slave market.

It is possible for both the owners, and the purchasers of slaves' sexual services, to do what they do, because at the centre of both male and female socialization is the "internalization of the belief that women's sexual and reproductive functions are not their own property, and that rights over the distribution of female sexuality and reproduction lie in the hands of women's male owners." (Clark and Lewis, 1977:125) It is this belief which allows procurers to obtain women and children for sexual slavery, and to subsequently exploit their sexuality for profit. These people essentially own the sexual capacities of the slaves, and they dispose of them as they wish.

An example of women being viewed as property is in the case of rape. In her book Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape, Susan Brownmiller gives a lengthy history of how the institution of rape has evolved over time. Until recently, it was considered that the father or husband (read owner) of a raped woman was the person who had been gravely insulted and deserved recompense. The raped woman herself was frequently married off to the rapist in order to avoid shame, or cast out of her family altogether, no matter that she was completely victimized by the attack. Any woman who was raped was assumed to be impure and unworthy of the respect or support of her family. This attitude was meant to ensure that women were not promiscuous, and were sexually available only to those men who legally owned their sexual services and reproductive capacities; that is a woman's father, who could exchange them to other men in marriage, or a woman's husband, who gained them through marriage. Although some attitudes toward the victims have changed in some

cultures, there are still problems with prosecuting rapists. Attitudes regarding provocation by the victims are prevalent, and only the rape of certain types of "moral and chaste" women are usually pursued with vigour by authorities. (Clark and Lewis, 1977:134)

Because women are considered to be forms of private property, and their property values are determined by their sexual and reproductive capacities, much of the sexual contact between men and women is fundamentally coercive. Clark and Lewis argue that, "the persuasive/coercive tactics used by men will be inevitable as long as women do not have the right to sexual and reproductive autonomy." (1977:131) This form of coercion is thus firmly rooted in basic cultural and societal systems.

Existing patriarchal structures and attitudes, such as the notion of ownership of women and children, which are facilitated by the spread of capitalism, have enabled the commodification and enslavement of women and children to continue and expand with virtual impunity. Because men dominate all societies, relations among nations are carried out in a patriarchal framework. That means that an institutionalized system of male dominance is in place in all state societies. (Lerner, 1986:239) Patriarchal structures make an outcry against the international traffic of women and children unlikely, because women and children are not accorded the status of men in any society, have traditionally been subject to enslavement and are rarely in positions of sufficient power to protect other women and children. This is because under patriarchy, men hold

power in all law making and law enforcing institutions in each society, and women are deprived of access to power. Finally, enslavement for sexual purposes may be very difficult to distinguish from "normal" marriage or prostitution freely chosen as a profession.

DEMAND FOR PROSTITUTION

Lerner argues that it is probable that, "prostitution derived directly from the enslavement of women and the consolidation and formation of classes." (1986:133) Slave owners rented out the sexual services of their female slaves, some even setting up commercial brothels. There is a very strong link between the enslavement of women (in historical cases, as the spoils of war), and forced prostitution.

Historically the functionalist argument for prostitution states that prostitutes contribute to the health of men by providing for the physiological release of uncontrollable hormones. This argument has mythologized as the male sexual "need". In his book The Lust Market, Dr. Cross argues that there are three types of services provided by prostitutes. They are social, economic and psychological services. (1965:83) According to Cross, the male sex drive is a basic need which must be satisfied. This means that, "the ministrations of prostitutes are essential for the crippled, the deformed and the ailing who can seldom win the love of a normal woman." (1965:83) The implication is that prostitutes are not normal women. Prostitutes provide special sexual services which benefit the impotent and those afflicted with harmless perversions, according to Cross. Since some purchase sexual services from prostitutes

for novelty, both in the partner and in the sexual act, "these people would be forced to seek their pleasures among decent people." (1965:83) The implication here is that prostitutes are not decent. Cross argued that prostitution also curbed homosexuality.

Since some men marry late in life, or are away from their wives and families, they "need" sexual outlets according to the functionalist argument. Convention precludes sexual relations with "virtuous" women other than their wives, and, "therefore society has to set apart a certain class of women to satisfy them." (Cross, 1965:83) In the functionalist argument then, prostitutes are necessary for men who do not have sexual access to a wife.

Studies have been done regarding why men are willing to purchase sexual services. In "Buying Sex: The Phenomenology of Being a John", Holzman and Pines found that there was a desire to have an uncomplicated sexual encounter, without emotional involvement. A straight-forward exchange of money for sex takes place. (1982:103) The study found that some subjects wished to combine sex with companionship, and went through a simulation of courting practice as well. A number of the subjects were excited by the element of mystery and risk associated with sex with a stranger. The subjects felt that the prostitutes were sex professionals who would have exceptional sexual techniques and would be willing to provide special sexual services. For some, the aspect of guaranteed sex and a minimum possibility of rejection was important, and one mentioned that he was not interested in taking a "girl" out for the evening, paying

for drinks and dancing if there was a possibility she might not "give" him sex at the end of the evening. (Holzman and Pines 1982:105) He was clearly interested primarily in sex, and companionship was not important. The men in the study saw paying for sex as an alternative to "experiencing frustration in response to having to delay gratification or to possibly having to put an enormous effort out even if sex did not transpire." (Holzman and Pines 1982:105) Those who pretended that the encounter was something romantic, created an illusion for themselves that the transaction was more than just an economic exchange for services. (Holzman and Pines 1982:108)

The authors concluded that the "johns" purchased sexual services by choice, not out of necessity, thus refuting the functionalist argument. The mystery of the planned encounter makes it into an adventure, tinged with danger in that many were afraid of criminal victimization by the prostitute or others in her surroundings. (Holzman and Pines 1982:111) There was no recognition by the subjects that the prostitutes might not be "professionals", that they might have been forced into their occupation, and that they might be being forced by coercion to comply with anything the purchaser wanted. The prostitutes were viewed as super-exciting women who would fulfil any sexual fantasy, or would be able to provide hassle-free sex.

In her article, "Brothels and Betrayal: On the Functions of Prostitution", Mary E. Hawksworth also repudiates the functionalist arguments. She postulates that, "When functionalist arguments raise the spectre of social

benefit, they stimulate a justificatory response which tends to minimize the costs of prostitution." (1984:85) She further argues that to avoid physical violence at the hands of her owner, a prostitute cultivates, at an unknown personal cost, the geisha personality which is appealing to men. (1984:87) She may then appear to be a sex professional, but in fact she is practising a form of self-preservation. One of the greatest costs of prostitution according to Hawksworth, is that, "a life without reciprocal relationships is the long-term legacy of prostitution." (1984:88) In forced prostitution, the slave is unable to trust anyone, as customers, other slaves, and owners cooperate in keeping her enslaved.

One might wonder if male "needs" could not be filled by resorting to the local sex industry, "stocked" with local women and children. For some, however, a variety of stereotypes become operative at this point, and the person purchasing either the slave, or her services wants someone exotic, someone submissive, someone very young, or someone of another race, and these qualities are not thought to be available in local women. The demand requires a supply of those who supposedly fill these expectations of "otherness".

The international demand for sexual services is influenced by the image of prostitute women held by foreign men. This image is disseminated in mass media around the world in advertisements, films, pornography and so on. Cohen argues that the image of Thai women, for example, is appealing to foreign men even before their arrival in Thailand (due to international advertising which emphasizes the beauty of the women, and

their willingness to cater to the needs of clients), and that the most appealing women are, "girls newly arrived [from the countryside] and who appear most innocent, naive and pliant." (1982:420-421) The exotic look of women from a different culture is evidently very attractive to the purchasers of sexual services. Belief in the "natural inferiority" of women of other races also "justifies" the act of using their bodies to service "needs".

In her article, "The Dynamics of Sex Tourism: The Case of Southeast Asia", Truong Thanh-Dam argues that several factors feed the international demand in the sex industry, such as, "increasing geographical and occupational mobility of single males associated with "development", and the general resistance of some males to certain changes brought about by the women's movement." (1983:539) She argues that demand, "may be thought of as conditioned primarily by the growing geographical and occupational mobility of single males, ranging from migrant workers, corporate professionals and military servicemen: while supply can be conceptualized in terms of changing social relations of gender." (1983:539) In addition, male tourists create a demand for sexual services.

One of the largest international markets for sexual services is in the sex tourism sector. Thanh-Dam notes that "In 1982, more than one million Japanese tourists visited Thailand, the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong on tours called "trips for men only" which explicitly include visits to brothels. An estimated 60 percent of the two million

tourists visiting Thailand each year are allegedly drawn by bargain-priced sex." (1983:533) So the male tourists travel to another country to experience sex with foreign women. This demonstrates that racial and cultural stereotypes are essential to the demand in the sex industry.

In the case of businessmen whose jobs involve extensive travelling, migrant labourers, or military servicemen circumstances prevent the establishment or continuation of a regular sexual relationship. In Southeast Asia these circumstances have been intensified by the growing internationalization of capital which has made Bangkok and Manila into important business centres. These cities host many international organizations, and are the regional headquarters for a number of MNCs operating in Southeast Asia. This situation has meant that there has been a rapid increase of business and conference travellers, in addition to tourists in both countries.

The legacy of US bases in the region has also conditioned the demand for prostitutes in the region. Infrastructure for the industry and social conditioning for the scale of the practice were created at the time of the Indochina conflict. Military demand for prostitutes constitutes an international demand when the military personnel involved are foreign nationals stationed abroad and using the bodies of slaves for sexual purposes. This practice is very similar to sex tourism but may be complicated by the duration of the posting of the military personnel. While this practice is not restricted to foreign military personnel, it appears that being stationed away from one's home facilitates the development of

"red-light" districts. The districts provide prostitution services to male military personnel. While many examples of these districts can be found in Southeast Asia (particularly Thailand and the Philippines), the practice is by no means restricted to Asia. In addition, some male military personnel become involved in more long term liaisons with local women, and many make promises of love and marriage to the women, only to leave them at the end of their tours of duty in the region.

Local women already involved in prostitution are not the only potential sex partners for the male military personnel stationed abroad. In Thailand, during the Viet Nam War, some American military personnel went into rural areas, bought young girls from poor families, and took the girls as temporary "wives", whom they abandoned when posted back to the U.S.A. . (Barry, Bunch and Castley, 1984:39) Due to societal constraints which hold young women of value only when they are virgins, many of the "ruined" girls were rejected by their families and communities, and thus forced into a life of prostitution. This has also happened in other war zones in recent history. For example, during the Korean War, American men took "wives" in Japan, whom they later deserted, along with their Amerasian children. Military regulations frequently prohibit marriages in these cases, or make it very difficult for the men to take their wives home with them if that is what they genuinely wish to do. (Enloe, 1983:41)

Demand may also be a function of the perceived lack of satisfaction within an established relationship. Men who feel they are losing in the current power struggle between the sexes, may find that they need to restore

their feelings of masculinity through dominance. Within their peer group they may be unable to find partners suitable to this end. (Thanh-Dam, 1983:540) Sex tourism excursions to exotic locations in search of a "lost paradise" filled with supposedly traditional submissive women, may be an attempt to regain feelings of strength and power through domination over women or children.

Prostitution in Southeast Asia was previously a "non-traded luxury service" which was available to only a certain social group, but it is in the process of being transformed into a readily available product for mass consumption. It is now coming within reach of a wider market. Both public and private sectors play their roles in this transformation. (Thanh-Dam, 1983:548) As in the case of other commodities, commercial sex requires "distribution outlets". The private sector has facilitated the provision of such outlets, and the publicity to attract customers. The public sector has ensured that these outlets are generally free from harassment by authorities. Authorities cooperate, sometimes with inducements from the private sector, in licensing, and so on, for the outlets.

In developing countries the changing relations of gender are in flux, as societal changes may be quite rapid due to the influence of other nations. In this sense, "the process of capitalistic economic development entails increased "commoditization" of sexual services", and sex tourism is just one sector of a stratified international market. (Thanh-Dam, 1983:549) Sex tourism also reflects the failure of development policies to help

improve the living standards of the poor in both rural and urban areas, and to reduce the rate of exploitation in the labour market, particularly with respect to female labour.

Thanh-Dam argues that although public attention has been mobilized on the issue of sex tourism "there is a danger that such reactions may be counterproductive unless efforts are made to examine the issues within the wider context of developmental problems." (1983:535) It may be that one reaction will be legislation which would deprive prostitutes of their livelihood, rather than legislation which would protect prostitutes, improve their working conditions, and improve their occupational health. (Thanh-Dam, 1983:535)

The Statement on Prostitution and Feminism presented by the International Committee for Prostitute's Rights (ICPR), makes a number of statements regarding occupational choice and financial autonomy. It states that there is a lack of educational and employment opportunities for women around the world, and that occupational choice for women is, "usually a choice between different subordinate positions." (Pheterson, 1989:193) Within the field of prostitution, which is traditionally a female occupation, some prostitutes, "report job satisfaction, others job repulsion; some consciously chose prostitution as the best alternative open to them; others got into prostitution through male force or deceit." (Pheterson, 1989:193) While there are many prostitutes who dislike the conditions of work and the social stigma attached to the occupation, they do not dislike the work itself. The ICPR affirms, "the right of women to the full range of

education and employment alternatives and to due respect and compensation in every occupation, including prostitution." (Pheterson, 1989:193) In addition, the ICPR states that, "Women who are transported under conditions of deceit or force should be granted compensation and choice of refugee status or return to their country of origin." (Pheterson, 1989:197) They are careful to make the point, however, that not all migration related to prostitution is forced, and that those who chose to migrate for the purpose of prostitution should be granted ordinary worker rights and protections, rather than being assigned the status of children who are unable to decide anything for themselves. (Pheterson, 1989:197)

The ICPR states that financial autonomy is basic to female survival, and that women should not be stigmatized for making occupational choices primarily in the interest of making money. In their opinion prostitute women are stigmatized and/or criminalized for using sexually explicit strategies for financial independence, yet, hypocritically, women are encouraged by society to be sexually attractive and to "catch a good man". (Pheterson, 1989:194) Prostitutes rely on sexually explicit strategies to earn a living, and since there is evidently enough of a demand for their occupation, there should be no stigma attached to their choice of work because of it.

In his article, "Commercial Sex: Pornography, Prostitution and Advertising", Edgley argues that prostitution must be viewed as work since "Prostitution exists in every country in the world which has even the semblance of a market economy and as such provides jobs for

thousands of women." (1989:397) When this work is undertaken voluntarily, especially when it earns much needed foreign exchange, it needs legislation which will protect the workers, not the exploiters. It also requires that no one should be forced to perform the work. The future of prostitution, according to Edgley, is essentially the future of market economies, in that whenever people make their living by buying or selling things, the commoditization of sex will be a prominent part of that market. (1989:419)

Marxists would see the decision to adopt prostitution as a profession as resulting from economic coercion based on class differences. The Marxist view analyzes individual choices within the context of class society where extreme inequalities in wealth, power and opportunities limit real freedom of choice for the poor. Marxism fails, however, to include sex or race as fundamental variables. A socialist feminist framework recognizes the economic coercion of the Marxist class analysis, but goes further in stating that women face more extreme inequalities than men in the same race or class face. Therefore, the freedom of choice for poor women, with regard to sexuality, is even more circumscribed than it is for poor men. As there are many more poor women than poor men, this presents a situation in which many women are forced to compromise their sexuality in order to survive. In addition, as more and more men refuse to accept financial responsibility for the children they father, women bear the full burden of supporting children as well. This cannot help but influence the choices they make, thus making the question of "freedom of choice" almost irrelevant.

DEMAND IN THE MARRIAGE MARKET

Within the subordinate marriage market², there are two distinct types of demand: mail-order marriage and forced marriage. Both types may involve some degree of choice or some extent of coercion. There are demands in these types of marriages because men are looking for a specific type of wife. In effect, the men "purchase" the bride, either by ordering her from a catalogue, or by arranging with someone else (usually the family) that they will coerce/force their daughter (usually) to marry him. Each man may be looking for a different type of woman with qualities (such as submissiveness) or attributes (such as a specific religious affiliation) which suits him. The people in the middle of these arrangements, including the mail-order catalogue businessmen and the fathers are willing to make an exchange, which may or may not be financial.

Women are exchanged by their families in the marriage market, as goods, often with some extra material value attached to their exchange. In some cultures the bride is denied any say in the choice of husband, while some other cultures have begun to allow the bride at least the right of refusal. In cultures where the extended family group is patrilocal, the bride is expected to go and live with her husband's family where she will often labour on the land, or in a family business. Where dowry is still paid, as it is in India, there may be problems (including beatings and murder) with

² This of course assumes that other forms of marriage are more or less consensual and egalitarian, which is, of course, not true. In many cultures women are automatically subordinate to men, particularly within marriage.

the groom's family making ever greater demands on the bride-giving family. This implies that there is no intrinsic value in the bride herself. Her value lies in her potential labour, her dowry, her sexual capacities and her reproductive capacities.

In most cultures it is considered to be essential for family units to be continued, and therefore critical that women are brought into the family to bear and raise children. In Western society, and others, it is still customary for the bride-giving family to pay for the marriage festivities. Other cultures have instituted bride-price which is given to the bride giving family, in contrast to dowries, which are given to the bride receiving families, and which are usually used to finance the marriages of sons. Women are thus exchanged in the marriage market with a monetary gift attached, every day, across many cultures. The concept of women as property is thus reinforced and perpetuated.

Mail-order brides may have more choice than those women forced to marry, but circumstances may in effect force them to enter into a marriage which they do not wish to undertake. In any case, the women are in an unequal situation when it comes to the mechanics of the exchange. The women are searching for better opportunities than they feel they will be able to obtain in the local marriage market in terms of finances, living conditions, excitement or novelty. The women, however, are not in an initial position to choose with whom they will have contact as the catalogues are sold to men, who then chose the women they are interested in contacting. In addition, the manner in which the women are presented is as objects,

complete with measurements in some cases. The advertisements to attract men to order the catalogues are sexist and racist in tone, stressing the "traditional" values of the women, which may be a way of saying that the men can expect the women to cater to their every need without demur. It is also a contrast to so-called "modern" women, with whom some men have difficulty communicating.

The advertising for the mail-order brides can be very explicit. One company described a combination sex tour/marriage operation, which included picking and trying out one or more women the first week of the tour, sightseeing with the woman finally chosen the second week, a marriage ceremony the third week with the tour operators, "ready to hand over all the documents needed to export your new acquisition." (Quoted by Barry, 1979:108) The men are able to pick exactly what they want from a fairly wide variety of women, and then purchase/marry the woman, and take her home, just like any other souvenir from a vacation. The fact that the women are willing to go along with this method of courtship makes it very easy for foreign men, who may have trouble communicating with women in their peer group, to find a wife. In addition, the perceived attributes of the women are attractive to men who dislike women of their own culture whom they see as being aggressive or too liberated.

To treat women as property objectifies them and denies their subjectivity. As objects, women are unable to fully develop their potential as human beings, and to contribute fully to their societies. To commoditize the

sexual and reproductive capacities of women reduces them to machines, and makes it very difficult for women to express their basic human desire and need for love. Marriage, in the forms discussed, both objectifies and commoditizes women.

THE DEMAND FOR CHILDREN

Within the market for children, there are three distinct types of demand: the labour market, the adoption market, and the sex industry. The labour market, with the exception of those who are domestic servants, is usually localized. The adoption and sex industry markets are closely linked, and both have international elements to them. Many children who are adopted find themselves sexually exploited by the adopters. International adoptions are becoming common with greater access to international communication and travel. There are many circumstances in the world which are orphan creating, such as war, natural disasters, the fluctuation of family groupings and abandonment. Consequently, an abundant supply of children is always available. Not all of those adopted, however, are orphans. Many are virtually bought from their parents, or through other intermediaries acting for the parent or parents, by supposedly well meaning people with the means to go abroad, and to pay whatever is necessary to get the children.

Children, and especially orphans, have traditionally been thought of as disposable property. Historically, those who were orphaned were taken in by relatives or institutions, but they were expected to work for their keep. Charles Dickens described the appalling conditions for orphans in

Victorian England in many of his novels. In Canada, the so-called "Barnardo Boys" (which group also included girls) were imported from England in the early part of the twentieth century until the beginning of the second World War. They were children who had been abandoned, the children of prostitutes (ironically, the mothers of some may have been victims of the "white slave" trade), and other children given up by their families. In Canada, many were exploited for their labour, many were sexually abused (some of these ended up as prostitutes) and some found loving homes. (Corbett, 1981:58)

Today in the international adoption market, there are children around the world who are orphans and children who are merely members of poor families. Both of these groups serve to meet the demand of those rich enough to pay to, in effect, buy them. In the past few years, media reports have detailed adoptions from war zones such as Central America and from areas of upheaval such as Eastern Europe. The reports concentrate on the terrible living conditions of the children abroad, their lack of opportunities and the potential danger they face. The reports do not emphasize the money which has been paid for the child, either to their family, the institution in which they lived, or to middlemen such as doctors, lawyers and local authorities. Many of these children will find happy, loving homes, but will have been purchased nonetheless.

There are several reasons why people are willing to purchase children. In the West, reproductive technology has developed considerably in the last decade, but there are still women who are unable to bear children.

The notion persists that women are not fulfilling their role fully unless they become mothers. For some, this notion is completely ingrained, and they do not believe that their desire to have children at any cost is influenced by their socialization. Although there are many needy children in our own countries, it is often difficult to find healthy infants from legal orphanages. Those who can afford to go abroad find that there is an abundant supply of infants, although usually for a high price. If they want it badly enough, they will be willing to pay for their baby. Most people consider that the children will be "better off" in rich homes in the West or elsewhere, where there is likely to be more money and opportunity. The fact that many will be cut off from their cultural heritage seems to be of no consequence, although in Canada we are now discovering with shame and horror, the circumstances under which Amerindian children were forced away from their homes and families "for their own good". Most of these children will find loving homes, although whether or not they will find culturally sensitive homes is another question entirely.

There has always been a demand for children for sexual purposes because of their "youth and freshness". In his report to the UN, Jean Fernand-Laurent stated that:

Our age, which is "permissive" and at the same time surfeited and sexually vulgarized in the extreme, seeks all kinds of erotic refinements. There is a great demand among our contemporaries for the sexuality of the child, through which they seek to renew their thoroughly jaded sensuality. Hence the universal flourishing of child prostitution.

(United Nations, ECOSOC, E/1983/7/17
March 1983:43)

There are adoptions in the international market which are specifically for the purpose of sexual exploitation, either within the home or outside of it. Sham adoption schemes serve to bring girls, and increasingly boys, from their home countries into situations where they can be exploited, sexually and otherwise. (Campagna and Poffenberger, 1988:140; Sawyer, 1986:10) Save the Children in the UK has recently called for legislation to screen prospective adoptive parents wishing to adopt children from West Africa. It has been found that some of these prospective parents have records of sexual or physical abuse. (New Internationalist, 04 February 1990:28)

One of the major difficulties with international adoptions is that there is frequently no institution in the child-receiving country which will watch out for the interests of the child. Some children will be abused in their adoptive homes, and some will be forced/coerced into sexual activity outside the home, in what Campagna and Poffenberger describe as "sex rings", in child pornography, and in prostitution. (1988:148) The subculture involved in these activities transcends national borders.

In Child Sexual Abuse; Feminist Perspectives, Driver and Droisen argue that children are a class of people who are younger, smaller and in the physical and legal control of adults, and who are almost universally treated as the possessions and servants of adults. (1989:21) In Child Sexual Abuse, Jean La Fontaine also suggests that sexual abusers of children are characterized by the lack of self-esteem and a fear of adult women; as a result they can only find beings much smaller than themselves attractive, or that they compensate for their own feelings of

powerlessness by dominating people less socially powerful than themselves. (1990:100)

Of those who prefer sex with children, some actively identify themselves as paedophiles. In Britain, the Paedophile Information Exchange was set up in 1974 to enable paedophiles to contact one another and to campaign publicly for the legal and social acceptance of paedophilia. The basis of the public argument was that the rights of the child were being denied if they were not free to have sex with adults. Membership in the group was 97% adult male. (Driver, Droisen, 1989:13) The group was eventually banned in Britain, but it would be folly to assume that its former members changed their views or behaviour. Other groups, such as the Man/Boy Love Association based in the United States have similar goals, and are active internationally.

Many children who are sexually abused in the home eventually leave home at a young age, and become involved in the sex industry. In Canada, the results of a report released in 1990 found that 70-90% of teenage prostitutes had left homes in which they had been abused. A similar study in San Francisco, by Neckes and Lynch in 1978, found that 80% of prostitutes interviewed had come from homes in which they had been sexually or physically abused. (Quoted by Barry, 1979:168) Yet another study, by Richard Wathey and Judianne Densen-Gerber in 1976, found that some sexually abusing fathers had offered their daughters, "token sums of money (twenty-five cents to a dollar) at the time they sexually abused them." (Quoted by Barry, 1979:168) For children adopted

internationally, the social network is not likely to function well in discovering this private type of abuse, as it is difficult to control (not to mention eradicate) the relatively public abuse associated with something like child pornography. Internationally adopted children will not usually have the same social network available for support as children born in the country where the abuse takes place.

It is difficult to conceptualize why men want to have sex with children, especially very young children. To some men, according to Catharine MacKinnon in "A Feminist/ Political Approach: Pleasure Under Patriarchy", violence is sex, and the helplessness of a restrained or vulnerable woman or child is exciting. "Violation, conventionally through penetration and intercourse, defines the paradigmatic sexual encounter." (1987:75.) The pornography sector of the sex industry caters to the demand for sexual contact with children by producing massive amounts of child pornography. The content of this type of pornography is characterized by violence and cruelty. Driver and Droisen argue that, "It is plain from pornography that for many traditionally "normal" men, sex and violence are inextricably interlinked." (1989:13) According to the authors, those who enjoy violent, aggressive sex have sex in this manner because they get pleasure from it. (1989:13) Those who have sex with children do so for many reasons, but the immediate and primary goal is sexual pleasure.

Pornography and prostitution permit men to have whatever they want

sexually and, "If pornography tells its consumers what they most want to hear, men desperately want women [and children] to desperately want possession and cruelty and dehumanization." (Mackinnon, 1987:76) There is a huge world market for pornography which MacKinnon argues is directly connected to prostitution, "If pornography has not become sex to and from the male point of view, I want to know why the pornography industry makes at least eight billion dollars a year selling it as sex mostly to men; why it is used to teach sex to child prostitutes..." (1987:76) Pornography and prostitution involving children serve the male subculture's demand for sexual contact with children which is usually forbidden by social and cultural norms.

DEMAND FOR DOMESTIC SERVANTS

For those who have been able to afford it, there has been a long history of demand for domestic servants. Usually the demand has been met from a local supply of those who needed to earn a living. Domestic service was an occupation that was open to women, as it maintained the traditional division of labour, with women performing cleaning, cooking and childcare services. With the entry of large numbers of women into the non-domestic workforce, this situation has altered in some countries. The demand for domestic servants, however, has remained, and in some cases increased as women working outside of the home find that they both need domestic help, and that they can afford to pay for it. The working women need the help because they find themselves facing a double workday if they do not have help. If help from other family members is not forthcoming, women may find that they hire other women to perform what has traditionally been

considered the "women's work" in the home. It can also be prestigious to have servants.

Since those women and children who previously supplied domestic services are now working elsewhere, and indeed generating their own demand for servants, many countries allow the importation of domestic servants. Some programs, such as some of the European au pair programs, include an educational element for the servant. Some, like the Canadian Foreign Domestic Program, may provide for eventual citizenship in the receiving country. These programs are legal, and somewhat regulated, however, there is still room for abuse in the programs. Sexual abuse, labour exploitation, failure to pay wages, restriction to the home and other abuses are not uncommon.

As described in chapter three, the international trade often involves diplomats, and those from a milieu where they are accustomed to virtually "owning" their servants. They could not imagine not having servants with them, or treating them any differently than they would treat them in their country of origin. That does not mean, however, that abuse is restricted to these circles. Domestics in Vancouver have complained of abuse, such as withheld wages and restrictions on going outside, while working through the Canadian Foreign Domestic Program. (The Ottawa Citizen, November 18, 1989:G5) This is not a very large segment of the international slave market at the present time, but it should not be ignored either.

CONCLUSIONS

I believe that without a demand, no matter what the potential supply, there would not be an international slave trade. Similarly to the international drug trade, supply meets demand, and not vice versa. The demand is motivated by greed, lust, and a desire to have power over others. Slavery has flourished because men are willing to arrange with each other for the exchange of the use of slaves. There is a demand for the slaves' bodies, in this case through prostitution and actual sale of human beings, and the laws of supply and demand inherent in the economic process under patriarchal conditions, become operative.

In this chapter I have presented the concept of women and children as a form of private property, and how that concept persists, influencing gender relations. I examined why men are interested in purchasing goods in the sex industry, and how they go about doing it both in their local markets and on the international market. In discussing the demand which continues to exist in the marriage market, I have underlined women's subordinate place in the family. An examination of the market for children noted the different types of demand in the sex industry and in the adoption market, noting the connections between the two. Finally, I have shown the demand for domestic servants and how that demand is related to the refusal of men within families to take on what has traditionally been considered to be women's work.

CHAPTER 5

In the previous chapter I described the demand side of the world system of international slavery, in particular the notion of women and children as property to be bought and sold. I will now more closely examine some of the structural factors which help to create a supply of women and children for the trade. The structural factors include development policies, such as international tourism, which have an unequal effect on the sexes; militarization policies which are meant to keep local populations under control; and economic policies, such as structural adjustment, which have had a devastating effect on poor women and children.

IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES ON WOMEN

The Colonial Heritage

Surprisingly, in spite of variations in economic structures, political institutions, and cultural particularities, most countries in the Third World display remarkably similar patterns and consequences of development. There are considerable differences in rates of economic accumulation and growth, but there are many similarities among countries in terms of political, economic and social processes with which most Third World countries now operate. The patterns and processes of development include an inequitable structural location in the international economy; vulnerability to the cycles of international trade, prices, and capital flows; profound internal inequalities of land ownership and control over resources, access to income and employment; and deprivation of such

basic needs as adequate nutrition, health, housing, water, energy, sanitation, and education to significant sections of the population. (Sen and Grown, 1987:28)

Economic relations between developing nations and developed countries, in both the colonial era and under post-colonial conditions, have operated in favour of the developed nations and to the disadvantage of developing nations. These relations tend to increase the vulnerability of Third World nations to external events and pressures.

It is now recognized that economic and political structures of colonial rule used subject territories as a source of cheap raw materials, food, labour, and as a market for their own manufactured goods. (Sen and Grown, 1987:29; Mies, 1986:90) New economic systems were introduced into the subject territories. Export enclaves were created "in the agriculture, mining, and other primary sub-sectors.. [which] transformed self-provisioning communities through forced commercialization and the introduction of private property in land." (Sen and Grown, 1987:29)

The manufacturing potential of subject territories was actively suppressed unless it contributed directly to the interests of the colonizers. Traditional crafts and artisan production were destroyed by the importation of the colonial power's manufactured goods. (Sen and Grown, 1987:30) At this time large sections of people native to the subject territories were impoverished and traditional ways of life destroyed. The introduction of taxation for example, forced many peoples to forsake their

traditional subsistence or nomadic way of life, in order to earn some income to pay taxes. This had the effect of permanently altering the social fabric of many cultures. (Sen and Grown, 1987:30) As pressures grew to accommodate the needs of colonial rulers, the seeds of environmental degradation were planted, as were the beginnings of land misuse and demographic pressure. (Sen and Grown, 1987:29)

Feminist writers on development have begun to document women's experiences under colonial rule. Ester Boserup's pioneering work, Women's Role in Economic Development, noted the alarming growth of female poverty in Africa and Asia during the colonial era. Sen and Grown have analyzed and synthesized economic, political and cultural policies toward women in the post-colonial era in the Third World in their book Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions. According to the authors patriarchal ideology cannot be held totally responsible for the worsening of the economic position of women. The inequality inherent in economic and political processes in both the colonial and post-colonial eras is an important factor in the growth of female poverty.

In her book Patriarchy and Capital Accumulation: Women in the International Division of Labour, Maria Mies takes a different point of view and gives specific details regarding the experiences of women in both the colonies and the countries of the colonizers during the colonial period. She argues that colonization "by European merchant capitalists was justified as a civilizing mission of the Christian nations." (1986:90) Mies makes a connection between persecution of poor women in Europe and the

"civilizing" of the so-called "barbarian" peoples in the colonies as "both were defined as uncontrollable, dangerous, savage "nature", and both had to be subdued by force and torture to break their resistance to robbery, expropriation and exploitation." (1986:90) Mies also notes that colonizers "used a diametrically opposed value system vis-a-vis the women of the subjugated peoples as that vis-a-vis their "own" women". (1986:90) She gives the example of slave women in the Caribbean who were not allowed to marry or have children, while at the same time in Europe "the bourgeois class domesticated its "own" women into pure, monogamous breeders of their heirs, [and] excluded them from work outside the house." (1986:90)

Three sorts of results of colonial rule had very specific consequences for women of what came to be the Third World. The first came from the colonial introduction of the fact and legal concept of private property into a number of cultures where it had been previously unknown. In the end, some segments of the local population were unable to gain access to adequate resources, income or employment. Basic needs (food, health, housing) became marginal to the main (export) orientation of production.

The second was from the colonial introduction of commercial production and export orientation which geared production in agriculture, industry, services and trade to the needs of the ruling power, and not to local needs. For women, the specific consequences were that the institution of commercialization, especially of food, often reduced women's access to necessary resources. (Sen and Grown, 1987:31) This was more so for

women than for men, for two reasons. In some cultures, the position of women before colonial contact was inferior, and they were not accorded the status of adult males within the community. When women had been viewed as social and economic adults, prior to colonial contact, and had enjoyed use rights to land, however, the colonial legal codes usually denied the ownership of land to women. Even today, in some post-colonial nations, women are struggling to gain the right to act on their own behalf in their own countries. Being a legal minor for the whole of one's life can have a severe impact on access to resources, education, political power or influence, and so on.

The third came from the enslavement and transportation of peoples under colonial rule. For women who were enslaved and consequently completely controlled by their owners, the effects were far reaching and long lasting. (Mies, 1986:96) It was not only their labour but also sexual control of their bodies which was purchased. At different times female slaves were either forced to "breed" or constrained from having children, according to Mies. (1986:92-99) Certain stereotypic attitudes about the sexuality of the descendents of slaves continue today.

The Post-Colonial Era

There is a common saying in development work that when you educate a male, you invest in only one person. When you educate a female, by contrast, you educate not only that one person, but also all the children she will bear. This is typical of the simplistic development thinking which pervades international development work. Since women are seen only in

their potential maternal roles, the policies fail to recognize that women perform many roles, and that women must participate in all areas of the economy. It is important to assign female productivity its proper weight, as well as to learn to give male parenting its proper weight, in estimating labour force investments. (Boulding, 1977:25)

Too often statistical records do not sufficiently take into account the economic contributions of women. In some countries this is due to the attitudes of statisticians who are unable to alter their notions about what constitutes "work". Women who are homemakers, or who perform labour on their husbands' land without pay, are considered to be "not economically active". Similarly, women who work in the sex industry are not included in economical and statistical national accounts. As a consequence, most of these women, who certainly are contributing to the national accounts, are not accorded an equality of economic status with the men of their society. This is not to say that by simply including women and their work in economic and statistical accounts would give them the status. It would, however, be a step towards recognition of their contributions, and their right to participate in further decisions taken with regard to the allocation of those contributions. They are not seen as participating in the development process and they are excluded from public decision-making about the process. The additional problems faced by single women with children in having their economic contributions counted and deriving status from that inclusion in the economy are tremendous. (Boulding, 1977:31)

In 1990, the UN Commission on the Status of Women noted that there had been a slowing of progress around the world in implementing the Forward Looking Strategies agreed upon in Nairobi in 1985. The Commission further noted that in some countries, there had been an actual reversal of progress. The Commission attributed their assessment to the current world economic crisis and structural adjustment programmes imposed upon most developing countries during the 1980s.

Women face oppression on the basis of both gender and class around the world. Yet for those in the post-colonial era in the developing world, racism adds a third oppression, especially in areas where slavery is extensive. (Sen and Grown, 1987:31) Many nations which gained independence from colonial powers did not undergo massive social changes after independence. They adopted entrenched colonial ideologies as their own, and proceeded from there. Inequalities created among nations and races, and between the sexes during the colonial era remain in the post-colonial era. Social restructuring is required before these inequalities will be addressed.

THE IMPACT OF CURRENT ECONOMIC POLICIES ON WOMEN

Women account for half the world's population, perform two-thirds of the hours worked (though are recorded as working only one-third of those hours), receive one-tenth of the world's income, and have one-hundredth of the world's property registered in their name.

(The Forward Looking Strategies, Nairobi, 1985)

A number of solutions have been proposed for the world's debt crisis.

Depending on which side of the balance books a particular nation is on, the solutions have been radically different. The essential premise of all the solutions proposed by the creditors has been that indebted countries must repay their loans. Some indebted countries have suggested that all outstanding loans should be forgiven because they cannot afford to repay the loans given a world economy where markets and prices are controlled by the countries of the creditors. Given these conditions there is a question of the practical impossibility of repaying the loans. Instead, the IMF has insisted that developing countries adopt severe "structural adjustment programs" designed by the industrial countries which control the Fund. Common features of these programs have been the devaluation of the local currency (to promote exports and reduce imports); drastic cuts in government expenditures, particularly social spending, food subsidies, and other price controls; privatization of government enterprises; and cuts in the public service, drastic controls on wage increases and higher taxes to reduce inflation. (Tomlinson, 1990:1)

Collectively, these programs are known as "structural adjustment". In attempting to encourage "development" or even realize development objectives, structural adjustment has failed profoundly. Even conservative journals such as The Economist reported that the highly indebted developing countries were no better off in the late 1980s than they were in the early 1980s. Adjustments were offset by declining prices for commodity exports from developing nations. Declining prices were a direct result of adjustment policies which encouraged developing countries to increase their exports of raw materials, while at the same time,

increasing volume and reducing prices. The industrial countries, consuming the largest share of the earth's resources, have been the main beneficiaries of these policies. (Tomlinson, 1990:1-2)

The impact on the poorest, and largely female, sectors of the populations of the developing countries was unrecognized, and largely left out of the calculations of the IMF. The IMF in April 1988 reaffirmed its policy of making its loans conditional on the adoption of strict economic controls. Questions of the impact of these policies on income distribution were raised and it sought to, "... improve program design so as to protect the poorest segments of the population during the period in which adjustment policies are being implemented". (Tomlinson, 1990:2) Conditionality is still the bottom line for new loans, largely granted to prevent default on old debt. There is overwhelming evidence that it is the adjustment policies themselves, and their objectives, which have determined the impact on the poor. (Tomlinson, 1990:2)

Throughout the world, poor women, already on the margin of societies, are hurt hardest by the conditions imposed by the IMF and the World Bank. Direct cutbacks in health care (including the care of physically and mentally handicapped members of society), childcare, and care for the old, mean that women are expected to take up the additional burden of providing these services without pay or support. With rising inflation, mounting unemployment, falling wages, and cuts in subsidies on basic goods and public services, poor women face a daily survival crisis for their families. When educational services are cut, it is women who suffer

the most as adult education classes in literacy for women are the first to be cut. In most cultures, it is women, the food providers, whose spending power is reduced by falling wages and rising prices. (Tomlinson, 1990:3)

The hope by the people of the Third World for global economic justice and a New International Economic Order has been replaced by ever more dependent relationships between developing and developed nations, and the accompanying poverty of the Third World. (Tomlinson, 1990:3)

In the 1980s there was greater national and international commitment towards gender issues. The UN held a Conference for Women in Copenhagen in 1980, as a mid-term meeting for the UN Decade for Women. In 1985 in Nairobi, the final Conference of the Decade was held. In spite of this women have suffered disproportionately during widespread economic and social disruptions that have occurred in much of the developing world. It is important to analyze the impact of the crisis and of structural adjustment on women. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990)

Historically there have been certain differences in the roles of women and men. Women usually perform multiple roles, being heavily involved in economic production, having primary responsibility for homemaking and childcare, being childbearers and general community caregivers (reproducing labour). Men by contrast, usually perform a single role, that of producers. Both women and men are also community organizers. In consequence, women work longer hours than men, most often with

smaller resources and fewer opportunities. In fact, inequities typify gender differences. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990:5) As family and individual incomes decline and there is more need for cash, women find that they are obliged to spend increasing amounts of time in their role of producer. This is one of the consequences of colonialism, prior to which many colonized territories were cashless economies.

Adjustment programs currently being pursued reduce the services available to women in their non-producer roles, without assisting them in their role as producer. As a result, adjustment programs have damaged the human and capital resource base available to society. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990:4) This is not only the cause of much current suffering but will have serious consequences in the future.

If adjustment policies, like development policies before them, fail to recognize the economic necessity of protecting the social base, particularly as it affects women, then they too will fail to achieve the desired results. This leaves more women and children at economic risk for enslavement. The effectiveness of development and adjustment policies are dependent upon incorporating women's concern's fully, so as not to cause unnecessary hardship. The problem of existing adjustment programs is not the omission of a few projects for women. This approach tends to further marginalize women. The problem is its failure to take adequate account of the time, roles, potential contribution and needs of half of each country's population. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990:4)

Structural adjustment programs were designed without evident consideration of their impact on human conditions. While there has recently been some recognition of the poverty dimensions of structural adjustment, there has been little action taken to alleviate the situation. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990:5) There has also been no explicit account taken of women's specific needs and concerns. For many developing countries, and the people in them, the crisis has continued. A parallel may be made between this situation and the situation during the rise of European capitalism, when European women and children and marginal ethnic groups were immiserated (as chronicled by Charles Dickens and others like him).

Women and their children are at the centre of the crisis and bear the brunt of structural adjustment policies. Women are the group most affected by a deteriorating balance between incomes and prices, by severe cuts in social services, and by rising morbidity and child mortality. It is women, in their role as family managers, who have to find ways and means for family survival. In order to achieve this they have to work longer and harder than ever before. Yet they are given no voice in the design of structural adjustment programs. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990:5; Baum and Tolbert, 1985:487) In consequence, structural adjustment programs have ignored the needs and concerns of women, especially poor women.

Depending on their role and situation in the economy and society, and the contribution they make to each, the manner in which women are affected

by structural adjustment varies. Although women account for an expanding proportion of the labour force as producers, being especially important in the agricultural sector, the informal sector, and increasingly in manufacturing, they continue to earn less than men, even for the same work, and are almost without assets, especially as regards land. (Baum and Tolbert, 1985:489) There are only a few countries in the world where women earn 80 percent or more of what men earn, including El Salvador, Burma, Sri Lanka, Hungary, Italy, Denmark and Norway. (Seager and Olson, 1986:19) As the social contract¹ between men and women disintegrates, women find themselves raising children alone. As the social support of the government is eroded by cuts to social spending to service the debt, women find themselves without access to adequate social services. This places women and their children in a very precarious socio-economic situation.

In 1985, the North-South Institute completed a study entitled Women in

¹ Today, males in huge numbers are reneging on their part of the social contract. They migrate to accept jobs away from their families and fail to send remittances to their wives and children; they desert their families outright; they divorce their wives and fail to continue to support them and their children (divorce is much easier for men to obtain than women in most societies); and in other ways discontinue their economic support and social protection. Because of the subordinate status women hold in legal and cultural terms however, women are not able to carry out their continuing obligations to their children without overcoming huge obstacles, despite the fact that they did not break the social contract. They encounter prejudice from their societies in which abandoned women may be scorned. Yet women continue to carry out their expected roles, and they must also assume many of the roles in the family which were traditionally carried out by men.

Industry: North-South Connections. It examined the enormous increase in female employment in two industries often pursued by Third World nations using an Export Oriented Industrialization (EOI) strategy under structural adjustment. (cited by Gigantes, 1990:1) In addition, the International Labour Organization (ILO) recently published a study, The Feminization of the Global Economy, in which its author Guy Standing calls development "industrialization on the backs of women". The study examines exploitation by industry of women in the poorest parts of the world. (cited in Gigantes, 1990:1) It is encouraging that there is some thought being given to this aspect of international development as it may mean that governments, non-government organizations (NGOs), and unions will understand that the feminization of the global economy is an issue which they will need to address over the next decades.

The economic contribution of women is grossly under-recorded in official statistics. Marilyn Waring argues in her 1988 book If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics, that this is a critical element in keeping so many women in the world impoverished. If household work alone were added to world statistics on work, it would increase estimates of world production by at least one-third. (Waring, 1988:282; Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990:6)

As household managers, women have to ensure that the basic needs of their families are met, however, in general women have accomplished this while having little or no control over the allocation of family income. The result is that women consistently work longer and harder than men - 16

hours a day in parts of East Africa, for example. As a consequence the health, education and general welfare of whole communities has often suffered. (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990:6)

Some women in the Third World have benefitted from Official Development Assistance (ODA) received from First World countries. It has alleviated, in some small measure, the worst effects of structural adjustment policies. Yet as some nations in the First World face their own economic crises, they ironically face some of the same pains and cuts of structural adjustment policies that they have forced upon other nations. One of the consequences of structural adjustment policies on First World national budgets, is that cuts are made to ODA.

In the 1988 budget in Canada for example, the portion which was most severely cut was ODA. Foreign aid was cut by 12%, and even though our international development program represents less than 3% of government spending, it took more than 23% of the total budget cuts. Since there is no constituency in Canada which was directly affected by the cut, there was only a small outcry from those actually involved in development work in Canada. Rosemary Brown, the Executive Director of MATCH International² points out that it is challenging to discover how to convince

2 MATCH International is a Canadian feminist non-governmental organization which attempts to match the issues of women in the Third World with those of women in Canada, so as to help both groups of women understand the connections between them. The group is based in Ottawa, with a nation-wide board of directors and membership. They receive funding from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), as well as

members of Parliament, as well as the public, that the consequences of the government's action will be harmful in the long run, both for Canada and for many of the developing nations we assist. (Brown and King, 1989:1)

In an article in MATCH News Rosemary Brown and Cynthia King argue that the severity of the cuts will be felt most keenly by the poorest of the world's poor - women. This is because Third World countries are forced to impose harsh austerity measures in order to find funds to pay off their debts to First World countries. Cuts to ODA make it almost impossible to survive. There are other side effects on women, such as violence against women for example, which increases in societies where governments become repressive in order to quell protest. (Brown and King, 1989:1)

Canada's ODA puts money into the economies of Third World countries which they can and often do spend in Canada. Maureen O'Neill, Executive Director of the North-South Institute, is quoted in the article as saying that, "At a time when economics are interwoven and Canada is interdependent with the rest of the world, it's not in Canada's self-interest to have Latin America and Africa encumbered by debts." (Brown and King, 1989:1) In addition to indirectly cutting funding to women abroad, through cuts to ODA, the Canadian government is also cutting funding for women's organizations within Canada.

One of the problems in having women's interests recognized is that much of their economic activity is not counted in national or international

statistics, where all economic activity is supposedly calculated. This is a major problem for women, because governments predicate their policies on these national accounts. If one segment of the population is invisible in this accounting, then governments tend to ignore the interests of these groups.

Women are invisible to the enumerators of those formally employed because much of their productive labour takes place outside of the formal sector, and much of that in the privacy of the home, the nursery and on the family's land. Economists tend not to assign a monetary value to this labour. Instead they use categories such as "not economically active homemaker" to cover women working in their own homes. A second, more elusive category, is that of "other not economically active women": students, pensioners, and "others". A third category of women's labour is that of "unpaid family worker". A fourth vague category is that of "own account" (self-employed) workers, which could cover many women who work in the informal sector. What this means is that in all but the most modern and/or formal employment settings, there may be substantial undercounting of women's economic activity. Professional women and technical workers (a large proportion of whom are teachers) are probably the best-counted women workers, and homemakers, subsistence, agricultural, and self-employed workers are probably the most poorly incorporated into national and international statistics. (Boulding, 1977:18)

If governments do not really know what women are doing or how they

contribute to national economies, then they will make poor decisions in their own economic planning, decisions which will be to the detriment of many women. As the Third World nations adopt policies intended to enhance the development process, they often adopt strategies, such as export oriented industrialization (EOI), which may be inappropriate for their current local situations. Export Processing Zones (EPZs) are central to EOI. Governments under the direction of international moneylenders "set aside territory specifically for factories producing goods for the international market". (Enloe, 1989:159) Multinationals are lured to EPZs by offers of "sewers, electricity, ports, runways, tax holidays and police protection." (Enloe, 1989:159) The most attractive aspect of the EPZs for foreign investors, however, are the offers of cheap labour. In her book Bananas, Beaches and Bases, Cynthia Enloe argues that at least 70% of the workers in most EPZs are women, especially young women, because their labour has been the easiest to cheapen. (1989:159)

Some of the industries in the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) produce from their disposable female workforce "recruits" for the sex industry. Some of the women who migrate to EPZs are unable to find work in industry, and subsequently take up prostitution, or are forced into it by procurers. Some women who do find jobs in industry are often burned out by the physical demands of the job (such as eye-strain in the electronics industry) and may become involved in prostitution as an alternative.

In addition to EOI, some countries are pursuing an economic strategy of international tourism as a development tool. International tourism,

however, contributes to the supply of women for slavery. It is not always undertaken wisely, or with any amount of planning. It is often haphazard and may damage the local economy, culture and environment. Global tourism, however, is a \$2 trillion business. The world's biggest employer, it is also the world's fastest growing industry, and the single biggest item in world trade. (The Ottawa Citizen, 17 March 1990) This is neither a natural nor a healthy phenomenon, but with the money involved, many countries are willing to make certain compromises to earn their share of the tourist dollar. Since most Third World countries are short of hard currency, the chance to earn some is almost irresistible. Increasing tourism may reflect the rising affluence and leisure of the traveller, and the ease of transportation and communication, but its omnipresence is a direct result of public policies regarding development. (The Ottawa Citizen, 17 March 1990)

It is evident that in pursuing a policy of development through international tourism, the bodies of women and children are to be sacrificed. There is no indication that governments will adopt policies of development which would take into account the different needs of different segments of the population. Such policies would address the real issues of development such as poverty, land use, and access to resources. Instead some exploitative types of development policies, such as those involving sex tourism, are being adopted in Asia, and in the Caribbean, partly in response to structural adjustment directives adopted in order to meet the requirements set by the World Bank and other international moneylenders. (The Globe and Mail, 17 July 1990:A8)

The jobs created by international tourism are, for the most part menial, poorly paid and temporary. The head of West Germany's largest tour company believes that net earnings from international tourism for some Third World nations can be as low as 10 per cent. (The Ottawa Citizen, 17 March 1990) There are frequently poor backward linkages for the host country, and few opportunities for local people to manage the industry themselves, as multinationals are heavily involved in the international tourism industry, especially in certain areas, such as the Caribbean. For those involved in sex tourism, the policies are often exploitative and can be disastrous.

International sex tourism requires vast supplies of mass transportation, accommodation acceptable to foreigners, entertainment in a variety of forms, and a large number of women willing or forced to enter the sex industry. Thanh-Dam argues that, "Sex tourism involves travel across national boundaries. To operate on a mass basis, it must benefit from systematic organization and cooperation between a number of institutions, thus minimizing the uncertainties faced by the tourists in the countries of destination." (1983:533) With regard to prostitutes as an internationally traded "commodity", Thanh-Dam argues that the salient point is that, "the growing integration of the tourist industry linking airlines, hotel chains and package holiday firms is a crucial "enabling factor"" which allows the spare capacity in modern wide bodied aircraft and in modern hotel beds to be matched with the, "growing metropolitan demand for esoteric and competitively-priced sexual services offered at particular destinations, particularly in Southeast Asia." (1983:534)

A study by the Federation of South Korean Christian Women estimates that approximately 30,000 Korean women are kisaeng or "pleasure girls" for prostitution tourism, and that, "Many of these women are minors, recruited through fraudulent advertisements and then sold to pimps." (Maniquis, 1985:23) These women are especially popular with Japanese, U.S., French, British and German men. Some kisaeng are licensed to work as "entertainers" and are issued permits by licensed tourist agencies. Those who are licensed are required to take a "general culture course" sponsored by the Korean Association for International Tourism and supported by the Korean Tourist Council and the International Tourism Federation. The course emphasizes the importance of earning foreign currency "which will greatly contribute to the country's economic development". (Maniquis, 1985:23) In this context, prostitution is considered to be a "patriotic act", performed for the good of the country.

Since women in most societies are already more vulnerable to becoming marginal than men are, it becomes obvious that the negative effects of some development strategies can leave poor women in desperate circumstances. There are also other international activities which can have a negative impact on women. The militarization of certain areas of the world is one of the worst of these.

MILITARIZATION

Militarization can be linked to the supply side of the international traffic in slaves, as well as to the demand side. Military forces are spread throughout the world in so-called "strategic" locations, whether or not

they are actually engaged in war-making activities. Some are international "peace-keeping" forces, some are forces deployed at bases in foreign countries to ensure hegemony of different superpowers at different times in different areas. Some of the forces are in place to maintain "stable" conditions for foreign investors in concert with local forces, which means that they are available to help suppress labour unrest of any kind. The social and economic costs of supplying and maintaining these military forces is tremendous:

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in the final sense a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. The world ... is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hope of its children. This is not a way of life...it is humanity hanging on a cross of iron.

(Dwight Eisenhower quoted in
The Ottawa Citizen, 23 February 1990)

In spite of these sentiments and the fact that normal civilian economic activities are projected to create significantly more jobs in the USA for example, than those generated by military spending (Anderson, 1988:134), the global community continues to spend huge amounts of money on arming itself, and deploying its troops. This is also in spite of the supposed end to the cold war. Third World countries participate in this militarization through spending, which obviously means that they then have less to spend on education, health, and other social programs as tax dollars are directed towards the military industrial complex.

There are few institutions other than the military which can command such vast financial, labour, and material resources. The military can distort

a country's whole public spending structure, as well as its trade relations with foreign countries, through its expanding budgetary requirements. For Third World countries with restricted funds to allocate this presents serious restraints on constricting public funds. The public services which are intended to reduce economic inequalities in society can be cut when military funding requirements outstrip the government's current revenues. (Enloe, 1983:12)

As previously stated, poor women are particularly vulnerable to economic recession; they are usually the first workers to be laid off or to have their work hours reduced, and the first to be affected by social service and welfare cuts. In addition, relatively few women are employed in military production or in the military. Many women work in the production of consumer durable goods, and jobs in this high-wage industrial sector are very often among the first to be eliminated as consumer incomes are reduced through taxation to pay for military expenditures. Consumers will forego durable goods in order to purchase necessities as their incomes shrink under increased taxation related to military spending. (Anderson, 1988: 134) With the growth around the world of households headed by single women, this loss of job opportunities and decline in social services means that more and more families face poverty, illiteracy, and life-threateningly inadequate health services. The lower income sectors of society are affected disproportionately by military expenditures because they lose proportionately the most, the fastest. This is a global problem. All countries which divert financial and human capital resources to its military do so at a high societal cost.

According to Berhane-Selassie for example, state and international politics have affected the position of women in Ethiopian society. (1988:156) In military conflict, a direct result is the creation of refugees, the majority of whom are women and children. At least half a million Ethiopian refugees have fled to neighbouring countries according to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Women refugees are open to sexual exploitation within refugee camps, by the men of their own societies, and by the men of those societies through which they must pass. (Berhane-Selassie, 1988:160) Women in conflict zones are also usually subject to sexual violence from troops of either side. (Brownmiller:1975:23) Some dislocated women and children, separated from their families and from their usual social support network, are also subject to enslavement, both as domestic servants and in brothels.

Some Third World countries play host, reluctantly or otherwise, to foreign troops over long periods of time. Many of the troops based in foreign countries may live there for some months or years. In other cases, countries may be asked to provide rest and recreation (R&R) facilities for foreign troops stationed in nearby countries. These R&R facilities include the sex industry, which seems to be classified as "entertainment". Local women and children become the providers of sex not only to foreign troops stationed within their country, but also provide this "service" to indigenous military personnel stationed away from their families.

The linkage between militarization and enslavement for sexual purposes also operates at the psychological level according to R. Wayne Eisenhart

in "You Can't Hack It Little Girl" (1983:154). He discusses modern combat training in the American context and describes what he terms a covert psychological agenda contained within the training. He argues that basic military training is pervaded with misogyny, and includes peer pressure to appear "macho". Any so-called "feminine" characteristics which are displayed are harshly criticized and crushed both by trainers and by peers. This has the effect of forging a link between a male soldier's sexuality and his military mission, and Eisenhart claims that the means by which the military socialization process forges this link is proportional in intensity to the resistance encountered. Rituals, such as chanting and marching in time, are coupled with ever-escalating violence. (1988:154) A common chant, accompanied by a soldier grasping his gun and his genitals in turn, shows the direct links between sexuality and violence which military socialization institutionalizes:

This is my weapon, this is my gun,
This is for business, this is for fun.
(Drill Sergeant's Ditty, quoted
by Brownmiller 1975:23)

No one is really empowered - either sexually or personally - by military discipline and domination. Many men and women have been destroyed emotionally or physically by the reality of the military socialization process. For example, homosexuals and lesbians can both be persecuted for their sexual orientation by military administrators and by their peers. (Enloe, 1983:141) The popular fantasy of the military experience, however, does tell us important information about the contemporary construction of desire though.

The British Women's newspaper Outwrite reported in May of 1982 that

pornographic films were shown to British Falkland-bound troops. The films ranged from officially sanctioned so-called "soft-porn" films such as Emanuelle to unofficially condoned "hard-core" pornographic video tapes. Male correspondents aboard the task force ships described some of the pornographic films shown to the soldiers and sailors as "hair-raising". (Enloe, 1983:18) This suggests efforts by military administrators to make links between "appropriate" (i.e. heterosexual, male dominant) male sexual behaviour and correct military behaviour of combat troops, by showing them how women, like the enemy, must submit to these men.

Other images of women were being suggested back in Portsmouth, England. Some women were being portrayed not as brave or weeping, as wives, girlfriends and daughters were portrayed in the international media, but as poor and idle. For several centuries Portsmouth has been home for prostitutes who supply sexual services to the armed forces. But with those military forces on their way to the Falkland Islands, Portsmouth appeared to be a "ghost town" according to press reports. (Enloe, 1983:18)

Enloe argues, in her book Does Khaki Become You?, that officers encourage or tolerate prostitution near bases to ensure that the sexuality of their troops is "safe". (1983:9) In other words, they worry that homosexuality will occur without this safeguard, and there is a pervasive fear in military thinking that homosexuality undermines the effectiveness and capability of fighting men. Since there is also a myth that men cannot control their sexual impulses, it is assumed by military administrators that

some "outlet" is required for their troops' sexual cravings, in order to maintain their masculinity. This "outlet" translates into huge red light districts near many military bases.

The red light districts become stratified as military rank, ethnicity, race and class shape official policies toward soldiers' sexuality. In spite of shared masculine identities, rank and file men are expected to consort with different sorts of women than men in the officer corps. The former are expected to buy sex from poor and marginalized women (historically, this meant "native" women), while officers are supposed to have sex with "respectable" women who might assume they could marry at some point. The sexual services of these women are not always purchased. These distinctions structure prostitution systems within communities containing large numbers of military personnel. (Enloe, 1983:24)

This stratified structure has historical roots as well. There is a considerable history of foreign soldiers using local women as prostitutes. While stationed in India, British army commanders ran official brothels. When orders from London came to shut down the brothels, prostitutes were moved elsewhere by military forces. Officers later claimed that venereal disease rates soared as a consequence of the military's loss of direct control of the prostitute women. (Enloe, 1983:28)

In another demonstration of national development, Japan provides an illuminating historical example of how forced prostitution was used by both the state and the military machinery. During the period between 1890 and

1945, the decades of Japanese military expansionism, many Japanese women were sold to brothel keepers throughout South East Asia and North Asia. They served both overseas Japanese men, and local men. For the xenophobic Japanese, it was a manner of getting an approximation of a home away from home. For local men, the Japanese women were exotic and therefore more enticing than local prostitutes. These young women were referred to as *karayuki*. (Hane, 1982:225)

Karayuki were as young as 10 years old, and they were mainly from the agriculturally depressed northern regions of Honshu. Fathers and brothers of large, desperately poor families sold the girls/women to brothel brokers. The use of imported prostitutes to service a migrant labour force sexually, is a custom of long standing. It supposedly "protects" local women from having to provide this service to a group of "outside" men. This scenario is not atypical of what occurs today, as many women and children from economically depressed regions serve state policy through being forced to become prostitutes, and serving migrant labour or military forces. (Hane, 1982: 225)

Karayuki were the product of the convergence of several policies of the Japanese government. In the late nineteenth century government reformers were determined to "modernize" Japan in order to compete both politically and economically on the international stage. They outlawed infanticide and abortion, but at the same time they banned the distribution of birth control literature. (Hane, 1982:226) In a situation of rural impoverishment, the traditional devaluation of female children and the

government's efforts to suppress family planning practices, female children were considered to be completely expendable, and if a little income could be had from their sale, then it was agreed to. Energetic Japanese military expansion and trade expansion into Korea, Manchuria, China, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore also expanded business and trade contacts for brothel brokers. (Hane, 1982:225)

Officials in Tokyo did very little to prevent the sale of women into foreign prostitution. The export of rural women and girls helped relieve the otherwise dangerous political pressures in the countryside, by providing a little cash and easing the population pressure slightly.

During World War II, the network of sexual slaves was expanded and included Korean women as well. In 1941 in fact, Korean women were actually conscripted by Japanese authorities into a corps of "comforters" meant to "comfort" Japanese troops stationed in Manchuria. As the war in the Pacific theatre got under way, approximately 50,000 to 70,000 Korean girls and women were sent to the front lines to "entertain" and "comfort" Japanese troops. In every area which was conquered by the Japanese during the war, prostitution was restored or revived. (Hane, 1982:225)

Neither capitalist tourism nor imported militarisation alone can entirely explain the soaring numbers of Filipino and Thai women currently pressed into commercialised sex. An economic situation similar to the one described in the Japanese example has overtaken these, and other,

countries. The rural crises were brought on by foreign advisors such as the World Bank, investors and bankers who recommended urban and industrial development, including policies of export oriented industrialization and international tourism, to the detriment of genuine rural development. As in Japanese and English societies at the end of the Victorian era, an underdeveloped and economically destitute countryside produces "expendable" women. If this coincides - as it often does - with a period in which governments are expanding their own military forces or allowing foreign military expansion on their territory, then militarised prostitution will be one of the products of rural women's displacement. This timing is not an accident. Controlling an oppressed urban workforce requires the threat, if not the use, of troops.

It is argued by Enloe and others that sex tourism in Thailand is a direct result of the Indochina conflict in the region. Thailand became a rest and recreation area for U.S. military personnel in the region at that time. Facilities were built, and hearts and minds were adjusted to accept this type of activity as necessary for survival. Unfavourable world economic conditions have led to the continuation of the practices of that period. Cheap air travel to Asia has allowed the sex tourism industry to flourish since the departure of those for whom the massive infrastructure was initially created.

Military policy makers acknowledge male troops' alleged need for sexual access to women, and because of this they are also likely to decide it is their prerogative to monitor and regulate the professional services of local

prostitutes. This does not mean, however, that these policy makers are tolerant of free sexuality in women in uniform. Indeed they prefer that military men use women who are not in uniform to satisfy their sexual needs. Military administrators rarely take long term responsibility for prostitutes, and usually have no mandate, for instance, to evacuate them in a period of conflict. (Hicks Stiehm, 1988:100)

During the beginning of the Indochina conflict, French officers in Vietnam imported non-Vietnamese women to be prostitutes for French soldiers. Later, during the American involvement in the area, Vietnamese women became involved in large numbers as prostitutes. In addition, thousands of Vietnamese women who worked as cleaners and servants for U.S. troops and thousands more were raped by American soldiers. Whether working as prostitutes, or not, all Vietnamese women were subject to the label "prostitute", because they were women and because they were at the bottom of the racial hierarchy which structured all interpersonal relations in Vietnam at that time:

You take a group of men and put them in a place where there are no round-eyed women. They are in an all-male environment. Let's face it. Nature is nature. There are women available. Those women are of another culture, another colour, another society. You don't want a prostitute. You've got an M-16. What do you need to pay a lady for? You go down to the village and you take what you want.

(A U.S. soldier quoted in Enloe, 1983:33)

After U.S. military personnel departed in 1975, and Hanoi established a unified Vietnamese state, the Vietnamese government introduced a program to rehabilitate thousands of women in the south who had been

prostitutes. There is little information, however, on how many Vietnamese women were shipped out with departing US forces to be made prostitutes in the growing international trade. (Enloe, 1983:36)

Fifteen years after the Vietnamese war ended, Asian women are being sexually exploited by an alliance of militarism and tourism. Military activity continues to have a strong profile in Asia, as different nations seek to protect their interests in the area. The U.S. military establishment itself is an active participant in this process. U.S. bases were cut back during the mid-1970s as the Vietnam War wound down. In the 1980s, however, the bases were once again expanding as the US navy seeks domination of both the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean. "Insofar as the expansion or retraction of any foreign power's overseas bases increases or decreases the demand for women's sexual availability to male soldiers or sailors, the Pentagon's changing Asian strategy is a "women's issue". "(Enloe, 1983:38, emphasis in the original.)

When demand for sexual services from U.S. military personnel grew in the late 1960s, the "R&R" industry began to expand rapidly, local businessmen in Olongapo in the Philippines made what has become a familiar argument to wary town officials:

Instead of endangering our decent and respectable women to the possibility of rape and other forms of sexual abuse, better provide an outlet for the soldiers' sexual urge and at the same time make money out of it.

(Moselina, 1981:10)

US navy officials are taking measures to persuade the Sri Lankan

government to open up Sri Lanka for R&R for the US seventh fleet. This is part of the U.S. military expansion of its strategic network. Women in Sri Lanka have voiced opposition to this arrangement, arguing that R&R facilities cause increases in prostitution, VD and drug abuse. ("Navy R & R threatens Sri Lanka" :A-9)

Seeking security, some Filipina women try to turn their degraded position of prostitution into marriage to U.S. military personnel stationed in large numbers in the Philippines. Nearly 250,000 Asian and Pacific Island women married U.S. soldiers between 1945 and 1980. When a U.S. soldier becomes seriously involved with an Asian woman, military men at two levels worry. Officials and "buddies" evidently fear that Asian women are little more than prostitutes hoping to obtain a US visa and thereby gain economic security. (Enloe, 1983:81)

Racial stereotypes held by American male soldiers make them imagine Asian women to be docile, subservient, and eager to please their men. This is perceived as a welcome contrast to "bossy, domineering and castrating" American women back home. Naturally, this image is fostered in the sex industry, where "the customer is always right". Experiences with women in the sex industry abroad may reinforce racial stereotyping.

Asian women who marry U.S. soldiers often meet them while working in service jobs on military bases or in R&R businesses. These women seek out such jobs, often with their parents' encouragement, as one of the few ways to earn money to send home to impoverished families. The women

still carry out their family responsibilities even after they have married and followed their husbands, sending home any funds they can spare. (Enloe, 1983:82)

Enloe argues that the history of various attempts made by military administrators to control the sexual behaviour of their soldiers and that of the women whose bodies they buy, has yet to be written. Yet she gives excellent examples of how it has been attempted. The history of these attempts is especially hard to record because many of the women who have been subjected to such control have lacked resources necessary to bring their concerns to society in general and to military administrators in particular. The lack of money, literacy, fluency in the language of the military officialdom, and access to other women's support have made it difficult to make these concerns public. A few select women who have had access to these resources have gained a "voice" and a place in written histories. (Enloe, 1983:20)

Although there are now some women in the armed forces, officers still worry about the masculinity of their troops. There is also the worry of racial tension. Within the military institution, this has been a serious problem from time to time. Outside of the institution itself, racial problems of altogether different sorts plague military administrations, especially with regard to sexual relations between male troops and local women³. There are numerous military regulations making marriage

³ There is very little information about how the military reacts to heterosexual relations between female troops

between military personnel stationed abroad, for example, and women of the local community extremely difficult. Local women are expected to provide sex, in exchange for a fee in some cases (unless she is raped with a gun to her head, for example), and soldiers are not supposed to become emotionally involved with these women or children. If a soldier expresses a desire to actually marry one of these women, the result may be a swift transfer to another area of the world. (Enloe, 1983:41)

Out of a concern for predicting "national security" concerns military professionals and defence bureaucrats also keep track of demographic trends in their own countries. Their concern for the social requisites of this "national security" means that they worry not only about overall birth rates (declining and rising), but especially about high birth rates among those ethnic groups which the current government does not trust. (Enloe, 1983:12) For example, Malaysia has a pro-natalist policy which is directed only at certain ethnic segments of the population, and not at those the government hopes to outnumber. Racism and nationalism support one another mutually in this type of "national security" conscious state.

While militarization partially depends on government budgets heavily weighted towards military spending, it also depends on public denial or trivialisation of wife battering, sexual assault and pornography. The military's grip on social policy is sustained by dynamics in which personal relations are basic. As long as dominance, control and violence are

and local men, although homosexual and lesbian relations are not tolerated at all.

considered "natural" and "normal" as ordering principles in relations between women and men militarism cannot be pushed back.

RESULTING LACK OF CHOICES FOR POOR WOMEN

World economic policies, development policies and practices, as well as military expansion have resulted in societies in which women are restricted in their options for earning a living, earning respect and earning the right to live as they wish to live. Women and children are subject to victimization in international slave trafficking because they hold the lowest position on the social totem pole. Controlling women's sexuality is only one aspect of the social control of women, and is not just practised for reasons of property or inheritance. Public spaces are physically dominated by men, and in many cases it is extremely difficult for women to move about, communicate with one another, or earn a living in these spaces. Although women have defied this norm, the norm itself still operates against women, although perhaps in different ways for women of different classes, ages and races. Sexual control adds an unnecessary barrier to women's ability to perform wage labour, market their products or services in the informal sector, or obtain services for themselves. In order to earn a living, to support both themselves and their families, women turn to occupations, and other socially promulgated institutions such as marriage, where there is a demand, which is in some ways "acceptable", and which they perform in places where they are relatively safe. Depending on where they are in the world, these occupations can include the informal market, the formal market, prostitution and other illegal or semi-legal activities, or the home.

Even without overt threats, women will frequently make choices not to do something or go somewhere, because of the ever present fear of sexual violence. Men seem to be largely oblivious to the extent to which this fear constrains women's lives. Yet they still participate in forms of cultural subordination which intimidate women. In our Western society, for example, men purchase all sorts of exploitative pornographic materials and services. This has the effect of reinforcing male control of power and resources, while at the same time maintaining divisions of labour which enshrine male privilege. If the women men know personally will not "perform" according to pornographic "norms", the demand for "submissive" women increases or women are battered and killed for not "performing".

A transformation of traditional gender based systems of subordination has been accomplished by capitalist economic growth, commercialization and market expansion, yet gender subordination persists. In some cases direct control of women within patriarchal households is replaced by control by impersonal forces in the labour market. These processes have a tremendous impact on women's relative access to income, employment and resources, and especially on the sexual division of labour. As we know here in Canada, a struggle is being waged every day on this issue. Child care, traditionally "women's work", is an issue discussed at every level. This is usually a low priority on political or business agendas.

Research during the UN Decade for Women, showed that women's relative access to economic resources, incomes and employment has worsened,

women's work burdens have increased, relative, and even absolute, health has declined, and nutritional and education indicators have also fallen. (Sen and Grown, 1987:28) When these effects are combined, they reflect women's continuing inability to control their own lives and enjoy autonomy. In order to gain an understanding of the causes of these declines, it is important to keep in mind overarching structural issues which manipulate people's lives. I have discussed development planning, economic policies and political policies which have an impact on women, especially poor women. Since women have limited access to formulating these policies, their particular interests may be disregarded or adversely affected. In the examples I have used of structural adjustment and militarization, I have shown that women are directly affected and usually disadvantaged by such policies. (Overholt, etc. 1985:3)

Hernando De Soto argues that public policies depend on institutions, and since poor people do not have access to institutions, policies do not work for, and can in fact hurt, poor people. He suggests that institutional reform is critical to democratization. (27 October 1989) For example, when property is accessible to all, private property becomes of interest to the poor. According to De Soto the informal sector does not identify with the formal (private) sector, and feels alienated from the interests they perceive to be represented by the private sector. If people become involved in the system, they gain a vested interest in participating in it and improving it. Marginalized people are usually so busy trying to survive that they have no time to participate in public decision making, however much that process affects their lives. Therefore, it is important

3 of/de 3

PM 1 3½"x4" PHOTOGRAPHIC MICROCOPY TARGET
NBS 1010a ANSI/ISO #2 EQUIVALENT

PRECISIONSM RESOLUTION TARGETS

PIONEERS IN METHYLENE BLUE TESTING SINCE 1974

MicroD
RESOLUTION TARGETS

THOMAS ELECTRONIC RESEARCH CORPORATION, NEW BRUNSWICK, NJ 07033, USA
TEL: 609-426-1000 FAX: 609-426-1001 TLA 0100000000

to create mechanisms by which all people can participate in decision making.

De Soto argues that elections should not be mistaken for effective representation or for democracy. Classes are still separated by a vertical line, with those with access to institutions on one side and those without access on the other. He proposes building a free society which includes institutions to which all people have access. This means that criteria must be adapted to meet people's needs. (17 October 1989)

In particular, cultural and legal barriers must be restructured so that women's specific needs can be met in all situations. Public institutions have not proven to be sympathetic to women's needs in both general and specific ways, and it may be that institutions will need to incorporate, without co-opting, other groups which have an interest and expertise in women's issues.

In this Chapter I have discussed international development policies and practices which have an impact on women's lives, their access to representation and the problems faced by women who either want to earn a living, or must earn a living. I have examined how institutions can force women into positions where they will have limited choices in their occupations, and in fact may be subject to enslavement in the international slave trade. In the final chapter I will present my conclusions.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I have described the problem of the international slave traffic in women and children. I argued that the concept of women and children as forms of private property under patriarchy underlies the trade. I presented a history of the trade beginning with the "white slave" trade in the nineteenth century.

I showed how institutional responses to the problem at the international level have been to strike committees, appoint experts to study the problem, and to forge conventions. By contrast, many of those at the local or national institutional level have been shown either to ignore the problem, deny it or collude with the traffickers. The main failure of institutional responses has been that the demand for slaves in the international market has not been adequately addressed in the international agreements. Nor have the fundamental issues of poverty, racism and sexism, which all contribute to a sufficient supply of slaves, been dealt with in the international agreements, despite the fact that these issues are often raised in the discussion of international slave trafficking. The agreements end up being rather paternalistic documents which are difficult to enforce because of the lack of analysis accorded the issues which contribute to the trade. Without a challenge to the prevailing ideology of the subordination of women, the international institutional response provides little more than a forum for discussion. Hopefully, the

discussion will allow for a greater depth of analysis in the future.

Feminist responses, by contrast, have been to identify the victims, provide for their immediate needs, help in the prosecution of procurers, and provide alternative occupational strategies when circumstances permit. Their more public actions have included public outcry against certain aspects of the traffic, the formation of international networks dedicated to raising the profile of the problem and the publication of information regarding the traffic.

By their very formation, the groups of women who struggle against international slave trafficking in women and children challenge patriarchal ideology which dictates that women and children are voiceless property. By continually bringing questions related to the trade to the attention of legislators, journalists, and the public, feminists give oppressed women a voice, and raise their concerns. Women's access to both resources and the corridors of power, however, are limited. When women meet in international groups they have many items on their agenda, and most are of an immediate nature. Still they find time to address the issue and work very actively against the problem.

If there is only a focus on "official" actors and actions, the equally important roles of private, supportive, informal, local social structures in which women most frequently participate, will be set aside. In consequence, not only will the activities of women be under examined and distorted, but there will also be a failure to understand how social systems

actually function because no account will be taken of one of the most basic processes: the interplay between informal, interpersonal networks and the formal official social structures. (Millman and Moss Kanter, 1987:32) I have tried to incorporate this idea into my thesis, presenting the varied activities of women's organizations. I believe that efforts by both formal and informal groups are important in the struggle against international slave trafficking. By incorporating the activities of some women's groups, I hope to demonstrate the interplay between formal and informal groups in order to assist the understanding of many aspects of the operation of social systems whether cultural, organizational, or interpersonal.

Finally, I have presented an outline of economic, military, and development policies which contribute to the supply side of the traffic. These conditions conspire to make the situation of poor women and children very bleak. It will take a recognition by policy planners that they must not merely incorporate women's needs into their plans, but that they must actually restructure institutions in order that women of all races may fully and equally participate in all aspects of public and private life.

The United Nations provides a good international forum in the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery for discussion, and for studying the problem of international slave traffic. Periodic solicitation by the Secretary-General for country updates reminds each nation that they have an obligation to keep the topic on their agenda. Information from many non-governmental sources can also be collected and presented in a public

international forum by a variety of concerned groups. Due to the nature of international bodies, however, the actions taken at this level are not usually more than to recommend, study, and observe, although recent events in the Persian Gulf may be indicative of a new trend in this regard. The UN has limited power with regard to enforcing conventions without the agreement of the nations concerned. If the nations in question choose not to cooperate through the failure to enact legislation, or enforce existing legislation, there is little the UN can do to force them to comply. This is supposing that international slave traffic received enough attention from any group other than the Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery, which seems unlikely with the limited resources of the Working Group.

Much was accomplished at the time of the so-called "white slave trade", in terms of public education and media attention. There was public agitation, and prominent people spoke out on the issue. It seems clear that as the trade is now seen to involve poor women of many colours other than white, the interest by the media, scholars and publishers has declined. The focus of groups such as the Abolitionist Society in Britain has shifted to the question of traffic in children, at the expense of the examination of traffic in adult women. The flurry of activity in terms of legislation and international conventions which came out of the outcry against the "white slave trade" has declined almost to the point of inaction. Choices are being made by the media, public educators and activists to concentrate on other topics which less directly threaten the status quo. As long as women and girls could be viewed as defenceless

victims of the trade, it was relatively easy to come to their aid in a chivalrous manner. Once the demand side of the trade is under scrutiny, the question becomes much less tidy, and much more difficult to resolve.

It is imperative to strive for an egalitarian society in which women and men of all races share power, and access to all resources. In a theoretical sense, socialist feminism recommends the abolition of class and gender. In addition I would argue that racism, and the stereotypes which accompany it, also need to be abolished. These measures are needed in order to restructure oppressive institutional practices.

The long term goals of socialist feminism include improving the status of women through law, media, custom, cultural expectations and practices, in order to ensure equality for all women in all countries. This would assist in eradicating the demand for sex-for-money by enhancing the relationships between men and women. These goals cannot be achieved without recognizing that men must be educated to respect women as equals, to share power with them without fear of losing something, and to share resources with them with the recognition that everyone will be enriched if women are able to fulfil their potential. Women on the other hand, need to be taught their own self worth, and how to express their needs. Children will need to learn all these lessons. This means training for men in all aspects of their lives, especially in the military and political aspects, which is sensitive to the needs of women and children, and to their humanity.

These are however, long term goals which do little to address the immediate problem of women and children being enslaved and subject to international traffic. To take some concrete measures while striving for long term goals, will assist in the achievement of the goal of eradicating international slave traffic.

First, it is important to recognize that the demand for the slaves will continue to be met if the current ideology of seeing women and children as property to be exchanged remains in place. In addition, if economic and development policies continue to severely disadvantage women and their children, the supply will be augmented. One of the main problems in this regard seems to be that policy planners fail to make any distinction between males and females. In several fields sex is not taken into account as a factor, yet sex may be among the most important explanatory variables. When males look at a meeting of a village spokespeople and see only men, they think they are observing a sexually neutral or sexless world rather than a masculine world. In this sense women are the bearers of sex. (i.e. Men are somehow neutral, but if women are present then there is a sexual division between men and women.)

Second, the contributions that women already make to the global society should be recognized in order to accord them the respect and resources they deserve. Without this recognition, the structures which govern our lives will not be altered, although it may be possible to achieve a temporary change in some of the details for short periods of time. This implies a certain integration of women's needs into existing structures,

however, the structures themselves must be fundamentally altered in order to achieve lasting change. This is the reason that the measures taken currently at the international level are ineffective. They do not challenge the status quo, but rather ask the status quo to make some minor accommodations, such as integrating women into existing programs.

In order to learn about the contributions that women make to the global society, it is important to count the work that women do into national accounts, and international records. If women's contributions are put forward in economic (male) terms, then women may be able to make a stronger argument for their needs. Foreign and local governments will be faced with the magnitude of the economic contributions which women make to every society through paid employment, child rearing and homemaking, through the earnings which women bring into a country through their labour locally and through their remittances from work abroad, through their entrepreneurial enterprise, and through the sale of their bodies to foreign men.

Marilyn Waring states that, "There's a very simple equation that operates in economics. If you're not visible as a producer in the national economy, then you're not visible in the distribution of benefits either." While researching her book If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics, Waring found that women's unpaid work around the world is not considered by governments in the fiscal policy, despite the fact that "unpaid housework by women is the largest amount of productivity in any country in the world." (The Ottawa Citizen, 15 March 1990)

Third, as more and more households in the world are headed by single women because of the fluctuation of family groupings, it is critical to recognize the reality of this situation and formulate policies and practices which will facilitate the distribution of resources, especially in the social service sector. Women need assistance to enable them to carry out the tasks associated with being the head of a household. It is important that this situation is not viewed as a temporary position, but as a permanent condition. Help can be given to women in this regard by providing a family wage to women, by providing women with access to day care as needed, by providing a social service safety net of shelters, education, associations, health care and through access to affordable housing.

In addition, society must take the responsibility to ensure that males who are supposed to pay child support do so. This is in the interest of the society as a whole, not just the women. The women who are raising children and who are their sole support, who are caring for the elderly, the handicapped, the infirm, are doing it not just for themselves, but for the benefit of society as a group. Society needs to recognize this and provide assistance as needed.

Fourth, there must be support from all segments of the population garnered for social change. Joan Huber gives a recipe for change when she writes that, "A person who maintains a self-definition with no social support is mad: with minimum support, a pioneer: and with broad support, a lemming. Most of us are lemmings. We accept or change our ideas of our own rights and duties only when we perceive social support

for doing so." (1983:330) Broad-based social support for the restructuring of institutions and relations between the sexes and the races is necessary for effective and positive social change.

The established liberal stance is that once all legal disabilities are removed, individual women and men will be able to follow their inclinations and discover the roles that best suit them. In countries which have at least paid lip service to women's emancipation, legal barriers to the full participation of women in many aspects of public and private life have been removed. Yet this has not led to the full participation of women in their societies. Social and cultural practices, with which women collaborate, still constrain women from different activities. Women are excluded from certain crucial economic or political activities everywhere. Their roles as wives and mothers are associated with fewer powers and prerogatives than are the roles of men. Without fundamental structural change of institution and social practices, legal changes will have little effect on the emancipation of women.

PERSONAL CHANGE

The completion of a project of this magnitude has been a tremendous achievement for me personally, and although I have found some parts of the process frustrating, some disappointing, and some annoying, for the most part I have found both the subject and the process fascinating. It has been very gratifying to have people ask casually about the research, then become interested in the subject. I never found my interest in the

topic lagging, and I expect this will be a lifelong interest of mine.

It was very interesting to speak with others already involved in the struggle against international slave trafficking, and to try to understand their varying points of view. Sometimes this presented me with my own challenge, as I have had to rethink many of my own prejudices regarding prostitutes, adoption and the sex industry. I have found myself defending positions, which not long ago I would have argued against. I feel that my understanding of the choices people face and chose has expanded. I also feel less dogmatically opposed to feminists cooperating with institutions while attempting to find solutions.

I have been invited to do some public speaking on my thesis topic, and have found the ensuing discussion very stimulating. Sometimes the need to start from scratch each time I discuss the topic is tiring, but it simply brings home to me the fact that the trade is almost invisible. Many have argued that my definitions are too broad, and that they could include any type of oppression. I have tried, therefore, to back up my definitions with illustrations.

In the final analysis, I feel hopeful that some progress can be made in this struggle. While we may not have created the system we live with, we perpetuate it if we do not attempt to change it. My attempt to change the system of international slave trafficking consists of informing those who are interested in the topic through this thesis. Women working together around the world can help each other, inform themselves and others about

the current state of the problem and help those who are victimized by it. I hope that we will not fail to undertake the quest to eradicate international trafficking in women and children. It is not a hopeless task, but one which is within our reach if we work together.

APPENDIX 1

In choosing a feminist framework and methodology for my thesis, I hoped to be able to take an active part in eradicating the practice of international slave trafficking in women and children. One of the methods through which I can actively participate in the struggle, is by facilitating direct communication between interested parties. To this end I have included a list of addresses of women's organizations directly involved in this struggle.

RELEVANT ORGANIZATIONS

LATIN AMERICA

CIPAF (Centro de Investigacion Para la Accion Feminina)
Apartado Postal 1744
Luis F. Thomen No 358-A
Ens. Quisqueya
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic
tel:053-24443

-organizes general campaigns against traffic in women abroad, as well as publishing a newsletter.

Taller de Recursos para la Mujer (Tremujer)
contactperson: Letcia Navia Uribe
A.A. 57312
Bogota D.E., Columbia

-coordinates project M.A.R.I.A. (Mujers Al Rescate de su Identidad y Autoestima) which includes the organization of workshops, setting up of a shelter and the production of audio-visual and educational materials for the prevention of international traffic in women.

Movimento El Pozo
 contactperson: Rosa Dominga Trapasso
 Apartado 2211
 Lima, 100, Peru
 tel: 23-5852

-grass-roots organization for legal and social support for prostitutes.

NORTH AMERICA

New York City Coalition Against Trafficking in Women
 c/o Maria Castaneda
 43-19 57th Street
 # 1F Woodside,
 New York, N.Y. 11377, U.S.A.
 tel: (718) 446-5109 or (212) 307-5055

-an action group initiated after the USA Conference on International Trafficking in Women held in New York in October, 1988.

Network of Philipina Canadian Women
 contactperson: Carmencita Hernamdy
 777 Lansdowne Avenue
 Toronto, Ontario, Canada

-deals with family violence against women, mail order brides and runs a women's shelter.

EAST ASIA

Asian Women's Association
 Shibuya Coop. 211
 14-10 Sakuragaoka
 Shibuya-ku
 Tokyo 160, Japan

-takes action and publicizes against sex tours by Japanese men to other Asian countries.

Migrant Women's Programme-The Resource Centre for Philippine Concerns
 2-3-18-73 Nishiwaseda
 Shinjuku-ku
 Tokyo 160, Japan

-aims to conscientize and organize Filipina women in Japan who are migrant sex workers and brides.

Asian Women's Shelter HELP (House in Emergence for Love and Peace)
2-23-5 Huyaunin-cho
Shinjuku
Tokyo 169, Japan
tel:(03)368-8855

-a half-way house for Japanese and non-Japanese women. Most of the foreign women in the shelter have worked in the Japanese sex-industry and are about to be deported by Japanese authorities. The group also publishes a bulletin.

My Sister's Place
722-6 15
2 Ka Neung 2 Dong
Kyungki Do
Uijongbu, South Korea

-a counselling centre for bi-cultural families. Korean women (prostitutes and non-prostitutes) about to marry or married to American soldiers based in South Korea are the group of concern for this organization.

Rainbow Project
3 F no 2 Hsu-Chang Street
Taipei, 10015, Taiwan
tel:(02)312-0003

-a religiously inspired project which strives to build awareness through educational programmes to the Aboriginal population in rural communities and urban areas about national and inter-national sex-trafficking. They run a half-way house for rural girls in Taipei, providing legal and social support for prostitutes.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

GABRIELA
P.O. Box 4386
Manila 2800, Philippines
tel:976335/9917072 (CVAW)

-a national women's organization, under which the Commission on Violence Against Women (CVAW) organizes general campaigns against traffic in women, giving individual support to victims as necessary. GABRIELA supports drop-in centres for prostitutes in the tourist areas of Ermita and

Buklod-centre in Olongapo, which has a large U.S. military base, and in Bagwis in Manila.

T-W-M-A-E-W (Third World Movement Against the Exploitation of Women)
 contactperson:Sister Mary Soledad Perpnan
 P.O. Box SM-366
 Manila, Philippines
 tel:77-38-86 local 22

-active on the issue of prostitution, especially as it relates to tourism and militarism. Runs drop-in centres for prostitutes in Subic, near the U.S. navy base, and in Belen, a tourist area in Manila. They also publish an action bulletin.

STOP (Stop Trafficking of Philipinas)
 Secretariat, Room 11
 Caritas Building
 2202 Jesus
 Pandacan
 Manila, Philippines
 tel:58-86-54

-a semi-religious organization which campaigns against traffic in women through information to the rural population about the dangers of migration and the methods of traffickers.

Foundation for Women (FFW)/Women's Information Centre (WIC)
 P.O. Box 7-47
 10700 Bangkok, Thailand
 tel:02-4335149

-provides counselling for potential migrants and produces educational material for several groups of women. Undertaking a project to prevent forced prostitution among rural girls. Runs a shelter for battered women, and publishes a newsletter 'Voices of Thai Women'.

EMPOWER (Education Means Protection of Women Engaged in Recreation)
 P.O. Box 1065
 Silom Post Office
 10504 Bangkok, Thailand
 tel:02-2340398/2343078

-works with prostitutes in the sex-tourist area of Bangkok, Patpong. Runs a drop-in centre, and publishes Patpong Newsletter.

AFRICA

Women's Centre
P.O. Box 185
Eket
Akaw Ibon State, Nigeria

-active against oppression of prostitutes, especially by the authorities.

SOLWADI (Solidarity with Women in Distress)
P.O. Box 86823
Mombassa, Kenya

-a semi-religious centre which provides courses on economic alternatives for prostitutes. Also publishes a newsletter.

EUROPE

AGISRA (Arbeitsgesellschaft Gegen Internationale Sexuelle und Rassistische Ausbeutung) (Group Against International Sexual and Racial Exploitation)
Mainzer Landstr 147
6000 Frankfurt /M, Federal Republic of Germany
tel:069-7392152

-an umbrella organization, whose member groups provide information to the public, provide counseling, medical or social support to migrant prostitutes and brides in Germany. Occasionally publishes a newsletter.

FIZ (Frauen Information Zentrum) (Women's Information Centre)
Landhausser. 62
7000 Stuttgart, Federal Republic of Germany
tel:0711-261891

-provides social support to migrant women (prostitutes and brides).

Stichting tegen Vrouwenhandel (STV) (Foundation Against Traffic in Women)
Postbus 97799
2509 GD Sen Haag
The Hague, The Netherlands
tel:070-3245080

-organizes and coordinates social and juridical guidance for victims of trafficking. Works with regional volunteer groups throughout the

Netherlands, and publishes a newsletter.

Dritte Welt-Frauen Information Zentrum (FIZ)
 Quellenstrasse 25
 CH-8005 Zurich, Switzerland
 tel:01-2718282

-provides information about traffic in women to the public and counselling to migrant prostitutes and brides. They give information on the countries of origin, about working in the sex industry and being a (house)wife in Switzerland to women who want to migrate.

The Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers
 St. Francis Centre
 Pottery Lane, W 11, 4 NQ
 London, England
 tel:(01)221 0356

-coordinates action against traffic in women in Great Britain.

APPENDIX 2

DEFINITIONS*

Emancipation	To come out from under the hand of paternal domination, either through one's own efforts or the efforts of others.
Feminist	Anyone who recognizes women's subordination and seeks to end it, by whatever means and on whatever grounds. Preserving and increasing women's knowledge is a feminist priority.
Gender	The cultural definition of behaviour defined as appropriate to the sexes in a given society at a given time. Gender is a social construction, and is not biologically or 'naturally' derived, as is sex.
Patriarchy	The manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. This implies that men hold power in all important institutions of society and that women are systematically deprived of access to such power.
Procurer	1. To get possession of or obtain; 2. To make women available for promiscuous sexual intercourse.
Sexism	Defines the ideology of male supremacy and superiority, and the beliefs that support and sustain these concepts. Sexism and patriarchy mutually reinforce one another.
Slaver	A ship or a person engaged in transporting slaves.
Slavery	A person held in servitude as property.

* Some of these definitions draw heavily on definitions provided by Gerda Lerner in The Creation of Patriarchy, pp. 231-243.

TERMINOLOGY

I have quite a few problems with some terminology commonly used in discussing both racism and inter-national development. In both areas there is a "norm" set against which other groups are defined. In discussing race, we speak of white (the "norm") and non-white or coloured (the "abnormal") people. In discussing international development we use terms such as developed countries (DCs), industrialized countries, advanced countries and First World nations. These terms usually refer to countries of the Western world, or the most economically privileged group among the world's population. Those countries which are less economically privileged are referred to as less or least developed countries (LDCs), non-industrialized countries, less advanced countries and the Third World. While I do not agree that these terms are necessarily appropriate or accurate, I have used them throughout my thesis, mainly due to a lack of terminology which is unprejudiced and yet is still able to convey the sense that one is discussing a particular collective group of people. For example, I have been told that there has been a "browning" of the prostitution business in the Netherlands. However, this term may not include black women of African descent, or women of the Oriental groups. Yet they too are involved in the Netherlands in prostitution. How am I to include them all as a group, and to note the sometimes indiscriminate nature of racism, unless I refer to them as women of colour or non-white women? In struggling with this question, I have been unable to find a satisfactory and accurate, yet respectful term to describe the situation. Therefore I use current terminology, while continuing my own struggle with this question.

APPENDIX 3

1961 April 10 10:15 AM

IN POWER since 18 July 1965 (article 4)

the following list was provided by the Government of France at the time of the transfer to the Secretary General of the depositary functions in respect of the Agreement:

(1) States which ratified the Agreement

Belgium
Denmark
France
Germany
Italy
Netherlands
Portugal
Russia
Spain
Sweden and Norway
Switzerland
United Kingdom

(2) States which acceded to the Agreement

Austria Hungary
Brazil
Bulgaria
Columbia
Czechoslovakia
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Poland
United States of America

(3) the Agreement was declared applicable to the following colonies, dominions and protectorates

German colonies	Gold Coast	Sierra Leone
Iceland and Danish West Indies	Hong Kong	Somaland
Australia	India	Southern Rhodesia
Bahamas	Jamaica	Ceylon
Barbados	Leeward Islands	Trinidad
British Central Africa	Malta	Uganda
British Guinea and Guinea	Myanmar	West half West
British Solomon Islands	New Zealand	Windward Islands
Canada	Northern Nigeria	Zanzibar
Fiji Islands	Palestine and Transjordan	French colonies
Gambia	St Helena	Libya
Gibraltar	Sarawak	Netherlands colonies
Albert and Alice Islands	Seychelles	

(4) the following colonies, dominions and protectorates consented to concur in article 1 of the agreement

Basutoland
Bechuanaland
Bermuda
British East Africa
British Honduras
Cape Town
Cyprus
Natal
Orange River Colony
Southern Nigeria
Straits Settlements
Transvaal

(5) States and territories on behalf of which accession to the Convention of 4 May 1910 on the White Slave Traffic entailed ipso facto accession to the Agreement of 18 May 1904 by virtue of article 8 of the Convention of 1910

Chile	Union of South Africa	Nauru
Cuba	Kenya	Jersey
Egypt	Nyasaland	Guernsey
Finland	Papua and Norfolk	Falkland Islands
Irish Free State	Grenada	Iraq
Lithuania	St. Lucia	Sudan
Norway	St. Vincent	Turkey
Persia	Isle of Man	Turquoy
Spain	Japan	Monaco
Estonia	China	Morocco
Newfoundland	Yugoslavia	Tunisia
Langanyika	New Guinea	Mauritius

Actions subsequent to the assumption of depositary functions by the Secretary-General of the United Nations

Participant

Bahamas
 Fiji
 German Democratic Republic³

Succession

10 Jun 1976
 12 Jun 1972

NOTES

1/ Registered under No 11 see League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol I, p 83

2/ The instrument of accession by the Government of Lebanon was deposited with the Secretary-General on 20 June 1949

3/ In a notification received on 16 July 1974, the Government of the German Democratic Republic stated that the German Democratic Republic had declared the reapplication of the Agreement as from 10 August 1958

In this connexion, the Secretary-General received on 2 March 1976 the following communication from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany

With reference to the communication by the German Democratic Republic of 17 June 1974, concerning the application, as from 10 August 1958, of the International Agreement of 18 May

1904, for the Suppression of the "White Slave Traffic", the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany declares that in the relation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic the declaration of application has no retroactive effect beyond 21 June 1973

Subsequently, in a communication received on 17 June 1976, the Government of the German Democratic Republic declared

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic takes the view that in accordance with the applicable rules of international law and the international practice of States the relations on the reapplication of agreements concluded under international law are an internal affair of the successor State concerned. Accordingly, the German Democratic Republic was entitled to determine the date of reapplication of the International Agreement for the Suppression of the 'White Slave Traffic', May 18th, 1904 to which it established its status as a party by way of succession."

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

Signed at Paris on 4 May 1910

The following list was provided by the Government of France at the time of the transfer to the Secretary General of the depositary functions in respect of the Convention

(1) States which ratified the Convention

Austria Hungary	Germany	Portugal
Belgium	Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Russia
Brazil	Ireland	Spain
Denmark	Italy	Sweden
France	Netherlands	

(2) States which acceded to the Convention

Bulgaria	Estonia	Persia
Chile	Finland	Poland
China	Irish Free State	Stam
Colombia	Japan	Switzerland
Cuba	Lithuania	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Luxembourg	Uruguay
Egypt	Monaco	Yugoslavia
	Norway	

(3) The Convention was declared applicable to the following colonies, dominions and protectorates

French colonies, Morocco, Tunisia	Southern Rhodesia	Leeward Islands
Netherlands East and West Indies, Surinam and Curaçao	Straits Settlements	Falkland Islands
Canada	Trinidad	Gold Coast
Union of South Africa	Australia	Iraq
Newfoundland	Papua and Norfolk	Gambia
Bahamas	India	Uganda
Sri Lanka	Barbados	Tanganyika
Cyprus	British Honduras	Norma
Kenya	Grenada	New Guinea
Fiji Islands	St. Lucia	Mauri
Gibraltar	St. Vincent	Sudan
Hong Kong	Seychelles	Sierra Leone
Jamaica	British Guiana	Palestine and Transjordan
Malta	Isle of Man	Sarawak
Nyasaland	Jersey	Gilbert and Ellice Islands
	Guernsey	British Solomon Islands
	Mauritius	Zanzibar

Actions subsequent to the assumption of depositary functions by the Secretary-General of the United Nations

Participant	Accession (a), Succession (d)
Bahamas	10 Jun 1976 d
German Democratic Republic	22 Sep 1949 a
Lebanon	12 Jun 1972 d
Libi	

NOTES

1/ Great Britain, Treaty Series No. 20 (1912) this Convention is listed under No. 8 a) in the League of Nations Treaty Series and in the United Nations Treaty Series

2/ See note concerning signatures, ratifications, accessions, etc., on behalf of China (note 2 in chapter I)

3/ In a notification received on 16 July 1976, the Government of the German Democratic Republic stated that the German Democratic Republic had declared the reapplication of the Convention as from 10 August 1958. In this connexion, the Secretary-General received on 2 March 1976 the following communication from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany:

With reference to the communication by the German Democratic Republic of 17 June 1976, concerning the application, as from 10 August

1958, of the International Convention of 4 May 1910 for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany declares that in the relation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic the declaration of application has no retroactive effect beyond 21 June 1973.

Subsequently, in a communication received on 17 June 1976, the Government of the German Democratic Republic declared:

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic takes the view that in accordance with the applicable rules of international law and the international practice of States the regulations on the reapplication of agreements concluded under international law are an internal affair of the successor State concerned. Accordingly, the German Democratic Republic was entitled to determine the date of reapplication of the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, May 4th 1910 to which it established its status as a party by way of succession."

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Geneva, September 30th, 1921

IN FORCE (Article 11) 2

Ratifications or definitive accessions

Afghanistan (April 10th, 1924 a)
 Albania (October 13th, 1924)
 Austria (August 9th, 1922)
 Belgium (June 15th, 1922)
 Brazil (August 18th, 1933)
 British Empire (June 28th, 1922)
 Does not include the Island of Newfoundland, the British Colonies and Protectorates, the Island of Nauru, or any territories administered under mandates by Great Britain
 Bahamas, Barbados, British Honduras, Ceylon, Cyprus, Gibraltar, Grenada, Hong Kong, Kenya (Colony and Protectorate), Malia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Seychelles, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Southern Rhodesia, Straits Settlements, Trinidad and Tobago
 British Guiana and Fiji (September 18th, 1922 a)
 Jamaica and Mauritius (October 24th, 1922 a)
 Leeward Islands (March 7th, 1924 a)
 Falkland Islands and Dependencies (May 8th, 1924 a)
 Gold Coast Colony (July 3rd, 1924 a)
 Sierra Leone (Colony) (November 16th, 1927 a)
 Gambia (Colony and Protectorate)
 Tanganyika (Territory) (Uganda) (Protectorate)
 British Solomon Islands (Protectorate), Gilbert and Ellice Islands (Colony), Palestine (including Trans Jordan), Sarawak (Protected State)
 Zanzibar (Protectorate) (November 2nd, 1931 a)
 Burma (January 14th, 1932 a)
 Burma reserves the right at her discretion to substitute the age of 16 years or any greater age that may be subsequently decided upon for the age limit prescribed in paragraph B of the final Protocol of the Convention of May 4th, 1910, and under Article 5 of the 1921 Convention

Ratifications or definitive accessions

Canada (June 28th, 1922)
 Australia (June 28th, 1922)
 Does not include Papua, Norfolk Island and the mandated territory of New Guinea
 Papua, Norfolk Island, New Guinea, Nauru (September 2nd, 1916)
 New Zealand (June 28th, 1922)
 Does not include the mandated territory of Western Samoa
 Union of South Africa (June 28th, 1922)
 Ireland (May 10th, 1914 a)
 India (June 28th, 1922)
 Reserves the right at its discretion to substitute the age of 16 years or any greater age that may be subsequently decided upon for the age limit prescribed in paragraph (b) of the final Protocol of the Convention of May 4th, 1910, and in Article 5 of the present Convention
 Bulgaria (April 29th, 1924 a)
 Chile (January 15th, 1924)
 China (February 24th, 1926)
 Colombia (November 8th, 1934)
 Cuba (May 7th, 1923)
 Czechoslovakia (September 29th, 1921)
 Denmark (April 23rd, 1931 a)
 This ratification does not include Greenland, the Convention, in view of the special circumstances, being of no interest for that session
 Egypt (April 13th, 1932 a)
 Estonia (February 28th, 1930)
 Finland (August 16th, 1926 a)
 France (March 1st, 1926 a)
 Does not include the French Colonies, the colonies in the French Protectorate or the territories under French mandate
 Syria and Lebanon (June 2nd, 1930 a)
 Germany (July 8th, 1924)

Ratifications or definitive accessions (cont'd)

Greece	(April 9th, 1923)	Norway	(August 16th, 1922)
Hungary	(April 25th, 1925)	Poland	(October 8th, 1926)
Iran	(March 28th, 1933)	Portugal	(December 1st, 1923)
Iraq	(May 15th, 1925 a)	Rumania	(September 5th, 1923)
The Government of Iraq desire to reserve to themselves the right to fix an age limit lower than that specified in Article 5 of the Convention.		Spain	(May 12th, 1924 a)
Italy	(June 30th, 1924)	Does not include the Spanish Possessions in Africa or the territories of the Spanish Protectorate in Morocco	
Italian Colonies	(July 27th, 1922 a)	Sudan	(June 1st, 1932 a)
Subject to the age limit for native women and children, referred to in Article 5, being reduced from twenty-one to sixteen years		Sweden	(June 9th, 1926)
Japan	(December 15th, 1925)	Switzerland	(January 20th, 1926)
Does not include Chosen, Taiwan, the leased territory of Kwantung, the Japanese portion of Sakhalin Island and Japan's mandated territory in the South Seas		Thailand	(July 13th, 1922)
Latvia	(February 12th, 1924)	With reservation as to the age limit prescribed in paragraph (b) of the final Protocol of the Convention of 1910 and Article 5 of this Convention, in so far as concerns the nationals of Thailand	
Lithuania	(September 14th, 1931)	Turkey	(April 15th, 1937 a)
Luxembourg	(December 31st, 1929 a)	Uruguay	(October 21st, 1924 a)
Mexico	(May 10th, 1932 a)	Yugoslavia	(May 2nd, 1929 a)
Morocco	(July 18th, 1931 a)		
The Netherlands (including Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curacao)	(September 19th, 1923)		
Nicaragua	(December 12th, 1935 a)		

Signatures or accessions not yet perfected by ratification

Argentina Republic (a)	Panama (a)
Costa Rica	Peru (a)

Actions subsequent to the assumption of depositary functions by the Secretary-General of the United Nations

Participant	Accession (a) Succession (d)	Participant	Accession (a) Succession (d)
Bahamas	10 Jun 1976 d	Pakistan	12 Nov 1947 d
Byelorussian SSR	21 May 1948 a	Sierra Leone	13 Mar 1962 d
Cyprus	16 May 1963 d	Singapore	7 Jun 1966 d
Egypt	12 Jun 1972 d	Trinidad and Tobago	11 Apr 1966 d
German Democratic Republic		Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	
Ghana	7 Apr 1958 d	Zambia	18 Dec 1947 a
Jamaica	30 Jul 1964 d		26 Mar 1973 d
Malta	24 Mar 1967 d		
Mauritius	18 Jul 1969 d		

NOTES

- 1/ Registered No 269 See League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol 9, p 415
- 2/ Article 11 -- "The present Convention shall come into force in respect of each Party on the date of the deposit of its ratification or act of accession"
- 3/ See note 3 in part II 2 in the League of Nations treaties
- 4/ See note concerning signatures, ratifications, accessions, etc., on behalf of China (note 2 in chapter I 1)
- 5/ According to a reservation made by the Danish Government when ratifying the Convention, the latter was to take effect, in respect of Denmark, only upon the coming into force of the Danish Penal Code of April 15th, 1930. This Code having entered into force on January 1st, 1933, the Convention has become effective for Denmark from the same date
- 6/ In a notification received on 21 February 1974, the Government of the German Democratic Republic stated that the German Democratic Republic had declared the reapplication of the Convention as from 8 March 1958

In this connexion, the Secretary-General received on 2 March 1976 the following communication from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany.

With reference to the communication by the German Democratic Republic of 31 January 1974, concerning the application, as from 8 March 1958, of the International Convention of 30 September 1921 for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany declares that in the relation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic the declaration of application has no retroactive effect beyond 21 June 1973

Subsequently, in a communication received on 17 June 1976, the Government of the German Democratic Republic declared:

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic takes the view that in accordance with the applicable rules of international law and the international practice of States the regulations on the reapplication of agreements concluded under international law are an internal affair of the successor State concerned. Accordingly, the German Democratic Republic was entitled to determine the date of reapplication of the International Convention when it established its status as a party by way of succession"

SLAVERY CONVENTION

Geneva, September 25th, 1926¹

IN FORCE since March 9th, 1927 (Article 12).

Ratifications or definitive accessions

Afghanistan (November 9th, 1935 a)
 Austria (August 19th, 1927)
 United States of America (March 21st, 1929 a)
 Subject to the reservation that the Government of the United States, adhering to its policy of opposition to forced or compulsory labour except as punishment for crime of which the person concerned has been duly convicted, adheres to the Convention except as to the first subdivision of the second paragraph of Article five, which reads as follows:
 "(1) Subject to the transitional provisions laid down in paragraph (2) below, compulsory or forced labour may only be exacted for public purposes."²
 Belgium (September 23rd, 1927)
 Great Britain and Northern Ireland (June 18th, 1927)
 Canada (August 6th, 1928)
 Australia (June 18th, 1927)
 New Zealand (June 18th, 1927)
 Union of South Africa (including South West Africa) (June 18th, 1927)
 Ireland (June 18th, 1930 a)
 India (June 18th, 1927)
 The signature of the Convention is not binding in respect of Article 3 in so far as that article may require India to enter into any convention whereby vessels, by reason of the fact that they are owned, fitted out or commanded by Indians, or of the fact that one-half of the crew is Indian, are classified as native vessels, or are denied any privilege, right or immunity enjoyed by similar vessels of other States signatories of the Convention or are made subject to any liability or disability to which similar ships of such other States are not subject
 Bulgaria (March 9th, 1927)

Ratifications or definitive accessions

China⁴ (April 22nd, 1937)
 Cuba (July 6th, 1931)
 Czechoslovakia (October 10th, 1931)
 Denmark (May 17th, 1927)
 Ecuador (March 26th, 1928 a)
 Egypt (January 25th, 1928 a)
 Estonia (May 16th, 1929)
 Finland (September 29th, 1927)
 France (March 28th, 1931)
 Syria and Lebanon (June 25th, 1931 a)
 Germany (March 12th, 1929)
 Greece (July 4th, 1930)
 Haiti (September 3rd, 1927 a)
 Hungary⁵ (February 17th, 1933 a)
 Iraq (January 18th, 1929 a)
 Italy (August 25th, 1928)
 Latvia (July 9th, 1927)
 Liberia (May 17th, 1930)
 Mexico (September 8th, 1934 a)
 Monaco (January 17th, 1928 a)
 Burma³
 The convention is not binding upon Burma in respect of Article 3 in so far as that Article may require her to enter into any convention whereby vessels by reason of the fact that they are owned, fitted out or commanded by Burmans, or of the fact that one-half of the crew is Burman, are classified as native vessels or are denied any privilege, right or immunity enjoyed by similar vessels of other States signatories of the Convention or are made subject to any liability or disability to which similar ships of these other States are not subject
 The Netherlands (including Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curaçao) (January 7th, 1928)
 Nicaragua (October 3rd, 1927 a)
 Norway (September 10th, 1927)
 Poland (September 17th, 1930)

Ratifications or definitive accessions (cont'd)

Portugal
Romania
Spain
for Spain and the Spanish Colonies, with the ex-
ception of the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
Yugoslavia

(October 4th, 1927)
(June 22nd, 1931)
(September 12th, 1927)
(September 15th, 1927 a)
(September 15th, 1927)
(November 1st, 1930 a)
(July 24th, 1933 a)
(September 28th, 1929)

Signatures or accessions not yet
perfected by ratification

Albania⁶
Colombia
Dominican Republic a
Iran
Ad referendum and interpreting Article 3 as
without power to compel Iran to bind herself by
any arrangement or convention which would place
her ships of whatever tonnage in the category
of native vessels provided for by the
Convention on the Trade in Arms
Lithuania
Panama
Uruguay

Actions subsequent to the assumption of depositary functions by the Secretary-General of the
United Nations

Participant	Accession, succession (d)	Participant	Accession, succession (d)
Antigua and Barbuda	25 Oct 1988 d	Guatemala	11 Nov 1983
Bahamas	10 Jun 1976 d	Guinea	30 Mar 1962 d
Bangladesh	7 Jan 1985	Israel	6 Jan 1955
Barbados	22 Jul 1976 d	Mali	2 Feb 1973 d
Benin	4 Apr 1962 d	Mauritania	6 Jun 1986
Bolivia	6 Oct 1983	Morocco	11 May 1959 d ^a
Cameroon	7 Mar 1962 d	Niger	25 Aug 1961 d
Central African Republic	4 Sep 1962	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	9 Nov 1981
Congo	15 Oct 1962 d	Senegal	2 May 1963 d
côte d'Ivoire	8 Dec 1961 d	Solomon Islands	3 Sep 1981 d
Fiji	12 Jun 1972 d	Suriname	12 Oct 1979 d
German Democratic Republic?		Togo	27 Feb 1962 d
Ghana	3 May 1963 d		

NOTES

- 1/ Registered No. 1414, League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 60, p. 253.
- 2/ This accession, given subject to reservation, has been communicated to the signatory States for acceptance.
- 3/ See note 3 in part II 2 of the League of Nations Treaties.
- 4/ See note concerning signatures, ratifications, accessions, etc., on behalf of China (note 2 in chapter I 1).
- 5/ See League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 130 p. 444.
- 6/ The Government of Albania deposited on 2 July 1957 the instrument of accession to the Convention as amended by the Protocol of 7 December 1953 (see chapter XVIII 2).
- 7/ In a notification received on 16 July 1974 the Government of the German Democratic Republic stated that the German Democratic Republic had declared the reapplication of the Convention as of 22 December 1958.

In this connexion, the Secretary-General received, on 2 March 1976, the following communication from the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany:

With reference to the communication by the German Democratic Republic of 17 June 1974, concerning the application, as from 22 December 1958, of the Slavery Convention of 25 September, 1926, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany declares that in the relation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic the declaration of application has no retroactive effect beyond 21 June 1973.

Subsequently, in a communication received on 17 June 1976, the Government of the German Democratic Republic declared:

"The Government of the German Democratic Republic takes the view that in accordance with the applicable rules of international law and the international practice of States the regulations on the reapplication of agreements concluded under international law are an internal affair of the successor State concerned. Accordingly, the German Democratic Republic was entitled to determine the date of reapplication of the Slavery Convention, September 25th, 1926 to which it established its status as a party by way of succession."

8/ By virtue of its acceptance of the Protocol of amendment on 7 December 1953

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN WOMEN OF FULL AGE

Geneva, October 11th, 1933¹

IN FORCE since August 24th, 1934 (Article 8).

Ratifications or definitive accessions

Afghanistan (April 10th, 1935 a)
Australia (September 2nd, 1936)
(Including Papua and Norfolk Island and the man-
dated territories of New Guinea and Nauru)
Austria (August 7th, 1936)
Union of South Africa (November 20th, 1935)
Belgium (June 11th, 1936)
With reservation as regards Article 10
Brazil (June 24th, 1938 a)
Bulgaria (December 19th, 1936)
Chile (March 24th, 1935)
Cuba (June 25th, 1936 a)
Czechoslovakia (July 27th, 1935)
Finland (December 21st, 1936 a)
Greece (August 20th, 1937)
Hungary (August 12th, 1935)

Ratifications or definitive accessions

Iran (April 12th, 1935 a)
Ireland (May 25th, 1938 a)
Latvia (September 17th, 1935)
Mexico (May 3rd, 1938 a)
The Netherlands (including the Netherlands Indies,
Surinam and Curacao (September 20th, 1935)
Nicaragua (December 12th, 1935 a)
Norway (June 26th, 1935 a)
Poland (December 6th, 1937)
Portugal (January 7th, 1937)
Romania (June 6th, 1935 a)
Sudan (June 13th, 1934 a)
Sweden (June 25th, 1934)
Switzerland (July 17th, 1934)
Turkey (March 19th, 1941 a)

Signatures not yet perfected by ratification

Albania
Great Britain and Northern Ireland and all parts
of the British Empire which are not separate
members of the League of Nations
China
Germany
Lithuania
Monaco
Panama
Spain
Yugoslavia

Actions subsequent to the assumption of depositary functions by the
Secretary-General of the United Nations

Participant	Ratification, accession (a), succession (d)	Participant	Ratification, accession (a), succession (d)
Benin	4 Apr 1962 d	France	8 Jan 1947
Byelorussian SSR	21 May 1948 a	Niger	25 Aug 1961 d
Cameroon	27 Oct 1961 d	Senegal	2 May 1961 d
Central African Republic	4 Sep 1962 d	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	10 Dec 1947 a
Congo	15 Oct 1962 d		
Côte d'Ivoire	8 Dec 1961 d		

NOTES: 1/ Registered under No. 3476. See League of Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 150, p. 431

(a) CONVENTION FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE TRAFFIC IN PERSONS AND OF THE EXPLOITATION OF THE PROSTITUTION OF OTHERS

Opened for signature at Lake Success, New York, on 21 March 1950

ENTRY INTO FORCE: 25 July 1951, in accordance with article 24

Note: The Convention was approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations in resolution 317 (IV) of 2 December 1949

Participant	Signature	Ratification, accession (a)	Participant	Signature	Ratification, accession (a)
Afghanistan		21 May 1985 a	Japan		1 May 1958 a
Albania		6 Nov 1958 a	Jordan		13 Apr 1976 a
Algeria		31 Oct 1963 a	Kuwait		20 Nov 1968 a
Argentina		15 Nov 1957 a	Lao People's Democratic Republic		
Bangladesh		11 Jan 1985 a	Liberia	21 Mar 1950	14 Apr 1978 a
Belgium		22 Jun 1965 a	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya		3 Dec 1956 a
Bolivia		6 Oct 1983 a	Luxembourg	9 Oct 1950	5 Oct 1983
Brazil	5 Oct 1951	12 Sep 1958 a	Malawi		13 Oct 1965 a
Bulgaria		18 Jan 1955 a	Mali		23 Dec 1964 a
Burkina Faso		27 Aug 1962 a	Mauritania		6 Jun 1986 a
Byelorussian SSR		24 Aug 1956 a	Mexico		21 Feb 1956 a
Cameroon		19 Feb 1982 a	Morocco		17 Aug 1973 a
Central African Republic		29 Sep 1981 a	Myanmar	14 Mar 1956	
Congo		25 Aug 1977 a	Niger		10 Jun 1977 a
Cuba		4 Sep 1952 a	Norway		23 Jan 1952 a
Cyprus		5 Oct 1983 a	Pakistan		11 Jul 1952
Czechoslovakia		14 Mar 1958 a	Philippines	21 Mar 1950	19 Sep 1952
Denmark	12 Feb 1951	21 Mar 1979 a	Poland	20 Dec 1950	2 Jun 1952 a
Dominica		3 Apr 1979	Republic of Korea		13 Feb 1962 a
Ecuador	24 Mar 1950	12 Jun 1959 a	Romania		15 Feb 1955 a
Egypt		10 Sep 1981 a	Senegal		19 Jul 1979 a
Ethiopia		8 Jun 1972	Singapore		26 Oct 1966 a
Finland	27 Feb 1953	19 Nov 1960 a	South Africa	16 Oct 1950	10 Oct 1951
France			Spain		18 Jun 1962 a
German Democratic Republic			Sri Lanka		15 Apr 1958 a
Guinea		16 Jul 1974 a	Syrian Arab Republic		12 Jun 1959 a ²
Haiti		26 Apr 1962 a	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics		15 Nov 1954 a
Honduras	13 Apr 1954	26 Aug 1953 a	Venezuela		11 Aug 1954 a
Hungary		29 Sep 1955 a	Yemen	6 Feb 1951	18 Dec 1968 a
India	9 May 1950	9 Jan 1953	Yugoslavia		6 Apr 1989 a
Iran (Islamic Republic of)	16 Jul 1953	22 Sep 1955 a			26 Apr 1951
Iraq		28 Dec 1950 a			
Israel		18 Jan 1980 a			
Italy					

NOTES 1/ Official Records of the General Assembly, Fourth Session, Resolutions (A/125 and Corr 1 and 2), p. 33

2/ Accession by the United Arab Republic

**SUPPLEMENTARY CONVENTION ON THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, THE SLAVE TRADE, AND INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES
SIMILAR TO SLAVERY**

Done at the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva on 7 September 1956

ENTRY INTO FORCE: 30 April 1957, in accordance with article 13.
REGISTRATION: 30 April 1957, No 3822
TEXT: United Nations, Treaty Series, vol 266, p. 3.

Note: The Convention was adopted by the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on a Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery. The Conference was convened pursuant to resolution 608 (XVI) of 30 April 1956 of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, and met at the European Office of the United Nations in Geneva from 13 August to 4 September 1956. In addition to the Convention, the Conference adopted the final Act and two resolutions for the texts of which, see United Nations, Treaty Series, vol 226, p. 3.

Participant	Signature	Accession (a), Succession (d)	Participant	Signature	Accession (a), Succession (d)
Afghanistan		16 Nov 1966 a	Ecuador		29 Mar 1960 a
Antigua and Barbuda			Egypt		17 Apr 1958 a
Albania		25 Oct 1968 d	El Salvador	7 Sep 1956	
Algeria		6 Nov 1958 a	Ethiopia		21 Jan 1969 a
Argentina		31 Oct 1963 a	Fiji		12 Jun 1972 d
Australia	7 Sep 1956	13 Aug 1964 a	Finland		1 Apr 1959 a
Austria		6 Jan 1958	France	7 Sep 1956	26 May 1964
Bahamas		7 Oct 1963 a	German Democratic Republic		16 Jul 1974 a
Bangladesh		10 Jun 1976 d	Germany, Federal Republic of	7 Sep 1956	14 Jan 1959
Barbados		5 Feb 1985 a	Ghana		3 May 1963 a
Belgium	7 Sep 1956	9 Aug 1972 d	Greece	7 Sep 1956	13 Dec 1972
Bolivia		13 Dec 1962	Guatemala	7 Sep 1956	11 Nov 1983
Brazil		6 Oct 1983 a	Guinea		14 Mar 1977 a
Bulgaria	26 Jun 1957	6 Jan 1966 a	Haiti	7 Sep 1956	12 Feb 1958
Byelorussian SSR	7 Sep 1956	21 Aug 1958	Hungary	7 Sep 1956	26 Feb 1958
Cameroon		5 Jun 1957	Iceland		17 Nov 1965 a
Canada	7 Sep 1956	27 Jun 1984 a	India	7 Sep 1956	23 Jun 1960
Central African Republic		10 Jan 1963	Iran (Islamic Republic of)		30 Dec 1959 a
China		30 Dec 1970 a	Iraq	7 Sep 1956	30 Sep 1963
Congo		25 Aug 1977 a	Ireland		18 Sep 1961 a
Cote d'Ivoire		10 Dec 1970 a	Israel	7 Sep 1956	23 Oct 1957
Cuba	10 Jan 1957	21 Aug 1963	Italy	7 Sep 1956	12 Feb 1958
Cyprus		11 May 1962 d	Jamaica		30 Jul 1964 d
Czechoslovakia	7 Sep 1956	13 Jun 1958	Jordan		27 Sep 1957 a
Democratic Kampuchea			Kuwait		18 Jan 1963 a
Denmark	27 Jun 1957	12 Jun 1957 a	Laos People's Democratic Republic		9 Sep 1957 a
Djibouti		24 Apr 1958	Lesotho		4 Nov 1974 d
Dominican Republic		21 Mar 1979 a			
		31 Oct 1962 a			

Participant	Signature	Ratification, accession (a), succession (d)
Liberia	7 Sep 1956	
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya		16 May 1989 a
Luxembourg	7 Sep 1956	1 May 1967
Madagascar		29 Feb 1972 a
Malawi		2 Aug 1965
Malaysia		18 Nov 1957 a
Mali		2 Feb 1973 a
Malta		3 Jan 1966 d
Mauritania		6 Jan 1986 a
Mauritius		18 Jul 1989 d
Mexico	7 Sep 1956	30 Jun 1959
Mongolia		20 Dec 1968 a
Morocco		11 May 1959 a
Nepal		7 Jan 1963
Netherlands	7 Sep 1956	3 Dec 1957
New Zealand		26 Apr 1962 a
Nicaragua		14 Jan 1986 a
Niger		22 Jul 1963 a
Nigeria		26 Jun 1961 d
Norway	7 Sep 1956	3 May 1960
Pakistan	7 Sep 1956	20 Mar 1958
Peru	7 Sep 1956	
Philippines		17 Nov 1964 a
Poland	7 Sep 1956	10 Jan 1963
Portugal	7 Sep 1956	10 Aug 1959
[Republic of South Viet Nam] 4		
Romania	7 Sep 1956	13 Nov 1957
San Marino	7 Sep 1956	29 Aug 1967

Participant	Signature	Ratification, accession (a), succession (d)
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines		9 Nov 1981 a
Saudi Arabia		5 Jul 1973 a
Senegal		19 Jul 1979 a
Sierra Leone		13 Mar 1962 d
Singapore		28 Mar 1972 d
Solomon Islands		3 Sep 1981 d
Spain		21 Nov 1967 a
Sri Lanka	5 Jun 1957	21 Mar 1958
Sudan	7 Sep 1956	
Suriname		9 Sep 1957
Sweden		12 Oct 1979 d
Switzerland		28 Oct 1959 a
Syrian Arab Republics		28 Jul 1964 a
Togo		17 Apr 1958 a
Trinidad and Tobago		8 Jul 1980 a
Tunisia		11 Apr 1966 d
Turkey	28 Jun 1957	15 Jul 1966 a
Uganda		17 Jul 1964
Ukrainian SSR	7 Sep 1956	12 Aug 1964 a
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics		3 Dec 1958
United Kingdom	7 Sep 1956	12 Apr 1957
United Republic of Tanzania	7 Sep 1956	30 Apr 1957
United States of America		28 Nov 1962 a
Yugoslavia		6 Dec 1967 a
Zaire	7 Sep 1956	20 May 1958
Zambia		28 Feb 1975 a
		26 Mar 1973 d

Territorial Application

Participant	Date of receipt of the notification	Territories
Australia	6 Jan 1958	All the non-self governing, trust and other non-metropolitan territories for the international relations of which Australia is responsible
France	26 May 1964	All the territories of the Republic (Metropolitan France, overseas departments and territories)
Italy	12 Feb 1958	Somaliand under Italian Administration
Netherlands	3 Dec 1957	Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles and Netherlands New Guinea
New Zealand	26 Apr 1962 a	the Cook Islands (including Niue) and the Tokelau Islands
United Kingdom	30 Apr 1957	the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man
United States of America	6 Dec 1967 a	All territories for the international relations of which the United States of America is responsible

Territorial applications under paragraph 2 of article 12 of the Convention

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Date of receipt of of notification</u>	<u>Territories:</u>
United Kingdom	6 Sep 1957	<p>Aden, Bahamas, Barbados, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Bermuda, British Guiana, British Honduras, Brunei, Cyprus, Falkland Islands⁶, Fiji, Gambia, Gibraltar, Hong Kong, Jamaica, Kenya, Antigua, Montserrat, St Kitts-Nevis, Virgin Islands, Malia, Mauritius, North Borneo, St Helena, Sarawak, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Somaliland Protectorate, Swaziland, Tanganyika, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, Solomon Islands Protectorate, Grenada, St Lucia, St Vincent, Zanzibar, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland⁷, Bahrain, Qatar, The Trucial States (Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Dubai, Fujairah, Ras al Khaimah, Sharjah and Umm al-Qaiwain)</p> <p>Dominica and Tonga</p> <p>Kuwait</p> <p>Uganda</p> <p>Trinidad and Tobago</p> <p>The Federation of Nigeria</p>
	18 Oct 1957	
	21 Oct 1957	
	30 Oct 1957	
	14 Nov 1957	
	1 Jul 1957	

NOTES:

1/ Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Twenty-first Session, Supplement No 1 (E/2089), p 7

2/ Signed and ratified on behalf of the Republic of China on 23 May 1957 and 28 May 1959 respectively. See note concerning signatures, ratifications, accessions, etc on behalf of China (note 2 in chapter I 1)

With reference to the above mentioned ratification, communications have been addressed to the Secretary General by the Permanent Missions to the United Nations of Hungary, Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the one hand, and of China on the other hand, for the nature of these communications, see note 2 in chapter VI.14.

3/ A note accompanying the instrument of ratification contains a statement that "the Supplementary Convention . . . also applies to Land Berlin as from the date on which the Convention enters into force in the Federal Republic of Germany".

5/ Accession by the United Arab Republic. See note 3 in chapter I 1.

6/ On 3 October 1983, the Secretary General received from the Government of Argentina the following objection:

[The Government of Argentina makes a formal objection to the [declaration] of territorial extension issued by the United Kingdom with regard to the Malvinas Islands (and dependencies), which that country is illegally occupying and refers to as the "Falkland Islands".

The Argentine Republic rejects and considers null and void the [said declaration] of territorial extension.

With reference to the above mentioned objection, the Secretary General received, on 28 February 1985, from the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland the following declaration:

For the text of the declaration, see note 10 in chapter III.11.]

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 18 December 1979

ENTRY INTO FORCE
NOTIFICATION
TEXT

3 September 1981, in accordance with article 27(1).
3 September 1981, No. 20178
6/RES/34/180 L

Note: The Convention was opened for signature at the United Nations Headquarters on 1 March 1980.

Participant	Signature	Ratification, accession (a)	Participant	Signature	Ratification, accession (a)
Albania ¹	14 Aug 1980	17 Sep 1986 a	Equatorial Guinea	8 Jul 1980	23 Oct 1984 a
Angola		1 Aug 1989 a	Ethiopia	17 Jul 1980	10 Sep 1981
Antigua and Barbuda	17 Jul 1980	15 Jul 1985	Finland		4 Sep 1986
Australia	17 Jul 1980	28 Jul 1983	France	17 Jul 1980	14 Dec 1983
Austria	17 Jul 1980	31 Mar 1982	Gabon	17 Jul 1980	21 Jan 1983
Bangladesh		6 Nov 1984 a	German Democratic Republic	29 Jul 1980	
Barbados	24 Jul 1980	16 Oct 1980	Germany, Federal Republic of	24 Jun 1980	9 Jul 1980
Belgium	17 Jul 1980	10 Jul 1985	Ghana	17 Jul 1980	10 Jul 1985 ³
Benin	11 Nov 1981	11 Aug 1981	Greece	2 Mar 1982	2 Jan 1986
Bolivia	30 May 1980	11 Aug 1981	Greenland	17 Jul 1980	7 Jun 1983
Brazil	31 Mar 1981	1 Feb 1984	Guatemala	8 Jun 1981	12 Aug 1982
Bulgaria	17 Jul 1980	8 Feb 1982	Guinea	17 Jul 1980 ⁴	9 Aug 1982
Burkina Faso		14 Oct 1987 a	Guinea-Bissau	17 Jul 1980	23 Aug 1985
Burundi	17 Jul 1980	4 Feb 1981	Guyana	17 Jul 1980	17 Jul 1980
Byelorussian SSR	17 Jul 1980		Haiti	17 Jul 1980	20 Jul 1981
Cameroon	6 Jun 1983	10 Dec 1981	Honduras	11 Jun 1980	3 Mar 1983
Canada	17 Jul 1980	5 Dec 1980 a	Hungary	6 Jun 1980	22 Dec 1980
Cape Verde	17 Jul 1980	7 Dec 1989	Ireland	24 Jul 1980	18 Jun 1985
Chile	17 Jul 1980	4 Nov 1980	India	30 Jul 1980	13 Sep 1984
China	17 Jul 1980	19 Jan 1982	Indonesia	29 Jul 1980	13 Aug 1986 a
Congo	29 Jul 1980	26 Jul 1982	Iraq		24 Dec 1985 a
Costa Rica	17 Jul 1980	4 Apr 1986	Ireland		
Côte d'Ivoire	17 Jul 1980	17 Jul 1980	Israel	17 Jul 1980	10 Jun 1985
Cuba	6 Mar 1980	24 Jul 1985 a	Italy	17 Jul 1980	19 Oct 1984
Cyprus		16 Feb 1982	Jamaica	17 Jul 1980	25 Jun 1985
Czechoslovakia	17 Jul 1980		Japan	3 Dec 1980	
Democratic Kampuchea ²	17 Oct 1980	30 May 1984 a	Jordan		9 Mar 1984 a
Democratic Yemen	17 Jul 1980	21 Apr 1983	Kenya		
Denmark	15 Sep 1980	15 Sep 1980	Laos People's Democratic Republic	17 Jul 1980	14 Aug 1981
Dominica			Lesotho	17 Jul 1980	
Dominican Republic	17 Jul 1980	2 Sep 1982	Liberia		17 Jul 1984 a
Ecuador	17 Jul 1980	9 Nov 1981	Libyan Arab Jamahiriya		16 Mar 1984 a
Egypt	16 Jul 1980	18 Sep 1981	Luxembourg	17 Jul 1980	2 Feb 1989
El Salvador	14 Nov 1980	19 Aug 1981			

Participant	Signature	Ratification, accession (a)	Participant	Signature	Ratification, accession (a)
Madagascar	17 Jul 1980	17 Mar 1989	Sri Lanka	17 Jul 1980	5 Oct 1981
Malawi		12 Mar 1987 ^a	Sweden	7 Mar 1980	2 Jul 1980
Mali	5 Feb 1989	10 Sep 1985	Switzerland	23 Jan 1987	
Mauritius		9 Jul 1986 ^a	Thailand		9 Aug 1985 ^a
Mexico	17 Jul 1980	23 Mar 1981	Togo		26 Sep 1981 ^a
Mongolia	17 Jul 1980	20 Jul 1981	Trinidad and Tobago	27 Jun 1985	
Netherlands	17 Jul 1980		Turkey	24 Jul 1980	20 Sep 1985
New Zealand	17 Jul 1980	10 Jan 1985 ^b	Uganda	10 Jul 1980	20 Dec 1985 ^a
Nicaragua	17 Jul 1980	27 Oct 1981	Union of Soviet Republics	17 Jul 1980	22 Jul 1981
Nigeria	23 Apr 1984	13 Jun 1985	United Kingdom	22 Jul 1981	7 Apr 1986 ^b
Norway	17 Jul 1980	21 May 1981	United Republic of Tanzania	17 Jul 1980	20 Aug 1985
Panama	26 Jun 1980	29 Oct 1981	United States of America	17 Jul 1980	
Paraguay		6 Apr 1987 ^a	Uruguay	10 Mar 1981	9 Oct 1981
Peru	23 Jul 1981	13 Sep 1982	Venezuela	17 Jul 1980	2 May 1983
Philippines	15 Jul 1980	5 Aug 1981	Yemen	29 Jul 1980	17 Feb 1982
Poland	29 May 1980	30 Jul 1980	Yugoslavia	17 Jul 1980	26 Feb 1982
Portugal	24 Apr 1980	30 Jul 1980	Zaire	17 Jul 1980	17 Oct 1986
Republic of Korea	25 May 1983	27 Dec 1984	Zambia	17 Jul 1980	21 Jun 1985
Romania	4 Sep 1980	7 Jan 1982			
Rwanda	1 May 1980	2 Mar 1981			
Saint Kitts and Nevis		25 Apr 1985 ^a			
Saint-Lucia		8 Oct 1982 ^a			
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines		4 Aug 1981 ^a			
Senegal	27 Jul 1980	5 Feb 1985			
Sierra Leone	21 Sep 1988	11 Nov 1988			
Spain	17 Jul 1980	5 Jan 1984			

NOTES:

1/ Official Records of the General Assembly of the United Nations, thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 46 (A/34/46), p. 193

2/ The Secretary General received several objections to the signature of the above convention by Democratic Kampuchea; these objections are identical in matter, mutatis mutandis, as those reproduced in note 1 in chapter IV 3. Following is the list of States who have notified their objection with the date of receipt of the notifications:

Participant	Date of receipt
German Democratic Republic	11 Dec 1980
Hungary	19 Jan 1981
Bulgaria	29 Jan 1981
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	13 Feb 1981

Byelorussian Soviet
Socialist Republic

18 Feb 1981
10 Mar 1981

3/ In a note accompanying the instrument, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany declared that the Convention shall also apply to Berlin (West) with effect from the date on which it enters into force for the Federal Republic of Germany.

In this regard, the Secretary General received on 15 April 1986 from the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the following objection:

The declaration made by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany upon ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, adopted on 18 December 1979, regarding the extension of

the said Convention to West Berlin directly contradicts the Quadrupartite Agreement of 3 September 1971. This Agreement, as is known, clearly established that international agreements entered into by the Federal Republic of Germany may be extended to West Berlin only provided that such agreements do not affect matters of security and status the said Convention, by virtue of its content, directly affects such matters.

In particular, it governs matters relating to the adoption of legislation, including amendments to national constitutions, by States parties, to their use of sanctions or other coercive measures, and to the provision by means of the competent national courts or other State institutions of effective legal protection for citizens.

The rights and duties referred to in the Convention are a manifestation of State sovereignty. Such rights and duties cannot be exercised by a State in a territory which does not fall within its jurisdiction.

In view of the foregoing, the Soviet Union considers the declaration made by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany regarding the extension of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women to West Berlin to be unlawful and not legally valid.

Accordingly, the declaration and reservation made by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany upon ratification are unlawful and not legally valid with respect to West Berlin.

Subsequently, the Secretary General received on 20 March 1987, from the Government of France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America the following communication:

"In a communication to the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is an integral part (Annex IV A) of the Quadrupartite Agreement of 3 September 1971, the Government of France, the United Kingdom and the United States, without prejudice to the maintenance of their rights and responsibilities relating to the representation abroad of the interests of the western sectors of Berlin, confirmed that, provided that matters of security and status are not affected and provided that the extension is specified in each

case, international agreements and arrangements entered into by the Federal Republic of Germany may be extended to the western sectors of Berlin in accordance with established procedures of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in a communication to the Governments of the three powers which is similarly an integral part (Annex IV B) of the Quadrupartite Agreement, affirmed that it would raise no objections to such extension.

The established procedures referred to above, which were endorsed in the quadrupartite agreement are designed inter alia to afford the authorities of the three powers the opportunity to ensure that international agreements and arrangements entered into by the Federal Republic of Germany which are to be extended to the Western sectors of Berlin are extended in such a way that matters of security and status are not affected.

When authorizing the extension of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women to the Western sectors of Berlin, the authorities of the three powers took such steps as were necessary to ensure that matters of security and status were not affected. Accordingly, the Berlin declaration made by the Federal Republic of Germany in accordance with established procedures is valid and the Convention will apply to the Western sectors of Berlin, subject to allied rights and responsibilities."

Subsequently, the Secretary General received on 22 April 1987, from the Government of the German Democratic Republic the following objection:

With regard to the application to Berlin (West) of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women the German Democratic Republic notes, in accordance with the Quadrupartite Agreement of 3 September 1971, that Berlin (West) is not a constituent part of the Federal Republic of Germany and is not to be governed by it. The Federal Republic of Germany's declaration that the said Convention was to be extended to Berlin (West) is contradictory to the Quadrupartite Agreement which provides that agreements concerning matters of the security and status of Berlin (West) must not be extended to the latter by the Federal Republic of Germany. Consequently, the Federal Republic of Germany's declaration can have no legal effect.

4/ An instrument of accession had been deposited on 16 March 1980 with the Secretary-General. The signature was affixed on 17 July 1980 and was accompanied by the following declaration:

"The People's Revolutionary Republic of Guinea wishes to sign the Convention with the understanding that this procedure annuls the procedure of accession previously followed by Guinea with respect to the Convention."

5/ The instrument of ratification indicates that in accordance with the special relationships which exist between New Zealand and the Cook Islands and between New Zealand and Niue, there have been consultations regarding the Convention between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of the Cook Islands and between the Government of New Zealand and the Government of Niue; that the Government of the Cook Islands, which has exclusive competence to implement treaties in the Cook Islands, has requested that the Convention should extend to the Cook Islands; that the Government of Niue which has exclusive competence to implement treaties in Niue, has requested that the Convention should extend to Niue. The said instrument specifies that accordingly the Convention shall apply also to the Cook Islands and Niue.

6/ The instrument of ratification specifies that the said Convention is ratified in respect of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Isle of Man, British Virgin Islands, Falkland Islands, South Georgia and the South Sandwich Islands, and Turks and Caicos Islands.

In this connection, on 4 April 1989, the Secretary-General received from the Government of Argentina an objection, identical in essence, *mutatis mutandis*, as the one made in this regard in note 8 of chapter IV 3, however also referring to General Assembly resolutions 41/40, 42/19 and 43/25.

Subsequently, on 27 November 1989, the Secretary-General received from the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland a communication, identical in essence, *mutatis mutandis*, as the one made in this regard in note 8 of chapter IV 3.

APPENDIX 4

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Preamble

Whereas 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,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore,

The General Assembly

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of so-

ciety, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction

Article 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood

Article 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty

Article 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person

Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms

Article 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law

Article 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination

Article 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law

Article 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile

Article 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him

Article 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed

Article 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks

Article 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country

Article 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations

Article 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality

Article 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses

- 3 The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State
- Article 17**
- 1 Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others
 - 2 No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property
- Article 18**
- Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance
- Article 19**
- Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers
- Article 20**
- 1 Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association
 - 2 No one may be compelled to belong to an association
- Article 21**
- 1 Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives
 - 2 Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country
 - 3 The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures
- Article 22**
- Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality
- Article 23**
- 1 Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment
 - 2 Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work
 - 3 Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection
 - 4 Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests
- Article 24**
- Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay
- Article 25**
- 1 Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control
 - 2 Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection
- Article 26**
- 1 Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit
 - 2 Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace
 - 3 Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children
- Article 27**
- 1 Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits
 - 2 Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author
- Article 28**
- Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized
- Article 29**
- 1 Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible
 - 2 In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society
- Article 30**
- Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein

Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others (1949)

PREAMBLE

Whereas prostitution and the accompanying evil of the traffic in persons for the purpose of prostitution are incompatible with the dignity and worth of the human person and endanger the welfare of the individual, the family and the community;

Whereas, with respect to the suppression of the traffic in women and children, the following international instruments are in force:

1. International Agreement of 18 May 1904 for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, as amended by the Protocol approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 3 December 1948;

2. International Convention of 4 May 1910 for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, as amended by the above mentioned Protocol;

3. International Convention of 30 September 1921 for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children, as amended by the Protocol approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 20 October 1947;

4. International Convention of 11 October 1933 for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, as amended by the aforesaid Protocol;

Whereas the League of Nations in 1937 prepared a draft Convention extending the scope of the above mentioned instruments, and

Whereas developments since 1937 make feasible the conclusion of a convention consolidating the above mentioned instruments and embodying the substance of the 1937 draft Convention as well as desirable alterations therein

Now therefore

The Contracting Parties

Herby agree as hereinafter provided

Article 6

Each Party to the present Convention agrees to take all the necessary measures to repeal or abolish any existing law, regulation or administrative provision by virtue of which persons who engage in or are suspected of engaging in prostitution are subject either to special registration or to the possession of a special document or to any exceptional requirements for supervision or notification

Article 7

Previous convictions pronounced in foreign States for offences referred to in the present Convention shall, to the extent permitted by domestic law, be taken into account for the purpose of:

1. Establishing recidivism;
2. Disqualifying the offender from the exercise of civil rights

Article 8

The offences referred to in articles 1 and 2 of the present Convention shall be regarded as extraditable offences in any extradition treaty which has been or may hereafter be concluded between any of the Parties to this Convention.

The Parties to the present Convention which do not make extradition conditional on the existence of a treaty shall henceforward recognize the offences referred to in articles 1 and 2 of the present Convention as cases for extradition between themselves.

Extradition shall be granted in accordance with the law of the State to which the request is made.

Article 9

In States where the extradition of nationals is not permitted by law, nationals who have returned to their own State after the commission abroad of any of the offences referred to in articles 1 and 2 of the present Convention shall be prosecuted in and punished by the

Article 1

The Parties to the present Convention agree to punish any person who, to gratify the passions of another:

1. Procures, entices or leads away, for purposes of prostitution, another person, even with the consent of that person;
2. Exploits the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person

Article 2

The Parties to the present Convention further agree to punish any person who:

1. Keeps or manages, or knowingly finances or takes part in the financing of a brothel;
2. Knowingly lets or rents a building or other place or any part thereof for the purpose of the prostitution of others

Article 3

To the extent permitted by domestic law, attempts to commit any of the offences referred to in articles 1 and 2, and acts preparatory to the commission thereof, shall also be punished

Article 4

To the extent permitted by domestic law, intentional participation in the acts referred to in articles 1 and 2 above shall also be punishable.

To the extent permitted by domestic law, acts of participation shall be treated as separate offences whenever this is necessary to prevent impunity.

Article 5

In cases where injured persons are entitled under domestic law to be parties to proceedings in respect of any of the offences referred to in the present Convention, aliens shall be so entitled upon the same terms as nationals

courts of their own State

This provision shall not apply if, in a similar case between the Parties to the present Convention, the extradition of an alien cannot be granted

Article 10

The provisions of article 9 shall not apply when the person charged with the offence has been tried in a foreign State and, if convicted, has served his sentence or had it remitted or reduced in conformity with the laws of that foreign State

Article 11

Nothing in the present Convention shall be interpreted as determining the attitude of a Party towards the general question of the limits of criminal jurisdiction under international law

Article 12

The present Convention does not affect the principle that the offences to which it refers shall in each State be defined, prosecuted and punished in conformity with its domestic law

Article 20

The Parties to the present Convention shall, if they have not already done so, take the necessary measures for the supervision of employment agencies in order to prevent persons seeking employment, in particular women and children, from being exposed to the danger of prostitution

Article 21

The Parties to the present Convention shall communicate to the Secretary General of the United Nations

such laws and regulations as have already been promulgated in their States, and thereafter annually such laws and regulations as may be promulgated, relating to the subjects of the present Convention, as well as all measures taken by them concerning the application of the Convention. The information received shall be published periodically by the Secretary General and sent to all Members of the United Nations and to non-member States to which the present Convention is officially communicated in accordance with article 23

Article 22

If any dispute shall arise between the Parties to the present Convention relating to its interpretation or application and if such dispute cannot be settled by other means, the dispute shall, at the request of any one of the Parties to the dispute, be referred to the International Court of Justice

Article 23

The present Convention shall be open for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and also on behalf of any other State to which an invitation has been addressed by the Economic and Social Council

The present Convention shall be ratified and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the United Nations

The States mentioned in the first paragraph which have not signed the Convention may accede to it

Accession shall be effected by deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary General of the United Nations

For the purposes of the present Convention the word "State" shall include all the colonies and Trust Territories

Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery 1956

PREAMBLE

The States Parties to the present Convention,
Considering that freedom is the birthright of every human being

Mindful that the peoples of the United Nations are affirmed in the Charter their faith in the dignity and worth of the human person,

Considering that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, states that no one shall be held in slavery or servitude and that slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms,

Recognizing that, since the conclusion of the Slavery Convention signed at Geneva on 25 September 1926, which was designed to secure the abolition of slavery and of the slave trade, further progress has been made towards this end,

Having regard to the Forced Labour Convention of 1940 and to subsequent action by the International Labour Organisation in regard to forced or compulsory labour,

Being aware, however, that slavery, the slave trade and institutions and practices similar to slavery have not yet been eliminated in all parts of the world,

Having decided, therefore, that the Convention of 1926, which remains operative, should now be augmented by the conclusion of a supplementary convention designed to intensify national as well as international efforts towards the abolition of slavery, the slave trade and institutions and practices similar to slavery,

Have agreed as follows

SECTION I

INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES SIMILAR TO SLAVERY

Article 1

Each of the States Parties to this Convention shall take all practicable and necessary legislative and other measures to bring about progressively and as soon as possible the complete abolition or abandonment of the

following institutions and practices, where they still exist and whether or not they are covered by the definition of slavery contained in article 1 of the Slavery Convention signed at Geneva on 25 September 1926

(a) Debt bondage, that is to say, the status or condition arising from a pledge by a debtor of his personal services or of those of a person under his control as security for a debt, if the value of those services as reasonably assessed is not applied towards the liquidation of the debt or the length and nature of those services are not respectively limited and defined,

(b) Serfdom, that is to say, the condition or status of a tenant who is by law, custom or agreement bound to live and labour on land belonging to another person and to render some determinate service to such other person, whether for reward or not, and is not free to change his status,

(c) Any institution or practice whereby

(i) A woman, without the right to refuse, is procured or given in marriage on payment of a consideration in money or in kind to her parents, guardian, family or any other person or group, or

(ii) The husband of a woman, his family, or his clan, has the right to transfer her to another person for a value received or otherwise, or

(iii) A woman on the death of her husband is liable to be inherited by another person,

(d) Any institution or practice whereby a child or young person under the age of 18 years, is delivered by either or both of his initial parents or by his guardian to another person whether for reward or not, with a view to the exploitation of the child or young person or of his labour

Article 2

With a view to bringing to an end the institutions and practices mentioned in article 1 (c) of this Convention, the States Parties undertake to prescribe, where appropriate suitable minimum ages of marriage, to encourage the use of facilities whereby the consent of both parties to a marriage may be freely expressed in the presence of a competent civil or religious authority, and to encourage the registration of marriages

SECTION II THE SLAVE TRADE

Article 3

1 The act of conveying or attempting to convey slaves from one country to another by whatever means of transport, or of being accessory thereto, shall be a criminal offence under the laws of the States Parties to this Convention and persons convicted thereof shall be liable to very severe penalties

2 (a) The States Parties shall take all effective measures to prevent ships and aircraft authorized to fly their flags from conveying slaves and to punish persons guilty of such acts or of using national flags for that purpose

(b) The States Parties shall take all effective measures to ensure that their ports, airfields and coasts are not used for the conveyance of slaves

3 The States Parties to this Convention shall exchange information in order to ensure the practical coordination of the measures taken by them in combating the slave trade and shall inform each other of every case of the slave trade, and of every attempt to commit this criminal offence which comes to their notice

Article 4

Any slave who takes refuge on board any vessel of a State Party to this Convention shall *ipso facto* be free

SECTION III

SLAVERY AND INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES SIMILAR TO SLAVERY

Article 5

In a country where the abolition or abandonment of slavery, or of the institutions or practices mentioned in article 1 of this Convention, is not yet complete, the act of mutilating, branding or otherwise marking a slave or a person of servile status in order to indicate his status, or as a punishment, or for any other reason, or of being accessory thereto, shall be a criminal offence under the laws of the States Parties to this Convention and persons convicted thereof shall be liable to punishment

Article 6

1 The act of enslaving another person or of inducing another person to give himself or a person dependent upon him into slavery, or of attempting these acts, or being accessory thereto, or being a party to a conspiracy to accomplish any such acts, shall be a criminal offence under the laws of the States Parties to this Convention and persons convicted thereof shall be liable to punishment.

2 Subject to the provisions of the introductory paragraph of article 1 of this Convention, the provisions of paragraph 1 of the present article shall also apply to the act of inducing another person to place himself or a person dependent upon him into the servile status resulting from any of the institutions or practices mentioned in article 1, to any attempt to perform such acts, to being accessory thereto, and to being a party to a conspiracy to accomplish any such acts.

SECTION IV

DEFINITIONS

Article 7

For the purposes of the present Convention

(a) "Slavery" means, as defined in the Slavery Convention of 1926, the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised, and "slave" means a person in such condition or status,

(b) "A person of servile status" means a person in the condition or status resulting from any of the institutions or practices mentioned in article 1 of this Convention,

(c) "Slave trade" means and includes all acts involved in the capture, acquisition or disposal of a person with intent to reduce him to slavery, all acts involved in the acquisition of a slave with a view to selling or exchanging him, all acts of disposal by sale or exchange of a person acquired with a view to being sold or exchanged, and, in general, every act of trade or transport in slaves by whatever means of conveyance.

SECTION V

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN STATES PARTIES AND COMMUNICATION OF INFORMATION

Article 8

1 The States Parties to this Convention undertake to co-operate with each other and with the United Nations to

give effect to the foregoing provisions.

2 The Parties undertake to communicate to the Secretary-General of the United Nations copies of any laws, regulations and administrative measures enacted or put into effect to implement the provisions of this Convention.

3 The Secretary-General shall communicate the information received under paragraph 2 of this article to the other Parties and to the Economic and Social Council as part of the documentation for any discussion which the Council might undertake with a view to making further recommendations for the abolition of slavery, the slave trade or the institutions and practices which are the subject of this Convention.

SECTION VI

FINAL CLAUSES

Article 9

No reservations may be made to this Convention.

Article 10

Any dispute between States Parties to this Convention relating to its interpretation or application, which is not settled by negotiation, shall be referred to the International Court of Justice at the request of any one of the parties to the dispute, unless the parties concerned agree on another mode of settlement.

Article 11

1 This Convention shall be open until 1 July 1957 for signature by any State Member of the United Nations or of a specialized agency. It shall be subject to ratification by the signatory States, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall inform each signatory and acceding State.

2 After 1 July 1957 this Convention shall be open for accession by any State Member of the United Nations or of a specialized agency, or by any other State to which an invitation to accede has been addressed by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of a formal instrument with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall inform each signatory and acceding State.

Article 12

1 This Convention shall apply to all non-self gov.

ening trust, colonial and other non-metropolitan territories for the international relations of which any State Party is responsible; the Party concerned shall, subject to the provisions of paragraph 2 of this article, at the time of signature, ratification or accession declare the non-metropolitan territory or territories to which the Convention shall apply *ipso facto* as a result of such signature, ratification or accession.

2. In any case in which the previous consent of a non-metropolitan territory is required by the constitutional laws or practices of the Party or of the non-metropolitan territory, the Party concerned shall endeavour to secure the needed consent of the non-metropolitan territory within the period of twelve months from the date of signature of the Convention by the metropolitan State, and when such consent has been obtained the Party shall notify the Secretary-General. This Convention shall apply to the territory or territories named in such notification from the date of its receipt by the Secretary-General.

3. After the expiry of the twelve-month period mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the States Parties concerned shall inform the Secretary-General of the results of the consultations with those non-metropolitan territories for whose international relations they are responsible and whose consent to the application of this Convention may have been withheld.

Article 13

1 This convention shall enter into force on the date on which two States have become Parties thereto.

2 It shall thereafter enter into force with respect to each State and territory on the date of deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession of that State or notification of application to that territory.

Article 14

1. The application of this Convention shall be divided into successive periods of three years, of which the first shall begin on the date of entry into force of the Convention in accordance with paragraph 1 of article 13.

2 Any State Party may denounce this Convention by a notice addressed by that State to the Secretary-General not less than six months before the expiration of the current three-year period. The Secretary-General shall notify all other Parties of each such notice and the date of the receipt thereof.

3 Denunciations shall take effect at the expiration of the current three-year period.

4 In cases where, in accordance with the provisions of article 12, this Convention has become applicable to a non metropolitan territory of a Party, that Party may at any time thereafter, with the consent of the territory concerned, give notice to the Secretary-General of the United Nations denouncing this Convention separately in respect of that territory. The denunciation shall take effect one year after the date of the receipt of such notice by the Secretary-General, who shall notify all other Parties of such notice and the date of the receipt thereof.

Article 15

This Convention, of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations Secretariat. The Secretary-General shall prepare a certified copy thereof for communication in States Parties to this Convention, as well as to all other States Members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, being duly authorized thereto by their respective Governments, have signed this Convention on the date, appearing opposite their respective signatures.

DONE at the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, this seventh day of September one thousand nine hundred and fifty six.

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979)

The States Parties to the present Convention.

Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex,

Noting that the States Parties to the International Covenants on Human Rights have the obligation to ensure the equal right of men and women to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights

Considering the international conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Noting also the resolutions, declarations and recommendations adopted by the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Concerned, however, that despite these various instruments extensive discrimination against women continues to exist,

Recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity,

Concerned that in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs

Convinced that the establishment of the new international economic order based on equity and justice will contribute significantly towards the promotion of equality between men and women,

PART I

Article 1

For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field

Article 2

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake

(a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle,

(b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women,

(c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination,

(d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation,

(e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise,

(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women,

for to repeal all national legal provisions which constitute discrimination against women

Article 4

States Parties shall take in all fields in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, 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

Article 4

1. Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating *de facto* equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved

2. Adoption by States Parties of special measures including those measures contained in the present Convention, aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discriminatory

Article 5

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures

(a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;

(b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases

Article 6

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women

PART II

Article 7

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right

(a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;

(b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;

(c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country

Article 8

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations

Article 9

1. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband

2. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children

PART III

Article 10

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women

(a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of

diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas (this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training).

(b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;

(c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;

(d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;

(e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;

(f) The reduction of female student drop out rates and the organization of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;

(g) The same opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education;

(h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well being of families, including information and advice on family planning.

Article 11

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular

(a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;

(b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;

(c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;

(d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value,

relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications

PART IV

Article 15

1. States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law.
2. States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals.
3. States Parties agree that all contracts and all other private instruments of any kind with a legal effect which is directed at restricting the legal capacity of women shall be deemed null and void.
4. States Parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to the law relating to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile.

Article 16

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:
 - (a) The same right to enter into marriage;
 - (b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;
 - (c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;
 - (d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children, in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;
 - (e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;
 - (f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist

Article 14

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in other areas of economic and social life in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- (a) The right to family benefits;
- (b) The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit;
- (c) The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.

Article 14

1. States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present Convention to women in rural areas.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:

- (a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;
- (b) To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;
- (c) To benefit directly from social security programmes;
- (d) To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to financial literacy as well as, *inter alia*, the benefit of all community and extension services in order to increase their technical proficiency;
- (e) To organize self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self-employment;
- (f) To participate in all community activities;
- (g) To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;
- (h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in

as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work.

(c) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave.

(f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.

2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures:

(a) To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;

(b) To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;

(c) To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of child care facilities;

(d) To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.

3. Protective legislation relating to matters covered in this article shall be reviewed periodically in the light of scientific and technological knowledge and shall be revised, repealed or extended as necessary.

Article 12

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, planning free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation.

in national legislation in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount.

(c) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation.

(d) The same rights for both spouses in respect of ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration.

2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.

PART V

Article 17

1. For the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the present Convention, there shall be established a Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting, at the time of entry into force of the Convention, of eighteen and, after ratification of or accession to the Convention by the thirty-fifth State Party, of twenty-three experts of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention. The experts shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity; consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution and to the representation of the different forms of civilization as well as the principal legal systems.

2. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons nominated by States Parties. Each State Party may nominate one person from among its own nationals.

3. The initial election shall be held six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Convention. At least three months before the date of each election the Secretary General of the United Nations shall address a letter to the States Parties inviting them to submit their nominations within two months. The Secretary General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all persons thus nominated, indicating the States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties

4. Elections of the members of the Committee shall be held at a meeting of States Parties convened by the Secretary General at United Nations Headquarters. At that meeting, for which two thirds of the States Parties shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those nominees who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and voting.

5. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. However, the terms of nine of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election the names of these nine members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.

6. The election of the five additional members of the Committee shall be held in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of this article, following the thirty-fifth ratification or accession. The terms of two of the additional members elected on this occasion shall expire at the end of two years, the names of these two members having been chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.

7. For the filling of casual vacancies, the State Party whose expert has ceased to function as a member of the Committee shall appoint another expert from among its nationals, subject to the approval of the Committee.

8. The members of the Committee shall, with the approval of the General Assembly, receive emoluments from United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the Assembly may decide, having regard to the importance of the Committee's responsibilities.

9. The Secretary General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Convention.

Article 18

1. States Parties undertake to submit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for consideration by the Committee, a report on the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures which they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and on the progress made in this respect:

(a) Within one year after the entry into force for the State concerned;

(b) Thereafter at least every four years and further whenever the Committee so requests.

2. Reports may indicate factors and difficulties affecting the degree of fulfilment of obligations under the present Convention.

Article 19

1. The Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

2. The Committee shall elect its officers for a term of two years.

Article 20

1. The Committee shall normally meet for a period of not more than two weeks annually in order to consider the reports submitted in accordance with article 18 of the present Convention.

2. The meetings of the Committee shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters or at any other convenient place as determined by the Committee.

Article 21

1. The Committee shall, through the Economic and Social Council, report annually to the General Assembly of the United Nations on its activities and may make suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of reports and information received from the States Parties. Such suggestions and general recommendations shall be included in the report of the Committee together with comments, if any, from States Parties.

2. The Secretary General of the United Nations shall transmit the reports of the Committee to the Commission on the Status of Women for its information.

Article 22

The specialized agencies shall be entitled to be represented at the consideration of the implementation of such provisions of the present Convention as fall within the scope of their activities. The Committee may invite the specialized agencies to submit reports on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their activities.

PART VI

Article 21

Nothing in the present Convention shall affect any provisions that are more conducive to the achievement of equality between men and women which may be contained

- (a) in the legislation of a State Party, or
- (b) in any other international convention, treaty or agreement in force for that State

Article 24

States parties undertake to adopt all necessary measures at the national level aimed at achieving the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Convention

Article 25

- 1 The present Convention shall be open for signature by all States
- 2 The Secretary General of the United Nations is designated as the depositary of the present Convention
 - 3 The present Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the United Nations
 - 4 The present Convention shall be open to accession by all States. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary General of the United Nations

Article 26

- 1 A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations

- 2 The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such a request

Article 27

- 1 The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of deposit with the Secretary General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession

- 2 For each State ratifying the present Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or accession

Article 28

- 1 The Secretary General of the United Nations shall receive and circulate to all States the text of reservations made by States at the time of ratification or accession
- 2 A reservation incompatible with the object and purpose of the present Convention shall not be permitted
- 3 Reservations may be withdrawn at any time by notification to that effect addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations, who shall then inform all States thereof. Such notification shall take effect on the date on which it is received

Article 29

- 1 Any dispute between two or more States Parties concerning the interpretation or application of the present Convention which is not settled by negotiation shall, at the request of one of them, be submitted to arbitration. If within six months from the date of the request for arbitration the parties are unable to agree on the organization of the arbitration, any one of those parties may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice by request in conformity with the Statute of the Court

- 2 Each State Party may at the time of signature or ratification of the present Convention or accession thereto declare that it does not consider itself bound by paragraph 1 of this article. The other States Parties shall not be bound by that paragraph with respect to any State Party which has made such a reservation

- 3 Any State Party which has made a reservation in accordance with paragraph 2 of this article may at any time withdraw that reservation by notification to the Secretary General of the United Nations

Article 30

The present Convention, the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the United Nations

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed the present Convention

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Documents

Banerjee, S. "Child Labour in India" (Child Labour Series no.2), and "Child Labour in Thailand" (Child Labour Series no.4) for the Anti-Slavery Society.

Canada. Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women: Second Report of Canada. Ottawa: Human Rights Directorate, Department of the Secretary of State, January 1988.

Canada. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination: Eighth Report of Canada. Ottawa: Department of the Secretary of State, April 1986.

Canada. United Nations Conventions, Agreements, and Resolutions on Prostitution and Pornography. by Daniel Sansfacon. Ottawa: Department of Justice, June 1984.

Commonwealth Secretariat. Engendering Adjustment for the 1990s: Report of a Commonwealth Expert Group on Women and Structural Adjustment. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1990.

Fernand-Laurent, Jean. (Special UN Rapporteur on the suppression of the traffic in persons and the exploitation of the prostitution of others). "Activities for the Advancement of Women: Equality, Development and Peace", United Nations E/1983/7, 17 March 1983.

International Symposium on Traffic in Human Beings. Proceedings of a conference of INTERPOL. 21-23 September, 1988. St. Cloud, France.

League of Nations. International Agreement for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic, May 18th in 1904.

League of Nations. International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children September 30, 1921.

League of Nations. International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women of Full Age, 1933.

League of Nations. International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade, 1910.

League of Nations. International Slavery Convention September 25, 1926.

The Philippines. Highlights of the Philippine Development Plan for Women, 1989-1992. March 1989.

United Nations. Convention of the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction. 25 October 1980.

United Nations. General Assembly. A/C.3/44/L.44/1989. Adoption of a Convention of the Rights of the Child.

United Nations. Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others, December 2nd, 1949.

United Nations. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979.

United Nations. ECOSOC, Human Rights Questions. E/1990/33.

United Nations. ECOSOC. E/1990/33:21

United Nations. ECOSOC. E/1990/33:22

United Nations. ECOSOC. E/1990/33:23

United Nations. ECOSOC. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/20/Rev.

United Nations. ECOSOC. E/CN/Sub.2 /AC.2/1988/4/Add.1

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/6

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1982/11

United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/NGO/87/1981

United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/NGO/92/1981

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1982/6

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1983/8/Add.1

United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Preventions of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/27

United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1987/28

- United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/9
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/9/Add.1
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/19
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/33/Add.3
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/37
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/38
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Subcommittee on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1989/39
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/1/Add.1
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/4/Add.1
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/5/Add.1
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/7
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/7/Add.1
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/8
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1989/8/Add.1
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/4
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/4:1
- United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/4:5

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/5/Add.4

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/5:2

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:5

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:9

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:11

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:12

United Nations. ECOSOC, Working Group on Contemporary Forms of Slavery. E/CN.4/Sub.2/AC.2/1990/6:15

United Nations Handbook 1990. (Ministry of External Relations and Trade:Wellington, New Zealand), September 1990.

United Nations. The Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women. 1985.

United Nations. Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery, 1956.

United Nations. Universal Declarations of Human Rights, 1948.

Wanyande, Peter. "Women's groups in participatory development: Kenya's development experience through the use of Harambee." Paper presented to SID-GRIS Meeting on Participatory Grassroots Development in Africa, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, June 1986.

Lectures

De Soto, Hernando. "Informal Economy: The Other Path to Development". Inaugural Public Lecture, Institute for International Development and Co-operation, University of Ottawa, 27 October 1989.

James, Selma. "Sex, Race and Class: Counting Women's Work in the GNP." Lecture, Carleton University, 09 March 1990.

O'Neil, Maureen (Chairperson). "Implementation of the Social Dimensions of Structural Adjustment Programmes". International Colloquium: Structural Adjustment and Social Realities in Africa, University of Ottawa, Institute for International Development and Co-operation, 17 November 1989.

Renschler, Regula. "The Phenomenon Travel". Text of lecture given at the University of Bern, 18 May 1982.

Stamler, Rodney. "What Are We Doing About Crime in the Global Village?" Lecture sponsored by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and Carleton Law Association, Radisson Hotel, Ottawa, 27 February 1990.

Newspapers

Balita, August 1990. "Police are probing plight of 7 dancers" by Ruben J. Cusipag.

Daily Express, 18 March 1985. "Filipinas abroad: Overqualified but...".

The Economist, 06 January 1990, 42. "Slavery: By any other name."

The Globe and Mail, 4 December 1989, A5. "Chinese women abducted, sold as wives."

The Globe and Mail, 17 July 1990, A8. "Children demeaned in brutal trade" by Philip Smucker.

The Globe and Mail, 16 November, 1990, 17. "Mozambican refugees enslaved: Teen-agers sold by 'guides' who take them into South Africa" by Philip Van Niekerk.

The Globe and Mail, 12 June 1991. "Billions wasted on drug war, report charges." by Murray Campbell.

The New Statesman, 20 August 1982, 10-12. "Thailand: Frogmarched into Slavery" by J. Pilger.

The Ottawa Citizen, 07 May 1989. "Millions of Indian children forced to work like slaves." by C. Spencer.

The Ottawa Citizen, 18 November 1989, G5. "Domestics fight 'slavery'".

The Ottawa Citizen, 09 December 1989. "Princess punished for whipping maid."

The Ottawa Citizen, 27 January 1990. "Harassment of Western women

turns more violent in South Asia" Barbara Crossette.

The Ottawa Citizen, 27 January 1990, H10. "Northern city in Thailand no longer a quiet retreat."

The Ottawa Citizen, 23 February 1990. "War propaganda." by Richard Robertson.

The Ottawa Citizen, 15 March 1990. "Homemakers told to insist work counts." by Charles Rusnell.

The Ottawa Citizen, 17 March 1990, H5. "Tourism dubious benefit for many nations." by David Morris.

The Ottawa Citizen, 2 August 1990, A2. "Filipina mail-order brides singing wedding-bell blues" by Vernon Loeb.

The Ottawa Citizen, 17 November 1990. "'Slaves' from Mozambique reportedly sold in South Africa."

The Spectrum, 15 January 1991, 11. "Slave trading scandal takes a new turn" by Eddie Koch.

The Statesman Weekly, 20 August 1980. "Marriages not made in Heaven."

Time, 17 June 1991, 45. "Trading Flesh Around the Globe."

The Toronto Star, 28 February 1989, D1. "Mail-order bride, a slave who rebelled." by Louise Brown.

The Toronto Star, 04 March 1989. "Good news and bad for women worldwide" by Doris Anderson.

The Toronto Star, 09 March 1989, A26. "Modelling agent jailed 15 months for sexual assaults" by Gary Oakes.

The Toronto Star, 19 March 1989. "Alleged pimp boasts of many girlfriends" by Wendy Darroch.

The Toronto Star, 31 January 1990, A27. "Slain prostitute didn't like the job, murder trial told" by Bruce DeMara.

The Toronto Star, 14 February 1990. "Male tourists fuel sex exploitation in Asia" by Marlene Webber.

The Toronto Star, 27 February 1990. "Tory Cuts are Silencing Our Sisters" by Michele Landsberg.

Personal Communication

Alexander-Sinclair, Maureen (Deputy Director). Letter from The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights to the author. April 1990.

Bernier, Chantal. Letter from the Department of Justice, Canada to the author. 7 May 1990.

Boisvert, Ray. Letter from Canadian Security Intelligence Service to author. 28 March 1990.

Chiasson, Marc, Associate Producer, High Road Productions Inc. Telephone call with author. 7 August 1990.

Dawson, Mary (Associate Deputy Minister). Letter from the Department of Justice, Canada to the author. 8 March 1990.

Delisle, J.J.L. Letter from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to the author. 20 March 1990.

Delisle, J.J.L. Letter from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to the author. 28 June 1990.

Duarte, Yasmin. Personal interview at a meeting sponsored by the Department of External Affairs and the Graduate Student's Women's Issues Committee at Carleton University, Ottawa, 20 March 90.

Farrag Graff, Dr. Aida. Letter from the Association for Middle East Women's Studies to the author. 14 June 1990.

Head, Tina. Letter from the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women to the author. 19 June 1990.

Lin Lap Chew. Personal interview. 1st World Summit on Women and the Many Dimensions of Power, Montreal, June 1990.

Martin, Lise. Letter from the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women to the author. 16 May 1990.

Momsbridge, Francis. Letter from Amnesty International to author. 25 April 1990.

Rochon, Robert J. Letter from the Legal Operations Division of the Department of External Affairs, Canada. to author. Letter signed by Jason Reiskind. 19 March 1990.

Wright, Judy. Letter from the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada to the author. 21 May 1990.

SECONDARY SOURCES

"A Grisly Trade in Human Parts." Asiaweek, 07 August 1988, p.26.

Anderson, Marion. "The Impact of the Military Budget on Employment for Women", in Women and the Military System, Edited by Eva Isaksson. (Toronto:Harvester Wheatsheaf), 1988, pp. 133-141.

Ashman, C. and P.Trescott. Diplomatic Crime. (Toronto:Paper Jacks Ltd.), 1988.

Bagnell, Kenneth. The Little Immigrants: The Orphans Who Came to Canada. (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada), 1980.

Barlow, Maude and Shannon Selin. "Women and Arms Control in Canada", Issue Brief No. 8. (Ottawa: The Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament), 1987.

Barry, K. Female Sexual Slavery. (Toronto: Prentice Hall of Canada, Ltd.), 1979.

Barry, Kathleen, Charlotte Bunch and Shirley Castley, eds. International Feminism:Networking Against Female Sexual Slavery Report of the Global Feminist Workshop to Organize Against Traffic in Women, Rotterdam, the Netherlands, April 6-15, 1983. (New York: distributed by The International Women's Tribune Centre, Inc.), 1984.

Baum, Warren C. and Stokes M. Tolbert. Investing in Development: Lessons of World Bank Experience. (Toronto:Oxford University Press), 1985.

Bell, Laurie, Editor. Good Girls/Bad Girls: Sex Trade Workers and Feminists Face to Face. (Toronto:OPIRIG), 1987.

Berhane-Selassie, Tsehai. "The Impact of Industrial Development: Military Build-up and Its Effect on Women", In Women and the Military System, edited by Eva Isaksson. (Toronto:Harvester Wheatsheaf), 1988, pp.156-168.

Boulding, Elise. Women in the Twentieth Century World. (Toronto:SAGE Publications, Inc.), 1977.

Brown, Rosemary and Cynthia King. "Who pays for reducing Canada's Deficit?", MATCH News: News About Women and Development, Nov/Dec. 1989, p.1.

Brownmiller, S. Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape. (Toronto: Bantam Books), 1975.

- Campagna, Daniel S. and Donald L. Poffenberger. The Sexual Trafficking in Children: An Investigation of the Child Sex Trade. (Dover:Auburn House Publishing Company), 1988.
- Casas, Maria Isabel, Tatiana Codero and Caria Foderingham. "Project Empowerment", in Cafra News, Vol. 2, No. 3, Sept.1988.
- Chapkis, Wendy. "Sexuality and Militarism", in Women and the Military System, edited by Eva Isaksson. (Toronto: Harvester Wheatsheaf), 1988, pp.106-113.
- Clark, Lorene M. G. and Debra J. Lewis, ed. Rape: The Price of Coercive Sexuality. (Toronto: The Women's Press), 1977.
- Clifford, Mark. "Shanghaied for sex.", Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 September 1989, pp.125-126.
- Cohen, E. "Distant Rattles:Modern War in the Third World", International Security, Spring 1986, pp.143-171.
- Cohen, Erik. "Thai Girls and Farang Men: The Edge of Ambiguity", Annals of Tourism Research: Tourism and Socioeconomic Development, Asia and the Pacific, Vol. 9, No. 3, 1982, p. 403-427.
- Corbett, Gail H. Barnardo Children in Canada. (Peterborough: Woodland Publishing), 1981.
- Costigan, A. Prostitution in the Canadian Women's Movement: Rethinking Feminist Approaches to Prostitution. (Ottawa: Carleton University), 1989.
- Cross, Dr. The Lust Market. 1965.
- Deles, T.Q. and I.M. Santiago. "Connecting Research with Social Action", Paper presented at the International Women's Studies Conference, Simone de Beauvoir Institute at Concordia University, Montreal, July 1982, collected and published April 1984, pp.15-16.
- Donovan, Josephine. Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminism. (New York: The Ungar Publishing Co.,Inc.), 1985.
- Driver, Emily and Audrey Droisen editors. Child Sexual Abuse:Feminist Perspectives. (London: Macmillan Education Limited), 1989.
- Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism. Tourism, Prostitution, Development: Documentation. (Germany), 1983.

- Edgley, Charles. "Commercial Sex: Pornography, Prostitution and Advertising." in Human Sexuality: The Societal and Interpersonal Context. Ed. Kathleen McKinney and Susan Sprecher. (Norwood. N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corporation), 1989, pp.370-424.
- Eisenhart, R. Wayne "You Can't Hack It Little Girl: A Discussion of the Covert Psychological Agenda of Modern Combat Training" in Feminist Frontiers: Rethinking Sex, Gender, and Society. Ed. Laurel Richardson and Verta Taylor. (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company), 1983, pp.153-158.
- Engels, Frederick. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. (London: Lawrence and Wishart), 1940 [1884].
- Enloe, Cynthia. Bananas, Beaches & Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics. (London: Pandora), 1983.
- Enloe, Cynthia. Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives. (London: Pandora), 1988.
- "Fostering Africans." The New Internationalist, No.204, Feb.1990, p.28.
- Gigantes, Evelyn. "Building Links With Women in the Developing World", in Inter-Action, August-September, 1990, pp.1-2.
- Gilligan, C. In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 1982.
- Guenette, Louise. "Undercutting the Canadian Women's Movement", MATCH News: News About Women and Development, Nov/Dec. 1989, p.3.
- Hane, Mikiso. Peasants, Rebels and Outcasts: The Underside of Modern Japan. (New York: Pantheon), 1982, p.225.
- Harding, Sandra. Feminism & Methodology. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press), 1987.
- Harkavy, R. "The Lessons of Recent Wars: A Comparative Perspective", Third World Quarterly, 1984, pp.868-891.
- Hawkesworth, Mary E. "Brothels and Betrayal: On the Functions of Prostitution", in International Journal of Women's Studies, Vol. 7, No. 1, January/February 1984, p.81-91.
- Herrmann, Kenneth J. and Michael John Jupp. "Commercial Child Pornography and Paedophile Organizations: An International Report", in Response: The Victimization of Women and Children, Vol. 8, Number 2, Spring 1985.

- Hicks Stiehm, Judith. "The Effects of Myths about Military Women on the Waging of War", in Women and the Military System, edited by Eva Isaksson. (Toronto:Harvester Wheatsheaf), 1988, pp.94-105.
- Hockey, J. Squaddies: Portrait of a Subculture. (Exeter: Exeter University Publications), 1986.
- Holthouse, Hector. Cannibal Cargoes. (Sydney: Rigby Limited), 1969.
- Holzman, Harold and Sharon Pines. "Buying Sex: The Phenomenology of Being a John" in Deviant Behaviour, Vol.4, No.1, October-December 1982, pp.89-117.
- Houle, France. "Is CEDAW Representative?" Jurisfemme, Vol. 9, No.4, p.39.
- Huber, Joan. "Ambiguities in Identity Transformation: From Sugar and Spice to Professor" in Feminist Frontiers: Rethinking Sex, Gender, and Society, ed. Laurel Richardson and Verta Taylor. (Don Mills: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company), 1983, pp. 330-336.
- Jagger, Alison M. and Paula Rothenberg Struhl. Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations between Women and Men. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company), 1978.
- Jaggar, Alison. "Political Philosophies of Women's Liberation", in Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations between Women and Men. (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company), 1978, pp.322-329.
- Kaihla, Paul. "Gorby's Girls': Soviet strippers tell a tale of deception" in Maclean's. 15 April 1991, p.16.
- Kelly-Gadol, Joan. "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implication of Women's History", in Feminism & Methodology, Sandra Harding, Editor. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press), 1987, pp.15-28.
- Khushalani, Y. Dignity and Honour of Women as Basic and Fundamental Human Rights. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers), 1982.
- Krich, J. "The Blossoming Business of Imported Love: Here Come the Brides." Mother Jones. Feb./March 1986, pp.34-46.
- Ladner, Joyce A. "Introduction to Tomorrow's Tomorrow: The Black Woman" in Feminism & Methodology, editor Sandra Harding. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press), 1987, pp.75-83.
- La Fontaine, Jean. Child Sexual Abuse. (Cambridge: Polity Press), 1990.
- Lerner, Gerder. The Creation of Patriarchy. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1986.

- Macdonald, S., P. Holden and S. Ardener, eds. Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross Cultural and Historical Perspectives. (London: Macmillan Education Ltd.), 1987.
- MacKinnon, Catharine A. "A Feminist/Political Approach: Pleasure Under Patriarchy." Theories of Human Sexuality, Ed. James H. Geer and William T. O'Donohue. (London: Plenum Press), 1987, pp.65-90.
- Mackirdy, Mrs. Archibald (Olive Christian Malvery) and W.N. Willis. The White Slave Market. (London: Stanley Paul & Co), 1913.
- Maniquis, Ely. "Kisaeng Tourism in South Korea" in Response to Victimization of Women and Children: Special International Issue. Vol. 8, No. 2, Spring 1985.
- Mies, Maria. Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale: Women in the International Division of Labour. (London: Zed Books Ltd.), 1986.
- Mies, M. "Towards a Methodology for Feminist Research" in G. Bowles and R. Klein, Theories of Women's Studies. (London: RKP), 1983.
- Millman, Marcia and Rosabeth Moss Kanter. "Introduction to Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science", in Feminism & Methodology, editor Sandra Harding. (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press), 1987, pp.29-36.
- Moselina, Leopoldo M. "Olongapo's R&R Industry: A sociological analysis of institutionalised prostitution", in Makatao: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Students and Practitioners of the Social Sciences, Asian Social Institute, Manila, Vol. 1, No. 1, January - June, 1981.
- "Navy R&R threatens Sri Lanka." Women and Global Corporations, (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee), Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2, pp.5-9.
- Nueman, S. "Arms, Aid and the Superpowers", Foreign Affairs, Summer, 1988, pp. 1044-1066.
- Overholt, Catherine, Mary B. Anerson, Kathleen Cloud, James E. Austin, editors. Gender Roles in Development Projects: A Case Book. (West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press, Inc.), 1985.
- Palmer, George. Kidnapping in the South Seas. (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd.), 1973 [1871].
- Perpinan, Sister Mary Soledad. "Strategies Against Sexual Trafficking" in Response to the Victimization of Women and Children: Special International Issue. Vol. 8, No. 2, Spring 1985.
- Pheterson, Gail, Editor. A Vindication of the Rights of Whores. (Seattle: The Seal Press), 1989.

- Rathgeber, E.M. "Women in Development: A Question of Research." in Background Series in International Development.
- Reardon, Betty A. Sexism and the War System. (New York: Teachers College Press), 1985.
- Richardson, Laurel and Verta Taylor. Feminist Frontiers: Rethinking Sex, Gender, and Society. (Don Mills: Addison Wesley Publishing Company), 1983.
- Roe, Clifford G. Panderers and Their White Slaves. (Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company), 1910.
- Rosaldo, Michele and Louise Lampere. Women, Culture and Society. (San Francisco: Stanford University Press), 1974.
- Rosen, Ruth. The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press), 1982.
- Salayakianond, Wirasak. "Prostitution in Thailand" in Response to the Victimization of Women and Children: Special International Issue. Vol. 8, No. 2, Spring 1985.
- Sawyer, Roger. Slavery in the Twentieth Century. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1986.
- Seager Joni and Ann Olson. Women in the World: An International Atlas. (London: Pan Books), 1986.
- Sen, Gita and Caren Grown. Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions. (New York: Monthly Review Press), 1987.
- "Sexual Exploitation of Children." Response to the Victimization of Women and Children: Special International Issue. Vol. 8, No. 2, 1985.
- Soedjatmoko. "Patterns of Armed Conflict in the Third World", Alternatives, (Vol. X, No. 4, 1985), pp. 477-491.
- Suguro, Suvendrini. "Six Brides for Six Villagers.", Intersect, December, 1988, pp. 42-43.
- Taylor, Verta. "The future of Feminism in the 1980s: A Social Movement Analysis" in Feminist Frontiers. pp. 434-448.
- Thanh-Dam, Truong. "The Dynamics of Sex Tourism: The Case of Southeast Asia" in Development and Change. Vol. 14, No. 4, October 4, 1983, p. 533-553.
- Tomlinson, Brian. "The Debt Crisis and Development in the Third World", Inter-Action, February 1989, pp. 1-3.

Tuttle, Lisa. Encyclopedia of Feminism. (Essex: Longman Group Limited), 1986.

United Nations and Human Rights, 1984.

Van der Vleuten, Nelleke and Alide Roeink. "Traffic in Women." Editorial. Vena Newsletter: Traffic in Women, Vol. 1, No.2, November 1989, p.1-2.

Veatch, Henry B. Human Rights: Fact or Fancy? (London: Louisiana State University Press), 1985.

Waring, Marilyn. If Women Counted: A New Feminist Economics. (London: Harper & Row, Publishers), 1988.

Williams, E. Capitalism & Slavery. (London: Andre Duetsch Limited), 1944.

Williams, S. and J.G. Castel. Canadian Criminal Law: International and Transnational Aspects. (Toronto: Butterworths), 1981.

Willis, William Nicholas. The White Slave Traffic. (London: Published at the Offices of "M.A.P."), c.1910.

Women's Inter-Church Council of Canada. "Patriarchy and Violence Against Women." in Hands to End Violence Against Women. (Toronto), 1988, pp. 64-70.

Woroniuk, Beth. "Women take on economic issues", MATCH News: News About Women and Development, Nov/Dec 1989, pp. 4-5.

END

22/1 2/92

FIN